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HANDBOOK OF TOK PISIN (NEW GUINEA PIDGIN)

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P. Mühlhäusler

eds

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	page
1. INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 Introduction	S.A. WURM and P. MÜHLHÄUSLER 3-11
2. HISTORICAL ASPECTS	13
2.1 History of the study of Tok Pisin	P. MÜHLHÄUSLER 15-33
2.2 External history of Tok Pisin	P. MÜHLHÄUSLER 35-64
2.3 The status of Tok Pisin and attitudes towards it	S.A. WURM 65-74
2.4 Internal development of Tok Pisin	P. MÜHLHÄUSLER 75-166
2.5 Writing systems and the orthography of Tok Pisin	S.A. WURM 167-176
2.6 Etymologising and Tok Pisin	P. MÜHLHÄUSLER 177-219
3. THE NATURE OF TOK PISIN	221
3.1 Tok Pisin and the census	Don LAYCOCK 223-231
3.2 Variation in Tok Pisin	P. MÜHLHÄUSLER 233-273
3.3 Good and bad pidgin: nogut yu toktok kranki	P. MÜHLHÄUSLER 275-291
4. THE GRAMMAR AND PHONOLOGY OF TOK PISIN	293
4.1 Phonology: substratum elements in Tok Pisin phonology	Don LAYCOCK 295-307
4.2 Phonology: intonation in Tok Pisin	S.A. WURM 309-334
4.3 Inflectional morphology of Tok Pisin	P. MÜHLHÄUSLER 335-340
4.4 Syntax of Tok Pisin	P. MÜHLHÄUSLER 341-421
4.5 The lexical system of Tok Pisin	P. MÜHLHÄUSLER 423-440
5. TOK PISIN AND ITS RELEVANCE TO THEORETICAL ISSUES IN CREOLISTICS AND GENERAL LINGUISTICS	441
5.1 Tok Pisin and its relevance to theoretical issues in creolistics and general linguistics	P. MÜHLHÄUSLER 443-483
6. ISSUES AND PROBLEMS	485
6.1 Current attitudes to Tok Pisin	Julie PIAU and Susanne HOLZKNECHT 487-493
6.2 Current use and expansion of Tok Pisin: Tok Pisin as a literary language	Don LAYCOCK 495-515

		page
6.3	Current use and expansion of Tok Pisin: Tok Pisin in the mass media	Jeff SIEGEL 517-533
6.4	Current use and expansion of Tok Pisin: teaching and Tok Pisin	Tom DUTTON 535-537
6.5	Current use and expansion of Tok Pisin: effects of Tok Pisin on some vernacular languages	Malcolm ROSS 539-556
6.6	The scientific study of Tok Pisin: the writing of descriptive Tok Pisin grammars	P. MÜHLHÄUSLER 557-575
6.7	The scientific study of Tok Pisin: Tok Pisin dictionary making: theoretical considerations and practical experiences	P. MÜHLHÄUSLER 577-593
6.8	The scientific study of Tok Pisin: language planning and the Tok Pisin lexicon	P. MÜHLHÄUSLER 595-664
6.9	The future of Tok Pisin	Don LAYCOCK 665-668
	REFERENCES	669-704
	INDEX	705-725

1.1 INTRODUCTION

S.A. Wurm and P. Mühlhäusler

1.1.1 GENERAL REMARKS

New Guinea Pidgin, now officially known as Tok Pisin by Papua New Guinea government decree, has been known by a number of names including Neo-Melanesian, Melanesian Pidgin, Tok Boi, and others. Many of these names have come to be associated with particular stages in the development of the language. The most neutral name for the language would be New Guinea Pidgin, and this was in fact the name originally chosen to appear in the title of this book and to be used in it when talking of the language. It is a general term which would refer not only to various stages in the historical development of the language, but also to the social and regional varieties or dialects of it encountered in present-day Papua New Guinea. However in recognition of the virtually universal use by Papua New Guineans of the name Tok Pisin for the language, and in deference to the decision of the Papua New Guinea government giving this name official status, the name Tok Pisin will in general be used in this book to refer to the language.

Study of various aspects of Tok Pisin, both linguistic and sociolinguistic, has been a concern of the Department of Linguistics in the Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University, since the late 1950s, and this concern has grown and deepened very significantly during the quarter century which has since passed. Most members of the Department have contributed extensively to our knowledge of matters relating to Tok Pisin, more particularly S.A. Wurm, P. Mühlhäusler, T.E. Dutton, and D.C. Laycock. Since the inception in 1961 of the Department's major international publication series *Pacific Linguistics* (of which the present book constitutes a number in the series C: books), a range of publications dealing with various aspects of Tok Pisin has been published, be it as separate publications, or in volumes containing collections of contributions by several authors. The most important of these are T.E. Dutton's *Conversational New Guinea Pidgin* (*Pacific Linguistics*, D-12, 1973), which is accompanied by a set of nine cassettes, S.A. Wurm, ed. *New Guinea area languages and language study*, vol.3: *Language, culture, society, and the modern world* (*Pacific Linguistics*, C-40, 1977, in two fascicles), which contains a large number of contributions on Tok Pisin by a variety of authors, and Peter Mühlhäusler, *Growth and structure of the lexicon of New Guinea Pidgin* (*Pacific Linguistics*, C-52, 1979).

In the course of the Department's growing interest in studies relating to Tok Pisin, and the appearance of an increasing number of publications on aspects of the language by scholars associated with the Department, be it in *Pacific Linguistics* or elsewhere, the idea of producing a handbook of Tok Pisin gradually started taking shape. It was envisaged that such a handbook should include in a single large volume discussions of many relevant factors about the origin and development of the language, its nature and characteristics, its use, role and functions over the years in the changing society of what is today Papua New Guinea,

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along with discussions of a number of other matters of interest to persons wishing to gain general information about the language. With the publication of major studies of aspects of New Guinea Pidgin in *Pacific Linguistics*, such as the ones mentioned above, views concerning what should be included in the envisaged handbook of Tok Pisin underwent many changes, and for a long time the actual preparation of such a handbook was put to one side because of the fluid situation surrounding the nature, role and functions of Tok Pisin in the years before and after the gaining of independence of Papua New Guinea.

Late in 1979, the Australian Academy of the Humanities suggested the establishment of a major Academy project concerned with the *influence of English and other metropolitan languages in the Pacific area* over the last 200 years (which included languages of the area itself such as Indonesian, Tagalog, etc.), with the 1988 bicentenary in mind. This was adopted by the Academy in 1980 as an official Academy project, with S.A. Wurm as its director, and was submitted in 1981 to the International Union of Academies for sponsorship and acceptance. The proposal, which was supported by the British Academy in the framework of the International Union of Academies, gained acceptance and in 1982 when it was adopted unanimously as a major project under the auspices of that august international academic body. At the same time, *Pacific Linguistics* was officially designated by the International Union of Academies as the outlet for the publication of a series of compendia volumes envisaged to appear in the framework of this international academic project, which at the same time was officially given its present title, *Languages for intercultural communication in the Pacific area*.

When the envisaged project was first discussed between members of the Department of Linguistics and the Australian Academy of the Humanities, the idea of producing a handbook of New Guinea Pidgin, to constitute the first of the planned compendia volumes to appear within the framework of the project, was again discussed, and work on its preparation and compilation was embarked on. The work was carried out in close collaboration between scholars associated with the Department of Linguistics in the Research School of Pacific Studies, in the manner which has been characteristic of the activities of the Department for many years, and it has also entailed wide international collaboration involving in particular Oxford University, to which Peter Mühlhäusler has been attached for a number of years. The result is a book which constitutes a coherent discussion of many aspects relating to Tok Pisin, rather than a large collection of disparate, individual papers.

The findings laid down in this book reflect the work of the generation of linguists who did most of the work in days before the 1975 independence of Papua New Guinea. Its main purpose is not to produce linguistic theory but something which has its feet firmly in the area and society from where the underlying data were taken and it is hoped that it will constitute a point of departure among future general works on indigenous linguistics in the Pacific area.

The book addresses itself to a wider audience than specialist linguists and has been written in language which should be generally intelligible for readers without special linguistic training, as a reference book helping them to understand better the history of Tok Pisin and its roots. The book may also constitute a basis for language planning and for the production of more up-to-date teaching materials relating to the language and it may, in general, serve the purpose of a compendium or reference work on Tok Pisin as a language, as well as on language-linked concerns associated with Tok Pisin.

1.1.2 PIDGIN LANGUAGES

Tok Pisin is a member of the class of languages commonly called pidgins. Again, the simple label 'pidgin' is a cover term for a variety of linguistic phenomena. Most commonly, pidgin languages are defined by two sets of criteria. On the social side, we find that pidgins arise as media of communication between different speech communities, typically an outside community (e.g. traders, soldiers, colonisers) and local communities. By definition, pidgins do not have native speakers and both their life span and their functions are limited. This means that pidgins come into being for a specific reason and are used as long as they are useful in a contact situation. They disappear when one party of the contact learns the language of the other party or when the social conditions which favoured the use of a pidgin (such as trade, labour, recruiting, war) disappear. In a few cases, pidgins continue to be used over a prolonged period in which case the likelihood of creolisation, i.e. that children will grow up speaking the pidgin as their first language and using it as a fully-fledged language, is great.

Pidgins do not embrace the full set of functions that normal languages have. They are used primarily as a means of exchanging information. They are not used as a means of self-expression, transmitting deeper emotions or as a means of social integration between the various parties using the pidgin. In fact, the desire for continued non-intimacy (e.g. between Europeans and colonial peoples) is one of the social forces that calls pidgins into being. This does not mean, however, that pidgins cannot develop into languages fulfilling such functions. The case of Tok Pisin is one which illustrates the continued functional expansion and structural growth of a pidgin.

The linguistic nature of pidgins is still hotly debated. There is widespread agreement, however, that pidgins must be seen as the result of linguistic contact. Typically, the language of the 'aggressor' community provides the basis of its lexicon. In the case of Tok Pisin we find that about three-quarters of its lexical bases are related to English. Influence from the local languages (substratum languages) is manifested at all levels of the language, particularly in its semantics and its phonology. Whilst contact and 'mixing' accounts for much of the structure of a pidgin, language-independent forces are also operative in shaping a pidgin. Thus, there appears strong evidence that language-independent intuitions about linguistic simplicity motivate speakers in a language contact situation to choose simple structures and to ignore complicated ones. As a result, even pidgins whose development is historically unrelated (such as the Portuguese-based Papia Kristang of Malacca and Kriol of Northern Australia) show some striking structural similarities. Pidgin languages are usually classified with regard to their lexical affiliation. Thus pidgins whose lexicons consist primarily of English-derived lexical bases are referred to as *Pidgin English*.

1.1.3 THE STATUS OF TOK PISIN VIS-A-VIS OTHER PIDGINS

Tok Pisin belongs to the group of languages labelled Pidgin English. The three most important areas where Pidgin English is spoken are West Africa, the China Coast and Melanesia. West African Pidgin English is still expanding and growing in Nigeria, Dahomey and the Cameroons and a number of studies have become available in recent years (Schneider 1970, Todd 1974). Chinese Pidgin English had its greatest importance during the nineteenth century. Today it appears to be restricted to a small number of speakers in Hong Kong (cf. Bauer 1974) and Singapore (cf. Platt 1975). It is an example of a pidgin that has come to the end of its life cycle and is being replaced by more developed standard languages.

Melanesian varieties of Pidgin English are the youngest of this group of languages. They developed in various areas of the Pacific, primarily as a result of the labour trade and plantation economy. The most important varieties were found in the plantations where Melanesian workers were employed (in Queensland, Samoa, New Caledonia) and the principal recruiting areas (New Hebrides, Solomon Islands, New Guinea). Viable pidgins have only survived in the latter three areas: Bichelamar in the New Hebrides, Solomon Islands Pijin, or Pijin (sometimes called Neo-Solomonic in the literature) in the Solomons and Tok Pisin in Papua New Guinea. Though these languages share much of their early history, they have since developed along different lines and are no longer easily mutually intelligible (Mühlhäusler, Bennett and Tryon 1979). Tok Pisin in particular has a number of characteristics which are not shared by Bichelamar and Solomon Islands Pijin: in its vocabulary, a significant number of bases is borrowed from Tolai and related Melanesian languages, whilst German has been the source of vocabulary in a number of technical areas such as carpentry and building. Tok Pisin also is the only variety of Melanesian Pidgin English which has a very significant number of first-language speakers.

Apart from the varieties of Pidgin English just mentioned, a few others will briefly be enumerated: another important variety of Pacific Pidgin English is Hawaiian Pidgin (Da Kine Talk) which exists in a number of subvarieties (Carr 1972). Recent wars in South-East Asia have led to the short-lived emergence of Korean Bamboo English (Algeo 1960), Japanese Pidgin English (Goodman 1967) and Thai and Vietnamese varieties of Pidgin English. There are indications that many of the English creoles spoken in the Caribbean have a pidgin past (Cassidy 1971) and this may also be the case with North American Black English.

1.1.4 TOK PISIN AND OTHER LINGUE FRANCHE IN PAPUA NEW GUINEA

Papua New Guinea is an area of extreme linguistic diversification. Over 750 different languages and many more dialects are spoken within its boundaries. In this context, multilingualism and the use of lingue franche have been dominant for a long time. In pre-colonial Papua New Guinea, the problem of intertribal communication was overcome in two ways: first, through the institutionalisation of bilingualism (and sometimes multilingualism) in restricted areas: i.e. some or all members of a village community would speak or understand the dialects or languages of adjacent villages. Knowledge of other languages and dialects faded out with distance. In addition, multilingualism was also correlated with social position, the 'big men' (traditional leaders) often exhibiting extraordinary gifts of language which enabled them to negotiate with adjacent tribes and which was part of their inventory of rhetoric skills. A case study of traditional bilingualism is found in Salisbury 1962.

Whilst bilingualism was restricted to short distances in geographical space, the second phenomenon, traditional trade languages, was found in contexts which required communication across greater distances. The most famous trade language in Papua New Guinea is the Hiri Trade Language (see Dutton and Kakare 1977). It was used by members of the Motu tribe (settled in the Port Moresby area) on their annual trading expeditions (Hiri) to the Kerema area of the Gulf Province. Another, as yet virtually undocumented, trade lingua franca is Siassi, which is reported to have been in use in the Astrolabe Bay area.

The beginnings of lingue franche of wider regional and general importance came about only with the establishment of colonial administration and European missions. The result of these contacts was the development of two phenomena: first, mission lingue franche and second, pidgins derived from European languages.

The question of mission *lingue franche* has been dealt with in detail by a number of writers (e.g. McElhanon 1979). What happened, as a rule, was that each mission selected a language closely connected with the locality where it established itself, such as Jabêm, Kâte or Gedaged, adopting this as its contact medium, rather than making a careful investigation into the social and linguistic factors which might determine the choice of a suitable linguistic medium. Whilst some success was achieved in spreading mission *lingue franche* in several areas of Papua New Guinea, the very number of those languages and the divergent aims of the missions made it impossible for any of these *lingue franche* to become accepted inter-regionally or even generally. Equally important was the fact that mission languages, from their very beginnings, were in competition with other *lingue franche*, in particular varieties of Pidgin English.

The result of European colonisation on the linguistic picture was twofold. An early result was the introduction of a 'foreign' pidgin, Coastal Malay, together with the importation of Malay labourers into German New Guinea (Seiler 1982). Coastal Malay was of considerable importance in the government stations and plantations of the northern New Guinea mainland in the early days of German administration but ceased to be of influence after 1900.

Another early *lingua franca*, in Papua, was Police Motu, a pidgin based on the Motu language of the Port Moresby area. It became established before the turn of the century, as a *lingua franca* used by the local police force of what was then British New Guinea (Dutton 1982a and forthcoming) which is why it was originally known as 'Police Motu'. It was believed until recently that it was a direct descendant of the Hiri Trade Language (see above) and, in the light of this belief, was remained 'Hiri Motu' in recent years. However, research by T.E. Dutton has shown that Police Motu was not directly derived from this language. There is evidence that the Motu possessed a simplified version of their own language which they employed in communicating with foreigners other than their Hiri trading partners (Taylor 1978). This simplified language may have played a part in the development of Police Motu.

Of interest is the very close structural similarity between Tok Pisin and Police Motu, which may suggest that relexification of Pidgin English as spoken by the first policemen, with vocabulary items from Motu (or simplified Motu), may well have played an important role in the origin and development of Police Motu (Dutton 1978).

Once it had developed, Police Motu spread rapidly as a general *lingua franca* and became the unofficial language of the administration, through most of what was the Territory of Papua, i.e. the southern part of present-day Papua New Guinea. Between World Wars I and II, official government policy, which discouraged the speaking of Pidgin English, and the exclusive use of Police Motu by the police force and the administration, resulted in the temporary elimination of Pidgin English from that area. Police Motu continued flourishing and expanding the area of its currency for a number of years after World War II, but in the 1950s-60s started to recede more or less rapidly before Pidgin English and lost its dominance in many areas.

Even more important were varieties of Pidgin English which were used as contact languages between Europeans and indigenes. Pidgin English in Papua appears to bear close resemblance to that spoken in Queensland on the canefields, on the Torres Strait islands and Cape York Peninsula (Landtmann 1927, Laade 1967). However, both the government in Papua and the missions adopted policies aimed at ousting Pidgin English, encouraging the use of Police Motu and local languages, or English. In German New Guinea, on the other hand, the Pidgin English which was already found in some areas - a result of early European visits and trade and

labour contacts with Samoa - gained importance in a relatively short time and was firmly established as a territory-wide lingua franca by 1914. Both because of its closer links with Samoan Pidgin (Mühlhäusler 1975d, 1976, 1978b) and because of its influence from Tolai and German, its linguistic properties differed considerably from the variety of Pidgin English in what was then the Territory of Papua. New Guinea Pidgin (now called Tok Pisin) subsequently took over the functions of virtually all other lingue franche and, for some speakers at least, the function of their original first language as well.

1.1.5 THE STATUS OF TOK PISIN VIS-A-VIS THE OFFICIAL LANGUAGES

In spite of the fact that Tok Pisin has had behind it the logic of everyday use, it was never elevated to the status of an official language. Instead, both Germany and Australia insisted on the use of their own languages (German and English respectively) as official languages. However, neither of the colonial powers was successful in making their respective language a lingua franca. German was known to a very small number of indigenes only, sometimes, particularly around mission posts, in a pidginised variety (cf. Mühlhäusler 1980a). Similarly, English remained the language of the expatriates and a very small number of Papua New Guineans until well after World War II. It is only in most recent times that English has become a more widely used lingua franca. However, both its functional domains (technological, higher education, higher administration) and social distribution (the educated, secondary and tertiary students) have remained restricted and so have not led to a decrease in the use of Tok Pisin.

It seems clear that Tok Pisin, English and the local vernaculars are in complementary distribution from the point of view of their communicative functions in present-day Papua New Guinea. However, the status of Tok Pisin has been the topic of sometimes heated debate (Dutton 1976a, McDonald 1976). The effects of these debates on the status of Tok Pisin have not been very significant and have not resulted in its being awarded the status of a national language, though the adoption of its present official name, Tok Pisin, is a step on the road towards its possible higher official status, to replace that of its being the unofficial national language of Papua New Guinea today.

1.1.6 THE SOCIAL ROLE OF TOK PISIN

Pidgin languages, according to Hall (1962), come into being for certain social reasons and either grow or fade away with changing conditions. Tok Pisin is the typical example of an expanded pidgin, i.e. one which began in a narrowly defined social context and gradually expanded to other functions. Through the course of its history Tok Pisin expanded its functional domain from that of a trade language used between Europeans and indigenes, a plantation language, an intertribal lingua franca, mission language, language of the administration and parliament, to the first language or primary language for a growing number of speakers.

In contrast to other pidgins, Tok Pisin has not remained a language of inequality, or one restricted to domains involving inequality, but has become a language for upward social mobility and participation in political and economic power. In recent years it has become a symbol of cultural and national identity for many.

The position of Tok Pisin is enhanced by the fact that a standard orthography and some degree of standardisation in its vocabulary are available. In addition, it is increasingly used in mass communication, both oral and printed, and a body of literature, including short stories, poetry and drama, is developing.

1.1.7 TOK PISIN AND ITS SPEAKERS

According to 1971 census figures Tok Pisin was spoken by about 700,000 persons over the age of ten, out of two million. Those census figures further indicated that it was spoken as the home language by 67,000 males and 25,000 females, a fact which reflected the growing importance of Tok Pisin in the urban areas. The population of Papua New Guinea has since grown to well over three million, and the number of speakers of Tok Pisin is over half that figure. D.C. Laycock, in his contribution on Tok Pisin and the census (3.1), addresses himself to some of the relevant questions in this connection.

From its very beginning, Tok Pisin has been a language of the male population, learnt on plantations and government stations by enterprising young men, whilst most females have remained in their home villages. The 1971 figures still indicate a dominance of males (486,000 against 247,000 females). However, as the question was 'Can this person speak simple Pidgin?', the widespread passive knowledge of Tok Pisin among females in more recently opened up areas may have been ignored.

Apart from sex, knowledge of Tok Pisin is also determined by geographical factors: Tok Pisin was, until recently, spoken mainly in the former Trust Territory of New Guinea. A knowledge of Tok Pisin was (and still is) much less commonly found in the former Papua area, though in a number of areas including Port Moresby and the Southern Highlands Province, it has become the predominant lingua franca and is moving in that direction elsewhere.

Tok Pisin was spoken first in the large New Guinea Islands in the north-east, subsequently in the coastal areas of the north-eastern mainland and only in the last 40 years of its 100 years of history has it become a lingua franca in the Highlands. It may not be long before the Highlanders will be the numerically dominant group of Tok Pisin speakers and this may lead to a wider spread of some of the lexical and syntactic peculiarities of Highlands Tok Pisin.

It has been mentioned that Tok Pisin has become the first language of a number of children. This creolisation (the term used when a pidgin becomes a first language) is encountered mainly in the large urban centres. It is also found in some rural areas of the Manus, Madang and East Sepik Provinces. The transition from second to first language Tok Pisin is often gradual, reflecting gradual changes in the social environment rather than abrupt ones.

1.1.8 SPREAD AND TRANSMISSION OF TOK PISIN

For the majority of speakers Tok Pisin remains a second language. The age at which it is acquired depends on the geographic location and the degree to which Tok Pisin has become institutionalised in a community. This means that closer to government posts or urban centres, Tok Pisin is usually acquired at an earlier age. Today, most children learn the language in their home village, often before school age. In earlier days, and still in some remote areas, Tok Pisin used to be, or is, learnt during indentured labour on the plantations or European stations.

In both cases, the language is learnt informally. Formal instruction in Tok Pisin is restricted to the Tok Pisin schools run by various missions. A small number of Papua New Guineans from what used to be Papua also learn Tok Pisin in courses at the University of Papua New Guinea.

1.1.9 ATTITUDES AND POLICIES

Few languages have been at the centre of such prolonged controversy and debates as has Tok Pisin. As with most controversies, misunderstandings and polemics have been common and it therefore seems necessary to dispel some of the misconceptions underlying the debate about Tok Pisin here.

In the previous pages, an attempt has been made to provide a positive characterisation of the language. To this may be added now a brief discussion of what Tok Pisin is not.

Firstly, there are a number of misconceptions about its linguistic nature. It is not the case, as has often been assumed, that Tok Pisin is a substandard variety of English, i.e. a broken and debased form of it. Nor is it true that Tok Pisin has no grammar, that it is infinitely more ambiguous than other languages or that its lexicon consists of only 50, 100 or 300 words. At least, this has not been the case for the last 50 years or more. There is evidence that Tok Pisin started off as a rather imperfect and rudimentary language towards the end of the last century, but this is certainly no longer so in the present-day situation.

It is a dangerous simplification to say that its vocabulary is basically English. This view can only be maintained if one believes in an outmoded concept of lexical borrowing. Nor is the grammar of Tok Pisin just Melanesian: it will be shown that mixing of languages and independent development can be found at all levels of the language and that any single explanation fails to fully characterise the linguistic character of Tok Pisin.

Other misconceptions about the nature of Tok Pisin concern its social status. It has been charged that Tok Pisin reflects outmoded race-relations and colonial oppression. Again, these charges were justified at a much earlier stage in the development of the language. Since then, the former vehicle of exploitation and order-giving has become the vehicle of national self-determination and independence. Similarly, most charges that Tok Pisin cannot handle a given topic properly must be seen in a sociocultural perspective. Languages serve the communicative needs of a speech community, and Tok Pisin is no exception. It is an adequate linguistic medium for those areas which the majority of its speakers wish to discuss. It grows in expressive power as it is put to use in new functions, such as describing aspects of modern technology or higher education. In evaluating the relative power of English and present-day Tok Pisin one must not make the mistake of assuming that the mere existence of a word such as 'nuclear fission' or a phrase such as 'theory of relativity' means that most speakers of English can freely talk about the concepts underlying them. Instead, the growth of vocabulary must be seen against the background of conceptual development of a speaker or speech community. Once speakers of Tok Pisin can handle a new concept, they will find an adequate term for it, be it through borrowing or be it by employing the language-internal means of word-formation. These processes have been discussed by Peter Mühlhäusler in his contribution on language planning and the Tok Pisin lexicon (6.8).

Many of the above misconceptions have their roots in a status concept of language, i.e. they ignore that languages are in a continuous state of change and

that Tok Pisin in particular has changed both its linguistic character and its social functions a number of times in its short history.

1.1.10 SOME AIMS OF THE PRESENT BOOK

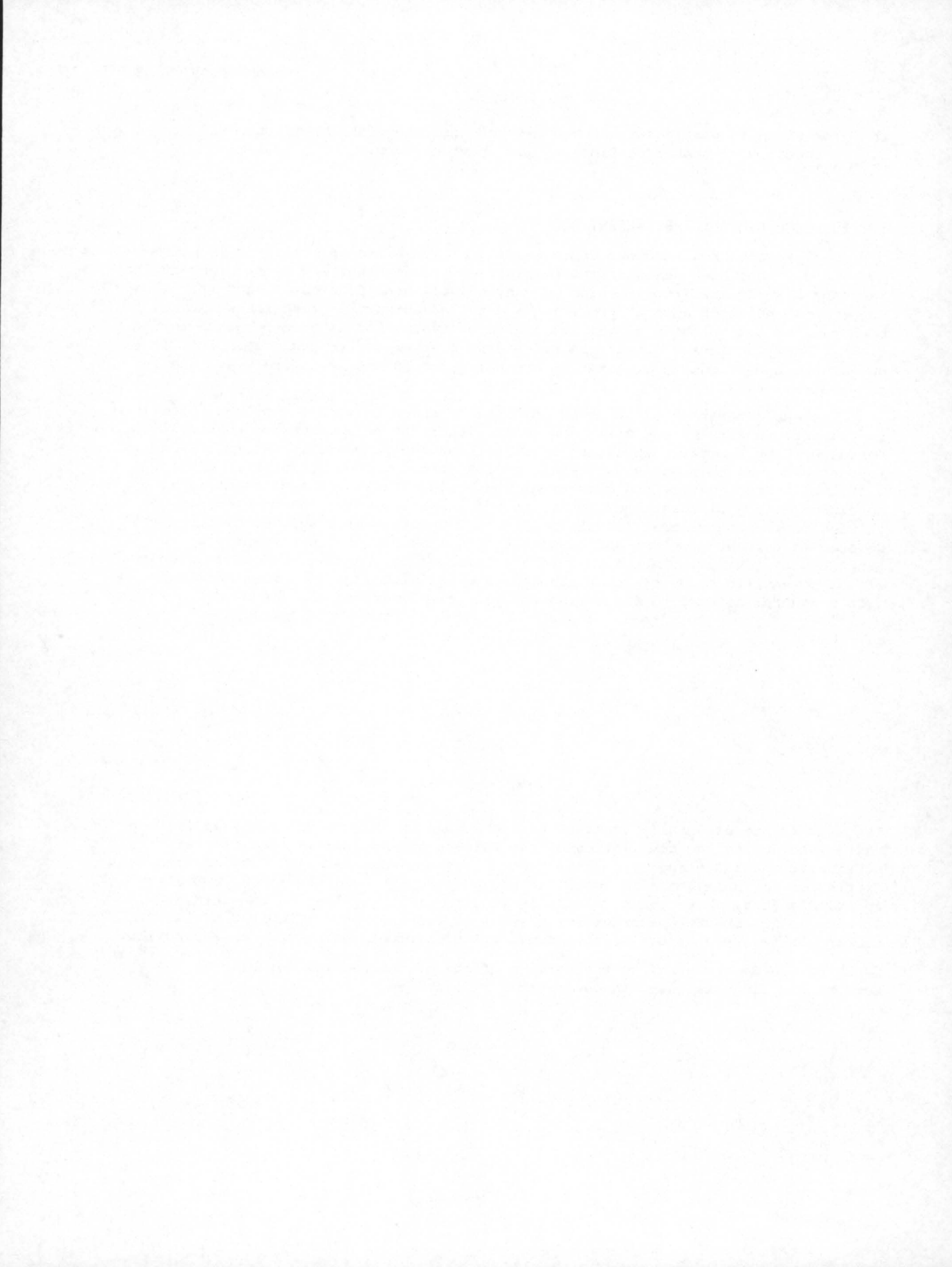
Our present knowledge and understanding of Tok Pisin is still far from complete and it has been demonstrated over and over again that any closer look at the language has required the revision of many established ideas held about it. Thus, the present handbook aims at providing a detailed summary of research which has been carried out to date, as well as giving an evaluation of such research in the light of new findings. Whilst the writers have attempted to avoid technical language, the use of modern linguistic terminology could not be entirely avoided in all places.

The subject matter of the book has been arranged in such a way that historical aspects concerning Tok Pisin are dealt with first in a number of chapters, to be followed by chapters discussing the nature of the language in general, largely from an external point of view. These are in turn followed by chapters dealing with the internal nature and grammar of Tok Pisin. This series of chapters is concluded with a discussion of Tok Pisin and its relevance to theoretical issues in creolistics and general linguistics. These chapters are followed by chapters devoted to current problems and to some topics linked with the current use and functions of Tok Pisin, which in turn are followed by chapters devoted to problems of the scientific study of Tok Pisin and language planning. The book concludes with a chapter devoted to projecting the possible future of the language.

SPECIAL THANKS

The editors are especially grateful to their many colleagues for ready advice and assistance during the compilation of the volume, and would like to give their particular thanks to Sue Tys, whose typesetting has enhanced the book, to Lois Carrington for assistance in compiling the bibliography and the index, and also to Malcolm Ross, whose technical skills were so willingly lent to the initial setting up of computer programs for these last two sections. Thanks are also due to Jackie Mühlhäusler for her assistance with proofreading and general advice.

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2. HISTORICAL ASPECTS

2.1 HISTORY OF THE STUDY OF TOK PISIN

P. Mühlhäusler

2.1.1 INTRODUCTION

As one of the central aims of the present handbook is to summarise the results of research into this language it seems appropriate to begin with a brief overview of the motives, methods and phases in its study. This task is facilitated greatly by research carried out in recent years, in particular Laycock's summary of Tok Pisin studies (1970d) and the publication of the *Bibliography of pidgin and creole languages* as well as the preliminary results of work carried out in the Department of Language at the University of Papua New Guinea (McDonald 1975) and the Anthropos Institute (Z'graggen 1976). The *Bibliography of pidgin and creole languages* (Reinecke et al. eds 1975) contains brief abstracts of a large number of minor articles and materials on this language and it is for this reason that little reference will be made to such studies in the present summary.

However, in spite of the value of the publications just mentioned, a new statement on the history of Tok Pisin studies is called for since a) the cut-off point of available bibliographies is around 1970 and b) the author has located numerous materials, in particular mission materials and materials on Samoan Plantation Pidgin which suggest the need to re-evaluate some earlier statements (cf. also Mosel and Mühlhäusler 1982).

2.1.2 MOTIVES IN THE STUDY OF TOK PISIN

As has been pointed out by a number of writers, most recently by Bickerton (1976), the field of pidgin and creole studies was regarded (until very recently) as being marginal to the wider field of linguistics. This lack of serious scientific studies of pidgins and creoles is encountered in the case of Tok Pisin, though recent research by McDonald of the Tok Pisin Research Unit of UPNG and the present author at the Australian National University has led to the discovery of a number of valuable older research materials. Thus, it seems warranted to say that Tok Pisin is one of the best documented pidgins. Still, the documentation of its linguistic past is not as complete as one would wish especially since the value of much of the older work on this language is diminished by the motives underlying its compilation and by the rather blunt analytic tools used in its descriptions. The motives underlying work on Tok Pisin can be labelled as follows:

- a) The desire of the writer to amuse his audience with anecdotal observations about a 'queer' variant of English.
- b) Pedagogical motives, in particular the desire to teach Tok Pisin to expatriates.
- c) Scientific interest in the structure and social role of the language.

S.A. Wurm and P. Mühlhäusler, eds *Handbook of Tok Pisin (New Guinea Pidgin)*, 15-33. *Pacific Linguistics*, C-70, 1984.

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- d) Discussing the merits of Tok Pisin as an official language, its use in education, etc.

The first motive is the one most frequently encountered in the shorter statements on Tok Pisin such as are found in numerous popular articles, travel books, diaries written by expatriates and newspapers such as the prewar *Rabaul News*. A longer monograph with this expressed aim is that by Churchill (1911) who remarks:

Beach-la-mar is an amusing speech; in this brief treatise we have studied it with a gaiety of enjoyment which it would be a shame not to have expressed.

Prior to Churchill's monograph a number of German and English writers had expressed a similar view. Names that come to mind are the much-cited travel writer Baron von Hesse Wartegg (1920:52-54), Daiber (1902:254-256) and Hershheim (1883:102). Very often, Tok Pisin is used as a literary device illustrating the 'primitive-ness' of its speakers rather than an object of study per se.

This tradition of writing about Tok Pisin without much knowledge and insight continues, though in recent years anecdotal accounts have come to be replaced by more serious assessments. Instead of giving an exhaustive account of such popular writings, some common ideas found in many of them (often being handed down for generations) will be illustrated by means of a number of quotations. It is hoped however, that a fuller history of popular accounts of Tok Pisin and the prejudices contained in them will be written, once the materials have been located and properly catalogued. Some of the often-repeated myths about Tok Pisin in such accounts include:

- a) Tok Pisin is a hotch-potch of words from many sources. The following quotations illustrate this:

The pidgin-English as spoken in these days is about the most atrocious form of speech perhaps one could find in any corner of the globe. It is neither one thing or the other. Consisting of a mixture of Samoan and Chinese here and there, with an occasional word of Malayan, it is conglomeration truly worthy of the tower of Babel. (Editorial *Rabaul Times*, October 16, 1925.)

Pidgin, which is a completely unscientific and apparently spontaneous arrangement of words and phrases, is used by millions of people. (R.W. Robson in *The Australian soldiers pocket book*, August 1943.)

It will be a welcome change to speak a language, a real language, instead of this hybrid conglomeration of crudities known in the aggregate as Pidgin. (*Pacific Islands Monthly*, July 1945:24.)

- b) Tok Pisin is just 'Comic Opera Talk Talk' (Robertson 1971:13). Most popular accounts of Tok Pisin contain a number of real or imagined examples of Tok Pisin to illustrate this point. The following two passages represent this point of view:

This "Pidgin"! Since publication of my note in last issue, quite a number of good friends have sent in some startling examples of lingual ingenuity. The best comes from the Editor of a Metropolitan daily - a man, otherwise, of unblemished reputation - but as this is a family journal of unchallenged respectability, we must firmly refuse to print it. Here,

however, are two, direct from New Guinea, which have been passed by the censor: A European Lady: "Big fella missus he put water belong stink along him." In other words, the average white woman is best remembered by the natives owing to her use of perfume. A Piano: "Big fella bokus (box) you fightem he cry." This is highly ingenious - particularly the description of keyboard action. (*Pacific Islands Monthly*, September 16, 1930.)

A resident of Townsville sends me more lively examples of "pidgin." This is how a New Guinea boy says: "You're bald!": "Grass belong coconut he no more stop." "Picaninny is a "baby"; "deewhy" is a "tree" - "piccaninny belong deewhy" therefore is "fruit." "Copper" is a covering, such as a roof; therefore "copper belong 'and," for fingernail, is quite ingenious. "Lik lik" is "small"; "lik lik too much" is "smaller"; "lik lik plenty too much" is "very small." (*Pacific Islands Monthly*, December 16, 1930.)

Underlying many such statements about Tok Pisin is a distinctly racist attitude towards the indigenous speakers of the language. The following remarks by Daiber (1902:54) are representative of many made later:

Translation:

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

This quotation illustrates another preoccupation of many popular writers, namely their desire to demonstrate that Tok Pisin developed as a result of certain quirks of history rather than out of a need for communication whilst maintaining social inequality. Thus, one myth about the origin of Tok Pisin encountered in the popular literature is that Tok Pisin was invented by the Germans, either in order to prevent the indigenes from using German (cf. Reed 1943:271) or because they were unable to pronounce its guttural sounds (Helton 1940:5). Another widely held belief is that Tok Pisin was brought to New Guinea by Chinese indentured labourers. These views have been discussed in detail by Mühlhäusler (1978d and 1979c). Since popular and anecdotal accounts of Pidgin form a large percentage of the older sources on this language, investigators have to rely on information gleaned from them for the reconstruction of earlier stages of this language. Although a time-consuming task, valuable data can be found among careless presentations and obvious misrepresentations. Mühlhäusler (1979c) has found these sources of particular help for the reconstruction of the lexical component of Tok Pisin, but there are indications, as given by Sankoff (1976), that some insights into earlier stages of syntax can also be gained from them.

The literature about Tok Pisin designed to entertain is complemented by a second set of materials, namely pedagogical materials. Again, the usefulness of these materials to the linguist (and the language learner) varies. The general impression gained from a review of Tok Pisin teaching materials (i.e. materials teaching Tok Pisin as a second language) is that, with very few exceptions, those writers who knew the language best knew little about writing down its rules or

the principles of language teaching, whilst some of the technically more sound pedagogical grammars are characterised by a lack of insight into the structures of the language. There are some exceptions. In particular, Dutton's audio-lingual course in Tok Pisin (1973) is based on an intimate knowledge of the language and its speakers and a thorough understanding of second-language teaching.

The development of reliable materials which could be used for teaching Tok Pisin as a second language was hampered, as were linguistic descriptions, by the negative attitudes prevailing throughout the colonial period in Papua New Guinea and, in addition, by certain assumptions both about Tok Pisin and language learning processes on the part of those who provide pedagogical grammars and course materials. The learning of Tok Pisin by speakers of English is a relatively recent phenomenon. Previously it was usually assumed that Tok Pisin is a simplified and corrupted form of English and to produce 'Pidgin English' one needed only to speak a sort of baby talk "liberally besprinkled with -em and reduplication, and ignoring all syntax." (cf. comments by Wedgwood 1954:784), and with certain lexical items such as were felt to be appropriate to a pidgin situation.

This attitude was generally not shared by the survivors of the abortive French attempt to colonise New Ireland, e.g. Mouton (cf. Biskup 1974) and the German colonisers. German settlers made serious efforts to learn Tok Pisin before written grammars were available, and it was generally learnt by the Germans orally in their dealings with the natives, i.e. it was learnt in the restricted set of contexts in which it was used, with the results that many German speakers acquired an excellent working knowledge untainted by English habits of speech. However, the hostile attitude of the German administration towards Tok Pisin (cf. Mühlhäusler 1975b) prevented serious work on materials which could help newcomers to acquire the language quickly. It appears that no phrase books and vocabularies of the kind provided for West African Pidgin English in the Cameroons (von Hagen 1910), were made available for New Guinea. However, newcomers from Germany found some guidance in accounts of Tok Pisin such as that by Schnee (1904), which outlines the essentials of its grammar and lexicon and Friederici (1911). The latter explicitly states that he wishes to supplement Schnee's sketch with further remarks which would be of use to those "who would like to inform themselves about Pidgin English before their journey to the South sea" (author's translation). However, on page 95 Friederici remarks that proper Tok Pisin should be learnt in one's dealings with natives and that grammatical sketches compiled by Europeans could at best be supplementary to this. (For more comments on Friederici's article see McDonald 1977.)

Whilst the learning of Tok Pisin by the German settlers through dealings with the indigenous population was moderately satisfactory, the need was felt, particularly by the Catholic mission who had adopted Tok Pisin as a medium in the 1920s, to have at hand teaching materials for newcomers from Germany. Thus, the first complete course for German missionaries was written in 1930 (Borchardt: *Anleitung zur Erlernung des Tok Boi*). In many ways, this course was a step backwards. Borchardt, like many scholars at the time, held that a pidgin language is a combination of native syntax and European vocabulary. Thus his course is based almost entirely on Bley's Kuanua grammar (1912). This assumption had two consequences: rules of Tok Pisin which reflected independent developments or transfer from English were neglected, and the meaning of lexical items was characterised as being closer to English than was actually the case. Borchardt's course was based on the grammar translation method with the grammatical categories used being those of the classical European languages. This decision further weakened the course materials. The use of this and similar books has resulted, in the meantime,

in the development of a special mission dialect of Tok Pisin which is at variance with the language spoken by the indigenous population.

Borchardt translated his course into English in the early 1930s. However, it appears to have remained unknown outside the archdiocese of Rabaul and only to have been used by missionaries. Pedagogical motives also prompted a small group of Divine Word missionaries (Alexishafen) to compile dictionaries and grammars of Tok Pisin, as they had come to realise on the occasion of a conference in Marienberg in the late 1920s that few of the missionaries had the necessary understanding of the language to carry out mission work in it. Schebesta's grammar (which I have not as yet seen), and dictionary and van Baar's vocabulary and later enlarged dictionary were some of the results of this conference. The dictionary work is impressive, not only because of the wealth of materials but also because of a number of remarks about variation, the use of individual entries, etymologies, etc. An interesting side effect of these efforts by the Alexishafen missionaries was a number of aids designed to help New Guineans to acquire a reading knowledge of Tok Pisin, among them a comic strip *Pigtel pig-tail*. Most of the Alexishafen materials were written in the German language and appear to have had little influence outside the mission sphere.

Such was the situation of the English-speaking settlers in the new Trust Territory, that no teaching aids were available to them, a fact which is mentioned and deplored in several editorials of the *Rabaul Times*, for instance that of December 17, 1937:

A handbook of Pidgin would be invaluable to everybody providing it was comprehensive, and was compiled by someone who had a real knowledge of the matter, and one who knew at least one native language to guide him. If such a handbook gave us the origin of Pidgin words, the way such words could be interpreted to mean the many things they often do, the reason for the curious construction of phrases, and the elements of native psychology, a newcomer might learn in a few months what it would take him as many years to learn.

The call for pedagogical grammars and other teaching materials fell on deaf ears during peacetime and they only became available to speakers of English as a result of World War II, i.e. under the pressures for effective communication and propaganda during the war. American soldiers were taught Tok Pisin by the audiolingual method, based on Hall's structuralist analysis of this language (Hall et al. 1942), whilst many Australians learnt it from booklets such as those by Helton (1943) and Murphy (1943). The latter were written by laymen and, whilst providing valuable sociolinguistic information, often fell short of adequately characterising the syntax and lexicon of the language. In addition, they did not constitute works of any pedagogical value.

The effects of the war on the teaching of Tok Pisin were not lasting. After 1945 the majority of expatriates did not learn Tok Pisin in any formal way but continued to use their variety of broken English when dealing with the indigenes. The situation only changed just before the achievement of self-government for Papua New Guinea. The wind of change blowing in the country in the late 1960s and early 1970s resulted in the appearance of a number of courses in this language. The sudden desire to have teaching materials resulted in the publication of materials which otherwise might not have seen the light of day. For the use of anthropologists and fieldworkers two courses teaching Highlands and Lowlands Tok Pisin respectively were published (Wurm 1971a, Laycock 1970c), consisting mainly of notes on grammar, a long list of useful phrases and texts. Whilst lacking in

pedagogical sophistication, these courses proved to be of considerable value to linguistically sophisticated academics. At the same time Litteral's *Programmed course in New Guinea Pidgin* (1969) for members of the Summer Institute of Linguistics and missionaries provided a less technical introduction to the language. The principal drawback of this course lies in its orientation towards linguistic structures rather than socially relevant language. As pointed out by Laycock (1970b:47):

The user of this book will not be able to ask his way to even the most primitive village toilet; and the entire vocabulary of sex and its organs is also lamentably absent.

A second course which appeared in the same year, Thomas' *Learning Pidgin*, put out by the Australian Broadcasting Commission for its broadcast Tok Pisin course, teaches a far more useful body of language, but falls short in its pedagogical approach as well as containing several vague and incorrect statements about Tok Pisin. However, even with these shortcomings, Thomas' course fulfilled an urgent need and must be regarded as one of the factors contributing to a more ready acceptance of Tok Pisin by the expatriate community. Finally, the year 1969 saw yet another course in Tok Pisin, namely Mihalic's *Introduction to New Guinea Pidgin*. Though designed for learners of Tok Pisin, it is primarily a brief reference book. Its main virtues are the relevance of the language materials to communication in Papua New Guinea and the avoidance of unwarranted generalisations about Tok Pisin. Further notes on these three courses can be found in Laycock 1970b and Tomasetti 1970.

Teaching aids for private tuition and instruction by radio were supplemented in the late 1960s and early 1970s with materials accompanying the adult education courses of the Department of Education in Port Moresby. A number of such booklets, entitled "Tok Pisin" and written by Healey, appeared between 1969 and 1971. They differ from earlier teaching materials in that they are much more comprehensive and designed for use by a teacher in a classroom situation. The method advocated is basically a grammar translation method; however, grammatical exercises are supplemented with an impressive amount of sociolinguistic information. The main drawback of these books is a lack of organisation, and an often confusing treatment of points of grammar, reflecting the author's lack of background in linguistics and methods of language teaching. However, Healey's materials would still make good supplementary reading to the more formalised courses by Litteral (1969) and Dutton (1973).

The demand for more sophisticated teaching materials continued to increase and resulted in the publication in 1973 of two courses designed explicitly for the teaching of Tok Pisin to Europeans, namely those of Dutton (1973) and Sadler (1973b). Both courses are based on the grammar and vocabulary of Mihalic (1971) though Dutton, in particular, supplies additional observations about the language and its use. A comparison between the content offered in the two courses has been made by Franklin (1974:56-63). Franklin's observations need to be supplemented with notes on the methods and techniques employed in these two courses. I shall first consider Sadler's course. The method used is one outlined by Nida (1957), namely the learning of a language in a field situation with the help of an unskilled native informant. Because of the limitations of the informant-teacher the discussion of grammar and vocabulary needs to be comprehensive, explicit and systematic. Unfortunately Sadler's course falls down badly on these points. Further drawbacks of the course are the lack of sociocultural information, and the unjustified stress on production skills rather than comprehension skills. With regard to the latter point Sadler repeats the mistakes of many of his forerunners: in that the aim of language learning is seen as being able to

speak the language rather than to comprehend and meaningfully interact in it. The emphasis on production brings with it the danger that Tok Pisin is used by the white learner for one-way communication, i.e. to give orders and instructions rather than to learn from the Tok Pisin-using community.

These shortcomings are not encountered in Dutton's course. In fact, Dutton's *Conversational New Guinea Pidgin* must be seen as a major breakthrough and it can only be hoped that the author, who himself has taught the course many times to various groups of learners, will incorporate his experience in a revised version soon.

Dutton's method is audiolingual and is appropriate mainly to language laboratory teaching on an intensive or semi-intensive scale. Language skills are built up in a controlled manner by grading of grammatical structures and by means of carefully devised drills. A strong point of the course is its relevance to everyday-life situations in Papua New Guinea, its presentation of culturally relevant vocabulary and notes on the social context in which the language is used. However, with Tok Pisin's continued functional expansion and with Papua New Guinea being an independent nation, some of the texts may have to be revised in future editions. The main drawback of Dutton's course is probably his fairly strict adherence to the audiolingual method which may become tedious for intelligent learners. However, as the course is a short one in comparison with audiolingual courses in other languages, this criticism is not serious. In my opinion, a certain amount of drilling is essential, particularly with adult learners. A final strong point of Dutton's course is the availability of tapes for private study. It must be stressed, however, that an experienced teacher cannot easily be replaced by tapes. Dutton 1976b discusses how his course can be expanded to promote communicative competence among the learners.

Teaching materials for speakers of languages other than English or German have not been available until very recently. In particular, no materials for Papua New Guineans, apart from some unpublished mission texts, were available. In 1973 the first course designed to teach Tok Pisin to adult Papua New Guineans (particularly illiterates from newly opened up areas) was made available (Sadler 1973a). The method used is the direct method, i.e. the teacher uses Tok Pisin for instruction from the beginning, moving from words and phrases for actions in the classroom to common situations outside. The book is designed in a way which requires only minimal teaching experience from the instructor. As yet, no report about the use of the book in an actual classroom situation has come to my attention. However, I suspect that some of the advantages of the use of the direct method would be neutralised by the fairly rigid and unimaginative organisation of the contents. It must be hoped that empirical research in the ways in which Tok Pisin is acquired informally by Papua New Guineans on plantations, towns or patrol posts will result in new insights into how Tok Pisin is best taught in such a situation. Sadler's book is an interesting experiment, nevertheless.

This concludes the discussion of the history of pedagogical grammars and textbooks in Tok Pisin. The following section will deal with more theoretically oriented research into the language.

2.1.3 LINGUISTIC DESCRIPTIONS OF TOK PISIN

Descriptive work in Tok Pisin has been carried out for two principal reasons: first, in order to provide a foundation for pedagogical grammars and teaching materials and second, in order to settle certain controversies in linguistic theory.

With regard to the former motive one finds a number of 'straightforward' descriptions, beginning with Brenninkmeyer's grammatical sketch of Tok Pisin spoken in the Baining area of New Britain (1924). Though the description is made within a strictly conventional ('classical') framework and therefore tends to be unenlightening, Brenninkmeyer's "Einführung ins Pidginenglisch" contains a large number of sample sentences which appear to be an accurate representation of Tok Pisin spoken in the Baining area at the time. (A very interesting set of data supplementary to Brenninkmeyer's are the Tok Pisin equivalents in Thurnwald's Baining fieldnotes, a preliminary draft of which has been compiled by Carrington at the A.N.U.) Borchardt's *Kleine Tok-Boi Grammatik* (1926) has less grammatical detail than Brenninkmeyer's, but contains some interesting insights into the aspectual system of Tok Pisin in the mid-1920s, a result of its not being fitted into the straitjacket of traditional grammar. The grammar later became the basis of Borchardt's Tok Pisin course. Unfortunately I am in no position to comment on Schebesta's Pidgin grammar, but if it is anything like his dictionary it should constitute an important piece of evidence about Tok Pisin in the 1930s. Hall 1943a constitutes a major breakthrough in the description of Tok Pisin as it was the first attempt to provide a comprehensive account of the language using modern descriptive techniques. It still has to be considered a standard reference work for this language, in spite of the fact that it exhibits certain shortcomings due to the methods and theoretical orientation current at the time it was written. Thus, it is a description of the 'overall pattern' of Tok Pisin, an abstraction from the various subsystems of the language, and it therefore creates a false impression of homogeneity which in actual fact is not found. The argumentation used by Hall that Tok Pisin as spoken by Europeans constituted valid data for such an overall description cannot be subscribed to in full; it certainly seems dangerous to give such a prominent position to European Tok Pisin (Tok Masta). Hall's structuralist approach also accounts for shortcomings in his treatment of word-formation (see discussion by Mühlhäusler 1978a). However, it is easy to criticise a book written 40 or more years ago and for its time it was an excellent piece of work; moreover, much of it remains valid. The next major grammatical description of Tok Pisin is that of Mihalic (1957) (and the revised version of 1971). Mihalic bases his description on Hall 1943a and Schebesta's grammar as well as his own observations. Both the 1957 and the 1971 version are written for laymen. This has led to a lack of precision in a number of areas of grammar, although the numerous examples make good many of the shortcomings and the book remains a standard reference work for linguistically unsophisticated learners and speakers of Tok Pisin. However, as Tok Pisin has been undergoing a number of changes in recent years, particularly in the urban areas and in the context of creolisation, a revision of certain areas of the grammar, such as relativisation and complementation, seems necessary. The addition of new constructions, such as embedded questions or adversative clauses, would also be desirable. Two comprehensive descriptions of Tok Pisin are those by Laycock (1970c) and Wurm (1971a). Both arose out of courses designed for fieldworkers in Tok Pisin, but Wurm's account of Highlands Tok Pisin in particular takes more the form of a reference grammar. Wurm states his aim as providing "a reasonably systematic sketch of some of the most important structural features of Pidgin, including remarks on some of the characteristics of Highlands Pidgin" (1971a:3). He exceeds this goal, however, and his treatment of parts of Highlands Tok Pisin grammar, such as the aspect and tense system, remains a valuable source of information about this variety of Tok Pisin at a time when it appears to have been maximally divergent from coastal varieties. Both Wurm's and Laycock's grammars include transcribed texts from a number of speakers and localities.

The most recent descriptive account of Tok Pisin is that by Bauer (1974). This analysis suffers from the author's lack of firsthand experience with Tok Pisin, and an inconsistent descriptive framework. The first factor has led Bauer to accept both suspect data and reliable recordings on a par, whilst the second factor accounts for his attempt to write an 'overall pattern' grammar of Tok Pisin which includes apparently unrelated varieties of Pidgin English such as Kiwai Pidgin of Papua. As it is, Bauer's description is of value only to those who have an intimate knowledge of Tok Pisin and who are able to distinguish between genuine insights and unwarranted generalisations. A detailed discussion of Bauer's Tok Pisin grammar is found in a review article by Mühlhäusler (1978c).

All treatments of grammar discussed so far were done within either traditional, ad hoc, or structural frameworks of description. Whilst these models facilitate the treatment of a large part of Tok Pisin grammar with limited resources, this tends to be done at the cost of insights into some less obvious aspects of the language.

New trends in the description of Tok Pisin can be observed from the early 1960s. However, new descriptive frameworks, such as the transformational-generative model or various models aiming at explaining variation, have forced linguists to pay attention to small subparts of Tok Pisin grammar rather than its grammar as a whole.

An early attempt to deal with Tok Pisin in a transformational framework is an article by Hooley (1962). Hooley's principal purpose is to use a pre-Chomskyan (Harris) type of transformational description to discover areas of grammar where Tok Pisin differs from English, his general conclusion being that Tok Pisin and English are indeed closely related structurally. However, as pointed out by Turner (1966:206f.), his conclusions are hardly warranted in view of his rather blunt analytical tools and the restricted body of evidence considered. A further weakness of Hooley's approach is that he compares two static abstract models, ignoring both variation in Tok Pisin and its diachronic development.

Another article inspired by the work of Harris is one dealing with a contrastive analysis of Tok Pisin and English 'morpheme sequence classes' (Dingwall 1966:39-61). As the author himself notes, the logical simplicity of the model used goes paired with its inability to account for many aspects of real language. Nevertheless, Dingwall's article deserves more attention than it appears to have received hitherto.

Another attempt at a transformational-generative description by Young (1971) has not been made available to a wider audience and I have not seen a copy of it. It appears, however, that a static generative model of description imposes severe limitations on those working with Tok Pisin. The criticisms made against it include that it is inappropriate for dealing with linguistic variation and that it forces the investigator to sweep under the carpet of 'linguistic performance' data which are of direct relevance to the shape and development of linguistic rules, such as those relating to speakers' strategies. As a result, many of the studies carried out in the more recent past follow a linguistic paradigm which admits quantitative analyses and sociolinguistic data.

Much of this criticism cannot be applied to Woolford's Duke University Ph.D. (1977) *Aspects of Tok Pisin grammar*. This thesis is based on extended fieldwork and a thorough knowledge of recent developments in syntactic theory. The model of description used is similar to that of Chomsky's revised standard theory, a theory well suited to the discussion of near-surface level syntax and to a comparative study of Tok Pisin and English.

Some more recent papers concerning aspects of phonetics and phonology include Bee's account of interference between Usarufa and Tok Pisin (1972:69-95). Bee's analysis does illustrate the limitations of both informant tests and the predictive power of contrastive analysis, as well as the danger of testing outside an adequate situational context. Her study is important in that it constitutes the first comprehensive study of substratum influence in any part of Tok Pisin grammar. As yet, few aspects of Tok Pisin sound system are well documented and both Pawley's account of epenthetic vowels (1975) and Tetaga's study of prenasalisation (1971) are welcome exceptions. These features are variable in Tok Pisin phonology, and both Pawley and Tetaga consider a number of linguistic and social factors which could account for such variation. No conclusion is reached in either case as this would have required the analysis of a considerable amount of additional data. Pawley's tentative conclusion, that the deletion of epenthetic vowels appears to be stylistic, i.e. determined by the rate of the utterance, is true mainly of Urban Pidgin. Tetaga's demonstration that prenasalisation is a feature most common among older speakers of non-Melanesian languages and his prediction that prenasalisation is on the way out has to be taken with care, particularly as Tok Pisin is increasingly becoming the language of non-Melanesian-speaking highlanders.

An attempt to present an exhaustive account of Tok Pisin's segmental phonology is that by Litteral (1970). In spite of its use of suspect constructs such as 'phonemes', this study is very valuable and it is to be deplored that it was never published. A recent M.A. (Technical University Berlin) by Pishwa (1977) contains a chapter on Tok Pisin's sound system. Whilst it uses data from Laycock 1970 and Litteral 1969, the post SPE (Sound Pattern of English) framework used provides new insights into the nature of this part of Tok Pisin grammar.

A group of studies by Sankoff and a number of her associates are concerned with the question of linguistic change and development of Tok Pisin, particularly with regard to creolisation in the urban centres of Papua New Guinea. Although the creolisation of Tok Pisin may be a special case among creole languages in as much as it has followed a prolonged period of stabilisation and expansion of second-language Tok Pisin, the case studies at hand are still of great importance for a better understanding of language change in general. Languages change either as a result of contact or because of various as yet only partially understood internal pressures. Sankoff concerns herself mainly with the latter. She aims at providing functional explanations for the development of a number of grammatical devices in Tok Pisin, namely the change of the adverb *baimbai* to the tense marker *bai* (Sankoff and Laberge 1973), the development of the relative clause marker *ya* out of the adverbial *hia* (Sankoff 1975a and Sankoff and Brown 1976), and most recently the cliticisation of pronouns (Sankoff 1976a, 1977). The studies are important in that they involve a return to a functionalist approach to language, i.e. they no longer exclude - as required by both structuralists and transformationalists - 'performance' factors, such as the strategies speakers adopt in order to meet certain communicative requirements. These studies by Sankoff allow significant insights into the forces underlying the linguistic change and development of Tok Pisin.

Similar questions are raised in an often-quoted but never published paper by Labov (1971). He examines, among other things, how the reduction in form influences the communicative potential of various pidgins and creoles, including Tok Pisin. The paper contains some valuable observations about the tense-aspect system of the language.

One of the tools for discovering ongoing trends in the development of languages is quantitative analysis. This figures prominently in the articles just

mentioned as well as in several others written at about the same time, including Woolford's treatment of the conditions underlying the variable presence of the predicate marker *i* and Lattey's account of object deletion (both 1975). The last two papers illustrate the suitability of implicational scaling to data from pidgins and creoles. However, the results are based on a fairly limited set of data and must be regarded as preliminary explorations rather than solutions to some very complex problems. The same must be said of Smeall's analysis of the predicate marker *i* (1973). A preliminary quantitative study is in a working paper by Mühlhäusler on the grammatical category of number in Tok Pisin (1975a). More data on number, using better data and more refined techniques have since been published (Mühlhäusler 1981a).

Developmental studies on other aspects of Tok Pisin grammar deal with causatives (Mühlhäusler 1979d) and complementation (Woolford 1979). A summary of developmental studies on Tok Pisin is given by Sankoff (1979) whilst Mühlhäusler 1980b discusses the wide implications of 'gradual creolisation' to the field of creole studies. It appears that studies of Tok Pisin based on a dynamic framework of description promise to result in significant advances in the study of this language.

Before turning to other topics, mention must be made of a number of smaller linguistic studies.

An early analysis of Tok Pisin's lexicon (mainly restricted to the lexical inventory) is contained in a paper by Hall (1943b). An important article by the same author is his discussion of innovations and changes in Tok Pisin between 1943 and 1954 (Hall 1966) which demonstrates the incipient development of an urban variety of the language. In the same year, a brief note on *yes* and *no* in Tok Pisin, illustrating the 'yes, we have no bananas' usage of the two words, appeared (Hall 1956). This article deals with sentence-questions and their answers only, and does not consider the use of *yes/no* after *wh*-questions (see Mühlhäusler 1979c: 300-301). Many of Hall's linguistic writings on Tok Pisin between 1942 and 1955 are summarised in his defence of the language (1955). A detailed critical review of this book is that by Morgan (1956:368-374). Finally, a preliminary discussion of ergative aspects of Tok Pisin is given by Heringer (1966). Since this question is potentially of great theoretical interest it is hoped that it will receive further treatment soon.

2.1.4 STUDIES INTO TOK PISIN'S ROLE IN EDUCATION

Efforts to spread education among the population of Papua New Guinea were begun only relatively recently and research into educational policies, in particular language policies, is sparse. The impression gained from the large body of writings on the question of the use of Tok Pisin in education is that untested assumptions about the relative merits of Tok Pisin and English prevail and that genuine research into the problem is only at its beginnings. Among the first to raise the question of language and education was Groves in his "Native education and cultural contact in New Guinea" (1936). Groves argues strongly against the introduction of English, a view which he expressed in several places after the Second World War, when he was Director of Education.

The question of language choice in education became topical after World War II, and the merits and deficiencies of Tok Pisin as a language for primary school instruction have since been widely debated. A comprehensive summary of the discussion up to 1955, as well as detailed arguments for the use of Tok Pisin, are

contained in a number of papers by Dietz (1955). Dietz lists a number of institutions where Tok Pisin has been used with success and concludes that "Pidgin is an adequate medium of instruction at all levels and in all fields." (1955:3). Dietz's views are also shared by Hall (1954a and 1955a). A more balanced account is presented by Wedgwood (1954), who argues that English is not suitable as an initial medium of instruction but should be taught as a second language.

Discussion about the pros and cons of Tok Pisin in education flared up again in 1969 on the occasion of a symposium on Pidgin and Nation Building at which Smith (1969) presented a detailed discussion of a number of factors which have often been neglected in the heat of debate. His paper contains some valuable insights into the language problem and can be regarded as programmatic for research into this question. Gunther (1969), on the other hand, made a strong plea against the use of Tok Pisin, his main argument being that it was not a 'real' language since it could not be used for self-expression or in functions other than basic communication. Though familiar with the linguistic and sociolinguistic research of the period, Gunther gives the impression of being unfamiliar with the degree of structural and functional sophistication of Tok Pisin at that time. Thus, as his premises can be shown to be in need of considerable revision, his argument remains unconvincing.

A number of participants at the 1973 conference on Tok Pisin again took up the question of Tok Pisin in education. Of these, Litteral provided the most detailed theoretical argument as well as proposals for the implementation of Tok Pisin teaching policies (cf. Litteral 1974 and 1975), whilst both Franklin (1975) and Staalsen and Strange (1975) provided badly needed data on the actual use of Tok Pisin in teaching situations and cross-cultural communication. With the publication of a two fascicle volume on the sociolinguistic situation in the New Guinea area (Wurm, ed. 1977) a number of important articles on both the teaching of and teaching in Tok Pisin have become available to the wider public, including those by Olewale (1977), Healey (1977), Dutton (1977) and Carrington (1977).

Dutton's inaugural lecture (1976a) contains many arguments in favour of extending the use of Tok Pisin to secondary and tertiary education. The letters, interviews and statements arising from the ensuing national language debate have been edited by McDonald (1976a), thus providing a fascinating insight into prevailing attitudes towards the use of Tok Pisin.

As yet, the question of Tok Pisin's merit in education, particularly higher education, remains unsettled, though it appears that at present the facts would favour the use of Tok Pisin in an ever-widening context of teaching situations.

2.1.5 STUDIES INTO THE ETHNOGRAPHY OF SPEAKING

Whilst the question of Tok Pisin in education remains controversial, mainly because the large number of factors which need to be considered present ample scope for disagreement, descriptions of the use of Tok Pisin in everyday communication and in a number of special contexts are much less dependent on the observers' personal convictions. Again, though the ethnography of speaking of Tok Pisin is better documented than that of most other pidgins and creoles, there is still a shortage of in-depth studies in the field. It is impossible to present a full review of shorter notes and articles on this topic here; however, such a review is included in Mühlhäusler 1979c and 1979a.

Some important early studies concerned with the role of Tok Pisin in German times were made by Friederici (1911), Jacques (1922:96f.), Neuhauss (1911:121ff.)

and Schnee (1904:299ff.), and these studies, together with numerous remarks in travel books and newspapers, provide valuable data on the early history of Tok Pisin. Of particular importance is Neffgen's article on Samoan Plantation Pidgin (1915), which deals with the Samoan language situation at a time when most of the plantation workers came from the New Guinea area. A survey of the Pidgin English included in the literature on Samoa has been written by Mühlhäusler (1978d).

Documents relating to the social position of Tok Pisin in the years between the wars have until recently been considered rare (cf. Laycock 1970:108). However, recent research at the Australian National University has brought to light a number of important documents concerning the use of Tok Pisin during this period. These supplement the two major sources, namely Mead (1931) and an outstanding sketch by Reed (1943:267-291), as well as Reinecke's survey of printed sources (1937:727-771).

The social position of Tok Pisin during the Second World War, in particular its use in communication between the warring parties and the indigenous population, has been the topic of a number of smaller studies, two particularly interesting ones being by Clark (1955) and Luke (1945). The role of Tok Pisin in the army in Papua New Guinea is the topic of two well-documented articles by Bell (1971 and 1977).

Notes on the social context in which Tok Pisin is acquired as well as a discussion of its role vis-a-vis English are given by Ruhen (1963 and 1976). It is interesting to observe that the author has undergone a complete change from rather negative to a sympathetic view of Tok Pisin in his second article. A number of studies dealing with more restricted aspects of the use of Tok Pisin have appeared in recent years. Its use in the House of Assembly is discussed in a paper by Hull (1968) and its role in agriculture is discussed by Scott (1977). Scott's article contains interesting remarks on referential deficiencies of the language and the negative impact of an impoverished version of Tok Pisin on agricultural progress. The role of Tok Pisin in publications is discussed briefly by Baker (1944:271-274), though a much better-documented discussion is that by Turner (1960:54-64). More recent remarks on literary and printed Tok Pisin as well as its role in community development have been made by Piniâu (1975), Mihalic (1977) and Laycock (1977a), as well as Siegel (1981, 1983, 1984).

Mission recognition of Tok Pisin has been slow, and this lack of recognition has resulted in the neglect of studies concerned with the use of the language by the missions. Apart from some minor articles and notes, discussed by Mühlhäusler (1979c), the only major summary to appear for a long time was that by Höltker (1945). However, a number of other accounts have recently been published, including Mihalic's account of Tok Pisin in the Catholic Church (1977), Neuendorf's survey of teaching in Tok Pisin by the various denominations (1977) and Renck's statement about the policies of the Lutheran Church (1977).

A number of studies concerned with the role of Tok Pisin in the global context of Papua New Guinean life, in particular its role as a vehicle for promoting nationhood, have appeared since the end of World War II. An early example, foreshadowing developments after the end of World War II, is an article by Bateson (1944). The status of Tok Pisin in the mid 1950s is discussed by Hall (1966), whilst the role of Tok Pisin in nation-building is discussed in a number of articles by Wurm (1966, 1969 and 1977). Wurm strongly advocates the use of Tok Pisin as a national language, pointing out the advantages of such a move. At the same time he considers the necessity of preserving both the local languages and English as vehicles of communication in a number of contexts not covered by Tok Pisin. A useful general survey of the situation with regard to Tok Pisin in the

late 1960s was made by Wolfers (1971). A survey of Tok Pisin's status, emphasising the growing importance of the language, is that by Laycock (1969). Another account of the status of the language was published by Capell in the same year (1969). A comprehensive survey by Bauer (1975), purporting to deal with the sociocultural function and development of Tok Pisin, fails to achieve this goal mainly because of his uncritical acceptance of earlier writings and its 'static view' of the language which fails to bring out the drastic changes over the last 20 years. A popular but well documented account of the role of Tok Pisin in pre-independence Papua New Guinea is that by Brash (1975).

A topic touched upon by a number of the writers just mentioned is that of Tok Pisin being a colonial relic, or more precisely, a manipulative tool belonging to an outmoded social system. A study by Sankoff (1976b) contains a number of pertinent remarks on the role of Pidgin in expressing non-egalitarian relationships. With Tok Pisin having become a language of self-expression (as is documented by a growing body of Tok Pisin literature which Laycock has analysed in detail (1977a)) and for the assertion of political aspirations (cf. Noel 1975), the regimented character of relations between speakers of Tok Pisin has been considerably relaxed. However, as has been pointed out by Scott (1977) and Mühlhäusler (1977f), Tok Pisin continues to be used as a means of social control, be it only for the fact that publications in this language are almost entirely controlled by the government and missions (Lynch 1979).

Practical problems with the language and its role in Papua New Guinean society include its growing diversification, as well as questions of standardisation, planning and spelling reform.

Whilst most earlier writers subscribed to a view that Tok Pisin was fairly homogenous, more recently there has been a growing realisation that Tok Pisin is just a cover term for a variety of different 'lects'. This was first pointed out by Laycock (1969:12) and subsequently elaborated upon by Mühlhäusler (1975e and 1979e). Whilst most writers are now in agreement that there are a number of structural properties which set apart the four main varieties distinguished in folk taxonomy (i.e. Tok Masta, Bush Pidgin, Urban Pidgin and Rural Pidgin), no exhaustive study of the linguistic character of the continuum along which these sociolects are ranged has yet been made. There are however indications of certain breaks in intelligibility both between Urban and Rural Tok Pisin (cf. Wurm, Mühlhäusler and Laycock 1977) and between Tok Masta and the other varieties of Tok Pisin (cf. Hall 1955a:18ff.).

The lexical properties of the principal varieties of Tok Pisin have been discussed by Mühlhäusler (1979c). To date, however, these varieties have been discussed with reference to abstract sociolects rather than to a linguistic continuum. Reasons for this include the fact that the study of variation in Tok Pisin is only just beginning and that, because Tok Pisin is not the first language of most of its speakers, attention must be paid to factors such as substratum influence. The possibility of a continuum developing between Urban Pidgin and New Guinean English has been raised by Bickerton (1975a), though no case study has yet been made. Variation in Tok Pisin has been studied not only from the viewpoint of social dimensions but also with regard to stylistic variation. The presence of special secret registers of the language has been discussed by Aufinger (1948/49), whilst Brash (1971) has drawn attention to the "imaginative dimensions in Melanesian Pidgin", in particular the use of figurative expressions (tok piksa). A survey of the registers found in Tok Pisin has been made by Wurm and Mühlhäusler (1982).

A special case of variation is that provided by creolisation, i.e. the process by which Tok Pisin becomes the first language of a speech community, involving

significant changes in linguistic structure. An article by Sankoff and Laberge (1973) discusses the development of tense marking among first language speakers of Tok Pisin, and the data collected by Sankoff have served as the basis of a lengthy theoretical discussion by Labov (1971). As pointed out by Bickerton (1975b and 1976) Tok Pisin must be regarded as a special case among the creoles of the world, in that its creolisation occurs only after a long period of expansion and restructuring and not from an undeveloped incipient pidgin. It is for this reason that the structural changes accompanying creolisation in Tok Pisin are gradual rather than sudden, and that the children growing up speaking Tok Pisin as their first language appear largely to develop tendencies already encountered in second-language Tok Pisin, rather than to introduce completely new structures. This is also confirmed in investigation of the creolised Rural Pidgin of Manus Island carried out by Mühlhäusler (1977b). The study of child language acquisition of Tok Pisin has been begun by Lang (1976). Further work in the field of creolisation is to be encouraged, since, although the findings for Tok Pisin may not be generalisable to other creoles, they will undoubtedly contribute substantially to an understanding of language change.

Linguistic change can be observed not only in creolised Tok Pisin but also in the diachronic development of the language from its early beginnings as a rudimentary jargon to its present-day sophistication. However, studies of language change are still hampered by a lack of data, particularly syntactic data, though studies by Sankoff and Brown (1976) and Sankoff (1976a) indicate that a careful screening of earlier data may well enable detailed studies of Tok Pisin's diachronic development. The position with regard to the lexicon is much better, as most earlier work was concerned with the lexical properties of the language. A detailed account of the development of both the lexical inventory and word-formation in Tok Pisin is given by Mühlhäusler (1979c).

Many of the older diachronic or historical studies were concerned with the question of Tok Pisin's origin, in particular its relationship to other pidgins such as Chinese Pidgin English and Queensland Pidgin English. As yet, linguistic documentation of this factor is sparse. External evidence for Tok Pisin's origin on the Queensland plantations has been proposed by a number of authors including Wurm (1966) and Laycock (1970d). Salisbury (1967) objects to this hypothesis however, both because the number of New Guineans involved in the Queensland Labour Trade was fairly insignificant and because of the prior presence of Pidgin English in the New Guinea area. Salisbury's article also contains interesting remarks on the parallels between the stabilisation of Tok Pisin today in remote areas and the development of a stable pidgin in New Guinea in the 1880s. Hall (1955a:33f.) appears to give support to the Queensland hypothesis, though in later writings (e.g. 1966:118f.) he seems to support the view which derives Tok Pisin from a kind of Proto-Pacific-English, which subsequently developed into a Proto-Pidgin-English.

The debate about the origin of Tok Pisin was revived by Mühlhäusler's claim (1976 and 1978d) that many of the structural and lexical properties of Tok Pisin are the result of the employment of New Guineans on the German plantations of Samoa. Whilst the Samoan plantations are certainly not the only source of Tok Pisin it is beyond doubt that they have played a much more important role in its formation than previously assumed (cf. Reinecke 1937:736). Further indications of other influences may come from Clark's present research into the early history of the Pacific varieties of Pidgin and Creole English (Clark 1977), and Mosel's work on linguistic aspects of Tolai and Tok Pisin (Mosel 1978). At present a study of Queensland Plantation Pidgin is being prepared by Dutton and Mühlhäusler and an analysis of the hitherto relatively unknown Papuan Pidgin English has appeared (Mühlhäusler 1978b). Whilst many details remain to be filled in, it has

become clear that single-cause explanations such as that of relexification are inappropriate as explanations of the origin and history of Pacific Pidgin English. Instead, present-day Tok Pisin must be regarded as the result of a large number of diverse linguistic and social forces; interesting, though not entirely convincing, accounts of this relationship are given by Johnston (1971) and Heitfeld (1979).

2.1.6 LEXICOGRAPHY AND LEXICOLOGY

The belief that external social conditions lead to the development of pidgin languages accounts for a fair proportion of lexicographical and lexicological studies of Tok Pisin. Early vocabularies of varieties of Pacific Pidgin English are those by Ray (1907) of Pidgin English recorded in the Torres Straits and Churchill's Beach-la-Mar vocabulary (1911). Only the latter contains materials taken directly from Tok Pisin, together with items from related varieties of Pacific Pidgin English.

Perhaps the earliest dictionary of Tok Pisin has only recently been discovered by Mosel. It is a handwritten draft for a grammar and dictionary of the language, the vocabulary part comprising about 500 lexical entries. Unfortunately, it is not dated, but the title *Pidgin-Englisch von Deutsch Neuguinea* suggests that it was written before 1914. The fact that variant pronunciations are given in phonetic transcriptions makes Dempwolff's vocabulary a very important document.

More comprehensive vocabularies were to appear only after German colonial administration had come to an end. As in the case of syntactic descriptions, the Catholic missions were the main force behind the developing tradition of dictionary making in Tok Pisin.

The only study containing fairly exhaustive information on Tok Pisin lexicography is that by Laycock (1977c). The absence of information as to the author, place and year of publication of many vocabularies and dictionaries makes such a study a difficult one. Very useful bibliographical information about mission publications has recently been provided by Z'graggen (1976).

The first dated vocabulary, comprising about 1000 entries, is ascribed to Brenninkmeyer. It is dated 21/9/25 and consists of one-word Tok Pisin entries with a very short German and English translation. A similarly basic vocabulary is an undated German-Tok Pisin ascribed to Borchardt and presumably a predecessor of the more comprehensive *Tok-Boi Wörterbuch* by the same author (1926). This dictionary-like work contains about 1200 entries in Tok Pisin with a German and English translation, numerous example sentences, remarks on variable pronunciation, as well as monolingual (Tok Pisin) explanations of many lesser known terms. It appears to represent Rabaul and Manus Pidgin. Further works written within the archdiocese of Rabaul include Kutscher's German-Tok Pisin vocabulary and two versions of a detailed Tok Pisin-English and English-Tok Pisin dictionary by Dahmen (1949 and 1957). I have only seen the enlarged 1957 edition which takes the form of an encyclopedic dictionary in which Tok Pisin entries are explained in the language itself and illustrated with sample sentences, in addition to providing English equivalents of the dictionary entries. Dahmen's dictionary in particular is a source of information about many aspects of Tok Pisin and it must be deplored that it has never been published for use by a wider audience.

The writing of Tok Pisin vocabularies and dictionaries by the Alexishafen missionaries began somewhat later than that of the Rabaul missionaries. According to private letters and mission circulars made available to me by Father Z'graggen,

the first dictionary compiled on the New Guinea mainland was van Baar's German-Tok Pisin vocabulary (undated - possibly 1930), which both in scope and format has the character of a preliminary inventory. Following a meeting of the SVD missionaries in Marienberg in 1930/31 a resolution was adopted which recommended that van Baar should complete his dictionary project. The outcome (a German-Pidgin dictionary) was completed before 1938 (Z'graggen, personal communication) and gives the impression of being a thorough piece of lexicographical work. Again, this dictionary was regarded as the predecessor of a larger dictionary, whose preparation was delayed for many years.

In the meantime Father Schebesta was independently preparing a dictionary, and proposals for spelling and content were being circulated for comment. The outcome of Schebesta's work was a dictionary ("Wörterbuch mit Redewendungen", undated) which was far more comprehensive than anything that had appeared earlier. The Wörterbuch contains numerous examples, idiomatic expressions, remarks on variable pronunciation and neologisms and is an invaluable document of the state of Tok Pisin's lexicon in the late 1930s. A revised version of this dictionary appeared shortly after the Second World War (Schebesta and Meiser 1945), the main difference being that the glosses were provided in English and that a number of new lexical items, reflecting the increased use of Tok Pisin in the mission context, were added.

Whilst the vocabularies and dictionaries mentioned so far were never printed, Father Mihalic's *Grammar and dictionary of Neo-Melanesian* (1957) was the first work designed for a wider audience. In more than one respect it can be regarded as a summary of all the dictionary work carried out by the Alexishafen (SVD) missionaries. In addition it contains new entries and the spelling conforms with the 1954 standard spelling. For many years, this dictionary remained the standard reference work on Tok Pisin. The revised edition (1971) being enlarged, contains the results of dictionary work carried out by the Vunapope/Rabaul Catholic missionaries and as such includes the knowledge and work of both schools. It is intended for the use of laymen but contains valuable materials for the linguist. It remains the most comprehensive dictionary of Tok Pisin. As the language has undergone significant changes, including a considerable expansion of its lexicon, in recent years, a major revision is at present being prepared.

Little dictionary compilation has been carried out outside the Catholic missions. A number of vocabularies and phrase books for the use of soldiers did appear during the Second World War, however, of these that by Helton (first edition 1940) is the most comprehensive, whilst others, such as Ostrom's (1945), are very restricted in scope. Hall's (et al.) *Melanesian Pidgin phrasebook and vocabulary* (1943), published for the United States Armed Forces, is more reliable than the others examined by the author, but again limited in scope. A special status is occupied by the various editions of Murphy's *Book of Pidgin English* (first edition 1943), since it contains useful cultural information on many lexical entries. Steinbauer's trilingual Tok Pisin-German-English dictionary (1969) contains little that is not listed by Mihalic, as its aim was to include only those words which were in general use. The etymological information provided is often of dubious reliability and the example sentences seem contrived.

Lexicographical data gathered on Manus Island and in the New Guinea Highlands form the backbone of Smythe's Tok Pisin-English dictionary. Due to the premature death of its author it was not completed. The manuscript contains many valuable observations, however, particularly on Manus Tok Pisin.

Balint's *Sports dictionary* (1969), on the other hand, must be regarded as one of the major disasters in dictionary making for Tok Pisin. It is full of

inaccuracies, inconsistencies and downright howlers. Balint's attempt to create neologisms in the field of sport terminology is, however, interesting, in as much as it illustrates some of the mechanisms used in vocabulary extension. Balint's second project, discussed by Balint (1973), is an encyclopedic dictionary of Tok Pisin. It is not clear at this point whether it will appear in print, though there certainly is the need for a monolingual Tok Pisin dictionary designed for the use of Papua New Guineans. A comprehensive scientific dictionary of the language, similar to the one prepared by Cassidy and Le Page for Jamaican Creole (1967), would be most welcome. However, this would need intensive teamwork over a prolonged period of time, additional fieldwork and a close scrutiny of existing materials.

Whilst lexicography is concerned mainly with the compilation of reference works, lexicology studies words and other lexical items with regard to promoting an understanding of the structural and social dimensions of the language. In the study of Tok Pisin, concern with the origin of its vocabulary figures prominently. An early study devoted mainly to this problem is that by Nevermann (1929:252-258), who examines a number of possible sources of Tok Pisin's vocabulary, including cases of syncretism. Hall (1943b) again looks at the composition of the vocabulary as well as at some aspects of word-formation in Tok Pisin. Hall's discussion of the names of parts of the body is an early example of the linguistic treatment of a semantic field. A more up-to-date version of this paper is found in Hall 1955a: 90-99.

Among more recent lexical studies one has to distinguish between those concerned with etymologies and composition of the lexicon, such as Roosman's (1975) treatment of Malay words in Tok Pisin or remarks on lexical items of German origin by Mühlhäusler (1975b) and Heitfeld (1979), and those dealing with Tok Pisin's derivational lexicon, such as those by Mühlhäusler (1975c, 1978a and 1979c). These studies document the amazing 'power' of the derivational lexicon of this language, a power which may be of importance in future vocabulary planning (cf. Wurm, Mühlhäusler and Laycock 1977 and Lynch, ed. 1975). Higher level lexical items, in particular idioms involving parts of the body, have also been the subject of studies by McElhanon (1975), McElhanon and Barok (1975) and Todd and Mühlhäusler (1978).

2.1.7 CONCLUSIONS AND OUTLOOK

This concludes this brief review of major studies on Tok Pisin. Their very number has made it impossible to discuss every individual publication in detail. However, reference to many of the works quoted will be made in this handbook.

With regard to the future of Tok Pisin studies it seems important that, after many years of neglect, Tok Pisin has now moved to the centre of interest, not only for linguists concerned with the New Guinea area, but also for general linguistics. A reflection of this fact is the growing number of younger scholars who are writing theses on this language. My own thesis, "Growth and structure of the lexicon of New Guinea Pidgin" (Australian National University) was completed in 1976. Ellen Woolford's thesis on "Aspects of Tok Pisin grammar" (Duke University) was submitted in 1977. A thesis dealing with sociolinguistic aspects of Tok Pisin was submitted by Valerie Heitfeld at Essen University (1978). Tok Pisin features prominently in Bauer's dissertation on Pidgin English (Regensburg University 1973), and the proposed thesis on relativisation by Gail Dreyfuss (University of Michigan).

The setting up of a Hiri Motu and Tok Pisin Research Unit (cf. Dutton 1976a) at the University of Papua New Guinea raises hopes that young Papua New Guinean scholars will soon be engaging in studies of the languages which are the country's most important *lingue franche*. At the same time, Tok Pisin studies continue to be one of the long-term projects of the Department of Linguistics at the Research School of Pacific Studies of the Australian National University. Moreover, a number of overseas universities have shown a fresh interest in Tok Pisin in the wake of the recent expansion of pidgin studies as a whole.

However, I want to conclude this survey on a cautious note. The optimism generally shown with regard to the role of Tok Pisin in promoting progress in general linguistics, in particular the development of a new dynamic and socio-linguistic model of language, can only be justified if continued research is carried out into the multitude of aspects of Tok Pisin's grammar which at present are only poorly understood. Amongst the projects which should prove particularly worthwhile would be:

- 1) child language development in creolised Tok Pisin;
- 2) the study of speech errors;
- 3) a study of the pragmatic aspects of communication in Tok Pisin;
- 4) a study of the developing Tok Pisin English continuum in urban areas;
- 5) further scrutiny of unpublished sources on the earlier stages of the language, including private letters, diaries and court reports;
- 6) studies of the development of grammatical structure;
- 7) studies on substratum influence;
- 8) studies on the standardisation of Tok Pisin grammar (as pioneered by Wurm 1978).

This will require money and manpower as well as the willingness of investigators to carry out fieldwork and to live in the areas where the language is used. The potential contribution of the study of Tok Pisin to general linguistics seems enormous, particularly as one can observe, *in situ*, developments which have only been postulated by linguistic historians. Now that the straitjackets of static linguistics have been cast off and more realistic models of linguistic description have become available, the chances that this will indeed happen are better than ever.

2.2 EXTERNAL HISTORY OF TOK PISIN

P. Mühlhäusler

2.2.1 INTRODUCTION

The study of linguistic change is concerned with two aspects of language development: its internal history (i.e. changes in the structure of a language through time) and its external history (i.e. changes in its socio-economic environment and the way in which these bring about linguistic changes). However, although the existence of a causal connection between the external and internal history of a language may appeal to one's intuition, few meaningful statements about such a relationship are to be found.

Thus, we do not yet have an adequate model of this relationship and it has been suggested by a number of scholars that it may be both intricate and elusive. In particular, we have no certainty about what factors in the external history of a language are decisive in shaping its internal change.

It can be said, however, that with increasing interest in pidgins and creoles this situation is changing, and that there is a real chance that the study of these languages will result in valuable insights into the relationship between the external and internal histories of languages in general. There are a number of reasons why pidgin and creole studies can make these contributions:

- a) The rate of internal change in these languages has been much faster than in any other language. The last hundred years in the history of Tok Pisin can be said to be equivalent to more than 1000 years of the linguistic history of 'natural' languages.
- b) The same 'acceleration' is also found in their external history. The historical circumstances which gave birth to pidgins and creoles were more drastic and more damaging to the continuity of traditions than events found in the external history of most other languages.
- c) Processes which have been postulated in historical linguistics on speculative grounds can be observed in situ in many of these languages. As Tok Pisin is carried to new remote areas the contact situation which led to its existence is repeated over and over again. The study of the marginal varieties of a pidgin can give us direct evidence about pidginisation and stabilisation of a jargon as well as the external processes which led to these linguistic changes.

In spite of these promising outlooks our present knowledge is limited. Tok Pisin, barely 100 years old, poses a number of difficult problems to the linguist qua historian. We have insufficient knowledge of its development, especially during the first decades. In those years it was a despised language and little attention was paid to it by linguists and other scholars. The little documentary evidence we have from this period is found mainly in travel accounts, logbooks

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and diaries. The author has carried out a long search through such old documents and he is convinced that there is still a lot which remains to be rediscovered.

Another factor which has hampered research into the history of Tok Pisin has been insufficient clarity about the geographical area of its origin. It now seems certain that historical investigation into this language cannot remain restricted to the New Guinea area. In fact, very little of its earliest history took place in New Guinea and even much of its subsequent history through to 1914 has to be traced to locations such as Samoa, Fiji, Queensland and New Caledonia. Furthermore, Tok Pisin cannot be studied in isolation from the world wide phenomenon of Pidgin English and quite definitely not without reference to other Pacific varieties.

Next to having to solve the numerous problems of observational adequacy the historian of language also needs a descriptive framework. Robert A. Hall, one of the founders of scholarly pidgin studies, has proposed that pidgins are different from other languages in that they have a life cycle: they come into existence for a specific reason, last as long as the situation which called them into being and then go out of use (Hall 1962). They survive in some special cases and become creolised, i.e. acquire native speakers. It has been noted earlier that Tok Pisin is in many regards exceptional among pidgins and there are a number of factors which make Hall's life-cycle model less suitable for this language. The main objections are that Hall's model fails to take into account the dynamic aspects of pidgins, in particular their continued shift of social function and their ability to cope with wider and wider situational contexts. Secondly, Hall appears to ignore the fact that the development of a pidgin such as Tok Pisin does not proceed in a single cycle but in a number of cycles, that early and late stages of this cycle can coexist in geographically adjacent areas and that creolisation by no means signals the end of the life cycle of a pidgin. There is sufficient evidence to prove that Tok Pisin was creolised and subsequently repidginised several times during its history. Thus, a model to simulate the development of Tok Pisin would have to be considerably more complex.

Two models concerned with the development of Tok Pisin are those by Todd (1974b) and Mühlhäusler (1974). Both models are an attempt to characterise significant phases in the linear development of Tok Pisin through time. The phases introduced by Todd are:

- a) initial phase
- b) nativisation phase
- c) phase in which pidgin undergoes increased pressure from the lexical source language
- d) 'post creole continuum'

Mühlhäusler arrives at a very similar classification distinguishing five stages including:

- a) 'jargon' phase
- b) incipient stabilisation
- c) nativisation
- d) creolisation
- e) depidginisation and decreolisation

Although these classifications improve Hall's life-cycle model, they are at too high a level of abstraction to be regarded as true mirrors of the development of Tok Pisin as a whole. Their main weakness, as with Hall's model, lies in their being unable to cope with non-linear developments in the history of Tok Pisin, a weakness which has been acknowledged by Mühlhäusler who made the point that the

diachronic development of Tok Pisin is found synchronically as we proceed from the urban centres of New Guinea to the remote 'Bush-Pidgin'-speaking areas. More seriously, the important aspect of geographical movement of the language during various stages of its development is not covered by these two models. Recent research on Samoan Plantation Pidgin by the author (Mühlhäusler 1976) suggests that areas other than New Guinea were of great importance in the stabilisation of this pidgin. Before proposing any alternative model, however, the external history of Tok Pisin as far as it is known, will now be told in chronological order.

2.2.2 THE PERIOD BEFORE 1860: PACIFIC JARGON ENGLISH

2.2.2.1 Introduction

This period can be characterised as one of incipient contact between Europeans and Pacific Islanders. The locality of this contact is the Pacific Ocean between the Tropics of Cancer and Capricorn. The area of New Guinea and the islands of the Bismarck Sea featured very marginally in these contacts and thus this period will be discussed in less detail than the subsequent developments. The relationship between the varieties of broken English developed in various parts of the South Seas during this period is only very indirectly related to present-day Tok Pisin. A linear representation of the development of Tok Pisin would be a gross oversimplification.

The most reliable source for the history of early Pacific Pidgin English is Reinecke 1937. Other useful information can be found in Lentzner 1881, Schuchardt 1889 and Churchill 1911. The view most commonly proposed is that contacts between Europeans and South Sea Islanders took place in a number of partially overlapping waves each of which can be associated with a dominant economic activity. The three main 'waves' before 1860 were:

- a) the whaling period beginning at the end of the 18th century
- b) the sandalwood trade, dominating the 1830s
- c) the trepang or *bêche-de-mer* trade in the 1840s and 1850s.

Churchill has pointed out that the duration of contact between Europeans and Islanders increases as we move forward in time. Trepang fishing in particular demanded long shore stays from the European traders. The importance of this activity is reflected in the current name for New Hebridean Pidgin English - Bislama (from *bêche-de-mer*).

2.2.2.2 The socio-economic conditions in the early contact period

For purposes of comparison with later stages in the development of Pacific Pidgin English it seems convenient to deal with the external nature of the contact situation under a number of headings. A detailed discussion of parameters relevant to the determination of the nature of the sociolinguistic context can be found in Mühlhäusler 1974. It includes statements about the nature of the contact, its duration, numbers involved and regional mobility associated with the contact, among other factors.

2.2.2.3 The nature of contact

Contact during this period was restricted to occasional visits to a number of Pacific islands by European trading vessels. The main purpose of these visits was to establish trading relations with the native population, ranging from short calls to replenish food and water supplies to prolonged stays involving sandalwood and trepang trading. Indigenes who were willing to serve on board the vessels were recruited, thereby satisfying the continued demand for crew and reducing the costs incurred by the ships' owners.

Although in practice the Europeans tended to be in a superior position due to their advanced technology, the parties involved in the trade relations were meeting on equal terms. Trade relations were the only area of common interest. Beyond this, the desire of each party to maintain their identity was predominant. The wish to remain on non-intimate terms was reinforced by distrust on both sides. The islanders, suspicious of the Europeans and often aware of unpleasant encounters in the past, remained basically hostile. The visitors, on the other hand, were convinced of the treacherous character and the cannibalistic tendencies of the native population. Little interest was shown in their customs and traditions; the objective was to acquire the maximum number of trade goods in the shortest possible time.

Contact was generally restricted to the coastal areas of the larger islands. In some areas regular trade connections became institutionalised and it is in these places that we have to look for "foci in the evolution of some mongrel dialects" (Churchill 1911:8). In other areas the limited nature of the contact encouraged nothing but the most rudimentary form of broken English and it is probable that sign language was often used. The second focus for the evolution of a more sophisticated pidgin was on board the vessels. Pacific Islanders signed on to trading and whaling ships, where they communicated with the crew in a lingo consisting of broken English and words from their own languages (cf. Reinecke 1937:534-535). Because of the diverse origin of the ships' crews many different pidgin traditions met in this way.

In contrast to later stages, the initial phase is not characterised by any large scale movements of populations. Islanders serving on board European vessels, and Europeans deserting to the islands and living among the natives are the exception rather than the rule. Nor was there much desire among the islanders to use Pidgin English in communication with neighbouring tribes. Thus, forms of broken English were spread over the Pacific by European vessels alone.

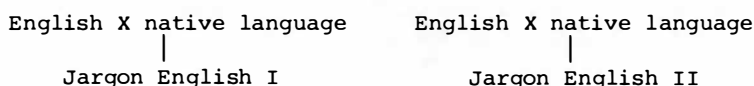
2.2.2.4 Numbers involved in the contact situation

Unfortunately we have no reliable source at present which could tell us the numbers of people involved in these trading relations. It is certain that the numbers were small and that those members of the native communities who spoke a bit of broken English were a small minority. Reports from areas which had trade contacts but no labour recruiting support this view.

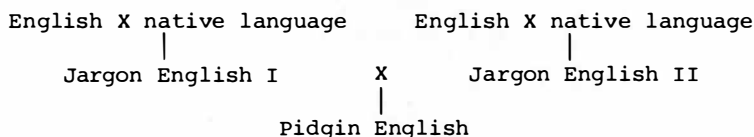
2.2.2.5 Languages involved in the contact situation

A distinction has to be drawn between the development of ad hoc jargons and that of stable pidgins. Whinnom (1971) and other scholars have argued convincingly that stable pidgins can only develop in a situation where more than two languages

are involved. In the case of an ad hoc jargon intermediate between two languages, the pressure of the source language upon this jargon continues to influence its grammatical structure. The early contact period was characterised by such a linguistically unstable situation. Increase in contact resulted in a closer approximation to the English model rather than a more stable pidgin. Remarks about the linguistic ability of the South Sea islanders are all to the account that "X spoke a little English", "Y spoke good English" and so on. Thus the development of the various contact jargons has to be represented as:



and not:



Summarising, one can say that the result of culture contact in the first stage was a number of unstable varieties of jargon English in various parts of the Pacific Ocean. For these jargons to survive it was necessary that their cause, the various trade activities, should continue. Where this was not the case the jargon stage was the end of the life-cycle.

2.2.3 THE PERIOD BETWEEN 1860 and 1883: STABILISATION

2.2.3.1 Introduction

By 1860 a new motive in the development of Pacific Pidgin English emerged, namely that of the plantation system and the associated labour trade or 'black-birding'. A further minor motive at this point was German trade in the Pacific islands. Much of the discussion about the importance of the plantations in the development of Tok Pisin has centred around the sugar plantations in Queensland. Much less attention has been paid to the other important plantation areas in the Pacific of New Caledonia, Fiji and, above all, Samoa (but cf. Mühlhäusler 1978d).

To determine the relative importance of these 'loci' it is necessary to take a closer look at the labour trade and population movements in the Pacific during this period as well as the role of the plantation in general.

2.2.3.2 The influence of the plantations

The importance of the plantations in the development of pidgin languages can hardly be stressed enough, for it is here that the trade jargon was changed most readily into a stabilised pidgin. In addition the plantations acted as the main catalyst in the nativisation of pidgins.

The main social function of the plantations was that of giving group identity to people from geographically different areas and a multitude of linguistic backgrounds. The forces responsible for the moulding of such a community also generated considerable pressure for effective verbal communication.

That Pidgin English was chosen in response to these pressures was the result of a number of factors. The indentured labourers working in the plantations of Queensland, Samoa or New Caledonia found their home language of little or no use. The only linguistic medium shared by a substantial number of labourers was what little broken English they may have picked up back home or on board the recruiting vessels. This knowledge would then be reinforced by the continued use of broken English in their dealings with the white overseers and their workmates. This continued use of Pidgin English on a plantation then resulted in the disappearance of a number of fluctuations found in the idiolects of individual workers and in the development of certain norms accepted by all members of the new linguistic community. The new norm also served as a model for linguistic performance to all newcomers.

For most indentured labourers life on the plantations meant a break with their past. People who had grown up in the traditions of their native island were suddenly brought into contact with Western technologies and the capitalist system. This forced culture contact must have left a deep impression on everybody involved. At the same time it became necessary to interpret the new social and economic realities through language. The development of plantation pidgins demonstrates this effort to make use of an inadequate means of linguistic communication to come to grips with a totally new experience, an effort made more difficult by the Europeans' aloofness and their reluctance to instruct the black labourers in the functioning of European technology and society. Pidgins at this stage were a means of theorising about an only partly understood reality.

The stabilisation of Pidgin English on the plantations was also promoted by the ghetto character of these locations. With the exception of Fiji, contact between plantation labourers and the peoples living outside the plantations was slight. The status of the plantation workers vis-a-vis that of the indigenous population was low. In the initial years of the plantation system in Samoa, for instance, Samoans held 'blackboys' in contempt and at the same time were terrified by rumours of their cannibalism. Under these conditions intimate contact could not take place. Similarly, there was little contact between the black (Melanesian) workers and the white plantation owners, the whites maintaining a strict social distance. The use of pidgin rather than standard English was regarded as a welcome instrument to maintain such class distinctions. Despite this, the Europeans' speech continued to serve as a model in the extension of the pidgin.

The main function of plantation pidgins was as a means of communication between black peoples from different areas and its use in communication between black and white was restricted to the giving and receiving of orders.

Apart from serving as catalysts for the stabilisation and nativisation of pidgin, the plantations also promoted the rapid spread of the stabilised pidgin to the main recruiting area. After the completion of their contract most labourers were returned to their home island to which they brought, apart from material goods of Western origin, a fair knowledge of Pidgin English. The prestige of the returned labourers among their people was considerable and a knowledge of Pidgin English in particular was considered highly desirable. We have a number of reports suggesting that the Pidgin English of the returned labourers was learnt eagerly by the next generation of young men intent on going to serve their term on the plantations. Thus stabilisation of pidgin was spread rapidly over the recruiting areas in the Pacific. It remains to be seen how much New Guinea and the New Guinea islands were influenced by this development. However, before examining the historical data, a last function of the plantation system needs to be mentioned, namely that of creolisation of pidgin on the plantations. We know that not only men but also women were recruited as workers for the plantations,

the latter mainly for such jobs as carrying copra. The proportion of women among the indentured labourers was never very high, but it was sufficient to lead to marriages on the plantations. The following numbers of workers were recorded in Queensland (Reinecke 1937:760):

date	males	females	total
1868	1,536	7	1,543
1871	2,255	81	2,336
1876	4,938	170	5,108
1881	5,974	373	6,348
1886	9,116	921	10,037
1891	8,498	745	9,243
1901	8,380	380	8,760
1911	1,404	335	1,739
1921	1,350	537	1,887

These figures only give the actual black population for every year, but not the number of new recruits. It clearly demonstrates the policy of the Queensland plantations, attacked by Jung (1885:296), to recruit a very small number of women, a policy which created a number of social problems and had to be revised in later years.

The policy of the German plantations in Samoa, on the other hand, was to maintain a reasonable proportion in the relative representation of the sexes (Jung 1885). The figures available are conflicting and incomplete. Thurnwald mentions that for the year 1905 199 men were recruited from New Ireland for Samoa and about 150 women for both Samoa and German Micronesia (Thurnwald 1910:616 and 618).

Although we have reports that birth control was exercised by many married couples in the German plantations in New Guinea, it is reasonable to expect that some families with children were found on the plantations (particularly in Samoa) from the beginning, and that the children grew up speaking pidgin as their first language. It is certainly true that a fair number of such mixed marriages took place on the Samoan plantations in later years. The question which now arises is what influence this creolised pidgin had on the subsequent development of the language. The evidence is that the influence was limited by a number of factors. In contrast to the plantations in the West Indies, the plantation workers were not permanent residents of the area in which they worked and were shipped back when their contracts expired. Thus, at no time can we expect a large population of creolised pidgin speakers. More significantly, whatever linguistic innovations occurred in the creolised speech of the children were of little importance for the plantation community as a whole and, in order to communicate with adults, children had to stick to the norms of the adult community. The situation appears to have been similar to that observed by the author in various parts of present-day Papua New Guinea: the innovations made by children who grow up speaking pidgin as their first language are largely given up once they grow up. Even communities who have been using pidgin as a first language for several generations do not differ significantly in their usage from other groups who use pidgin as a second language. The pressure for efficient communication is stronger than that for linguistic and structural sophistication. It appears that true and rapid creolisation and accompanying structural change is only found in situations where whole populations have been permanently moved.

Having made these general remarks about the importance of the plantation system for the development of Pidgin English in the Pacific area, I shall now turn to the examination of more concrete data involving the plantations.

2.2.3.3 Tok Pisin and the Pacific plantations

The role of the Pacific plantations, and in particular that of the Queensland sugar plantations, in the development of Tok Pisin has been the topic of a long debate. In one of his earlier writings on pidgin, Wurm (1966:53) states:

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

However, an examination of some hitherto inaccessible documents has led another scholar, Salisbury (1967), to a refutation of Wurm's statement. Salisbury argues that the number of New Guineans, and in particular those from later German New Guinea, on the Queensland sugar plantations was negligible.

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

Salisbury continues to point out that recruiting of labour from New Guinea for the Queensland plantations came to an end when the German government stopped recruiting from its territory except for the plantations of the Deutsche Handelsgesellschaft in Samoa. Recruiting from British New Guinea, particularly the Louisiade archipelago, continued after 1884, and it appears that what little Pidgin English is reported from the area of Papua bears close resemblance to Queensland Plantation (Kanaka) Pidgin (cf. Dutton 1980) whilst differing significantly from the varieties found in former German New Guinea.

Salisbury's arguments seem to be conclusive enough to exclude the possibility of strong *direct* influence of Queensland Plantation Pidgin on Tok Pisin. However, it will be demonstrated below that such influence could have been exercised by a number of less direct routes.

The main plantation areas in the Pacific, apart from Queensland, were Fiji, New Caledonia and Samoa, and the recruiting areas for these plantations were essentially the same as those for the Queensland plantations. In chronological order the recruiters concentrated their efforts on:

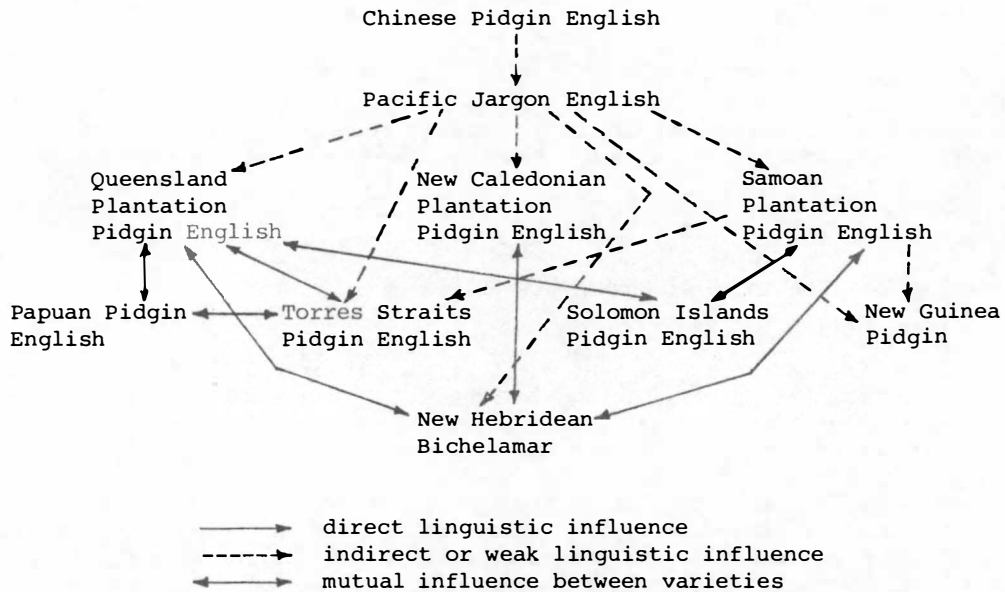
- a) the Loyalty Islands and the New Hebrides in the early 1860s
 - b) Banks Islands in 1868
 - c) Santa Cruz in 1870/71
 - d) Solomon Islands from 1872 to 1883
 - e) New Ireland in 1883
- (source: Reinecke 1937:733)

Only two of the three above-mentioned areas were important for the further stabilisation and development of Pidgin English, namely New Caledonia and Samoa. In Fiji, there was intensive contact between the imported labourers and native Fijians which led to the development of a variety of Pidgin Fijian and its spread back to some recruiting areas. Pidgin English was found only among those workers who had close contact with Europeans, such as domestics (cf. Reinecke 1937:736). The theme is treated in detail in Siegel's forthcoming thesis "Plantation languages in Fiji".

New Caledonia, in Reinecke's opinion, must be regarded as one of the main centres in the formation of Bichelamar. Significant numbers of New Caledonians were brought to the Queensland plantations but the annexation by France in 1853 and the subsequent establishment of plantations led to a labour shortage and labour was then imported from other islands. Jargon English was spoken on the island before the arrival of the French and the import of labour from other areas resulted in the adoption of Pidgin English as the medium of communication on the plantations. Extensive samples of this language are reproduced in Lentzner 1881: 153-154. The growing influence of the French and the influx of large numbers of whites led to the gradual disappearance of Pidgin English which was replaced by Pidgin French, possibly by a process referred to as relexification.

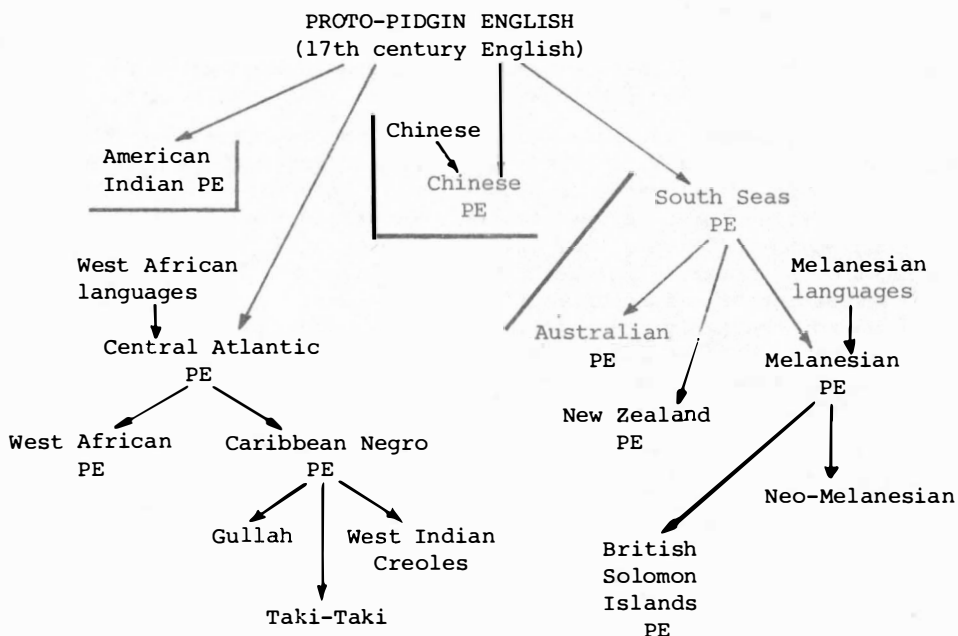
Although Reinecke (1937:736) claims that "the settlement of Melanesians by German plantation interests in Samoa was probably too small and remote to have much effect on the development of Beach-la-mar", new material gathered by myself suggests a different picture, particularly regarding the influence of the Samoan plantations on the development of the New Guinea variety of Pidgin English. The development of plantations in Samoa by German interests began in the late 1860s and Melanesian labour was imported from 1867 to 1912. A stable plantation pidgin is attested for the early 1880s (cf. Schuchardt 1889), a pidgin whose expressions "hardly differ from those used in the Western Pacific" (Reinecke 1937:737). More about the importance of Samoan Plantation Pidgin to the development of Tok Pisin will be said below.

The development of stable pidgins on the Pacific plantations and in the principal recruiting areas around 1880, as well as their linguistic relationship to one another and earlier forms of pidginised English, can be represented, tentatively, in the following diagram:



Pidgin English in the Pacific around 1880

This model suggests that the relationship between the main plantation pidgins (Queensland, New Caledonia and Samoa) was indirect, i.e. via shared recruiting areas. It further suggests that Tok Pisin is much less closely related to Queensland Plantation Pidgin than are Solomon Pidgin, New Hebridean Bichelamar and Papuan Pidgin English. This scheme would seem to be a truer representation of the history of Pidgin English than Hall's tree model (Hall 1961:414) shown below:



Reasons for the inadequacy of the traditional family tree (Stammbaum) model for mixed or pidgin languages will be given in the chapter on theoretical issues (6.7).

2.2.4 THE YEARS 1884 to 1914: GERMAN NEW GUINEA

2.2.4.1 Introduction

The year 1884 marks an important event in the history of Tok Pisin; one could almost call it the year of its birth. In 1884 the German Reich, in order to protect German trading interests in the area, formally annexed the Bismarck Archipelago, part of the Solomon Islands, and the north-eastern part of the New Guinea mainland. The most immediate result of the declaration of a protectorate over German New Guinea was that the labour trade between this area and most plantation areas in the Pacific was brought to an abrupt halt. The only plantations which continued to get labour from German New Guinea were the German-owned plantations in Samoa. Thus, future linguistic development was to take place independent of other varieties of Pidgin English, including those found in the British controlled part of New Guinea (cf. Mühlhäusler 1978b). More important, English was largely withdrawn as a model language for Pidgin, although a number of British subjects remained in the territory and English could occasionally be heard.

Apart from laying the foundation for an independent development of Tok Pisin, the presence of the German administration provided a number of situational stimuli for its growth and spread. To a lesser degree, official German language policy can be made responsible for some features of Tok Pisin, though its influence only gained impetus towards the end of German rule (cf. Mühlhäusler 1975b and 1980a).

2.2.4.2 The status of Pidgin in 1884

The question posed in this section is: how much Pidgin English was known in the area of German New Guinea at this stage and where was it spoken? In other words, we are asking about the foundation from which an independent variety of Tok Pisin was developed.

It seems convenient to maintain the distinction between Jargon English used by traders and stabilised Plantation Pidgin. Both varieties were known in some parts, though apparently in geographically different areas. The presence of trading pidgin in the area of the Bismarck Sea gained impetus only fairly late:

... the first European residents, all point out how few people spoke *Pidgin* in 1875-1878, and usually explain how their lone interpreter had in some special way learned the language. 1875 is thus an initial date for the establishment of Pidgin, but I would argue that rapid extension of its use did not occur until 1877. In 1875 traders in the Bismarck Archipelago sought mostly shell - turtle, trochus, etc. - and coconuts were unimportant. The copra boom here began in 1876, until by 1878 it was possible to say "copra is king" By then dozens of boats were in New Britain waters, shipping mainly to Samoa. (Salisbury 1967:46).

Salisbury also points out that the pidgin recorded in this period was extremely unstable and impoverished, a characterisation which fits the Jargon English used by the traders.

Earlier contacts are reported for Bougainville and Buka, which had served as anchoring places for American whalers since the 1850s. The first important trading posts established in the Bismarck Archipelago were Hemsheim and Godeffroy's around 1876 in the Duke of York Islands. At the same time missionaries from Samoa and Fiji started their operations in this area.

Still earlier contacts which may have involved the use of Jargon English are reported for New Ireland, where trading vessels to Asia would occasionally stop to take on water and supplies. By 1840 Cape St George in southern New Ireland had become a popular refreshment point for whalers and traders. Again, it was only in the 1870s that commercial operations in this area were undertaken on a significant scale, mainly by the house of Godeffroy, operating from Samoa, and the Duke of York island of Mioko.

Pidgin English in a very rudimentary form was also observed on the St Mathias group of islands, but Vogel (1911) remarks that the number of Pidgin English speakers (which according to him was introduced by visiting whalers) was very low even by the turn of the century.

The overall picture gained from this short overview of the period is that rudimentary Pidgin English was established all over the area of the Bismarck and Solomon islands, though with few speakers. Neither pidgin nor Jargon English were in use on the New Guinea mainland at this time. The only lingua franca of

any significance spoken there was Bazaar Malay introduced by Malayan traders and Bird of Paradise hunters in the area adjacent to the Dutch part of New Guinea.

2.2.4.3 The plantation system of German New Guinea

Bougainville and Buka had become grounds for the labour recruiters of the Queensland and Samoan plantations by 1875 and remained so until Germany took over full control in 1886. A little later Godeffroy's trading post on Mioko Island began to become operative as a recruiting post for the Samoan plantations. By 1883 the recruiters for the Queensland plantations had reached New Britain and New Ireland and in this year 1500 labourers were recruited for the plantations of Queensland and Fiji. This trade came to an end in the following year when Germany assumed control over the area.

The first local plantations in New Guinea got off the ground very slowly and Samoa continued as the main plantation centre in the German controlled South Seas. In 1882 Queen Emma - the legendary lady from Samoa - began to organise plantations on the Kiningunan coast of Blanche Bay (Gazelle Peninsula) in New Britain.

Since the indigenous population of the Blanche Bay area were considered unsuitable for work on the plantations as well as untrustworthy, 150 'boys' were brought from Buka to serve as pace-setters in the plantation enterprise. The German rule of the islands did not bring many immediate changes. In the first years, the New Guinea Company concentrated its efforts on Finschhafen, Hatzfeldhafen and the Bogadjim area. Since it was held that no labour for plantations could be recruited among the people native to an area, labour supplies had to come from other areas. Apart from Chinese and Malay labourers, recruits from New Ireland and New Britain provided the bulk of the labour force. These 'Miokeese' amounted to 684 of the New Guineans recruited in 1890 to the service of the New Guinea Company, as against 137 workers from the New Guinea mainland. Only 100 of them were employed on the Blanche Bay plantations of Herbertshoehe, the rest being brought to the mainland, thus helping to spread Tok Pisin.

2.2.4.4 The geographic origin of stable Tok Pisin

Evidence gathered in recent years leaves little doubt that the beginnings of a stable Tok Pisin were found in the area around the Duke of York Islands and that the character of this stabilised Tok Pisin was significantly influenced by the Plantation Pidgin of Samoa - the area which had both the most intensive and the longest contacts with the Bismarck Archipelago. It can further be argued that a very significant proportion of all labour recruited in German New Guinea was sent to the Samoan plantations and that this Samoan Plantation Pidgin was spread in New Guinea, particularly New Ireland, on their return. It was also the case that the main recruiting centres in German New Guinea, both of which were in the Duke of York group, were staffed with personnel from Samoa (cf. Mühlhäusler 1978d). To this must be added that the language of the recruiting vessels, which again were mostly based in Samoa, was Pidgin English and that instruction in this language was given on board these vessels (Mosel and Mühlhäusler 1982).

A stable pidgin was found on the Samoan plantations by 1883, a result of employment of workers from many areas of the Pacific on the Godeffroy plantations; the first workers from the Buka/Bougainville and New Ireland/New Britain areas were brought to Samoa around 1879, and after 1883 virtually all labour came from

this area. The unstable trade jargon known to some of the labourers of the New Guinea area thus became influenced by the more stable pidgin of Samoa. On repatriation the latter was spread in the Mioko/Blanche Bay area and along the coast of New Ireland. The numerical predominance of workers from these areas left its marks in the lexicon of Samoan Plantation Pidgin, where a number of words from the New Britain/New Ireland area became common as early as the 1880s. Towards the later years of German colonisation the importance of the plantations in the Blanche Bay area began to surpass that of the Samoan plantations, and Rabaul became the main centre for the nativisation of Tok Pisin.

This does not mean that no linguistic influence should be attributed to the Queensland plantations and indeed we have evidence for some direct influence. Thus Schellong reports in his diary for 1886 that six males who had worked for the Queensland sugar plantations and spoke good pidgin were recruited in Buka for Finschhafen (Schellong 1934:90). However, the role of Samoa as the school of the plantation workers in the German South Seas empire is emphasised by a number of observers and its dominant role in the development of pidgin must be assumed.

2.2.4.5 Other pidgin languages in the New Guinea area

Thus we have distinguished between three main streams which led to the development of a particular brand of Tok Pisin, namely Samoan Plantation Pidgin together with the pidgin spoken on Samoan recruiting and trading vessels, Queensland Plantation Pidgin, and the earlier varieties of Jargon English. These were not the only pidgin languages which were important at the time in German New Guinea. The two others, which I shall now consider, are Chinese Pidgin English and Bazaar Malay. The question of the importance of Chinese Pidgin English for the development of Tok Pisin is a tricky one. Some writers have put forward arguments to the account that a stable pidgin in New Guinea was the result of imports of Chinese labour by the New Guinea Company:

Pidgin was brought to New Guinea by Chinese labourers who were first introduced by the German Chartered Company about 1889. Pidgin was enlarged and forced upon the native community by the official Germans, who insisted that the natives should not learn German. "Pidgin" is said to be a phonetic representation of the Chinese labourers' attempt to say "business" and although it may be found in many shapes in many countries, it is basically the same, and the world's easiest language to learn. (Robson 1965:195)

The main arguments against this view are, first, that the Chinese labourers were numerically insignificant (in 1911 only 555 out of a total of about 11,000 workers in the entire territory). Secondly, many of the Chinese employed in the earlier years worked on the New Guinea mainland in areas where Malay and not Tok Pisin was the lingua franca.

Even more convincing are the linguistic arguments. Structurally, Chinese Pidgin English and Tok Pisin are quite different and the two languages are mutually unintelligible. I have been told by old residents in the Rabaul area that the German employers when communicating with Chinese labourers used a pidgin different from that used in their dealings with Melanesian labourers. On the Samoan plantations on the other hand, interpreters were used in dealings with the Chinese. It appears that many of the Chinese recruited for New Guinea and Samoa did not even speak Chinese Pidgin English.

In conclusion one can say that the strong historical and linguistic affiliations between Tok Pisin and the plantation dialects of other Pacific areas indicate that the relationship between these pidgins was established via the stabilised plantation pidgins. Chinese Pidgin English and Tok Pisin, however, are only very indirectly related via the various varieties of unstable Jargon English spoken in the Pacific before their stabilisation on the plantations. One cannot quite exclude the possibility that the presence of Chinese Pidgin English-speaking labourers may have left some influence on Tok Pisin but linguistic comparison does not allow the conclusion that this influence was of much importance (cf. Wu 1977).

Bazaar Malay on the other hand was much more widely used in the early years of German rule and the possibility of making this language the lingua franca of the whole colony was considered at one point, a thought no doubt inspired by hopes of making New Guinea economically a 'second Java'. The two main sources of Bazaar Malay on the New Guinea mainland were the Malay traders and Bird of Paradise hunters operating from the then Dutch part of New Guinea; "This old contact with the Sepik area has left a tradition of Malay as a 'lingua franca' on the Australian side of the border and has influenced the development of Pidgin, which includes Malay words." (Rowley 1965:56). The only variety of Tok Pisin which was influenced by these contacts was that spoken in the Aitape area and the other parts of the West Sepik province.

The second and perhaps more important source of Malay was the import of Malay labourers from the Dutch East Indies. Wendtland (1938) reports that many of the Chinese coolies had worked on the tobacco plantations of Sumatra before coming to New Guinea and brought a knowledge of Malay with them. Bazaar Malay became the lingua franca in Stephansort, Erima, Hatzfeldhafen and Finschhafen, and Blum (1900) remarks that German officials on the New Guinea mainland were neglecting their duty if they did not learn Malay. Malay on these plantations and posts was also spoken by some of the New Guineans, although the recruiting of Tok Pisin-speaking labourers from New Ireland and New Britain led to its gradual takeover as a lingua franca even in these areas. The main reason must be seen in the relative decline of the New Guinea mainland plantations and the shift of the main economic activities to east New Britain. Towards the end of German occupation, considerable numbers of labourers from the mainland were recruited for the plantations in Kokopo (Herbertshoehe). After the termination of their contract they brought Tok Pisin back to their home areas. The import of Malay labourers, on the other hand, rapidly declined after 1900 due to insufficient collaboration from the Dutch government and the expense involved in recruiting labour from the Dutch East Indies. Other Malay influence, such as the Bird of Paradise trade, also declined at the same time, as described in Seiler 1982.

2.2.4.6 Further stimuli provided by the German presence

Labour recruiting and the plantation system undoubtedly were important factors in the stabilisation and spread of Tok Pisin. However, without the operation of a third factor they would not have resulted in its phenomenal expansion in the later years of German control. This third factor has been described as the arrival of a 'pax Germanica', i.e. the gradual pacification of New Guinea, the termination of intertribal warfare and the expansion of effective government control over wide areas. Whereas recruiting and plantations affected only a small part of the population for a relatively short term, the spread of government control affected the entire population and transformed the social system. Pax

Germanica was promoted by both the administration and the missions. Their activities created, for the first time in the history of New Guinea, an atmosphere in which communication across tribal boundaries became possible and even desirable. The instruments used in the pacification of the country, the police force and the government agents, became important in the spread of Tok Pisin. Tok Pisin achieved further recognition by the government through the creation of a system of village administration. One of the key figures was the tultul or interpreter; tultuls were usually labourers who had served a term on a plantation and were fluent in Tok Pisin. Increased status in the village community, together with the association of this language with the new material wealth brought by the Europeans, led to its development into a prestigious form of speech. Within a few years Tok Pisin became deeply entrenched in the areas controlled by the administration and was learned in large numbers by children and young men, reflecting the eagerness of most tribes contacted to take part in the new social system.

This general acceptance led to a gradual shift in the function of Tok Pisin from a trade language used between master and servant to a plantation language used between members of different tribes and finally to a language of intertribal communication. Within a few years of the German occupation of New Guinea the bulk of Tok Pisin speakers was New Guinean and its main function was intertribal communication. This communication was further enhanced by a rapid increase in regional mobility, promoted not only by the plantation system but also by the construction of roads, patrols and expeditions, and missionary activities. The nativisation of Tok Pisin had become a *fait accompli* and later government policies could do little to change the situation.

2.2.5 THE YEARS BETWEEN THE WARS: 1914-1940: EXPANSION

2.2.5.1 Introduction

When New Guinea was taken over by the British and Australian forces in 1914, Tok Pisin was firmly established throughout the former German colony. At the same time, the position of German as a *lingua franca* outside the mission stations was very weak and this state of affairs provoked initial satisfaction among the victorious power:

The experimental attempts in introducing the German language amongst them have, however, utterly failed, whereas most of them can speak a quasi English - "Pigeon English" - as it is called, probably from "Beach English", signifying the fragments of English picked up by the coast population from early traders. It is extremely interesting that a German in speaking to his native servant must resort to English, and it proves that also in regard to languages "the fittest survive". (*New Guinea Gazette*, vol.3, 15 November, 1914)

However, the satisfaction that English was used as the *lingua franca* in a German colony soon gave way to disappointment over the fact that a "barbarous and corrupted" variety was spoken throughout the territory, often thought to be the result of the Germans' inability to teach their subjects proper English. Henley's wish that this jargon should be discontinued as soon as possible and replaced by "good, plain, understandable English" (Henley 1927:21) was probably shared by most officials of the Australian administration. In practice, other considerations overruled the desire to replace Tok Pisin with English and, far from halting its growth, the Australian administration provided a number of stimuli for its further expansion. These will now be examined.

2.2.5.2 The ambivalent effects of the Australian presence

It is commonly accepted that "when the Australians ousted the Germans in 1914, the situation with regard to Pidgin continued as before" (Hall 1955a:37). However, it appears that this statement cannot be subscribed to without some modification. It is true that stabilisation and nativisation, which had begun in German times, continued to be the outstanding characteristics of most of the Tok Pisin spoken between the wars. Healey's comments (1975:37) that in the 1930s it was used by fewer people but with greater proficiency than today, Mead's observations about its spread and stabilisation (Mead 1931), and numerous other sources, support the view that Tok Pisin remained fairly unchanged under the new political system. However, the stability resulting from the aloofness of the Australian administration and the continued desire for non-intimacy among the white population does not represent the full picture of the sociolinguistic position of the language at the time. A second, not yet as powerful, factor was the differentiation of Tok Pisin into sociolects and regional dialects (in particular Highlands Pidgin). Among these the emergence of Tok Masta deserves special attention, whilst the development of a kind of Urban Pidgin (at the time referred to as Tok Buk or Tok Skul) can also be observed, but appears to be of lesser importance. These developments are related to the emergence of a number of new environmental factors, which will now be discussed.

2.2.5.2.1 A changed target language

One of the main reasons for stabilisation of Tok Pisin in German times was the withdrawal of English as the target (lexifier) language. With English becoming the official language the prerequisites for the development of linguistic forms intermediate between Tok Pisin and English were given, though for most indigenes access to English was limited to a few areas of discourse. Thus, we can observe a replacement of German lexical items by corresponding English items in the domestic context and in the police force. Religious instruction, on the other hand, remained very much in the hands of German-speaking missionaries and numerous words of German origin used in the mission context were preserved. The fact that several grammars and vocabularies were written by German missionaries during this period helped to reinforce the use of German items.

The continued social distance between the Australians and the bulk of the population tended to promote the growth of Tok Pisin from internal resources and the use of loans from local vernaculars, though English lexical items and even grammatical structures continued to be borrowed, albeit at a much reduced rate.

2.2.5.2.2 Developments in the labour recruiting patterns

The plantation labour system continued to be the most influential factor in the spread and nativisation of Tok Pisin, though the discovery of the Wau and Bulolo goldfields - which became operational in 1926 - provided yet another centre for its development. Recruiting continued in the areas opened up by German expeditions, and recruiters were reluctant to extend their activities beyond five miles from the coast (L.R. Healey, personal communication), the only exception being the area of the Sepik River, where recruiting gained its full impetus only after 1914. The demand for labour exhibited a steady increase: in 1926 about 23,600 indentured labourers were employed in the territory; by 1935 this number had grown to 34,000 (Reinecke 1937:739).

2.2.5.3 The stabilisation of a contact-culture

The development of a plantation culture not as a temporary adjustment but as a new style of life can be traced back to the early days of German colonisation. The full impact of this culture transition, however, was only felt in the 1920s and 1930s. We are fortunate in having a number of excellent accounts of these developments, particularly those of Mead (1931) and Reed (1943). The following vivid characterisation of this contact culture is given by Mead (1931:144):

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 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 fellow 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.

Two outstanding traits of this new culture are the high regional mobility - 'boys' changing their masters and taking up work in another area after the expiry of their contracts - and the growing prestige of Tok Pisin as the language providing access to these new modes of living.

Young boys learning Tok Pisin from returned labourers in their home village had already been observed in German times, but this new mode of transmission of the language became universal only in the 1920s:

Pidgin English, especially a knowledge of the names of the strange objects used by the white man, is the most important key to entrance into this world of adventure. In the back villages where a white man is seen perhaps twice a year, five- and six-year old boys go about muttering long pidgin phrases to themselves, learning pronunciation and cadence before they understand the meaning of words. By the time they are well-grown "monkeys" of twelve and thirteen, they can converse easily in this new language, and even have time to school the smaller boys by the hour. (Mead 1931:147)

This change in the mode of transmission of the language, particularly the age at which Tok Pisin was learnt, is important for the development of more stable and grammatically more complex language varieties. The fact that Tok Pisin was generally learnt earlier between the wars than it was in German times would seem to be of more importance for the linguistic development of the language than occasional instances of creolisation. The development of Tok Pisin into a creole

must be seen as a gradual process and not as a sudden event. The fact that an increasing number of speakers acquired it together with or shortly after their first language, is one of the main reasons for many of the 'creoloid' features of present-day Tok Pisin; as we have just seen, the beginnings of this development can be traced back for a considerable length of time.

Regional mobility has been mentioned as another important factor in the development of interbellum pidgin. In a time when Tok Pisin broadcasting and literacy were practically nil, and mobility was the main factor in the development of standards and conventions, and of innovations made in the prestige (Rabaul) variety. These two factors account for the greater sophistication in Tok Pisin's grammatical structure and the greater uniformity in speech which came about at this time.

2.2.5.4 The role of the missions in the stabilisation of Tok Pisin

Even a long time after German political control over New Guinea had come to an end the missions continued to be dominated by the German element. Some German was taught in mission schools as late as the early 1930s. More importantly, the Catholic mission began to take steps to make Tok Pisin a mission lingua franca in the late 1920s. Precise details are given by Höltker (1945) and Mihalic (1977b). Their main role in the growth of Tok Pisin lies in the following factors:

- a) they considered it to be a language in its own right, worthy of study and of linguistic description. The result of this was a number of excellent dictionaries and grammars;
- b) they were concerned actively with language standardisation in the fields of orthography, lexicon and grammar;
- c) they were operating in areas with limited government contacts and thus acted as agents for the regional spread of Tok Pisin.

An aspect of missionary Tok Pisin which has often been overlooked is that the standardisation and description carried out by missionaries tended to lag behind the linguistic developments in spoken Tok Pisin. The conservation of archaic forms (including many German expressions) led to the development of a church variety, similar in function and linguistic properties to the Church Creole in Surinam described by Voorhoeve (1971). The first to draw attention to this fact was Hall (1943b).

2.2.5.5 Changes affecting Tok Pisin's stability

We have seen above that the name 'Pidgin-English' was seen by many speakers of English as evidence that Tok Pisin was just broken English and that for this reason it was unnecessary to make an effort to learn the language. It appears that for the majority of Australians in the years between the wars any broken and random gibberish passed as pidgin. In 1935, the *Rabaul Times* gives the following assessment of this sad state of affairs:

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. (8 November, 1935, editorial)

The phenomenon deplored by the *Rabaul Times* was the development of a sociolect of Tok Pisin that is generally referred to by New Guineans as Tok Masta (cf. Mühlhäusler 1981b). The social reasons for the development of this variety of Tok Pisin were the desire among the Europeans for non-intimacy, their reluctance to overcome linguistic barriers, and a feeling of superiority reflected by the attitude that their broken English was good enough for the native and that any misunderstanding arising out of such unsatisfactory communication was a result of the latter's stupidity. The phenomenon of Tok Masta is by no means limited to New Guinea and can be found in many other places where a rigid colonial society has insisted on class and race barriers (cf. Clyne, ed. 1981). The result of the use of such debased English is, in the words of the *Rabaul Times*:

... 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.

There are conflicting views about the extent of the use of broken English among Europeans. Healey (1975:38) claims that in prewar times:

... the stock of Europeans was small and stable and most of them spoken Pidgin fluently and the few people who were continuously added to this stock learnt the language well because of their greater exposure to well spoken Pidgin than today's learners.

This observation is in direct contrast with a number of articles appearing in the *Rabaul Times* between 1928 and 1937, e.g. Shelton-Smith (24 May 1929):

"Pidgin" is so much a language that there are only two white masters of it in the Mandated Territory of New Guinea. That is, there are only two who speak it so fluently that if they were out of sight they would be mistaken for kanakas. The ordinary resident of the islands is far from being an expert. He learns enough to be able to give simple orders to natives and is content with that.

Healey stands rather alone in his observation and the general pattern prevalent in the years between the wars seems to have been that the Europeans' knowledge of real Tok Pisin was very restricted. As a matter of fact, there are good reasons for classifying Tok Masta as a special register of English rather than a variety of Tok Pisin.

The influence of Tok Masta on the nativised rural varieties was slight, although there are indications that words used by Europeans enjoyed a certain prestige and were imitated to some extent by the New Guineans.

2.2.5.6 European influence on Tok Pisin

Whereas transmission of Tok Pisin in the 'older' coastal areas was between New Guineans and whereas the main function of the language in these areas was to bring about communication across linguistic and tribal boundaries, a new mode of transmission became current in the newly opened area of the Highlands. Here, the indigenous population often learnt Tok Pisin from the white patrol officers and members of the administration, who, more often than not, were speakers of the anglicised variety of Tok Pisin sometimes referred to as *Kiap-Pidgin patrol officers' pidgin*.

First contact with the Eastern Highlands was made in 1927 by the Lutheran missionary Flierl. During the latter half of the 1930s substantial spread of government influence throughout the district could be observed, with Henganofi and Kainantu, followed by Goroka, as the main centres of government influence. The influence of the administration was felt somewhat later in the Western Highlands District, where Mt Hagen became operative as a government post in 1936. Tok Pisin was also carried into these areas in prewar times by the missions and gold prospectors. In these years the foundations were laid for a new variety of Tok Pisin, which developed into an important regional dialect only after World War II.

Functionally, Highlands Tok Pisin in its initial stage served as a means of communication between the local population and the Australian administration. Thus, it fulfilled a function similar to that of Tok Pisin in the early days of German occupation in the coastal areas. It was understood by a handful of important people in the village communities and its use in intertribal communication was very restricted (cf. Bee 1972 and Salisbury 1967).

Linguistically the model language was frequently not stabilised coastal Tok Pisin but Kiap Pidgin. Though stabilisation and nativisation of Highlands Tok Pisin followed with its functional extension, particularly in the Chimbu area, the status of English as the main source language can be felt in many areas of grammar. The spread of Tok Pisin through the Highlands was temporarily slowed down as a result of World War II and only gained full impetus after the war.

2.2.5.7 Conclusions

The years between the wars are characterised by a general slowing down in government and economic activities in the established areas, which created favourable conditions for further stabilisation and nativisation of Tok Pisin. German influence on the language continues to be felt, though less intensely, mainly because of the presence of large numbers of German-speaking missionaries.

Gradual functional extension of Tok Pisin is accompanied by a decrease in the age at which it is learnt. These two factors, together with continued non-intimacy between Europeans and New Guineans, account for the development of Tok Pisin grammar through internal growth.

Tok Masta and Kiap Pidgin, both heavily influenced by English, provide certain stimuli for the development of Tok Pisin in the direction of English, though these influences remain limited. They foreshadow the development of new sociolects and dialects. At the same time, dialects which came into existence in German times as the result of limited inter-regional contact are levelled out as the result of increased regional mobility.

2.2.6 TOK PISIN DURING WORLD WAR II

2.2.6.1 Introduction

For New Guinea itself the war was the most cataclysmic event in the country's whole history. Between December 1941 when the Japanese struck and August 1945 when they surrendered, changes occurred or were set in motion which far exceeded in their effects the original coming of the white man (which had been local and gradual) or the results of any natural catastrophe of disease or volcanic activity. Hunger, hardship, captivity and violent death were the lot of many of the indigenous people, for whom the war was an almost unrelieved disaster. Yet nearly all the changes which count today as 'progress' stem in some way from World War II and its after-effects. (Ryan 1972:121)

The time before the war has been described as one of very slow development; Australian New Guinea being a sleepy colonial backwater. The effect on the growth and spread of Tok Pisin was mainly consolidating. The events triggered off by World War II meant a sudden break; the main lasting effect was the global change in the social patterns found in Papua New Guinea and the development of new patterns in which Tok Pisin was to serve new functions.

2.2.6.2 A new role for Tok Pisin

It was realised by the powers involved in the struggle for Papua New Guinea that effective control of the population was only possible if linguistic communication could be established. The status of Tok Pisin as the lingua franca of the country and its wide communication potential resulted in the first serious linguistic efforts (apart from those undertaken by German missionaries) to analyse the language and understand its nature. Whereas more than 25 years of Australian presence in New Guinea had not resulted in the appearance of a single handbook of Tok Pisin for the use of expatriates, the sudden change brought about by the war initiated feverish activity in this field. Of the Australian publications of Tok Pisin dictionaries, grammars and phrase books, Helton (1943) and Murphy (1943) deserve to be mentioned, though Helton's book in particular exhibits serious shortcomings in his understanding of the language. By far the most valuable contribution is Hall 1943b, an exhaustive structural description of Tok Pisin with a long wordlist. Hall's book served as the foundation of shorter phrase books intended for the teaching of Tok Pisin to American soldiers:

One of the more obscure yet diverting by-products of global war is that the U.S. Army is teaching soldiers in the South Pacific to say Cut-im grass belong head belong me! for *I want a haircut*, Capsize-im coffee 'long cup for *Pour the coffee*, and He got sheep-sheep for *Is there any lamb?* (Life, 7 June, 1943:67)

Efforts to master Tok Pisin were made by the Japanese. A number of observers report that the Papua New Guineans: "taught the soldiers Pidgin English, which was essential if there was to be any sort of administration" (Lawrence 1964:107).

In turn, Japanese schools were established in areas which stayed under Japanese control for any significant length of time. A detailed account is given by S. Lincoln (1979). As a result, an incipient Japanese Pidgin began to develop,

traces of which can still be found in some areas of the country (cf. Laycock 1977d:1041).

The most important aspect of the interest shown in Tok Pisin by the forces fighting in New Guinea was the development of two new functions for this language, that of promoting solidarity between the occupying armies and the indigenous population and that of large-scale social control through Tok Pisin media.

The breaking down of the prewar social barriers and the development of a new solidarity between Australians, Americans and New Guineans finds its linguistic expression in the use of the inclusive first person plural marker *yumi* to refer to whites and blacks alike ("soldia bilong yumi i banisim ol Japan" - pamphlet dropped by the Australian Army near Dagua - East Sepik District). This constituted a significant change from the prewar *masta-boi* pattern.

The Australians were dependent on the goodwill of the local population and the identification with a common cause helped to break down barriers:

A different sort of white man was seen for the first time in the Australian soldiers whose humanity, informality and willingness to labour in the sun and the mud were in startling contrast to the rigidity and aloofness of many of the pre-war white residents. (Ryan 1972:223)

The breaking down of the barriers between Australians and New Guineans was also helped by two other factors: first, the realisation by the New Guineans of the limited power of the whites in the face of the Japanese aggression and, second, the subsequent American invasion of New Guinea where negroes serving in the U.S. Army were seen to perform duties formerly associated with whites only.

2.2.6.3 Social control and Tok Pisin during World War II

Though Tok Pisin had been used for a long time to exercise some degree of social control (e.g. as the language for missionary work and government control), its large-scale use in war propaganda was the first attempt to use it in a propaganda campaign founded on the techniques of modern mass communication. Literally millions of pamphlets in printed and mimeographed form were dropped by Australian and American as well as Japanese fighters over all parts of New Guinea, particularly those which remained in the hands of the Japanese. A good description of the use of such pamphlets is found in Clark 1955:11-12:

One effective use of Pidgin by our Intelligence force was in compiling warning pamphlets which were printed or mimeographed in that language, and which were dropped from planes over isolated islands in the Japanese-occupied zone. Scores of our fliers had been marooned on these islands by plane failures or by combat disablement. Crews of wrecked bombers would often drift for days on rubber rafts until prevailing ocean currents carried them within sight of such atolls.

The purpose of the pamphlet-drops was to convince the natives that they must rescue and care for these men. The language had to be abrupt and forceful, as the islanders have a great respect for military strength and an equal contempt for weakness.

The pamphlets stated that Japanese power was rapidly declining as American troops and planes poured in to reinforce

the Australians and British. If the islanders rescued our castaways, fed them, and helped them to reach safety, they would be rewarded. If they helped the Japanese or gave them information regarding our movements, or if our castaways were abused or neglected, bombing planes would come to kill them and to destroy their villages.

To prove that these were not idle statements, a few atolls were heavily bombed in proved cases of native disloyalty to the allied forces.

Almost invariably there would be mission-trained "tultuls" or interpreters in each village who could read Pidgin and convey the messages to others. The report of a two-plane pamphlet-dropping mission over Tauu Island, northeast of Bougainville, reads,

"Located Harhaku village Tauu Island, circled and dropped leaflets from the tree top height right in center of village. Second plane saw natives reading pamphlets dropped by first plane, gesticulating wildly."

From a military point of view this leaflet dropping campaign was quite a success and helped to communicate effectively with the indigenous population of Japanese occupied areas.

From another point of view, however, these pamphlets had grave consequences for the future social development of Papua New Guinea. It appears that a number of promises were made, particularly in the leaflets dropped by Australians, awakening hopes in the New Guineans which were frustrated after the war. From the many examples only a couple will be mentioned here:

Nau gavmen i tok. Olsam, dispela boi i halipim Masta i olsam i halipim Gavmen. Oraet taem gavmen i rausim Japan pinis Nau gavmen in painim dispela boi nau i pae gut tumas long im. Nau Ol yupela savi gut.

Now the Government is talking. Any native who helps a European helps the Government. Once the Government has thrown out the Japanese, they will find such natives and reward them very handsomely. Now you know. (Pamphlet entitled: "Tok long boi i halipim Masta: Notice to Natives who help Europeans")

Guvment belog yumi i redi im planti kaikai nau selim nating.

Our Government has prepared lots of food and will give it away free. (untitled pamphlet)

A detailed analysis of similar pamphlets and their social consequences is given by Lawrence (1964:129).

The printed word was considered as the absolute truth (cf. Mihalic 1977), and failure by the Australians after the war to fulfil their promises in the way expected by the New Guineans led to some serious trouble. It is believed that some cargo movements gained their impetus out of this situation.

The role of Tok Pisin as a means of exercising social control was to continue after the war, albeit in a more subtle and diversified form (cf. Mühlhäusler 1977f).

2.2.6.4 The spread of Tok Pisin during World War II

Apart from widening the functional range of Tok Pisin, the war had the additional effect of increasing the number of its speakers and promoting its spread into hitherto uncontacted areas.

To overcome the transport problem, tens of thousands of males over the 'apparent' age of 14 were conscripted by the Australian and American forces to serve as labourers and carriers. At the peak of the war activities their number was 55,000. Recruitment took place in Tok Pisin-speaking areas as well as in remote areas: "Australians, Americans and Japanese learned Pidgin - and so did the wild-looking tribesmen recruited from remote mountain ridges and valleys" (Vader 1971:35).

It is difficult to estimate what increases in the number of speakers were brought about by World War II. We are also lacking precise data about the geographical spread of Tok Pisin. However, there is an additional aspect which must be mentioned, namely the influence of the large-scale population movements involved on the structure of the language itself. The increased regional mobility during wartime is certain to have accelerated the neutralisation of regional variants of the language, and in some areas at least, Tok Pisin speakers for the first time met speakers of Papuan Pidgin English (cf. Laycock 1969:12).

Yet the effect of the war on Tok Pisin was by no means exclusively positive, and observers of the language in postwar years agree that proficiency declined among certain groups, particularly among young men who, at the time of the war were not old enough to be called upon to work for the American or Australian forces. Thus Mead (1956:371) writes:

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.

Mead's comments refer to Manus Island, but this decline in the proficiency in Tok Pisin appears to have been a widespread phenomenon. Similar observations for the Rabaul-Kokopo area were made by Orken (1954:863):

I have been working in the immediate vicinity of Rabaul and Kokopo for over two years now and I am convinced that whatever was the situation pre-war, most of the children and women, and a considerable number of young males now have but a rudimentary knowledge of Pidgin and consequently use it very sparingly in their village life.

The reasons for this decline include:

- a) the disruption of the plantation economy and labour recruiting;
- b) the destruction of most missions;
- c) the deterioration of the country's infrastructure.

Taken together they spelled the end of 'classical pidgin'. The Tok Pisin which developed in the years after the war differed from the prewar variety in many

ways, and as in the case of a jargon versus a stable pidgin, we are dealing with qualitative differences.

2.2.7 THE POSTWAR PERIOD 1945-1953

2.2.7.1 Introduction

The year 1953 appears to be a convenient point at which to break off our account of the historical development of Tok Pisin, since it witnessed the 'outbreak' of a violent debate about the language and its status in Papua New Guinean society, which is still very much with us. The changes occurring at this date have been characterised by Hall as follows:

Up to 1953 Pidgin English had led a relatively obscure existence; the only public notice it received was humorous or scandalised comments, as the case might be, from those who had chanced to come in contact with it. It had been reported to the world in a manner which was, by and large, incomplete and untrustworthy, and hardly calculated to give the general public any clear or accurate idea of what Pidgin really was. (Hall 1955a:100)

Hall (1955a:100) continues:

In May of 1953, the United Nations Trusteeship Council sent a mission to New Guinea to report on the Australian administration of the Territory. Whether or not it had advance instructions to report on Melanesian Pidgin, I do not know; in any case, it included in its report a series of animadversions on Pidgin.

The opinion of the U.N. factfinding mission was framed in the following words:

Melanesian Pidgin is not only not suitable as a medium of instruction, but has characteristics derived from the circumstances in which it was invented which reflect now outmoded concepts of relationship between indigenous inhabitants and immigrant groups. (Hall 1955a:101)

As it turned out, such outside pressures came too late to change the developments which had put new life into Tok Pisin in the years after the war.

The events of the years 1945 to 1953 did much to accelerate the change from classical to modern Tok Pisin. New modes of transmission became important, a drastic acceleration in social change could be observed, and the rapid increase in public expenditure, together with a new mood of goodwill between the races, began to weaken many of the barriers that had separated whites and blacks before the war. Some of these changes and their impact on Tok Pisin will now be examined.

2.2.7.2 Changes in the social environment of Tok Pisin

The changes found in the years after World War II can be put into two classes, namely the withdrawal of factors influencing Tok Pisin, and, second and more important, new factors influencing the functions and structure of this language. The following deserve to be mentioned in more detail.

2.2.7.2.1 The gradual weakening of the 'master-boy' relationship

The war had made New Guinea important to the Australians and this gradually brought about a change in their attitudes towards Papua New Guineans. As an expression of Australia's gratitude the Labor government in Canberra promised a new deal for New Guinea. In the Provisional Administration Bill of 1945 the outlines of the changes to be introduced by the government were stated: the conditions of indentured labour and recruiting methods were to be drastically improved, a vigorous programme of education was foreshadowed and participation in government for Papua New Guineans was announced.

These changes meant the breakdown of the prewar caste society. Though some of the old-time settlers were horrified at the thought that the old distinctions between white and black should be wiped out and, though some of the prewar attitudes were to continue on a smaller scale, postwar developments were characterised by the willingness of the Australians to help the local population to look after their own country. This atmosphere in which upward social mobility was no longer the exclusive privilege of the white colonisers but also within the reach of some New Guineans, was also bound to break down some linguistic barriers. In prewar times, it was not unusual to hear the opinion that indigenes who spoke English should be punished for their cheek; English was the language of the masters and Tok Pisin that of the boys - hence the name 'tok-boi'. Now English education in schools was promoted and schools teaching English were opened in many new areas. Healey characterises the situation as follows:

Lots of young people as a result began to speak Primary English. There was also the removal of the 'Tok Boi' complex among expatriates wherein local people in New Guinea were discouraged from using English when speaking to expatriates. These factors tended to quicken the introduction of English and other words. (Healey 1975:38)

The fact that Tok Pisin's original lexifier language was once again readily available as a source for linguistic growth had yet another significance, pointed out by Hall in his discussion of the chief motives for innovations in this language:

The desire of some groups among the more sophisticated non-Europeans to avoid previously existent Neo-Melanesian words or expressions which they consider to carry a connotation of inferiority. ... and which they replace by the corresponding English terms (Hall 1955b:93)

The removal of the tok-boi 'complex' was gradual, affecting urban areas and educated circles of the indigenous population first; in the more remote areas it is still an ongoing process. As has been pointed out already, its main significance was that the growth of Tok Pisin no longer had to come exclusively from internal resources since English was again available as a target or model language. The vigorous development of urban varieties of Tok Pisin can be said to have had its origin in these developments.

2.2.7.2.2 The decline in importance of German missions

Missionaries from German-speaking countries had been the predominant element in most areas of the Trust Territory of New Guinea. Their influence on Tok Pisin was one of stabilising and preserving existing patterns, encouraging only very

slow development. In particular, they were one of the main factors in preserving the status of many vocabulary items of German origin. Household terms such as *kuken cake*, *sisel pan*, *esik vinegar*, continued to be used after the end of German control in the mission kitchens run by Catholic sisters, whereas terms referring to the spiritual life and ritual, such as *beten pray*, *baikten to confess* and *buse penance* were used by Catholic priests. Carpentry terms of German origin were used in the mission workshops run by Catholic brothers - I observed words such as *hobel plane*, *winkel square* in these localities as late as 1974.

After World War II most new missionaries came from English-speaking countries such as Australia and America. Tok Pisin was also used by missions other than the Catholic ones and the linguistic traditions established by the latter gradually disappeared. To this must be added that most of the standardisation material prepared just before the war in Alexishafen had been destroyed completely and that insufficient guidance for the correct use of Tok Pisin was available to the missionaries from English-speaking countries. With these developments one of the strongholds of language maintenance and standardisation had become significantly weakened.

The gradual disappearance of some factors influencing Tok Pisin is perhaps of minor importance in view of the emergence of a number of other factors which promoted significant changes in its use and structure. The first which will be mentioned here is the rapid expansion in the number of Tok Pisin speakers brought about by the development of the New Guinea Highlands.

2.2.7.2.3 Tok Pisin in the New Guinea Highlands

The development of the New Guinea Highlands was interrupted during the war years and drastic changes only began to be made after the war. The transition of Highlands culture from traditional patterns to Western modes was stimulated by the large number of Europeans settling in this area after the war and the development of important urban centres such as Goroka and Mt Hagen.

It has already been mentioned that Tok Pisin in the Highlands was spread by Europeans, notably kiaps, and that the standard of Tok Pisin in the early years was fairly low and characterised by features of Tok Masta. The introduction of the Highlands Labour Scheme soon after the war, under which male labour was recruited for work in coastal areas, mainly plantations, provided the first opportunity for Highlanders to make contact with the coast and European-style towns. At the same time the Labour Scheme was the major force in the spread of the language through the Highlands. Here the pattern of people from marginal areas learning Tok Pisin on the plantations was repeated, though the large number of labourers involved and the relatively short contract terms created rather less favourable conditions for language acquisition:

The release for coastal employment of thousands of Highlanders from Highland districts who couldn't speak Pidgin into urban and plantation situations, the pool of non-speakers eventually exceeded the numbers of fluent Pidgin speakers and learning by newcomers deteriorated in quality. (Healey 1975:38)

However, stabilisation of Highlands Tok Pisin occurred in later years, particularly around the Chimbu District. The form of this pidgin differs in significant aspects from stable prewar Lowlands Tok Pisin as can be seen in Wurm's description (1971a).

2.2.7.2.4 The development of urban centres

Before the war, no towns of any significance were found in Papua New Guinea and even the population of centres such as Port Moresby numbered less than 1,500 inhabitants of all races. However, after 1945 a rapid increase in the number of - mainly English-speaking - whites from Australia could be noticed, and urban centres such as Madang, Wewak, Lae and Rabaul gained in significance. Goroka and Mt Hagen in the Highlands were other growth centres with large numbers of Europeans. Though urban centres were still relatively unimportant if compared with the rural population, they became important alternative settings for rural people to come into contact with European ideas. The town, and not the plantation, was the locality where prestigious jobs could be found; such jobs were open particularly to those members of the younger generation who had had some formal education in English. The status of the towns was also reflected in linguistic innovations in Tok Pisin: "the attitudes and desires of certain groups of Rabaul and other metropolitan centres are reflected in some of the linguistic innovations under discussion" (Hall 1955b:93). The cultural pressure was felt in most of these innovations. The towns provided yet another stimulus for the development of Tok Pisin. Next to the pattern of short term employment in urban areas, a more permanent group of town dwellers of Papua New Guinean origin began to emerge, for whom the main household language was Tok Pisin and no longer the local vernacular. Children growing up in such households often spoke it as their first language. Though creolisation in the urban situation was still of minor importance in the years directly after the war, the foundations were laid for a development whose full impact on the growth of the language can hardly be overestimated (cf. Sankoff 1975b).

2.2.7.3 English as a medium for school instruction

A good account of the respective role of English and Tok Pisin in schools before and after the war can be found in Smith 1969:16ff. He quotes Groves (1936) as writing:

The average European actually does not want the native to know English well; and it is certain that relations would not be improved if English were widely used by the natives. In any case, educationally the aim is the development of the native along his own lines.

Smith continues to point out that these views were superseded by the developments brought about by the war, which had strengthened the New Guineans' hopes "for a transformation of the New Guinea scene, adoption of European ways and acquisition of European wealth" (Smith 1969:17). When Groves became Director of Education after the war he adopted a compromise solution intermediate between his own aspirations and the administration's predilection for English. Mission schools were allowed to continue education in Tok Pisin and the vernaculars but English was to take over at higher levels. The education bill of 1952 states that "one of the main scholastic aims in the administration's school system is the teaching of English" (Smith 1969:17). Though the start was slow, the foundations for English to become the most important language even in primary education were laid, and the influence of English on Tok Pisin was now felt outside the direct contact situations between whites and New Guineans. In other words, English, though in a fairly limited form, had become accessible to ever-increasing numbers of children and its prestige made itself felt in the vocabulary of Tok Pisin. The development of Urban Tok Pisin, the variety spoken by the town dwellers and educated, could now take place.

2.2.7.4 The development of new media

Tok Pisin in prewar times was almost exclusively a language for oral communication. The importance of a written form of the language had become evident during the Second World War and continued to gain importance. Apart from an increased output of mission publications, a number of newspapers began to appear, all of them set up with the purpose of promoting the political and social advancement of the New Guineans.

The Australian postwar administration was faced by the dilemma of choosing between effective communication with the largest possible number of people or the promotion of territory-wide use of English. It appeared that the spread of English as a lingua franca was a long-term project and, though desirable, it was unrealistic to promote English at too great a pace. Instead, the potential of Tok Pisin as a means of communication between the government and people was exploited to a much higher degree than ever before, and its use in modern news media, such as newspapers and broadcasting, became common in the postwar years:

They (i.e. the Australian administrators of New Guinea) have established at least five Pidgin newspapers for circulation among the natives, they are using the radio station at Port Moresby for regular broadcasts in Pidgin, and they are instructing native children in the use of Pidgin in schools. In short, they are popularizing the linguistic medium against which they are theoretically opposed. (Baker 1953:194-195)

The role of Tok Pisin publications in the years after the war is significant in a number of ways. Baker (1953:194-195) discusses it as follows:

Before World War II, three regular newspapers were published in the Papua-New Guinea area - The "Papuan Courier" at Port Moresby, the "Rabaul Times" at Rabaul, and a third in the Morobe district. There were no Pidgin papers. These English publications are now defunct. Until the "South Pacific Post" began publication in Port Moresby on 26th September, 1959, the only post-war newspapers in New Guinea were published exclusively in Pidgin - the "Rabaul News" at Rabaul, the "Lae Garamut" at Lae (a garamut is a large drum made from a hollowed-out tree trunk used for conveying "bush" messages), the "Wewak News" at Wewak (publication suspended), the "Lagasai" at Kavieng, and the "Buka News" at Buka. The oldest of these Pidgin newspapers is apparently the "Rabaul News", which was set up just after the war, mainly through the efforts of Mr. Frank Boisen, the District Education Officer in that area, who sought to improve the educational facilities available to the Kuanua people of New Britain. The responsibility of collecting most of the news and coping with publication was later taken over by Mr. Waiiau Ahnon, a half-caste man of a New Ireland native mother and a Chinese father. At the beginning of 1950, about 950 copies of the paper were being brought out each Friday night - on a Gestetner. The reading public of these 950 copies was estimated at "at least eighty thousand". An Administration officer told me, "I myself have seen natives in outlying districts gathering in hundreds to hear one man reading from a single copy."

The newspapers mentioned not only served as news media but were also regarded by the government as a way of bringing about changes in the language, i.e. changes which were to bring Tok Pisin closer to English in its vocabulary and structure. By that time it was widely believed that, because of their lexical similarities, Tok Pisin was a definite aid in the learning of English, an opinion which was expressed orally by Mihalic in 1953 and which is reflected in the introduction to the first edition of his *Grammar and dictionary of Neo-Melanesian*: "Therefore we choose it (i.e. Tok Pisin) as our bridge to English not, however, implying in any way that we thereby perpetuate it indefinitely" (Mihalic 1957:vii).

The result of these opinions was that Tok Pisin became the object of large-scale direct interference, mainly with its lexical structures. A more detailed discussion of these innovations will be found in the chapter on language planning (6.8).

The influence of the new media is difficult to assess. Though the majority of Tok Pisin speakers remained unaffected by the linguistic changes proposed in these publications, it appears certain that the sophisticated anglicised variety which they used enjoyed prestige among educated groups, thereby reinforcing the development of Urban Tok Pisin as a sociolect distinct from Rural Tok Pisin. The publications, riddled with inconsistencies in spelling and vocabulary, failed to solve the urgent problem of standardisation of Rural Tok Pisin and failed to establish communication with the majority of Tok Pisin speakers.

Perhaps more important than the direct linguistic changes brought about by their use of Tok Pisin was the fact that it became firmly established in a new function, that of preparing the road to democratic developments in Papua New Guinea. Its role as a means of social control had been weakened and indigenous opinions could become more widely heard.

2.2.7.5 Conclusion

The developments in the years 1945–1953 can be regarded as decisive for the functional and linguistic changes which Tok Pisin was to undergo from then onwards. In many ways prewar trends had become obsolete during the war and it had to assume new roles in the changed Papua New Guinean society. The most important development was the gradual change from a caste language to one suitable to the needs arising out of the new deal provided by the postwar administration. Freer access to the English language and Western modes of living resulted in an extension of its functions and a new linguistic encounter with its original target language.

Diversification of Tok Pisin was a characteristic of this period involving the development of social and regional dialects (Highlands Tok Pisin and Urban Tok Pisin) and new levels of style (the written form, the style of radio announcing). Due to the lack of insight into the nature of Tok Pisin and insufficient coordination of language planning, the linguistic extension accompanying these functional extensions took place in an ad hoc way, and the attempt to use Tok Pisin in bringing about important changes in the society was only partially successful.

This then concludes our survey of the external history of Tok Pisin. The more recent developments are discussed in various other contributions to this volume.

2.3 THE STATUS OF TOK PISIN AND ATTITUDES TOWARDS IT

S.A. Wurm

2.3.1 INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

Tok Pisin which, years ago, was also known as Neo-Melanesian (though this term remained confined to linguistic literature and never really gained any currency in Papua New Guinea itself) is the major lingua franca of Papua New Guinea. It has well over 1,500,000 speakers which is over half the population of the country - with this number increasing rapidly. It has the official status of one of the three major languages of Papua New Guinea - the other two being Hiri Motu (or Police Motu) with about 200,000 speakers and English which has approximately the same number of speakers. The language is, in its vocabulary, predominantly English-based, with about 15% of its vocabulary derived from the Austronesian (Melanesian) Tolai language of New Britain, and 5% from German and a few other sources such as Malay and Portuguese. In its structure, it is quite unlike English, and much more like an Austronesian language. Its grammar is quite complex, and it is certainly not just a simplified and jargonised form of English as used to be popularly believed by many in the past. The language is quite highly developed today and adequate for the expression of a range of sophisticated thoughts, and often used by Papua New Guineans in preference to their own language, even if they share a common tongue. In spite of this, only a small fraction (perhaps 20,000 or so) of its large number of speakers speak Tok Pisin as their first language - in other words, the language has been creolised only to a very minor extent. At the same time, a great proportion of its speakers have a first-language mastery of it and speak it with greater proficiency than any other language they know, including their mother-tongues. This is understandable in a country with about 760 distinct local languages (Wurm 1977e) in which Tok Pisin is the major means of intercommunication between speakers of different languages, and is used by a large proportion of the population more often than any other language.

Tok Pisin has, in recent years, undergone a considerable reorientation of its status and functional role. This is in line with developments in other parts of the world in which pidgins and creoles are spoken and in which there have been fundamental political and social changes in recent years. The social positions of the speakers of such pidgins and creoles have, in such areas, undergone radical changes, and this has had far-reaching effects upon the standing, functions, and use of these languages. In particular, some languages that until recently carried the stigma of low-caste languages - and continue to do so in the eyes of some members of the new social setups - have suddenly been elevated to much higher social and functional levels than has hitherto been the case (Wurm 1977f). In this, it has to be kept in mind that pidgin and creole languages traditionally occupy clearly definable positions in the linguistic hierarchy of a society that is strongly stratified linguistically and socially, and their functions and role are determined by the class standing of their speakers and the social situations in which they are used within and across class boundaries.

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2.3.2 HISTORY OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF TOK PISIN

For the understanding of the specific situation concerning Tok Pisin, a brief discussion of its origin and development to the present day may be of value.

As early as the 1880s, Tok Pisin had become stabilised in a form from which present-day Tok Pisin is directly derived, and in contrast to many other pidgin languages in other parts of the world, became nativised almost from the beginning, i.e. had become a language used primarily for communication between members of the indigenous population rather than one used for intercommunication between whites and indigenes. As a result of this, it quickly developed into a language with close to the same range of expression and social functions as an indigenous first language. It had been established by Mühlhäusler (1978d) that the earliest form of a stable Tok Pisin was spoken in the Duke of York Islands, to the north of New Britain, around 1882. Mühlhäusler suggests that this earliest form of Tok Pisin owes its origin to the development of a stabilised plantation pidgin on Samoa. After 1879, labourers were recruited for the Samoa plantations from the Duke of York area, and the first labourers returned there from Samoa in 1882. In this year the first plantations were established in the Blanche Bay area of the Gazelle Peninsula of New Britain, with labourers from Bougainville and New Ireland, and it seems that experienced ex-Samoan labourers were employed as overseers on these new plantations. The vocabulary of the newly stabilised language seems to have subsequently been enriched with Tolai and German words in the administrative centre of Rabaul on the Gazelle Peninsula. With the rapid spread of administrative control and the resulting inter-tribal pacification through much of what was then German New Guinea, intercommunication across tribal boundaries became important, and Tok Pisin became nativised and firmly established in the area.

When German New Guinea was taken over by the British and Australian forces in 1914, Tok Pisin continued to spread, and regional dialects and distinct social dialects began to develop. However, it remained strictly a low-caste language, and there was almost no social intimacy between indigenes and Europeans.

The Second World War fundamentally affected the social setup in Papua New Guinea and brought about new social patterns in which Tok Pisin was to have new functions. Its importance was recognised by the Australian authorities, and the prewar social barriers between indigenes and Europeans broke down, especially with members of the armed forces. Tok Pisin assumed the function of a means of expressing solidarity among all racial groups in Papua New Guinea. These events can be regarded as more or less deliberate acts of external language planning - but much more deliberate acts were performed in the extensive use of Tok Pisin in war propaganda, with a view to strong social control. Also, large-scale recruiting of indigenes from many, often remote, areas as carriers and labourers produced a sharp increase in the number of speakers of the language and led to its spread into new areas.

After the end of World War II, Tok Pisin accelerated its spread through Papua New Guinea, a regional dialect became stabilised and nativised in the highlands, and the language started to make inroads into areas where Police Motu (now called Hiri Motu) had functioned as a lingua franca - this development had already begun during the war years. The breakdown of social barriers between indigenes and Europeans continued and led to the gradual change of Tok Pisin from a caste language to that of a language with new roles in the changed Papua New Guinea society.

In the early 1950s, English began to play a major role for the indigenous population as a result of primary schools switching to English as the main - and

in the government schools the sole - medium of instruction. At the same time, the United Nations Organisation called upon Australia in 1953 (Hall 1955a) to discontinue the use of Tok Pisin in the then Trust Territory of New Guinea. This was an amazingly unrealistic and ill-informed pronouncement because the Australian administration was obviously in no position to control the use of a fully nativised lingua franca whose primary function was to serve as a means of intercommunication among the indigenous population. The pronouncement did have the effect of strengthening the pro-English language policies of the administration, but the spread of Tok Pisin continued at an ever-increasing rate, both geographically and with regard to its social functions. A new sociolect of Tok Pisin, called Urban Pidgin, which already had had a limited existence, became well established and developed. New styles such as written style, radio announcing, etc. emerged in the language. Regional dialect development first reached a peak during the early 1960s, especially in the highlands, but a gradual neutralisation of regional variants began subsequently as a result of the increasing mobility of the population and the increasing impact of mass media. English influence on Tok Pisin steadily increased, particularly in Urban Pidgin. The language began to become creolised in some areas. However, this had little influence upon the form of the language for sociolinguistic reasons. To be understood, the children who were and are the speakers of creolised Tok Pisin had to conform to the nativised forms of the language which were already in constant daily use in internative communication situations.

During the 1970s and the rapid political changes which took place in that decade in Papua New Guinea, two major developments occurred in the function and role of Tok Pisin:

A new contact culture developed in Papua New Guinea which moved away from the traditional culture, though it incorporated elements from it and also adopted many elements from the Western culture. Nevertheless, it was basically quite distinct from both and typically modern Papua New Guinean. In its development, Tok Pisin became its intrinsic means of expression. The rapid spreading of this subculture in recent years, predominantly in urban environments, but also to some considerable extent in some rural areas, has resulted in a dramatic increase of the functional role and geographical importance of Tok Pisin which is now in a diglossic relationship with English in urban settings, i.e. the two languages exist side by side, with Tok Pisin and English fulfilling mutually exclusive, specific social roles and functions. In several areas, Tok Pisin is beginning to replace, or has already replaced, the local vernaculars on its way toward creolisation (Mühlhäusler 1977f).

Recent political developments on the Papua New Guinea scene during the rapid progress of the country toward its present independence have created a situation in which there has been a dramatic extension of the use and functions of Tok Pisin on what may be termed the public level: quite large groups in Papua New Guinea expected Tok Pisin to expand its role and functions into areas of expression and communication in which it had not been used previously. Such areas are, for instance, (a) its very predominant use as a debate language in the Papua New Guinea Parliament on issues that traditionally have been discussed in English; (b) its increasing use in broadcasting, where it is used to report on world news and for the discussion of political, economic, social, and other concerns that sometimes require quite high levels of complexity of expression; (c) its similar use in writing in the press; (d) its widening role in education.

2.3.3 ATTITUDES TOWARDS TOK PISIN

Against this history of the development of Tok Pisin and of its use and function, a discussion of earlier and present attitudes towards the language may be of interest.

2.3.3.1 Earlier attitudes towards Tok Pisin

Earlier European attitudes towards Tok Pisin were mostly strongly negative and based largely on misinformation and language prejudice (Wurm 1969, 1973) and constitute an interesting illustration of European attitudes towards indigenous concerns in a colonial setting. There were essentially two main types of criticism of Tok Pisin on the part of Europeans (Wurm 1977a):

The essence of the first of these criticisms was that Tok Pisin constituted a corruption of English: Tok Pisin was described by critics as a disgusting, debased corruption of English, full of insulting words, and sounding quite ridiculous to listeners.

This criticism is based on erroneous premises. Tok Pisin is not English, just as English is not French though it contains an abundance of words of French origin. In its structure and basic principles, Tok Pisin is much more like an Austronesian language than English. As such it is quite different from English, just as English is structurally different from French. It is true that the percentage of the English-based lexicon of Tok Pisin is considerably greater than that of the French-based lexicon of English, but it is not greater than the Latin-based vocabulary of French and Italian. Nevertheless, present-day French or Italian are not regarded today as corruptions of Latin, though it may be argued that they owe their historical origin to exactly that, just as it may be argued that Tok Pisin owes its origin ultimately to a corruption of English even though the situation relating to Tok Pisin was in many respects quite different from that leading to the emergence of French or Italian. However, in its present-day form, Tok Pisin constitutes an established language when judged from the linguistic point of view.

To describe Tok Pisin as disgusting and debased, as being full of insulting words, and sounding ridiculous to listeners, is the result of looking at it from an outside point of view, i.e. one based on a different language, i.e. English. In such a fashion, any language closely related to another in a portion of its vocabulary, or in both structure and vocabulary, could, when looked at from the point of view of this other language, be said to be debased, full of insulting words, and as sounding ridiculous to listeners, i.e. to listeners speaking this other language, and not the language in question itself. Speakers of Dutch and German, Spanish and Portuguese, the various Slavic languages and others could potentially find themselves in such situations quite frequently - quite a number of the words in such closely related languages are similar or near-identical in form and appear to be easily recognisable to speakers of one such language when uttered by speakers of the other language, but their meanings are often rather different, and a quite harmless word in one language can be a highly insulting one in the other, but, as has been pointed out, it may sound nearly the same. Educated members of two such speech communities who realise this problem do not usually have the habit of describing each other's languages as being full of insulting words. Why is it then that speakers of English described Tok Pisin as being full of insulting words, though if they had any knowledge of the language at all, they had to know that such words which were formally similar to insulting

words in English, had harmless meanings in Tok Pisin? The traditional attitudes of the English-speaking whites towards the indigenes may well have had much to do with this, as well as the belief on the part of many of the former that Tok Pisin was a sort of 'baby-talk' fit to be used by and to the indigenes only, and not a real language. At the same time, it may also have to be taken into account that some English speakers were, because of their still lingering adherence to the Victorian heritage, perhaps more sensitive to and emotional about what they looked upon as insulting words, than speakers of most other languages. Also, English is not a member of a pair of very closely related major languages such as those referred to above. Because of this, most English speakers have not been exposed to a language which sounds much like theirs in many respects, though strangely, and sometimes embarrassingly, differing from it in many instances. (The only instances of such exposure are provided by the dialectal differences existing, for instance, between British and Australian English, or British and American English: these certainly provide a few examples similar to those referred to above.) If Tok Pisin is taken into account, English can be looked upon as a member of just such a pair of languages that are closely related at least in one respect, i.e. in their lexicon. However, only a very small proportion of the speakers of English ever comes into contact or is familiar with the exact nature of Tok Pisin - this helps explain the over-reaction of many English speakers on their first contact with this, to them, unfamiliar and strange sounding idiom. Characteristically, the most ardent, emotional, and articulate critics of Tok Pisin had been largely persons who knew very little about it, whereas quite a few of the European residents of Papua New Guinea who have a good knowledge of it regard it either impartially and dispassionately or may have a lot to say in its favour.

With regard to the argument that Tok Pisin sounds quite ridiculous to listeners, i.e. speakers of English unfamiliar or only a little familiar with it, it is interesting to note that a similar situation may well be said to exist between English and French if the numerous French loanwords in English and their diverse pronunciations and meanings in these two languages are taken into account. However, it is culturally and socially largely inappropriate for educated speakers of the two languages to regard the other language as ridiculous, whereas it was culturally and socially correct for speakers of English to regard Tok Pisin as a ridiculous language and at the same time as nothing more than a debased corruption of English.

2.3.3.2 Tok Pisin regarded as inadequate

The second argument against Tok Pisin is that it is an inadequate, restricted language unsuited for the expression of thoughts on anything but the most elementary level. In contrast to the arguments discussed above which are not often heard any more today, this argument is still frequently voiced. In this, it has to be pointed out that the question concerning the adequacy of a language is only meaningful if the culture is named for whose expression that language serves as a vehicle. Since every natural language constitutes a reference system for the culture within which it has developed, it follows that every language is basically adequate for the expression of and reference to the cultural concepts constituting the culture to which it belongs, and undergoes changes along with changes of this culture. It also follows that a language is inadequate for the expression of a culture to which it does not belong, and that this inadequacy increases in direct proportion with the degree of difference between the culture to which the language belongs, and the one which critics pointing to its alleged inadequacy expect it to express.

Examining Tok Pisin in this connection, the first question to be asked is whether Tok Pisin is a fully adequate medium for the expression of the cultural concepts of the people of Papua New Guinea who have been using it as their *lingua franca*. Tok Pisin is the major *lingua franca* employed by indigenes in multi-language situations as the means of intercommunication in all situations concerning multilanguage groups as a whole or at least a multilanguage section of it. However, there are cultural and social situations involving members of a single homogeneous speech community only in which the language of intercommunication is not Tok Pisin, and for which Tok Pisin is inadequate - understandably so, because it has no connection with that specific part of the indigenous culture which may often be ritual in nature. At the same time, a language other than Tok Pisin would also be inadequate, English probably more so than Tok Pisin, because of the greater alienness of the culture to which English belongs, when compared with the cultures of the indigenous population of Papua New Guinea, than is the case with Tok Pisin.

The cultures of the indigenous population of Papua New Guinea are rapidly changing, much of them getting lost and being replaced by something new that is approaching uniformity and is neither traditional nor European (see above). The language serving as a reference system for this new growing element in the cultures of the population is Tok Pisin, and being the means of expression of this new set of cultural concepts, it is intrinsically adequate for this task.

It is quite correct to say that Tok Pisin, in its present form, is not adequate for the expression of the range of concepts constituting a sophisticated Western culture such as the British-Australian toward an approximation of which the Papua New Guinea culture was thought to be heading. However, it seems quite unlikely now that the basic culture of the new Papua New Guinean nation will ever become a copy of the British-Australian model - it will certainly become something with a character entirely its own, and what will have been absorbed into it from the British-Australian culture will only be a component element that will have undergone drastic changes and adaptations. With the development of this basic culture, the language serving it as a means of expression may well be expected to have the inherent ability to develop with it and to become richer and more complex, in step with the culture to which it belongs. The exceedingly rapid development of this culture does, however, pose a problem for the language serving and maintaining it: for it to remain in step with the changes and advancement of the culture, numerous new terms have to become part of it at an accelerating rate. At present, most of such new terms are loanwords from English - this constitutes the line of least resistance, with a language with a vast reservoir of terms readily available to be drawn upon. There is some justification for such a procedure provided the adoption of English loans does not exceed an unavoidable minimum. However, this is unfortunately not the case with Tok Pisin at present, though it does contain the necessary linguistic mechanisms for the creation of such needed additional terms in conformity with the nature of the language itself to ensure its adequacy (Mühlhäusler 1979c).

A third criticism was often levelled against Tok Pisin in the not-too-distant and recent past, and sometimes even today: it has been said to constitute a bad heritage from the days of colonialism, and that it has been used for the purpose of accentuating, emphasising and perpetuating social and racial distinctions, i.e. it has been used by the European masters in speaking to members of the indigenous population to keep them in their place.

A part of this argument is certainly true for the past, though it has to be remembered that most of the use of Tok Pisin as a means of intercommunication was between indigenes and not between Europeans and indigenes. This criticism has

been made by some European and quite a few non-European members of the United Nations Organisation, and has also been put forward by a few Europeans, as well as by some indigenous leaders, in Papua New Guinea itself. However, it seems unrealistic to hold this view in this form for the present or the future: several languages which in the past used to be stigmatised by the type of social features ascribed to Tok Pisin in this criticism have become the national languages of nations. Indonesian is a good example: until the middle of the last century, the local population in the then Dutch East Indies was forbidden by law even to learn Dutch, so that it could be kept linguistically and, in consequence, socially, clearly separated from the European rulers. Nevertheless, the linguistic tool used for this separation has now become the national language of the Indonesian nation.

By contrast to European attitudes, earlier indigenous attitudes towards Tok Pisin were predominantly favourable - except perhaps in areas in which Tok Pisin was encroaching upon the regions in which traditionally the other major lingua franca of Papua New Guinea, i.e. Hiri Motu (then called Police Motu) was holding sway - and they centred on the one hand around the important communicative role of Tok Pisin which made it possible for indigenes from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds to freely intercommunicate and act together. This gave them a feeling of unity and solidarity and made them look upon Tok Pisin as 'their' language giving them a level of identity which eventually laid the foundations for the new Papua New Guinean subculture mentioned above. On the other hand, the favourable attitude of indigenes towards Tok Pisin resulted from the advantage which it gave them in communicating with Europeans and the authorities, and in obtaining economically lucrative employment (Wurm 1977e).

2.3.3.3 Present-day attitudes towards Tok Pisin

Present-day attitudes towards Tok Pisin in Papua New Guinea are quite varied. Some of them reflect the views and vested interests of certain groups (Wurm 1977e).

Attitudes displayed by Europeans at present living in Papua New Guinea no longer have great relevance in contrast to European views in earlier days. It is of interest, however, to note that most of the Europeans in Papua New Guinea today take a stand toward Tok Pisin which is quite different from the traditional European view of earlier days: they regard Tok Pisin as a language in its own right without emotional bias and make serious efforts to learn it properly. This, in turn, strengthens positive attitudes of indigenes towards Tok Pisin and reinforces their growing expectation that Europeans resident in Papua New Guinea have a good command of the language - which is by no means an easy task.

2.3.3.4 Unfavourable attitudes towards Tok Pisin

At the same time, earlier negative European attitudes have become perpetuated among many educated Papua New Guineans who have gone through the indoctrination of an English-based education. They adopted the prejudices of earlier administrators and of their teachers, and they show a tendency to over-estimate the importance and potential of English for Papua New Guinea.

While these attitudes of the English-speaking élite are at least in part emotionally based, a large number of less-educated Papua New Guineans frown upon the use of Tok Pisin, at least in the educational system, for what in their view

are pragmatic reasons, and would not like to see the use of English cut down in favour of Tok Pisin in schools. This attitude stems from the great importance attached to English and education in English by the administration of Papua New Guinea during the last two decades of Australian rule which induced many Papua New Guinean parents to regard English as the sole key to wealth and economic progress. However, this view is gradually losing ground today as a result of the fact that such parents are often disappointed in their hopes. In present-day Papua New Guinea, knowledge of English is almost totally irrelevant for many school leavers. However, it is true that the exclusive use of Tok Pisin in elementary education would, in the present situation surrounding education in Papua New Guinea, produce serious problems for children wishing to proceed to higher education which is in English. However, the educational system is changing, and this unsatisfactory situation may perhaps change too in the future as a result of suitable language policies.

Other Papua New Guineans with a vested interest who look upon Tok Pisin with disfavour are the supporters of regional nationalism and separatism in Papua who look upon Hiri Motu as their symbol of national and group identity. The existence of this group and their political movement which has now lost strength appears to have constituted one of the main reasons for the Papua New Guinea government's disinclination and inability to give its full support to Tok Pisin as the main language of the country.

2.3.3.5 Favourable attitudes towards Tok Pisin

The abovementioned instances of general or selective unfavourable attitudes towards Tok Pisin are far outweighed by a generally favourable attitude towards it on the part of a large part of the population, and of the majority of the political leaders. Official support of Tok Pisin is very cautious, but unofficial support is much more powerful.

2.3.3.5.1 Favourable attitudes towards Tok Pisin based on pragmatic reasons

For a very large proportion of the population and also for much of the administration, especially on the lower levels, but also among higher officials, the reasons for the positive attitude towards Tok Pisin and its support are essentially pragmatic (Mühlhäusler 1977f). For the majority of the rural population, Tok Pisin is the only link which they have with the outside world and the only avenue which gives them access to new ideas. It is the linguistic tool which makes it possible for them to cooperate and function as higher units through the local government councils across language barriers. The records of the meetings of these councils are always kept in a lingua franca, very predominantly Tok Pisin, even if some of the council debates themselves may be held in local languages. For lower administration officials, Tok Pisin constitutes a totally indispensable tool for their work, and the rural population looks upon Tok Pisin as their only effective means of access to the administration. Missions also see Tok Pisin in such a pragmatic light.

Higher government officials and political leaders recognise and use Tok Pisin as a linguistic tool of major communicative importance: of all the languages in Papua New Guinea, it can reach the highest percentage of the population, both on the oral and written levels. Mühlhäusler (1977f) points out that statistical

analyses have shown that on both these levels, Tok Pisin can reach over three times more people in Papua New Guinea than functional English and Hiri Motu put together.

The importance attached to Tok Pisin by the majority of the political leaders of the country is also reflected by the very predominant use of Tok Pisin as a debate language in the Papua New Guinea Parliament. However, the reasons underlying this use may also be emotional, in addition to being pragmatically based.

Members of the Tok-Pisin-speaking population of Papua New Guinea who lack a knowledge of English often voice their apprehension that they would be left behind should English take over. One reaction to this is the insistence of many parents that their children should be educated in English, as has been pointed out above. However, this feeling of apprehension also tends to reinforce the pro-Tok Pisin feelings and attitudes of many Papua New Guineans on the emotional level.

2.3.3.5.2 Favourable attitudes towards Tok Pisin based on emotional reasons

It has already been mentioned above that large portions of the rural population of Papua New Guinea regard Tok Pisin as a unifying link which gives them a feeling of solidarity, with this feeling reinforced by the feelings of apprehension concerning English. From this it is only a short step to the frequently observed attitudes of many Papua New Guineans who look upon Tok Pisin as a means for their self-identification as a language which is their own and a distinguishing feature of all that is Papua New Guinean, and as something of which they are justly proud. This attitude manifests itself in many interrelated ways: Papua New Guineans expect Europeans who reside in their country to know Tok Pisin well (its mastery, or that of Hiri Motu, is one of the requirements of Papua New Guinea citizenship). They resent being addressed by Europeans in bad Tok Pisin and they tend to speak Tok Pisin to each other whenever possible, especially in situations in which the speaking of Tok Pisin used to be frowned upon or banned until recently (such as high schools and the University of Papua New Guinea), and they look upon Tok Pisin as the means for expressing their deepest feelings and as the vehicle of national self-expression. These attitudes have produced the feeling in many Papua New Guineans that Tok Pisin should be the national language of Papua New Guinea and this has resulted in its very prevalent use in the parliament as the language of debate (Hull 1968) (though pragmatic considerations also seem to have played a part in this as has been said above), in the re-introduction of Tok Pisin as a language of instruction in vocational training, in the renewed general admissibility of Tok Pisin in elementary and adult education (Wurm 1977a), and the emergence of indigenous Tok Pisin creative writing (Laycock 1977a).

2.3.4 RECENT DEVELOPMENTS AND FUTURE OUTLOOKS

With its elevation to high social functions, the establishment of the sub-culture mentioned before, and the need for, especially lexical, expansion of Tok Pisin to meet the requirements of its new function, Tok Pisin has recently entered a new phase of development. The main sociolects, Urban Pidgin and Rural Pidgin, became clearly established, and are diverging rapidly. At the same time, the stabilisation of Tok Pisin and its regional and sociolectal uniformity in given areas and sociolects have begun to disappear, with fluidity and variability appearing at an increasing rate. This development is largely attributable to the powerful influence of English, and to the fact that because of the lack of insight into

the nature of Tok Pisin and insufficient coordination of language planning, the necessary linguistic elaboration accompanying the functional extensions of Tok Pisin has taken place in a haphazard way (Mühlhäusler 1979c). These factors are disrupting the basic underlying rules of Tok Pisin and are beginning to threaten its existence as a separate language.

There seems to be little doubt that Tok Pisin is to remain the majority language of Papua New Guinea and that its geographical area and functional ranges will increase or at least not decrease much in the near future. The creolisation of Tok Pisin has begun and can be expected to gain considerable momentum. Under these circumstances, and taking into account what has been said above about the recent developments of Tok Pisin and the destructive influence of English upon it, it seems clear that there is an urgent need of language planning actions. In the present writer's view (Wurm 1977b), Tok Pisin will be unable to fulfil satisfactorily its potential tasks in educational pursuits and in being used for wider national purposes without its enrichment and standardisation through internal language planning actions.

2.4 INTERNAL DEVELOPMENT OF TOK PISIN

P. Mühlhäusler

2.4.1 INTRODUCTION

The development of pidgin languages differs from that of 'normal' languages in several important ways; first, they are not transmitted from adults to children and children to children but from adults to adults, so that their development is determined to a very significant degree by adults, whose language learning capacity differs from that of children.¹ Second, pidgins are second languages; their structural growth is closely related to the communicative needs of their users. Thus, the fact that Tok Pisin could develop into a complex linguistic system is related to the communicative pressures created by the endemic linguistic compartmentalisation of Papua New Guinea. Thirdly, as the modes of transmission and the linguistic needs of its users can vary significantly over short periods of time, a strong tendency towards discontinuity will characterise certain phases in its development. Thus, phases in the development of Tok Pisin between 1880 and 1980 differ both qualitatively and quantitatively. This is reflected by the fact that the varieties spoken around 1880 were probably unintelligible to most users of the language in 1930 and those current around 1930 are becoming increasingly difficult to follow for present-day speakers. It must be noted that when going back in time, intelligibility is less likely to be impaired than vice versa:² old and very old speakers will find present-day anglicised and creolised Tok Pisin an unintelligible language.

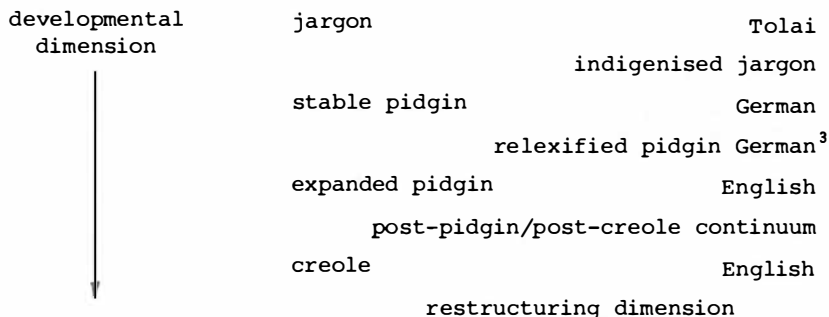
Discontinuity characterises not only the temporal development of the language but is also found along the social dimension. Expatriate Tok Pisin (Tok Masta) whilst important in the early formative years of the language, has grown increasingly distinct from the indigenous varieties. Similarly, anglicised Tok Pisin as spoken by urban dwellers, is in the process of developing into a separate new system.

In order to account for the many aspects of the development of Tok Pisin a number of different types of pidgins must be distinguished. These different types are located in a) a developmental dimension, characterised by types of differential complexity, and b) a restructuring dimension, defining Tok Pisin's linguistic proximity to a number of other linguistic systems. We can schematise this as follows:

S.A. Wurm and P. Mühlhäusler, eds *Handbook of Tok Pisin (New Guinea Pidgin)*, 75-166. *Pacific Linguistics*, C-70, 1984.

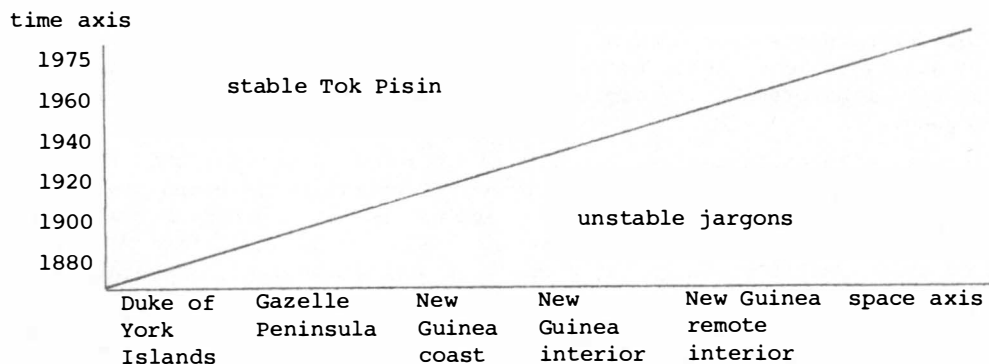
© P. Mühlhäusler

Mühlhäusler, P. "Internal development of Tok Pisin". In Wurm, S.A. and Mühlhäusler, P. editors, *Handbook of Tok Pisin (New Guinea Pidgin)*. C-70/75-166. Pacific Linguistics, The Australian National University, 1985. DOI:10.15144/PL-C70.75



The principal force along the developmental dimension is grammaticalisation deriving from linguistic universals, speakers' discourse strategies and cultural factors whereas the restructuring dimension is characterised by mixing and replacement of indigenous language material by borrowed grammar and lexicon.

It must be noted that the developments outlined here are located in relative rather than in absolute time. Since the language reached different areas at different times, earlier stages are found simultaneously with more advanced ones. The distribution of jargon (unstable individual) and non-jargon varieties of Tok Pisin can be illustrated as follows:



This means that questions such as 'Is Tok Pisin basically English or basically Melanesian?' can be asked meaningfully only if they are directed to a specific point in time and space. This also goes for the various theories about the origin of Tok Pisin. Relexification, for instance, has been an important force at several points in Tok Pisin's history but it would be gross oversimplification to refer to the language as a result of relexification. Before attempting a developmental account stage by stage, I will discuss the principal forces underlying such a development.

2.4.2 FORCES IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF PIDGINS

2.4.2.1 Linguistic universals

In second language learning situations where the linguistic input is restricted to words and short phrases rather than fuller utterances and explicitly taught grammatical rules, learners resort to their knowledge of universals of language

development particularly in situations of group learning such as among indentured labourers on a plantation. The similarities between the grammar of, say, Chinese speakers learning Swedish and German speakers learning French are so striking that some experts have spoken of a universal syllabus for second-language learning.

Universal forces are particularly strong in the areas of syntax and morphology. A good example is the development of plural marking: it always begins with nouns referring to humans in subject position and only gradually extends to less animate nouns in less prominent positions in utterances. The German learner of English who produces *the two boys* but *the two idea* can be compared to speakers of Tok Pisin producing *ol man i kam the people came*, with the plural marker *ol*, but *ol man i go long haus the people went to their houses*, without it.

2.4.2.2 Substratum influence

Substratum influence, or transfer of structures from a learner's first language, is a second strategy available to second-language learners. In the past the role of transfers has been widely overrated and substratum influence was assumed wherever a pidgin did not exhibit structures of its lexifier language. Recent research into this problem (e.g. Meisel 1982) suggests, however, that:

- a) substratum influence is restricted to semantics and phonology and only marginally present in syntax and morphology;
- b) substratum influence makes itself felt late rather than early in second language development. Zobl (1980:43) remarks that learners "must attain a certain level of development with respect to an L2 structure before transfer is activated". Pidgins tend to be structurally so reduced that this level of development is not attained in the early stages of their development, i.e. the time when contact between lexifier and substratum language is closest. With regard to our plural example this means that, since no plural marking occurs at this stage, it cannot be influenced by conventions in the grammar of a learner's L1.

It must be noted that learners can only transfer what they know. This means that so-called 'rules of grammar' as found in grammatical descriptions do not offer a good basis for the description and explanation of language transfer (cf. Mühlhäusler 1982c).

2.4.2.3 Relexification

Relexification means the replacement of existing words by new words borrowed from another language. If it happens on a large scale the lexical affiliation of a language can change. Present-day Hiri Motu, for instance, may be a relexification of an earlier Papuan Pidgin English (cf. Mühlhäusler and Dutton 1979:217-218).

In the beginning the government relied heavily on the missionaries and others who had preceded it and knew something of the Motu and their language, for assistance in communicating with the local people. However, by 1890 the government could no longer rely on individuals for help in policing the laws of the land, and so Sir William MacGregor established the first police force to carry out this task. To get this force off to a start MacGregor brought into Port Moresby 'a dozen

Solomon Islanders, two Fijian non-commissioned officers, and eight Papuans', seven of whom came from the Kiwai area in the far west of the colony and the remaining one from the far eastern end (MacGregor 1898:xxv). This collection of men is interesting for they, being foreigners to Port Moresby from different parts of Papua and the Pacific where Motu was presumably not known, but where different, though related, varieties of Pidgin English were, probably used some kind of Pidgin English as their lingua franca. Consequently, we have the very unusual situation in which a small, but legally very powerful group of men, who presumably spoke some kind of Pidgin English as a lingua franca amongst themselves, had to meet and deal with a population which was, in its turn, numerically dominant but was, on the other hand, also used to dealing with foreigners and communicating with them in one of its at least two contact languages. In such a situation it is easy to imagine that some kind of pidgin language, based on Pidgin English and/or Motu, would soon develop as the interface language between these two opposed groups.

2.4.2.4 Adlexification

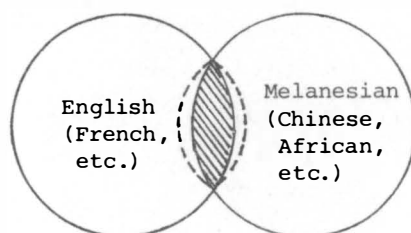
By this we understand the addition of new words borrowed from a contact language. It is a common phenomenon in culture contact situations where cultural vocabulary gets borrowed from a technologically more advanced culture.

2.4.2.5 Foreigner talk

Many languages, including English (see Ferguson 1975), have special simplified registers in which to address foreigners. Thus, speakers of indigenous languages may not have full access to English and other target languages but only to their reduced foreigner talk register. The two principal characteristics of foreigner talk are special lexical conventions (Tok Pisin *save to know* and *meri woman* being reflections thereof) and reduced morphological and syntactic input, unmarked rather than marked constructions being used. The nature of the foreigner talk used in the formative years of Tok Pisin, in particular its variability, is discussed by Mühlhäusler (1981a).

2.4.2.6 Selection of common core grammar

A number of pidgin and creole theoreticians have suggested that the grammar of a pidgin tends to be the greatest common denominator of the grammars of the languages in contact. An example is Hall (1961) who provides the following illustration:



The structural resources of a pidgin language.
Hachured area represents the overlapping of
the 'parent' languages.

Empirical investigations, such as the ones reported by Meisel (1982), strongly indicate that the common denominator view applies at best to small subparts of grammar. Given the grammars of the languages in contact one cannot, by applying contrastive methods, predict what the resulting pidgin language will look like. The common core view also ignores that:

- a) Pidgins involving contact between many languages tend to be grammatically more complex than pidgins resulting from contact between two or three languages only. Precisely the opposite should be the case under a common core view.
- b) Pidgins can exhibit constructions which are not found in either of the parent systems.
- c) The grammar of pidgins changes over time, with or without the contact of new languages.

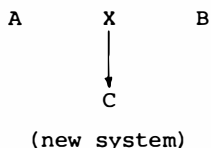
There would seem to be good reasons then, for replacing the static common core view with a more dynamic concept of language mixing.

2.4.2.7 Language mixing

What happens when languages are in contact remains poorly understood and most linguistic theories continue to ignore language mixing phenomena. My own findings in this area are given in Mühlhäusler 1982c. The principal points can be summarised as follows:

- a) The outcome of language mixing processes depends on the relative complexity of the systems in contact. Pidgins are less likely to borrow morphology and syntax than fully developed languages.
- c) The more systematic a language, the less its syncretic capacity. As pidgins develop into increasingly regular systems, their ability to borrow structure, without upsetting their own, decreases.
- d) Mixing is sensitive to linguistic distance between the systems in contact. This distance can be typological and historical.
- e) While the preferred outcome of language mixing is an unmarked natural construction, mixing can result in ill-integrated and unstable systems. Instability is frequently tolerated for social reasons.

- f) In many instances, the results of language mixing are unlike the surface forms of the parent languages involved in the process:



This means that anglicised Tok Pisin is not necessarily more like English than conservative rural Tok Pisin. It also means that the comparison of surface structures to determine common core properties is not a reliable procedure.

Having briefly discussed the principal linguistic forces in the formation and development of pidgins, I will now turn to the discussion of individual stages in the history of Tok Pisin.

2.4.3 THE JARGON STAGE

2.4.3.1 Introduction

Jargons are distinguished from proper pidgin languages by their excessive instability, extreme impoverishment in their expressive power and their high context-dependence.

As they are individual rather than social solutions to the problem of cross-linguistic communication, it would seem to make little sense to postulate ideal speaker-hearers. Rather, we have to assume widely different communication strategies resulting in numerous misunderstandings and failures to communicate. Such misunderstandings tend to increase where the jargon is used outside the limited range of contexts in which it has become institutionalised.

Data on the jargon stage are scarce and what has been recorded tends to be biased in favour of an English character of the language. Because of the inherent neutrality of Jargon English, such an interpretation is perfectly possible and reflects that of English-speaking sailors and traders. However, we are left in the dark - with the exception of scattered remarks concerning some specific lexical items - as to the interpretation of such utterances by the South Sea islanders. Because of the scarcity and low reliability of early texts, the nature of Tok Pisin in its jargon phase can only be characterised in very general terms. The salient properties will be discussed with respect to different levels of grammar.

2.4.3.2 Phonology

The pronunciation of the jargonised varieties of Tok Pisin was extremely unstable. Whereas most English speakers used their own phonological systems with or without foreigner talk adjustments, the indigenous varieties were characterised by considerable substratum influence. We find that hardly any consistent attempt was made on the part of the speakers of English to adjust their pronunciation to the frequently simpler systems of the peoples contacted. The English sound inventory and system appears to have been left very much intact, as it is among present-day Tok Masta speakers. Some minor adjustments may have been made by English speakers based on "rather a dim recognition that phonetic difficulties existed" (Churchill 1911:17). These adjustments were stereotypes rather than the result

of a comparison of actual difficulties arising out of the situation, for example, Jones (1861:94) reports the use of [l] for [r], though this adjustment is not made consistently later on in his book. There is no indication that 'difficult' English sounds, such as [th], voiced final stops or affricates were avoided by the speakers of English. The same is true for difficult clusters: spellings such as *clothes*, *three* and *boatswain* are found in a number of documents. This confirms the view that speakers of English changed their pronunciation very little and, moreover, tended to regard the pronunciation of the 'natives' as imperfect approximations to their own system. English sounds to them seemed to be natural and therefore easy.⁴

As regards indigenous pronunciation, the available evidence suggests that the pronunciation of Tok Pisin varied a great deal from locality to locality. Friederici (1911) remarks on one such variety:

The deeply-entrenched tendency of the Barriai to add an 'n' word-finally is also carried over to other languages they are using, for instance, Pidgin English. I have noted a few examples observed in the use of Barriai speakers which are of particular interest for making judgements about this phenomenon. They said stopn for Pidgin English stop, sipn for Pidgin English ship, pign for Pidgin English pig, busn for Pidgin English bush, haus kukn for Pidgin English house cook, hi ron kwikn for Pidgin English he runs quick. (Friederici 1911:171)

The most reliable sources for early pronunciations are loanwords. One case, studied by Hall, is that of English and Pidgin English loanwords in Micronesian languages (1945:214ff). Since a number of Micronesians acquired their English or Pidgin English in the Bismarck Archipelago, it is likely that these loans reflect actual pronunciations of Tok Pisin before 1900. Hall (1945:218) writes:

The borrowings present the customary features of adaptation of foreign material to native phonetics. As most or all of the languages of this area have no phonemic contrast between voiced and unvoiced sounds (cf. fn.7), the characters representing these sounds are frequently confused in European observers' transcriptions. In certain of the languages, especially Marshall, there are no fricatives or sibilants, and such sounds in the loan-words are replaced by the nearest corresponding sound; this is particularly true of Eng. *s*, replaced by Marshall tj, dj, as in *glass* > gladj, *spoon* > djëbūn. Cf. also Eng. *fig* > Ma big, *fork* > Ma bork and Po pork, etc. Consonant clusters are often split up by intercalated vowels, as in Eng. *ink* > Ma ínik, *September* > Tr sepetémber; other such intercalations were probably made but masked by the observers' transcriptions of the clusters as such.

The kind of phonetic/phonological adaptations characteristic of the jargon stage are clearly illustrated by the following letter discussed by Schuchardt (1889:160). Its writer is a native from Rarotonga who is a teacher in the New Hebrides.⁵

Okotopa, 17, 1880.

Misi Kamesi Arelu Jou no kamu ruki mi Mi no ruki iou Jou
 ruku Mai Poti i ko Mae tete Vakaromala mi raiki i tiripi
 Ausi parogi iou i rukauti Mai Poti mi nomoa kaikai mi angikele
 nau Poti mani Mae i kivi iou Jamu Vari koti iou kivi tamu te
 pako paraogi mi i penesi nomoa te Pako Oloraiti
 Ta, Mataso.

The same letter in conventional English spelling looks as follows:

Mr. Comins, (How) are you? You no come look me; me no look you; you look my boat he go Mae today. Vakaromala me like he sleep house belong you, he look out my boat. Me no more kaikai, me hungry now, boat man Mae he give you yam very good; you give some tobacco belong me [dative], he finish, no more tobacco. All right.
Ta, Mataso.

Contemporary evidence from incipient bush varieties of Tok Pisin (described, for instance by Bee (1972)) confirms that transfer of indigenous pronunciations is one of the principal strategies manifested in the jargon stage. There is little evidence to confirm Hall's (1966:25ff) contention that the "reduction in pronunciation" characterising jargons led to anything like a compromise between the sound systems of the languages in contact.

As a result of the variation and insensitivity of jargon speakers for the sound patterns of their interlocutors, misunderstandings, mishearing and non-communication must have been frequent.

2.4.3.3 Morphology

Most pidginists would agree that the loss of inflectional and derivational affixes is perhaps the most outstanding single feature of pidgins. Goodman (1971: 253), for example, states:

One feature which is virtually universal to these languages generally classified as pidgins and creoles is the drastic reduction of morphological complexity and irregularity.

One must be careful, however, not to confuse these properties with an 'identification tag' for such languages. Lack of morphology is also found in languages other than pidgins. A detailed discussion of some theoretical questions involved can be found in Mühlhäusler 1974:84-92. For the purpose of this discussion I shall restrict myself to the findings regarding Jargon English before 1884. Again, a distinction has to be made between the jargon spoken by the European sailors and jargon of the South Sea Islanders.

The data indicate that verb morphology was most consistently omitted by speakers of the lexifier language. This may have been a feature of the special register of foreigner talk used by the sailors to address 'natives'. Ferguson (1975:10), studying present-day English foreigner talk, has found that "the third singular present suffix, past tense markers, progressive *-ing*, future *will* and perfect *have* ... *-en* of verbs are omitted." What is found in Jargon English is a tense-less/time-less verb which is invariable in all positions. The verbal paradigm typically found can be illustrated as follows:

Jargon English	gloss
mi go	<i>I go, went, am going, have gone</i>
yu go	<i>you go, went, are going, have gone</i>
him go	<i>he goes, went, is going, has gone</i>
we go	<i>we go, went, are going, have gone</i>
you go	<i>you go, went, are going, have gone</i>
de go	<i>they go, went, are going, have gone</i>

Only very rare exceptions are found, both for European speakers and for islanders.

Much less agreement is found with nouns. Though no instance of possessive 's could be found and though the plural -s is dropped in most texts, the general loss of plural -s is by no means a feature of the Europeans' speech. It can be argued, however, that -s did not have any grammatical function in the speech of the indigenes, and was merely a fossilised lexical property in forms such as *masis match, matches, asis ashes* or *bois boy, boys*.

That there was no consistency in the use of plural -s in the foreigner talk used at the time is confirmed by the data and corroborated by a test which I administered to a group of Australian students. I found that, whilst more than 90% of third person singular -s was deleted, plural -s was deleted in only 40% of the cases.

There was also considerable variation in the use of pronouns. It appears that there was no consistent distinction between singular and plural pronouns, nor any strict division between first and second person pronouns. In addition, a number of variant forms appear in roughly equivalent functions. This is not surprising. The loss of the singular/plural distinction is a result of the operation of language-independent L2 development, whereas the ill-defined boundaries between individual pronouns reflect the fact that they were learned in their pragmatic setting rather than in a classroom situation. After all, in giving commands, English *we* frequently refers to second person singular and plural.

2.4.3.4 Syntax

According to Zöllner (1891:414):

According to my observations in foreign countries there are three stages in the mastery of foreign languages. The first, lowest stage which is virtually unknown in our educated Europe but which is much more common than the second stage in the intercourse between white people with the members of the coloured races, merely comprises a more or less limited knowledge of the lexicon. (translation mine)

This quotation is of great relevance for an understanding of the nature of jargon syntax. Grammar, it must be remembered, is the reflection of many different parameters, including cultural traditions, natural discourse structuring strategies, built-in word order universals and more (see, for instance, Givón 1979). In the jargon context, most cultural (and hence unnatural) strategies tend to be abandoned in favour of strategies for getting the message across. This means that speakers attempt to equate sequences of elements with their semantic order (iconicity), they restrict themselves to main clauses, resort to repetition and so forth. There also remains a considerable amount of fluctuation, both inter-individual and intra-individual, and it is therefore impossible to speak of a social grammar and difficult even to identify consistent individual grammars. The nature of Tok Pisin as spoken in the Duke of York islands in the 1870s and 1880s is illustrated in the following texts from Brown (1908):

The chief who accompanied us round the island noticed this and said: "Missionary no come Matupit, ah! Topulu he no come. Missionary come, oh! Topulu he come. He go house belong Matupit." (p.93)

Here I was interrupted several times by them saying: "Oh, Duke of York man he talk gammon belong (i.e. to) you,

plenty gammon, plenty too much gammon. What for make fight? No make fight. Pate, pate, pate (No, no, no). No make fight." (p.122)

"Oh man belong salt water he fight man belong bush. He kaikai (eat) him. He catch him bone he go belong spear. All same this fellow place". Which last sentence means, such is the custom here. (p.125)

It was quite strange to-day as we passed by some of the villages to hear Tuki tell me, in the most unconcerned manner possible, of events that had taken place there: "That fellow place he kaikai (eat) three fellow-man belong me; another day me kaikai four men belong him. Four fellow-man me kaikai (eat)", he said again, laughing quite pleasantly, and in a most self-satisfied manner as he held up his four fingers. (p.147)

About three o'clock I went on shore again, and went up the village to Tom's house, where I found that he had prepared a large present of taro, pumpkins, cocoanuts, bananas, and a large pig. He said: "This is yours. Duke of York man he tell you that I would fight you. Is this fighting? Will the taro fight you? Will the bananas fight you? Will the pig fight you? No, no, me no fight you, me plenty like you", etc., etc. I made him a few presents in return, and then we went to another chief's house, where we got another present minus the pig; and so again from a third chief, for all which I made a suitable return. Tom came on board in the evening to say good-bye, and said several times to me: "Missionary, suppose you hungry you come here to this place belong me. Plenty taro, he stop here, full, full, me give him you. Boat belong you, he go down, sink with taro, bananas, and yams. Suppose you hungry come here; me very good fellow, yes, me good fellow." Whether he was such a very good fellow or not I could not tell, but he treated us very well. (p.141)

Whereas a number of grammatical features appear to foreshadow later stages in the development of Tok Pisin (the use of the anaphoric pronoun *he* which appears as a predicate marker in subsequent stages, for instance), the overall impression of this text is that we are not dealing with a fixed language. There is considerable variation in:

- a) The basic word order. Next to me kaikai men one finds men me kaikai.
- b) The marking of word classes. Next to four men one finds four fellow-men.
- c) The treatment of complex utterances, such as *if ... then* sequences. Next to concatenation, as in missionary no come Topulu he no come, one finds Suppose you hungry come here with *suppose if* overtly marked.
- d) Expressions translating *very* include me plenty like you and me very good fellow.

Other salient features of these examples include the *oh* utterance initially, the use of an indigenous negator *pate* next to English-derived *no* and the considerable proportion of subjectless and otherwise incomplete constructions. Similar linguistic features are found in another early text, a conversation between a Buka tribesman and a European recruiter:

"Me like boys" the white man said to the black man, "plenty *kaikai* (food), no fight (thrashing)?" the black recruits ask. "Yes, plenty *kaikai* and no fight", the white man answers. "What you pay me?", the owner of a slave or the tribal chief asks. "One fellow *anikow* (an axe)", the recruiter replies. (Ribbe 1903:223, translation mine)

The following linguistic features are present in this conversation:

- a) The presence of the plural *-s* in the speech of the recruiter.
- b) Incomplete sentences.
- c) The lexical item *anikow*, illustrating heavier borrowing from local languages at the beginning of the life cycle.
- d) The question *what you pay me?* The preferred word order in Tok Pisin is *yu peim mi wanem*, with the *wh*-pronoun appearing question-finally.

Another early example from the Duke of York area is quoted by Hershman (1883:50): "Before me know nothing, now missionary this place, me know - all". Apart from the widespread absence of prepositions, this example illustrates yet again the iconicity of early Tok Pisin: the sequence of the elements of a sentence mirrors the sequence of events in the real world.

The scanty data available make it difficult to assess the role of the different forces involved in shaping the syntax of Tok Pisin at this early stage. However, it would seem that neither substratum nor superstratum syntax have been involved to a significant extent. The very nature of the syntax also excludes a relexification explanation. It would seem that what little syntax there is⁶ tends to reflect universal strategies for discourse structuring rather than grammars of individual languages, or common denominators.⁷

2.4.3.5 The lexicon

2.4.3.5.1 General remarks

The distinction between the lexical and syntactic component of jargon varieties is rather difficult to draw. It appears fair to say that the distinction, in some cases at least, is non-existent. The very first rudiments of broken English, as spoken by some of the islanders, were a list of fossilised idioms, whose internal structure, whatever it may have been in English, was no longer relevant for the derived jargon.

The vocabulary of the jargon predecessors of Tok Pisin can be approached from two complementary points of view, first its reduction in size in comparison with its source languages and secondly the breaking down of lexical structures found in its source languages. The third approach, that of tracing back individual words to their source languages, is dealt with in the chapter on etymologising (2.6).

2.4.3.5.2 Reduction in size

Compared with the lexical inventories of its source languages, particularly with that of English, Pacific Jargon Pidgin, including the varieties spoken in the New Guinea area, was extremely impoverished. Churchill (1911:12) remarks that here "we find the irreducible minimum which is felt to underlie all the refinement of vocabulary". Estimates as to the number of lexical items needed for minimal communication vary. Cassidy (1971:213-215) gives a list of about 100 items arrived at from comparative evidence and theoretical speculation. He writes:

The next necessity would be to name things (cf. *something* above), especially trade objects, again with gestures (food, water) or by exhibiting and naming them (mirrors, axes, cloth, etc.). These last would be in the 'outside' language; local foods and products unfamiliar to the outsiders would first have the native names (e.g. *ananas*), later perhaps outside ones (*pineapple*). Trade objects sought by the outsiders would probably take outside names (pepper, gold, sandalwood) which the insiders would have to learn in order to trade in them. Names for local trade objects would vary according to their region or origin, hence be the least general or predictable part of the pidgin lexicon.

But apart from trade objects there would have to be names for certain essential things or concepts - among the most basic: *Natural materials* (water, stone, fire, etc.); *Physiography* (mountain, river, sea, etc.); *Time* (yesterday, month, midday, etc.); *Numbers* (at least to ten, and some multiples); *Weights and Measures* (bundle, jarfull, arm's-length, etc.); *Colors* (black, white, and a few more of broad range); *People, kinship* (father, sister, son, child, chief, hunter, etc. - a large group); *Body parts* (head, hand, heart, eyes, teeth, skin - a large group); *Weapons, utensils* (spear, gun, stool, pot, hammer, bottle - a very large group); *Clothing* (shoes, shirt, dress, bracelet, etc.); *Foods* (general word, meat, oil, sugar, beverage, etc.); *Animals, birds, plants, fish*; *Buildings* (house, door, cart, bridge); *Emotion, morality* (fear, joy, lying, theft).

The number of words used currently in these and other categories would depend on the degree of communication established, but even the most elementary trade could hardly be carried on without words for times, places, quantities, and the things being traded: nominal ideas. Similarly certain verbal ideas would have to be expressed: *Thought, communication* (know, say, name, forget, etc.); *Bodily motion* (walk, stand, come, etc.); *Physical action* (do, give, eat, cut, look, strike, fasten, etc. - a very large group); *Feelings* (want, like, wonder, distrust, etc.). The idea of equating need not at first require formal expression: things can be associated with properties by simple juxtaposition without a copula. (In English-based creoles when a copula is used it is not necessarily *be*; *stand*, *stay*, *sit*, and other words may be made to serve. The sense for this goes back very far: Romance *estar*, *essere*, *être*, etc. < Lat. *stare*, and Germanic **standan-*, both < IE **stā-*. Pidginized reductions of *estar* and *stand* could meet again in the coincidence of *sta*.)

The relationship of modification would soon demand expression, not necessarily in terms of adjectival or adverbial words: formal marking of the parts of speech as in full languages should not be expected - on the contrary, functional shift without change of form. Basic modifying ideas would include: *Size* (bit, long, wide, thick, deep, etc., and their contraries); *Quality* (good, strong, heavy, hot, quick, sweet, etc., and their contraries); *Condition, manner* (ill, asleep, dead, wet, hard, etc., and their contraries; also blind, deaf, dumb, crippled, etc.); *Shape* (round, long-and-thin, straight, flat, wavy, etc., many with contraries); *Position, direction* (high, far, seaward, upstream, at-center, above, etc., and their contraries - a large group); *Time* (right-now, in-a-while, after, always, etc.).

Once pidgins were established, the next step would no doubt be toward refinements or elaborations, to sharpen distinctions and avoid confusion.

Actual figures for Pacific Jargon English are given by a number of writers. The lowest estimates are those for the New Hebrides. Speiser (1913:9) claims that the "mutilated English" spoken there contained hardly more than 50 words, whilst Jacomb (1914:91) puts the figure at "no more than a hundred words." Genthe (1908:10) suggests around 300 lexical bases in use for SPP spoken in the 1880s whilst Churchill (1911) "who unfortunately drew his vocabulary from various printed sources instead of setting down the words he had actually heard used, gives about 300 words" (Reinecke 1937:764). However, these estimates are of limited relevance since none of them is based on an actual word count and since, furthermore, the size of the lexical inventory must have differed from locality to locality with changing requirements for verbal communication. The small number of lexical bases reflects a) the restricted range of topics which required verbal communication and b) a conscious or unconscious attempt on the part of speakers of English to reduce their vocabulary by selecting unmarked lexical items or items which, in their opinion, were readily understood by their partners in transaction (cf. Whinnom 1971:99 and Ferguson 1975).

It is important to stress that considerable variation was found in these diminutive lexicons, depending on the inventiveness and experience of individual speakers, the composition of the groups using Jargon English and other factors. An interesting example is given by Schellong (1934:97-98):

Diary entry October 1886, visit of the cutter "Lölia" in Finschhafen: For me the presence of the 'Lölia' in the harbour meant a great anthropological gain, for the coloured crew was composed of people from the most diverse islands of the South Seas. Among the eighteen members of crew seven dialects were spoken; no wonder that the people made use of neutral idiom, Pidgin-English. What English means to the educated world, becomes Pidgin for these blacks. Some words of this peculiar language can be traced back to words from native vernaculars, e.g. *fifinne* for *woman*. *Fifinne* was developed from *waawine* of the New Hebridean native, and *wawin* of New Britain and now this word is also used by the Solomon Islander instead of his *urau* or *kakawe* or *ssinango* and by the inhabitant of Green Island instead of his *taho(a)*.

The tribe that happens to have the numerical superiority in the encounter of people from several island groups, is

likely to gain linguistic superiority as well. Captains and mates are amused by this confusion of languages, hear this or that strange word and occasionally employ it instead of the English equivalent. Thus, on our cutter quillequille is always used for *quick*, kaikai instead of *eat*, bulmakau instead of *meat*, and so on. (translation mine)

2.4.3.5.3 'Breaking down' a lexicon

Jargons and pidgins are typically characterised as impoverished and broken-down versions of their lexifier languages.⁸ However, there have as yet been few attempts to make explicit what is meant by these labels. The notion of impoverishment has been associated with the reduction in size of a lexical inventory when compared to the lexifier language of a jargon or pidgin. Whilst the loss in referential potential is most striking, it must be kept in mind that the reduction in size of the lexicon of English also involves the loss of stylistic choice, geographically and socially determined variants, and other non-referential semantic information.⁹

There is no unambiguous statement about what is meant by 'breaking down' with regard to the lexicon. I suggest that those perceived distortions occurring when lexical items of English origin are used by the learners in a jargon context can be associated with a wholesale loss of lexical information, the loss of information about lexical relatedness leading to the disappearance of internal structure of the lexicon.

The fact that the speakers of Pacific Jargon English belonged to a number of different groups, the most important distinction being that between native speakers of English and the islanders, makes it impossible to write a lexical grammar. Instead, I will point out the kind of processes involved in breaking down the lexicon of English, leaving aside the question as to how these processes are realised in the speech of individuals. This approach is further justified by the general instability of the various contact jargons, exhibiting "a quality of tentativeness and a process of mutual linguistic adjustment through exploitation of all the language practices at hand." (Goodman 1967:43).

Lexical items can be regarded as the repository of a vast amount of information, both unpredictable basic information and that derived from basic information by regular lexical processes. Lexical information is acquired by native speakers of a language over a long period of time and this process cannot be repeated under the adverse learning conditions characterising the development of jargons. Thus, whilst some of the lexical information is restructured to suit the phonetic and semantic habits of the learner, most of it is lost, only that needed to achieve the minimal aim of having at one's disposal a few names for objects and actions remaining. This constitutes a small and sometimes distorted subset of the lexical information contained in the lexical items of the lexifier language.

The loss of phonological information manifests itself in the following ways, among others:

- a) The loss of syllables preceding the main stress: this can be illustrated by lexical items from Jargon English such as baka *tobacco*, krut *recruit*, pos *suppose*, nap *enough*.

- b) The loss of consonant clusters: examples include *tesin station*, *kapen captain*, and *mata master*. More commonly, epenthetic vowels appear between the consonants constituting clusters in the lexifier language.
- c) The loss of phonological distinctions: typical instances involve some highly marked English sounds such as [θ] and [ʃ] which are rendered as [t] and [s] respectively, the loss of distinction between voiced and voiceless consonants, and the reduction of the English vowel system to one distinguishing from three to five vowels (cf. Mühlhäusler 1974:76-77).

2.4.3.5.4 Lexical expansion in Jargon English

The lexical inventory of Jargon English, though extremely restricted, sufficed as the basis of verbal interaction in the equally restricted situational contexts in which it was used. It appears that when new expressions were needed they were borrowed from either English or a local vernacular, since mechanisms for the expansion of the lexicon from internal resources were nearly always absent. Even such a basic mechanism as circumlocution, vigorously present during the development of more stable pidgins, is not really documented for Pacific Jargon English. No traces whatsoever of a productive derivational lexicon are found.

The dependence on outside sources for structural enrichment of any kind can be regarded as the linguistic equivalent of the dependence of these jargons for their survival on the continuation of the social context in which they were used. It is in this sense that one can refer to a jargon as a 'parasitic system' without any life of its own (cf. Samarin 1971:120).

2.4.3.6 The jargon stage: summary

As speakers of a jargon do not constitute a single language community with social norms for grammar and lexicon, we find many individual differences in the strategies employed in cross-linguistic communication.

On the part of the white visitors or settlers the use of stereotyped foreigner talk versions as well as universally-motivated simplifications of English are encountered. Both reliance on substratum grammar and lexicon and universally motivated second-language strategies are found among indigenous speakers of jargon varieties.

It appears that relexification of earlier pidgins such as Chinese Pidgin English was a minor source of language development. Adlexification, on the other hand, was the principal source of lexical enrichment. The selection of common core features is virtually absent in the grammar of the varieties examined, but appears to have played a considerable role in the lexicon (see chapter on etymologising (2.6)).

Historical continuity between earlier jargons spoken in Samoa and the New Guinea area and later stable varieties of SPP and Tok Pisin is low and restricted mainly to the diffusion of a small number of lexical items. These provided the building blocks out of which more stable varieties were built, under the pressure for more permanent and varied communication in the plantation context.

2.4.4 THE STABILISATION STAGE

2.4.4.1 Introduction

Stabilisation of a pidgin language is the result of the development of socially accepted language norms. Such norms develop when none of the languages in contact serves as a target language. Whinnom suggests (1971:91-115) that stable pidgins are not likely ever to have arisen out of a simple bilingual situation. Instead, they owe their stability to the fact that a jargon (secondary hybrid) is used as a medium of intercommunication by people who are not speakers of the original lexifier language. For Tok Pisin this means that the first stabilisation occurred among the ethnically and linguistically diverse plantation workers on the Samoan plantations of the Deutsche Handels- und Plantagengesellschaft, and subsequently on the plantations belonging to various German firms in the Bismarck Archipelago and the New Guinea mainland.

The reasons for the emergence of a stable pidgin first on Samoa and later in New Guinea and the adjacent islands controlled by Germany can be sought in a number of new situational stimuli, including:

- a) the institutionalisation of Tok Pisin as a means of communication between speakers of diverse language backgrounds;
- b) the plantations providing a certain degree of continuity in the transmission of this language;
- c) the partial withdrawal of English as a model language during German control;
- d) the development of certain standards of correctness as Tok Pisin became a prestige language.

On the linguistic side, stabilisation is characterised by a gradual reduction of variability and the development of syntactic and lexical structures independent of a speaker's first language or other individual language learning strategies. Thus, a stable pidgin acquires a stable language community and social norms to which its members conform. The development of grammatical stability is a gradual process and is achieved at different points in time in different parts of grammar. Moreover, the stabilisation of Tok Pisin can still be observed synchronically in the transition from unstable bush to stable rural varieties (see chapter on variation (3.2)).

Though detailed case studies are not available at present, one would expect that stabilisation would follow the lines suggested by Salisbury (1967:46):

The Pidgin recorded before 1881 is of simple sentences only and is not entirely reliably recorded, yet the variety of forms used does suggest a lack of standardisation. Among the Siane of the Eastern Highlands in 1952 I observed the change from there being only one or two Pidgin speakers in each village of two hundred, to there being twenty or more. In the first situation each speaker has idiosyncracies and gets away with unstandard ("bad") Pidgin as no one can check him, and his idiosyncracies may be copied. With twenty speakers idiosyncracies are scorned and standardisation is the rule. By 1961 a majority of Siane spoke Pidgin and used it among themselves as the most efficient means of communication on certain topics. I would interpret the 1881 New Britain situation as similar to the Siane situation of 1952, and would expect standardisation to have occurred rapidly after.

The stabilisation of Tok Pisin was greatly promoted by the widespread absence of the English 'model' in its formative years on the German-controlled plantations of Samoa and New Britain, and the acceptance of Tok Pisin as an independent language by many Germans. As observed by Friederici (1911:95):

We learn our Pidgin English mostly from our black boys, since they have made this jargon themselves and will continue to do so. For even the Pidgin English is a living language, which develops and which has dialects; and nobody will be able to avail themselves properly of this language, if they labour under the impression that it can be learnt from another European. (also Bateson 1944:137)

Having outlined the general setting and characteristics of stabilised Tok Pisin, I shall now turn to its grammatical and lexical properties.

2.4.4.2 Stabilisation of grammar

2.4.4.2.1 Pronunciation and phonology

Data concerning the phonological properties of early stabilised Tok Pisin are fairly scarce and the prevailing convention of using English orthography does little to help the analyst. There is general agreement, however, that at the phonetic level, a great deal of variation was found and, by and large, accepted. Schnee (1904:304) remarks, for instance:

One and the same Pidgin-English word is pronounced quite different by natives from different regions, depending on whether the consonants of a word are found in the kanaka language in question or not. In the dialects spoken in the Blanche Bay (near Herbertshöhe) the consonants c, f, h, s, z as well as the English *th* are missing. Since, in addition, most of the natives find it difficult to pronounce consonants in sequence, many words are mutilated to a degree that they become unintelligible. (translation mine)

Over the years, however, variations which greatly interfered with intelligibility became considerably reduced and it would not be true to say that indigenous speakers simply used their own phonology when speaking Tok Pisin. Thus, a comparison of Tolai phonology with Tok Pisin as spoken by Tolais exhibits considerable differences. Mosel (1980:23) mentions that

the phoneme /s/, which is absent in Tolai, has been introduced as a separate phoneme in the Tolais' pidgin. Secondly, Tok Pisin exhibits the distinction between lax and tense vowels which is absent in Patpatar-Tolai languages.

Similar evidence is also given on the Tok Pisin spoken by Usarufa speakers (Bee 1972).

While phonological norms experienced considerable stabilisation in indigenous Tok Pisin, the gap between this variety and that spoken by native speakers of English remained and, to some extent, exists even today. Whereas the use of English syntax and lexicon is widely frowned upon, the use of English or almost-English pronunciation is generally accepted. More details about this question are given in Wurm, Laycock and Mühlhäusler 1984.

Phonological rules have two principal causes:

- a) they reflect language change and diversification over time;
- b) they reflect strategies for the optimisation of production (sometimes referred to as 'natural phonological processes').

Because of the relatively shallow time-depth, time-related linguistic changes (such as typically emerge when the language is transmitted from one generation to another) do not play a major role. Their role is further diminished by the very strong tendency of speakers of a pidgin to favour strategies optimising perception, i.e. strategies which aim at the invariance of linguistic forms and a one-to-one relationship between meaning and form. As a consequence we get (Kay and Sankoff 1974:62):

Shallowness of phonology (in the generative sense) or restricted morphophonemics and lack of allophony (in the structural sense). Contact vernaculars seem to show less distance between their deep and surface phonological representations than do natural languages. In fact, it seems a useful working hypothesis, doubtless overstated, that phonology in pidgin languages consists only in a set of systematic phonemes which provide underlying representations that are the same as their surface representations. There are no phonological rules that accomplish deep alternations such as those in *good*, *better*, *best*, or the less deep alternations such as those between the first vowels in *nation*, *national*: that is, there are no such alternations to be accounted for.

Further useful observations about the sound system of Tok Pisin, relevant to the question of the nature of an emergent stable phonemic system, can be found in a number of places, particularly in Hall 1955a:52-61.

2.4.4.2.2 Morphology

A distinction must be made between inflectional morphology, marking word class membership or grammatical categories such as number or gender, and derivational morphology which serves to create new lexical material. Only inflectional morphology will be considered here, with derivational questions being dealt with under the lexicon.

As is the case with other pidgins, examples of inflectional morphology are few. This is due to a number of factors, including:

- a) the great flexibility in word class membership (cf. Mühlhäusler 1978a);
- b) the relatively fixed word order which makes morphological word class marking redundant;
- c) the strong tendency to express grammatical categories by means of fully stressed adverbs (e.g. time adverbs for tense), quantifiers (e.g. for plenty or all to express plurality) and other existing lexical words.

Some inflectional morphology did develop during Tok Pisin's stabilisation stage, however. Most noticeably, the elements *-pela/-fela* (from *fellow*) and *-im* (from *him*), previously found in a number of surface functions, became restricted to a few well defined occurrences:

(1) -pela

In Jargon English this element was found variably in a number of positions in the surface structure of sentences, such as following nouns, preceding nouns and following adjectives. In stabilised Tok Pisin, as recorded in the years after 1900, its occurrence appears to be restricted to two functions:

- a) As a marker of monosyllabic attributive adjectives as in:

tupela lapun	<i>two old men</i>
smolpela dokta	<i>the little doctor, medical orderly</i>
gutpela kaikai	<i>good food</i>

but not of polysyllabic attributive adjectives, a fact observed by Friederici (1911:105) but interpreted correctly only by Brenninkmeyer (1924:9-10):

plenti kumul	<i>many birds of paradise</i>
liklik pikinini	<i>little child</i>

At the same time, the convention that -pela does not appear after attributive numerals if they precede units of currency becomes established, as can be seen from the following examples from Brenninkmeyer (1924:18):

mi baim long tri mak	<i>I bought it for three marks</i>
but: tripela stik tabak	<i>three sticks of tobacco</i>

- b) As a marker of plurality with the first and second person pronoun mipela *we*(excl.) and yupela *you*(pl.). The form empela *they* is found in a very small number of sources but is generally replaced with the em ol plural inherited from SPP.

(2) -im

Him, found in a number of positions in Jargon English, has become phonologically differentiated, em being used as third person singular pronoun and -im as a suffix to verbs having an object. The exceptions to the latter convention, i.e. verbs such as gat¹⁰ and kaikai, are also established by around 1920. It appears that the distinction between verbs which are compulsorily marked by -im and others which can use either long or -im to mark transitivity also dates to this phase, though a more detailed investigation is needed to confirm this.

Both inflectional and derivational morphology are basically lacking in early stabilised Tok Pisin, though other mechanisms to express the concepts, signalled by morphological variation in the source languages, are beginning to emerge.

2.4.4.2.3 Syntax

During stabilisation we can observe the gradual emergence of fixed conventions for word order, by far the most widely accepted being the subject-verb-object (SVO) order. Very few operations are found which change the order of elements in the few basic construction types and add or subtract from them. Thus the basic structures of questions, commands and statements are the same, being differentiated by intonational means alone. Compare:

yu kisim pis	<i>you caught the fish</i>
yu kisim pis?	<i>did you catch the fish?</i>
yu kisim pis!	<i>catch the fish!</i>

Together with the establishment of a fixed word order, separate grammatical word classes begin to emerge. There is a class of nominals appearing in the subject and object position, verbs appearing in the predicate, and so on. The class membership of items is reinforced, as we have seen, by a number of morphological characteristics. At this point *i*, the introducer of the predicate, should also be mentioned; its main function at this time appears to be to reinforce the syntactic information already expressed through invariable surface structure of elements.

The need to express possibilities, contingencies and similar ideas is met by the emergence of a number of sentence qualifiers. Kay and Sankoff's statement that in a pidgin such "propositional qualifiers will appear in surface structure exterior to the propositions they qualify, or not at all" (1974:64) is confirmed by the data available for early stabilised Tok Pisin.

Thus we find temporal deixis accomplished by optional sentential adverbs (baimbai for future, pinis for past, and nau or \emptyset for present), as in:

baimbai mi kambek	<i>I will return</i>
mi kambek pinis	<i>I (have) returned</i>
mi kambek	<i>I return, am returning, have returned, will return, etc.</i>

Other aspectual information is also expressed by sentence adverbs. A long list of examples is found in Brenninkmeyer 1924:23-24, some of which will be quoted here:

iterative:	mi go planti taim	<i>I go many times</i>
intensive:	he tok planti	<i>he talks a lot</i>
wish:	i gut yumi go	<i>let us go</i>
adversative:	maski, yu mekim	<i>why don't you do it?</i>
frustrative:	yu go nating	<i>you went in vain</i>

Whereas in earlier Jargon English varieties a number of strategies were employed in negation, including double negatives and negation of individual constituents, only one such strategy is encountered in stable Tok Pisin: the negation of entire sentences by means of inserting *no* directly after the predicate introduced by *i* as in:

em i no laik kambek	<i>he does not want to come back</i>
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In general, the syntactic possibilities of early stabilised Tok Pisin are very much the same as encountered in other pidgins at a comparable stage of development: it would seem that they are universally motivated rather than due to any external influences. This explanation gains in weight if we consider that a) material which was present in earlier individual jargons is filtered out, b) grammatical constructions not present in English (e.g. placement of negative) appear, and c) some considerable differences exist with substratum grammars (cf. Mosel 1979).

It appears that the maximum unit of grammar in the early stages of stabilisation was a simple sentence or at least a unit of grammar roughly corresponding to it. Thurnwald (1913:97) remarks:

There are, with few exceptions, only relationships between words, hardly any between sentences. Each sentence stands for a complete thought, and one sentence will follow the next sentence without conjoining or subordination. (translation mine)

This means that the most common way of expressing relationships between sentences is simple juxtaposition, as in:

no mani yu no kam	<i>if there is no money, you won't come</i>
yu lukaut long lek bilong	<i>take care so that you won't cut your</i>
yu, baimbai yu no katim	<i>leg</i>

In such constructions the iconic ordering provides the connection. However, over the years simple concatenation is gradually replaced by more complex ways of discourse structuring, and conjoining as well as embedding becoming more powerful devices.

Sentence coordinators are the conjunctions *nau* and/or *and* and *tasol* but. Whilst these are documented very early, the precise sequence in which various abbreviatory devices used in coordinate sentences emerge has not yet been documented. My general impression is that the most common type is:

NP_1 i predicate *nau* NP_2 i predicate becoming NP_1 *nau* NP_2 i predicate under conditions of identical predicates, as in:

man i lukim pik <i>nau</i> meri i	<i>the man saw the pig and the woman</i>
lukim pik	<i>saw the pig</i>

becomes

man <i>nau</i> meri i lukim pik	<i>the man and the woman saw the pig</i>
---------------------------------	--

Other deletion processes appear to be less favoured. Coordination of verb phrases in particular appears to be problematic, since some of the early Tok Pisin speakers have a nominative-accusative system and others an ergative one. The question whether the sentences

em i kam na lukim pik	<i>he came and saw the pig</i>
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and em i katim diwai na pundaun	<i>he cut the tree and it fell down</i>
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are grammatical or not has not been fully settled.

With regard to embedding, a number of interesting case studies have become available in recent years, in particular Sankoff and Brown's (1976) study of certain relative clauses and Woolford's (1979b) study of complementisers. An outline of the findings is given by Sankoff 1979, where details can be found. It seems that, as a general principle, complex constructions appear first in those cases which are most natural (typically, where there is agreement with child language development) and are subsequently extended to cover more complex cases. This means that rules of complex sentence formation begin in an extremely narrow grammatical context, the context restrictions being only gradually lifted. Another typical feature of complex sentence development is that much of the grammatical complexity is the result of reanalysis of already existing less complex sentences. Thus, the development of the complementiser *se* *that* is favoured by an earlier construction, as in:

em i tok <i>se</i> : kaikai i redi	<i>he talks says: food is ready</i>
pinis	

which became reanalysed as:

em i tok, <i>se</i> kaikai i redi	<i>he said, that the food was ready</i>
pinis	

Another instance illustrating this principle is that of *if*-sentences. In very early examples of Tok Pisin we find simple juxtaposition next to subordination marked by means of *sapos if*, as in:

no moni no kam	<i>if you have no money you do not come</i>
	(Samoan Plantation Pidgin)
sapos wantaim moa yu laik	<i>if you pull out the chicken</i>
pulim gras bilong kakaruk	<i>feathers again, I shall give</i>
ai givim yu paippela moa	<i>you five more (strokes)</i>
	(Tok Pisin around 1900)

At the same time, *sapos* acts as an introducer of wishes as in:

sapos i bilong mi	<i>I wish it was mine</i>
sapos i gat san tete	<i>I wish the sun would shine today</i>

It seems conceivable that the use of *sapos* as a conjunction developed out of an earlier verb or sentential adverb *sapos the speaker wishes*, similar to the development of *maski never mind, the speaker is not opposed to* into the conjunction *maski although*.

However, we must remember that stabilisation means, in the first instance, the limitation of free variability and that such developments as have just been discussed already announce the next stage, that of grammatical expansion. I will therefore discuss other cases further below and concentrate for the remainder of this section on the emergence of stable conventions. Two areas where these can be seen particularly clearly are the emerging pronoun systems and the conventions for prepositions.

The pronoun system of early stabilised Tok Pisin contrasts with its predecessors of the jargon phase in its stability, and in that the Melanesian way of pronoun-reference has replaced the earlier English system or mixtures between English and Melanesian systems. It also clearly distinguishes between singular and plural pronouns. It can be regarded as a compromise between the various systems in use previously, though the loss of the distinction between object and subject forms must be regarded as a significant simplification. It appears that a distinction was only made in the third person singular, i.e. *hi* vs. *him/em*, a fact mentioned by both Thurnwald (1913:97) and Brenninkmeyer (1924:12). This simplified new pronoun system took the following form, which has remained the 'standard' until today:

mi	<i>I, me</i>
yu	<i>you (sg.)</i>
em	<i>he, him, she, her, it</i>
mipela	<i>we (excl.)</i>
yumi	<i>we (incl.)</i>
yupela	<i>you (pl.)</i>
(em)ol	<i>they</i>

The possessive pronoun, unlike in English, Tolai and some of the earlier versions of Jargon English, is formed by means of the preposition *long* or *bilong* preceding the set of personal pronouns.

No conventions for the signalling of reflexive pronouns are reported. Brenninkmeyer (1924:14) remarks: "the reflexive pronoun is the same as the personal pronoun, and can only be recognised by its intonation" (translation mine). One of his examples is:

Judas i hangamap, nau i dai *Judas hanged himself and died*

Demonstrative pronouns are also formed by adding emphasis markers, such as *em* (preceding) and *ya* (following), rather than using separate forms, such as *dispela*, a form which Brenninkmeyer (1924:15) regards as an innovation.

2.4.4.2.4 The lexicon

Stabilisation in the lexicon manifests itself in a number of ways, including:

- a) the emergence of norms as to what constitutes a lexical item of the language;
- b) the crystallisation of preferred norms of lexical variants;
- c) the development of lexical field structures.

In addition, one can observe throughout Tok Pisin's stabilisation phase a steady increase in the number of lexical items in common currency. However, such lexical increase is mainly dependent on external borrowing rather than on internal word-formation devices.

(a) Clark (1977 and elsewhere) distinguishes the following features which are based mainly on lexical evidence: worldwide pidgin features, Sino-Pacific features and south-western features. Whereas during the jargon phase the lexicon was influenced by all these traditions, additions to the lexicon during Tok Pisin's stabilisation stage are restricted to the pidgin-speaking communities of German Samoa and German New Guinea. Very few of the additions from Samoan, Duke of York-Blanche Bay languages, German and Malay (discussed in the chapter on etymologising (2.6)) are encountered in other Pacific varieties of Pidgin English. We are now dealing with clearly separate pidgins.

(b) Lexical norms in pidgin languages are determined by the internal coherence of the pidgin-using communities and the role of superimposed languages. In the case of Tok Pisin the absence of its original lexifier language English throughout most of its stabilisation greatly promoted the establishment of independent lexical norms. Thus, more often than is usual for pidgins, one encounters differences in phonological, syntactic and semantic information of Tok Pisin lexical items and their related English etymons. Examples include:

(1) Phonological differences, e.g.:

Tok Pisin	from English	gloss
<i>param</i>	<i>fathom</i>	<i>fathom, measure</i>
<i>bilas</i>	<i>flash</i>	<i>ornament</i>
<i>briken</i>	<i>billy can</i>	<i>billy can</i>
<i>seken</i>	<i>shake hands</i>	<i>make peace</i>

Some of these differences can be described in terms of regular correspondences, as shown by Laycock (1970c:xiiff). However, the number of forms which cannot be accounted for in this way remains large and thus underlines the relative absence of the English model.

(2) Morphological information:

The inability of Tok Pisin speakers to recognise morphological boundaries in the lexical items of its various lexifier languages is manifested in a number of ways in the lexicon:

- a) Plural forms are borrowed particularly in those cases where the noun concerned refers to entities which are usually observed in the quantities larger than one. However, the restructured items are neutral with regard to the grammatical category of number. Some examples are:

Tok Pisin	from	gloss
anis	<i>ants</i>	<i>ant, ants</i>
masis	<i>matches</i>	<i>match, matches</i>

- b) Compounds of the lexifier languages are typically reinterpreted as simple bases. Examples are numerous, and only a few will be listed here:

Tok Pisin	from	gloss
bilinat	<i>betelnut</i>	<i>betelnut</i>
simbum	<i>jib-boom</i>	<i>jib-boom</i>
kolta	<i>coal-tar</i>	<i>tar</i>
trausel	<i>tortoise shell</i>	<i>tortoise</i>
mensit	<i>main-sheet</i>	<i>main sheet</i>
kaswel	<i>castor oil</i>	<i>castor oil</i>

- c) Word as well as morpheme boundaries of the lexifier language are no longer reflected in a number of lexical bases. Fusion of two or more word-level lexical items is found in:

Tok Pisin	from	gloss
baimbai	<i>by and by</i>	<i>soon</i>
nambis	<i>on the beach</i>	<i>beach</i>
tudir	<i>too dear</i>	<i>expensive</i>
lego	<i>let go</i>	<i>to let go</i>
sekan	<i>shake hands</i>	<i>to make peace</i>
tasol	<i>that's all</i>	<i>only, but</i>

More examples are listed in Hall 1943b:195.

(3) Syntactic information:

Differences in syntactic information can be illustrated with two phenomena, a) differences in the cases associated with verbs, and b) differences in the position of adjectives vis-a-vis nouns. The former difference is illustrated with the following examples:

Tok Pisin	English
mi katim pepa long sisis	<i>I cut the paper with the scissors</i>
mi katim sisis long pepa	<i>*I cut the scissors at the paper</i>
misin i sot long tisa	<i>the mission is short of teachers</i>
tisa i sot long misin	<i>*the teachers are short for the mission</i>
mi givim moni longen	<i>I gave money to him</i>
mi givim em long moni	<i>*I gave him for money</i>
maket i pulap long pipel	<i>the market is full of people</i>
pipel i pulap long maket	<i>*the people are full on the market</i>

Tok Pisin	English
mi pulimapim kap long ti	<i>I filled the cup with tea</i>
mi pulimapim ti long kap	<i>I poured tea into the cup</i>
mi lainim tok pisin longen	<i>I learnt Tok Pisin from him</i>
em i lainim mi long tok pisin	<i>he taught me Tok Pisin</i>

As regards adjectives, Tok Pisin makes a difference between those which precede and those which follow nouns. The position of Tok Pisin adjectives is not predictable either on the basis of historical information (there are major differences between Tok Pisin and its sub- and superstratum languages as pointed out in the chapter on theoretical issues (6.3.2)) nor on language internal grounds. Rather, it appears to be largely lexicalised. The subdivision can be illustrated with the following examples:

adjectives preceding nouns	adjectives following nouns
bikpela <i>big</i>	daun <i>low</i>
longpela <i>long</i>	giaman <i>false</i>
raunpela <i>round</i>	kais <i>left</i>
wetpela <i>white</i>	malomalo <i>soft</i>
yangpela <i>young</i>	kela <i>bald</i>

Further information about these restrictions, as well as idiosyncratic morphological information with adjective bases, is given by Wurm (1971a:53-56).

(4) Semantic information:

The emergence of stable conventions about the meaning of lexical items independent of those found in the lexifier language is a further sign of Tok Pisin's status as an independent linguistic system. Thus, Salisbury (1967:47) remarks with regard to lexical items of Tolai origin that "Another index of naturalisation is the shift of meaning of Tolai terms away from their Tolai meanings." Examples, other than that of *tambu* discussed by Salisbury, include:

Tolai	Tok Pisin
mao <i>ripe banana</i>	mau <i>ripe, mature</i>
tubuan <i>old woman, mask of old woman</i>	tubuan <i>wooden mask, carving</i>
ubene <i>fishing net</i>	umben <i>net (in general)</i>
virua <i>victim, human flesh</i>	birua <i>enemy, warrior</i>
kabag <i>white, lime</i>	kambang <i>lime</i>
pagagar <i>to be open</i>	pangangar <i>to be in a position for copulation (of female)</i>

However, whilst conventions about the central meaning of most lexical items began to emerge relatively early during Tok Pisin's stabilisation, a fair amount of latitude and vagueness is found with regard to less central areas of meaning. Reed (1943:280) observes: "No native can be expected to have more than a very limited number of associations with his pidgin vocabulary."

The development of stricter conventions about the meaning of lexical bases can be observed, however, in a number of situational contexts where the language had become fully institutionalised. Thus, for instance, on the plantations a number of well-defined technical terms developed, including:

Tok Pisin	gloss
mek pepa	<i>to sign a labour contract</i>
finistaim	<i>to finish one's indenture</i>
sande	<i>to pool one's wages</i>
krismas	<i>period of twelve months</i>
lain	<i>labour line</i>
nuboi	<i>newly indentured labourer</i>
olboi	<i>experienced labourer</i>
haus smok	<i>copra dryer</i>
belo kaikai	<i>signal for lunch break</i>
belo bek	<i>signal for resumption of work after lunch</i>
bosboi	<i>native supervisor</i>

Next to the emergence of lexical norms for individual items we find a second manifestation of lexical stabilisation, i.e. the emergence of tightly structured lexical fields. As suggested by the last example, such field structures can be expected in those areas where the language is most firmly institutionalised.

The importance of the development of semantic fields lies in there being a way of organising the lexical material borrowed from a number of sources, thereby reconciling the frequently conflicting semantic information 'picked up' from these sources.

An example of such a developing semantic field is that of enumeration. Many number systems are found in the geographic area of Papua New Guinea. Decimal number systems are widespread in the Melanesian languages spoken in the area where Tok Pisin stabilised. This facilitated the adoption of the English system of counting, though not without certain changes. Reed (1943:282) observes:

The system of enumeration in pidgin is a clear example of linguistic syncretism under the impact of culture contact. And we may also observe herein significant cultural adjustments by the natives toward European institutions of economics and finance. The cardinal numbers from one to ten are patently of English derivation: wan, tu, tri, for, faif, sīkīs, sēfēn, et, nain, and tēn; but with numbers above ten, the native pattern of grouping numbers more frequently occurs. Thus eleven is wanfela ten wan, twelve wanfela ten tu, and so on to twenty, which is tufēla tēn.

Different conventions for counting emerged in other areas and are still found with some very old speakers. One of these is the quinary system, using English cardinal numbers one to four and names of bodyparts for the numbers five and ten (cf. also Murphy 1973:35). Here follows a comparison of two counting systems:

	decimal system	quinary system
1	wanpela	wanpela
2	tupela	tupela
3	tripela	tripela
4	popela	popela
5	paipela	wanpela han
6	sikispela	wanpela han na wanpela
7	sevenpela	wanpela han na tupela
8	etpela	wanpela han na tripela
9	nainpela	wanpela han na popela
10	wanpela ten	wanpela lek

A second example of emerging lexical structures is that of kinship terms in stabilised Tok Pisin. It appears, however, that stable conventions existed only with regard to the central meaning of kinship terms, whilst considerable latitude was - and still is - found with regard to the more peripheral aspects of meaning. Though a number of items appearing in this field have English cognates, their semantic information has been restructured:

Tok Pisin	central meaning
tumbuna	<i>grandparent, grandchild</i>
papa	<i>father</i>
mama	<i>mother</i>
kandare	<i>maternal uncle or aunt</i>
smolmama	<i>paternal aunt</i>
smolpapa	<i>paternal uncle</i>
brata	<i>sibling of the same sex</i>
susa	<i>sibling of the opposite sex</i>

Next to processes concerned with organising and consolidating the existing lexicon, one also finds, in stabilised Tok Pisin, the first traces of lexical productivity, mainly in the form of conventions regarding the use of circumlocutions and lexical phrases.

Writers have commented on circumlocution in Tok Pisin either in order to illustrate an amusing facet of its lexicon or to make more serious attempts to demonstrate how speakers try to overcome the shortage of lexical items. Both views underline the desperate need for new names for the multitude of new objects encountered in the contact with European colonisers.

Circumlocution lies on the boundary between lexicon and syntax. The majority of examples quoted illustrate their ad hoc character, i.e. attempts by members of the indigenous population to come to grips with a new object, using known lexical items and syntactic rules. That many of the circumlocutions should not be regarded as lexical items has been pointed out by Turner (1960:58-59):

There is a legend as old as Jespersen's *Language, its nature, development and origin* that the Pidgin word for *piano* is bigfela bokis yu fait-im i kraik. This is a description, not a word, comparable with descriptions of things unfamiliar to ourselves in a Pidgin to English glossary, e.g. John J. Murphy in *The book of Pidgin English* defines laplap *length of cloth worn around the waist like a kilt*. If pianos become common in New Guinea, they will borrow the word *piano*.

The instability of circumlocutions, i.e. their syntactic rather than lexical character, is demonstrated by the different forms which descriptive phrases for the same object take in the mouths of different speakers. As regards the name for a piano, Baron von Hesse-Wartegg (1902:53) reports the form "big fellow box spouse whiteman fight him he cry too much", where Daiber writes in the same year (1902:255):

All in all, the black does not lack a certain sense of humour. His description of the first piano brought to the German South Seas is also delightful. It was a Papuan who, horrified, told of big fellow box, white fellow master fight him plenty too much, he cry (of the big box which the white man beats so much that it screams). Since that time the piano has been called in Pidgin-English box belong cry, that is *screaming box* or *screaming trunk*. (translation mine)

Later one finds "big fellow bokkes, suppose missis he fight him, he cry too much" (Friederici 1911:100), big fellow box, stop house, suppose you fight him, him cry (reported for SPP by Neffgen in the *Samoa Times*, 27 March 1915); Shelton-Smith (1929) mentions the more likely version of fight im bokis moosik for *to play the piano*, more recently Mihalic (1969a:39) mentions the form him big fella box, suppose you fight him, he cry, without claiming the authenticity of this version and, lastly (but perhaps not finally), Balint in his 1969 dictionary lists the form bikpela bokis bilong kra i taim yu paitim na kikim em.

Many of the early cumbersome circumlocutions disappear as soon as the concept expressed becomes more common. Examples of their replacement with lexical items borrowed up to 1920 include:

reported circumlocution	lexical replacement	gloss
smok bilong graun	das (Eng.) tobon (Tol.)	<i>dust</i>
rot bilong wara	baret (Mal.)	<i>ditch</i>
kom bilong sutim kaikai i go long maus	gabel (Ger.)	<i>eating fork</i>
susu bilong duai	gumi (Ger.)	<i>rubber</i>
snek bilong wara	maleo (Tol.)	<i>eel</i>
diwai bilong raitim pepa	blaistik (Ger.)	<i>pencil</i>

Some shorter circumlocutions were conventionalised, however, and are still in use in present-day rural Tok Pisin, including:

Tok Pisin	literal translation	gloss
sit bilong binen	<i>shit of bees</i>	<i>honey</i>
rop bilong su	<i>string of shoe</i>	<i>shoe lace</i>
pekpek bilong lam	<i>faeces of lamp</i>	<i>soot</i>

Such shorter lexical phrases may well have been the point of departure for a development of a genuine word-formation component in this language. These matters will be discussed under the heading of lexical developments in expanded pidgin.

2.4.4.2.5 Concluding remarks on stabilisation

A stabilised pidgin, in the technical sense, is a pidgin which is governed by social rules and conventions in a limited domain of human discourse. Its primary function is that of a tool for exchanging information (referential function) rather than of expressing the full range of individual feelings and relationships between individuals and society as is the case in more complex languages. Because of its limited functional range a stabilised pidgin is reduced in its lexicon and its grammatical possibilities when compared to languages spoken natively or pidgins used for more complex purposes.

In New Guinea stabilisation first occurred in the New Britain-Duke of York area in the late 1880s, but is still an ongoing process in the most remote parts of the New Guinea interior. Thus, texts recorded at many different points in time can be used to illustrate the character of this language. I have chosen three texts illustrating different aspects of the use of stable Tok Pisin:

Text 1) court evidence

Given at Kokopo in a murder case, possibly about 1912, *Reichskolonialamt Records*, vol.29ff., earliest example of Tok Pisin used in a court case:

Bell belong me hot me like fight all the same place belong me, me make him all the same place belong me, me shoot him finish one fellow master, now me like die behind. Me like shoot past time you, by and by me die, you catch him other fellow man.

Me no look him good that fellow master, me shoot him bell belong him he big fellow, I think me shoot him master Kolbe. Eye belong me too dark me no look him good. Me now die.

(I was very angry, I wanted to fight (as is the custom) in my village, I acted as is customary in my village; I shot one European dead, and now I am ready to die. First I shoot you, then I die and you catch the other man. I did not recognise this European properly, I shot him, he had a big belly, perhaps I shot master Kolbe. I was blind, I did not recognise him. Now I die.)

Interesting linguistic features include:

- a) The use of standard English spelling by German officials, proving that no standardised spelling for Tok Pisin had been developed by the German administration as claimed by Hall (1959a:22ff).
- b) The use of the idiomatic expressions Bell belong me hot *I was angry* and eye belong me too dark *I was blind* (physically or metaphoric-ally), illustrating the carry-over of indigenous semantics (for a detailed discussion see Todd and Mühlhäusler 1978).
- c) Variable use of tense and aspect markers suggesting that this part of Tok Pisin grammar had not fully stabilised. Future or events occurring after other events are signalled variably by means of by-and-by sentence initially or behind sentence finally. Note that some sentences are tenseless and aspectless in this text.

Text 2) written Tok Pisin

The earliest example of a letter written in Tok Pisin by a New Guinean, dating from about 1913, was found in *Koloniale Rundschau* (vol.4, 1912:504-505). The writer is Tividele from New Hanover. First, the original letter followed by an attempt by the German author of the article to transcribe the letter into, what he calls, "readable Pidgin-English".

Masta Vaitman

Tividele mi ispikiu log mani bolog mi log tain bolog mi pipo. I finish (25) tupala ten mun na paip. Mi laik papai iu givemi log en, papai mi kam bek. Mi vok mani bolog paim samtig bolog mi, samtig bolog mi istap log pepa pipo mi kissim. I pinis tasol. Tasol me tokimiu log gem i pinis. Pos you no laik, iu givimi tupaou bolog paim samtig. Mi nogot samtig bolog go peles, papai mi givim kandare man bolog mi log peles. Mi tokiu olosem mi laik save tok bolog iu. Namem iu no kan givim mi olosem. I pinis. Gutbai mi go. Siara mi go log gem.

Master Whiteman

Tividele me speak you belong money belong me long time belong me before. I finish (25) two fellow ten moon now five. Me like by and bye you give him me belong him, by and bye me come back. Me work money belong pay something belong me something belong me he stop belong paper before, me catch him. I finish, this is all. That is all me talk him you belong him I finish. Suppose you no like, you give him me 2 pound belong pay him something. Me no got something belong go place, by and bye me give him country-men belong me belong place. Me talk you all the same, me like save talk belong you. Nevermind you no can give him me, all the same. I finish. Good bye me go. Siara me go belong him.

Interesting linguistic features include:

- a) The spelling illustrates both the influence of standard English spelling and the considerable amount of phonological restructuring Tok Pisin had undergone in the mouth of indigenes by that time, e.g. in *pabai* from *by and bye*, *pos* from *suppose*, *peles* from *place* and *kissim* from *catch him*.
- b) The spelling further illustrates that the word boundaries made by indigenous speakers differ considerably from those commonly recognised by European speakers. Compare *ispikiu* (present standard spelling *i spik yu*) predicate marker *speak you* and *tupala two* with examples from the previous text, such as *he big fellow* predicate marker *big* adjective ending, and *me shoot him master Kolbe* *I shoot* transitivity marker *master Kolbe*.
- c) We can observe the emergence of formal marking of grammatical subordination, in the form of the complementisers *pabai* 'introducer of coming events' and *olosem that*.

Text 3) narration

The speaker is Fritz from Ali Island, West Sepik Province, about 75 years of age when the recording was made in 1973.

Na bruder em tu i stap wantaim. Mi stap long kuk tu, mi stap long tisa tu, orait, mi bosim ol boi tu, givim kaikai. Na pater oltaim i stap long helpim skul tu, i wokabout go Suain kam bek Ulau. Sapos i go Yakamul i go, mi, mi holim ki, olgeta ki bilong rum bilong pater mi holim. Pater i laik go we, em i go, olgeta pater laik i go we, ol i go i kam bek, mi givim bek ki, ki bilong rum. Haus bilong pater i gat tupela rum, wanpela rum spaisesima, wanpela rum bilong slip.

(*And a religious Brother also stayed there at the same time. I stayed there as cook, I also stayed there as teacher, well, I supervised the indigenous workers, I gave them food. And the priest always helped with the school, he walked to Suain and returned to Ulau. If he went away to Yakamul, I had the keys, I held all the keys for the priest's rooms. If the priest wanted to go somewhere, he went and if all the priests wanted to go, they then came back, I returned the keys, the keys to the rooms. The priest's house had two rooms, one room was the dining room, one room was the bedroom.*)

Interesting linguistic features include:

- a) Optional plural marking by means of *ol* (from *all*) as in *ol boi indigenou workers*.
- b) Complete sentences but few subordinate sentences; instead, juxtaposition is used, sometimes reinforced by discourse structuring elements such as *orait well*.
- c) Adjectives and transitive verbs marked by the suffixes *-pela* and *-im* respectively.
- d) Some German items such as *bruder religious Brother* and *pater priest* in the stable core lexicon. *Spaisesima dining room*, on the other hand, is an ad hoc loan.
- e) Relatively stable syntax with little variation in word order.
- f) The use of loans or circumlocutions rather than compounding to express the concepts of dining room and bedroom. Compare *spaisesima* and *rum bilong slip* with the more recent forms *haus kaikai* (or *rum kaikai*) and *haus slip* (*rum slip*).

The above texts only illustrate some of the salient properties of stabilised Tok Pisin. A fuller picture can be gained by consulting one of the early grammars of the language discussed in the chapter on the history of research (2.1).

2.4.5 EXPANSION STAGE

2.4.5.1 Introduction

The realisation that pidgin languages can be classified in terms of their structural complexity is a relatively recent one and it appears that the study of Tok Pisin was instrumental in the qualification of earlier statements such as:

For a language to be a true pidgin, two conditions must be met: its grammatical structure and its vocabulary must be sharply reduced ..., and also the resultant language must be native to none of those who use it. (Hall 1966:xii)

A pidgin, however, is so limited, both lexically and structurally, that it is suitable only for specialized and limited communication. (DeCamp 1971a:16)

Uneasiness with such definitions was voiced by Samarin (1971:117-140) and Mühlhäusler (1974:14-18) and subsequently by others particularly Todd (1974c:4). Todd distinguishes between stable and restricted pidgins and another type:

Clearly distinguishable from this type of pidgin is what I call an 'expanded' or 'extended' pidgin. This is one which develops in a multilingual area, which proves extremely useful in inter-group communication and which, because of its usefulness, is extended and utilized outside the range of its original use They differ from restricted pidgins in that, in them, we see the emergence of new languages with the potential to grow and spread or to disappear if their usefulness as a means of communication comes to an end.

The importance of these new definitions lies in their separating the processes of creolisation and internal expansion, thus acknowledging that a pidgin can achieve a high degree of structural sophistication without being a native language.

The development of Tok Pisin from a stable but simple pidgin in the 1910s into the complex language of the 1960s and 1970s illustrates the principle that expansion of the social functions of a language results in its structural expansion. It appears that this expansion occurred, by and large, without any significant amount of creolisation.

The first stimulus for the expansion of Tok Pisin was the gradual 'pacification' of New Guinea. In its wake, intercommunication across tribal boundaries became important, first on the government stations but subsequently in the pacified areas as a whole. Tok Pisin became nativised; that is, its primary function shifted from vertical communication between colonisers and colonised to horizontal intertribal communication.

A second important stimulus for the expansion of Tok Pisin was the decision by a growing number of missionary groups to use Tok Pisin as a mission lingua franca. The first official policy favouring the use of Tok Pisin was that of the Catholic missions in the mid-1920s, while the Lutheran missions only adopted the language in the 1960s. The result of these mission policies was that the domain of non-traditional religion became firmly associated with Tok Pisin, culminating in the publication of the *Nupela Testamen* (New Testament) in 1969. Mission involvement with Tok Pisin at the same time resulted in a fair amount of standardisation and vocabulary planning.

The Second World War and the years immediately thereafter brought a third stimulus. During the war, large-scale propaganda campaigns in Tok Pisin were carried out by both the Japanese and the allied forces. Millions of leaflets were dropped over the country, and Tok Pisin was used in radio broadcasts for the first time. The war also created the need for scientific descriptions of the language on which language teaching programs could be based.

The years following the war brought two important new developments: first, the opening up of the New Guinea Highlands and the spread of Tok Pisin into this most populated part of New Guinea; and, second, the gradual breaking down of social barriers between expatriates and indigenes. The status of Tok Pisin was changed from that of a low-caste language to one promoting equality and democratisation of the society and it emerged as the language of local government. A number of Tok Pisin newspapers aimed at spreading democratic ideas also began to appear after 1945. In addition, Tok Pisin was taught in a number of government and mission schools.

To sum up, the following general tendencies can be observed during Tok Pisin's expansion:

- a) Beginning with a mere communicative function, Tok Pisin gradually began to be used for integrative and expressive purposes. It became the symbol of a new culture and its speakers began using it to express their inner feelings and desires. Without being a native language, it became the principal language for many of its speakers.
- b) Tok Pisin was used in an ever-increasing number of domains, such as religion, economy, agriculture, education, aviation, modern warfare, and parliamentary transactions.

- c) Tok Pisin began to be used in the media, including radio broadcasting, pamphlets, newspapers, books and, more recently, films and plays.
- d) Tok Pisin today no longer is supplementary to the traditional vernaculars but is beginning to take over their functions, thus leading to the functional and structural decline of vernaculars in some areas.

From the above remarks it follows that a significant proportion of Tok Pisin's grammatical and lexical expansion was deliberate and man-made. This is discussed in the chapter on language planning (6.8). Although a clearcut boundary between man-made (conscious) and unconscious developments cannot be drawn, the present chapter will be concerned mainly with those developments that resulted spontaneously from pressure for more efficient communication across a wider range of topics and in an increasing number of language functions.

2.4.5.2 Phonology

Whereas the developments in Tok Pisin's lexicon and grammar have received much attention in recent years, comparatively little is known about the development of its sound patterns. Admittedly, the difficulty in obtaining accurate historical information is great in this area. Nevertheless, a thorough examination of available data is likely to yield a fairly accurate picture and the fact that both more and less developed varieties of the language are spoken in present-day Papua New Guinea would make the testing of hypotheses in this area fairly easy. My own tentative examination of selected data suggests the following changes during the last 50 years (with expansion commencing around 1930 and accelerating considerably after 1960): a) a steady increase in phonological distinctions; b) the emergence of phonological rules, and c) the increasing use of former free pronunciation variants for stylistic purposes. I will now discuss these developments.

a) Increase in phonological distinctions:

Since no single norm of pronunciation is found in stabilised Tok Pisin one can only compare varieties as spoken by individuals or groups with the more widely established norms of pronunciation of extended pidgin. It must be remembered, however, that even in extended Tok Pisin, substratum-derived and other variations in pronunciation continue. In the absence of detailed evidence all statements must remain very general.

The vowel inventory of Tok Pisin as given in earlier grammars (e.g. Borchardt 1930) is a simple five-vowel system.

i u
 e o
 a

This vowel system is still widespread in the New Guinea interior and in some coastal areas. Note that all these vowels are short or half-long. In some coastal areas a ten-vowel system is encountered. It is not clear in what order the new vowels were added but there is evidence that this ten-vowel system was preceded by a seven-vowel system of the form:

i u
 e o
 ε ɔ
 a

Laycock (1970c:xiii) characterises the ten-vowel system as follows:

The orthography of Pidgin recognises only five vowel symbols, a e i o u, and in Highlands Pidgin perhaps only five vowels occur in the language. In coastal forms of Pidgin, however, two contrasting pronunciations are often encountered for each written vowel symbol; these are given below. Note that all vowels in Pidgin are short, or at most half-long, and that the differences between them are (with the exception of [a] and [a·]) differences of quality, not quantity.

The following chart sets out the ten vowel distinctions recognisable in coastal varieties of Pidgin. To these, some Pidgin speakers who have learnt English add an eleventh, as a third pronunciation of o. This is [ɔ], as in English *court* (Pidgin *kot*). The bulk of Pidgin speakers, however, pronounce this vowel as [o] or [ɒ].

Examples:

- a [a] in hat *hot*; similar to Australian English *cut*
[a·] in hat *hard*; similar to Australian English *heart*
- e [e] in wet *wait*; similar to French é in *été*
[ɛ] in bet *bench*; similar to Australian English *bed*
- i [i] in nil *nail*; similar to French i in *pique*
[ɪ] in pis *fish*; similar to Australian English *kiss*
- o [o] in kol *cold*; similar to o in French *rôle*
[ɒ] in dok *dog*; similar to Australian English *dog*
- u [u] in susu *breast*; similar to ou in French *fou*
[ʊ] in pul *paddle*; similar to Australian English *pull*.

Contrasts in vowel length are also encountered with many speakers. However such contrasts are used for emphasis and other stylistic purposes rather than for distinguishing lexical meanings.

As regards consonants, irrespective of a Tok Pisin user's native language, a number of distinctions which were not encountered in earlier Tok Pisin are now widely made. These include a distinction between [s] and [t], [p] and [f], and [l] and [r] in that order. The consonant system of expanded Tok Pisin can be summarised as follows (less common distinctive consonants in brackets):

		Labio-					
		Labial	dental	Dental	Palatal	Velar	Laryngeal
Plosive	Unvoiced	p		t		k	
	Voiced	b		d		g	
Nasal	Voiced	m		n		ŋ	
	Unvoiced		f				
Fricative	Voiced		v				
	Unvoiced			s	($\begin{matrix} \text{ʃ} \\ \text{ç} \\ \text{ç} \\ \text{ʝ} \end{matrix} $)		
Affricate	Voiced						
Trill	Voiced			r			
Lateral	Voiced			l			
Aspiration	Unvoiced						(h)

More relevant information is given in the chapter on phonology (4.1).

In addition to an increase in the absolute number of meaning distinguishing sound segments we also find individual sounds in an increasing number of environments. Whereas in older varieties of Tok Pisin, distinctive sounds tended to be restricted to the most natural environments, in extended Tok Pisin distinctions are upheld in more difficult environments as well. Thus, whereas word-final nasals tend to get neutralised in many earlier varieties of the language, we now find that they are kept apart by most speakers.

b) Emergence of phonological rules:

Pidgin languages and second languages in general are governed by strategies for the optimisation of perception, i.e. strategies promoting the ideal of one form one meaning and one meaning one form. This means that rules which promote the ease of production tend to be suppressed in the early stages of development. It is only in a community of fluent second-language speakers that such rules have a chance of gaining wider acceptance. Greater fluency also promotes a second development, namely the gradual relaxation of the strict phonotactic restrictions found in early pidgins. Let us discuss this second point first.

A good example is epenthetic vowels. In stabilised Tok Pisin we encounter a very strong preference for a CVCV word structure. Words containing three or more syllables and syllables containing consonant clusters are very rare and generally disfavoured. However, a longitudinal study of the Tok Pisin lexicon clearly shows a quite dramatic increase in lexical items which violate these conditions in later years. Let us consider an example. Early records suggest that English *straight* became either *tiret* or *sitiret* in Tok Pisin. Records around 1930 report *steret* whereas in most recent times *stret* is freely found in the language. The role of epenthetic vowels in such forms is discussed in an article by Pawley (1975).

A second phonotactic restriction concerns voiced plosives. Whereas older varieties of Tok Pisin reflect the Melanesian practice of pronouncing the sounds [b], [d] and [g] with a strongly nasalised onset (making them sound like [mb], [nd] and [ngg] respectively), a recent study by Tetaga (1971) demonstrates the decline of this practice among younger speakers. He observes that the use of prenasalisation is now regarded as a social marker of backwardness. More about this social dimension will be said below.

Summing up, it can be stated that the phonological structure of Tok Pisin words has become increasingly complex in recent years and is likely to become even more so in the future. The relaxation of phonological restrictions appears to be directly responsible for the increasing number of phonological rules, in particular rules which allow speakers to de-emphasise marginal semantic information and rules for allegro pronunciation. Again, only a very sketchy illustration of ongoing changes can be given.

In earlier varieties of Tok Pisin the difference of emphasis on stressed and unstressed syllables was very small (cf. Wurm 1977d:513). More recently, there has been some significant change. A well-known example is the phonological reduction of a number of grammatical words and morphemes, e.g. the development from *baimbai* 'future' to *bambai*, *babai*, *bai*, *ba* and *bə* (cf. Kay and Sankoff 1974) and *-fela* 'adjective ending' to *fla* and *flə* (cf. Lynch 1981).

No study of the operation of phonological rules in fast spoken discourse is available at present. It is hoped that this and other aspects of Tok Pisin phonology will receive close attention soon.

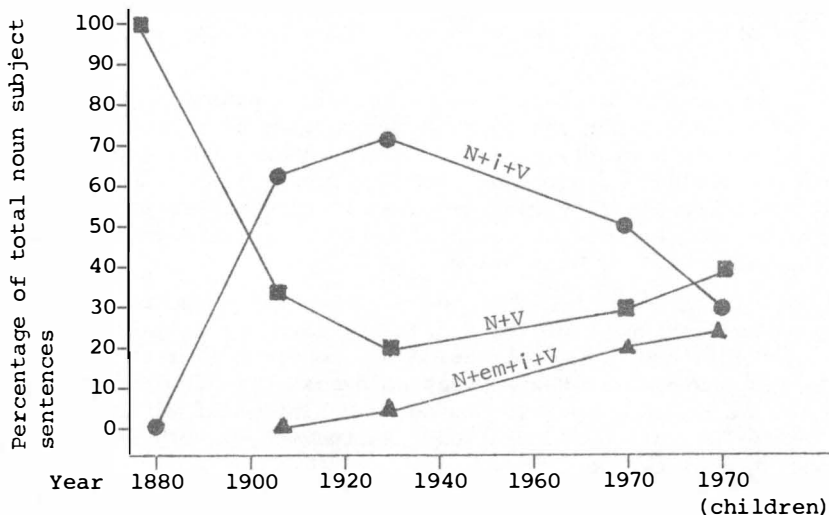
c) Use of variants for stylistic purposes:

There are two principal sources for the emergence of registers of style in a developing pidgin language: a) borrowing from external sources, and b) backsliding, i.e. the use of developmentally earlier forms in special stylistic functions. A comprehensive picture of these processes is given by Wurm and Mühlhäusler (1982) and only some brief comments on the second aspect can be made here.

Advanced speakers of Tok Pisin can be observed to ignore their usual distinction between [s] and [t], [p] and [f], and [l] and [r] for special stylistic effects, mainly to portray a hillbilly mentality. The same mentality is also suggested by their using epenthetic vowels and prenasalised plosives. To what extent backsliding is resorted to is not known at present, however.

2.4.5.3 Morphology

Grammatical words which are phonologically reduced have a strong tendency to develop into affixes (clitics). Thus, Sankoff and Laberge (1973) describe the development of the sentential adverb *baimbai* 'future marker' to a verbal prefix *bə-* with the same meaning. Another case, documented in detail by Sankoff (1977b), is that of the development of anaphoric pronouns into the predicate marker and verbal clitics. The following chart (Sankoff 1977b:65) illustrates this development:



Time course of the successive cliticisation of *i* and *em*

The type of constructions referred to by Sankoff are:

man come	<i>the man came</i>	1
man he come	<i>the man came</i>	} 2
or man i kam	<i>the man came</i>	
and man em i kam	<i>the man came</i>	3

It is conceivable that em i may in future become phonologically reduced to yield a prefix of the type found in a hypothetical *man mikam where mi- fulfils the role of the present-day predicate marker i.

2.4.5.4 Syntax

The emergence of numerous new constructions in extended pidgin, its acquisition of a complex grammar in a timespan of little over 50 years has attracted considerable attention, and a number of detailed studies of individual constructions is available. The three most important aspects of expansion in the syntactic component are:

- a) the sources of grammatical innovations
- b) the ability of adult second-language speakers to drastically restructure their grammar
- c) parallelisms between pidgin expansion and other forms of language development.

These issues have been dealt with in some detail elsewhere in this volume (chapter on theoretical issues (6.7)). I will therefore only briefly remind the reader that available evidence suggests that:

- a) Syntactic innovation appears to be language-internal and derived from universal principles of language development. Borrowing is a minor factor and restricted by general principles.
- b) The dramatic restructuring began to occur a long time before there was any significant creolisation. It also appears that in the initial years second-language learning by children was not a strong factor.
- c) There are significant parallelisms between pidgin expansion and other kinds of second-language developments but differences with first-language development.

The overall process of syntactic expansion can be split up into the following subcomponents:

- a) the emergence of compulsory grammatical categories;
- b) the development of embedding and overt signalling of embedded constructions;
- c) changes in word order for grammatical and stylistic reasons;
- d) the development of discourse structuring devices.

More will now be said about categories a) to c). Unfortunately, the nature of Tok Pisin discourse grammar is not sufficiently known to warrant an inclusion in our discussion.

(a) Compulsory grammatical categories

During its stabilisation stage Tok Pisin corresponded to the widely used characterisation of pidgins as tenseless and numberless languages, though in later years tense, aspect and number could be expressed optionally by means of sentential

adverbs and other stressed words. This means that the semantic content associated with such grammatical markers could be expressed perfectly well where necessary. The reason for making these categories increasingly obligatory can thus not be referential requirements. Rather, the introduction of obligatory and redundant categories must be seen as decreasing the context sensitivity of the language and at the same time making up for the loss of perceptive power caused by the development of phonological rules. An additional reason is provided in Labov's discussion of the emergence of tense markers (1971b:70):

In tracing the development of tense so far, it appears that the essence is a stylistic one. There is no basis for arguing that tense markers express the concept of temporal relations more clearly than adverbs of time. What then is the advantage that they offer to native speakers, the advantage which native speakers seem to demand? The most important property which tense markers possess, which adverbs of time do not, is their stylistic flexibility. They can be expanded or contracted to fit in with the prosodic requirements of *allegro* or *lento* style.

An excellent summary of the development of the sentential adverb *baimbai* into the obligatory preverbal aspect marker *bai* is given by Sankoff and Kay (1974):

That *bai* has been undergoing a transition to the status of a future marker is supported by historical data indicating the anteriority of *baimbai*, with subsequent reduction through *b'mbai* and *b'bai* to *bai* (*bai* and *ba*), a process now almost gone to completion. A continuation of this process has led to further reduction (as is clear from the children in our sample) to *b*. *Bai* has become a highly redundant, obligatory marker for fluent present day speakers. The marker status of *bai* for the children in our sample is also indicated by the reduced stress it receives in their speech, compared with adult speech. A shift in the position of *bai* with respect to the verb also appears to have taken place in the past, though fluent second language speakers now show no difference from native speakers in this regard. Further work on the behavior of various kinds of embeddings which clearly affect the *bai*-movement rule for all fluent present-day speakers, may also help to clarify the history of this change.

It is obvious that change in the status of *bai* was well under way prior to the existence of a large number of native speakers; native speakers appear to be carrying further tendencies which were already present in the language. We are not arguing that the presence of native speakers creates sudden and dramatic changes in a language, but rather that their presence may be one factor in influencing directions in language change.

To get the full impact of this quotation it helps to compare the following sentence spoken by a middle-aged speaker from a remote rural area, with the one recorded by Sankoff of a young speaker in an urban area:

Bai em kam bek na i stap na kaikai na kisim wara (recorded by Mühlhäusler)

(Fut.) *she come back and* (predicate marker) *stay and eat and fetch water.*

She will come back and stay and eat and fetch water.

Pes pikini ia bai yu go long wok, - bai yu stap ia na.
 bai yu stap long banis kau bilong mi na bai taim mi dai.
 bai yu lukautim.

*You, first son, will go and work in, - you'll remain here
 and you'll stay on my cattle farm and when I die you'll
 look after it.*

A second grammatical category studied by Mühlhäusler (1981a) in considerable detail is that of plural marking. Its development from the jargon to the expansion stage can be summarised as follows:

- a) Jargon stage: no formal means of marking plurality.
- b) Stabilisation stage: ol (from English *all*) is used as a plural pronoun. In the following text, spoken by a very old speaker near Dagua, plural is indicated only with the first pronoun of a sentence, otherwise the third person singular pronoun i is used. With some nouns plurality is implied by the context:

Siaman i kamap. Nambawan samting bipo dispela graun no gat masta.

The Germans arrived. At first this land had no Europeans.

I no gat masta. Ol i raun nating i kamap long Walis, i kamap.

It had no Europeans. They (predicate marker) sailed about and they arrived on Walis, they arrived.

i givim masket long man bilong Walis.

they gave guns to the men of Walis.

- c) Early expansion stage: plural redundant with pronouns and animate nominals. Indicated by means of ol or various quantifiers, as in the following text spoken by a middle-aged speaker from near Maprik:

Mi toktok long ol pipol insait long ples, toktok long rot o long

I speak to the people in the villages, I talk about roads and

skul samting. Ol i no bin wok long helt, nogat, ol i save

schools and so on. They didn't do anything about their health, they

sindaun nating. Na ol i no save troimwe pekpek long bus.

just sat around. And they did not used to throw away their excrements in the bush.

Ol i save sindaun wantaim ol pekpek.

They used to live with their excrements.

The last form illustrates the variable use of plural ol with inanimates. This feature, together with the redundant use of ol together with other quantifiers characterises the following stage:

- d) Late expansion stage: the following examples were recorded with young second-language Tok Pisin speakers:

olgeta mipela ol man

all we (incl.) pl. man = all us men

ol wanwan tasol ol i stap na ol Erima ol sampela ol man tu
ol i dai

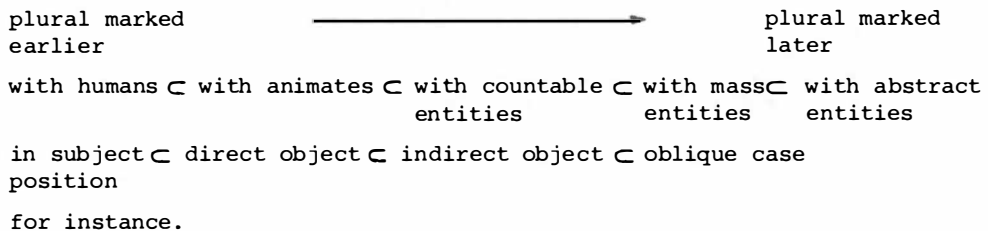
*pl. a few only they stayed and pl. Erima people pl. man
also they died*

na planti ol bikpela man ol i dai olgeta.

and many pl. big pl. man they died entirely.

*(And only a few Erimas were left and some of them also died,
and a large number of 'big men' (important people) was lost.)*

The notions of early and late expansion stage in the above examples are abstractions. In reality, grammatical expansion is a continuous process. Its outcome in the area of plural marking are implicationaly ordered developmental continua of the type:



This means that speakers who have compulsory plural marking with nouns after prepositions (oblique case) will also have such plural marking with indirect and direct objects and subjects. The development of plural marking in Tok Pisin appears to be motivated by universal factors and not by the presence or absence of linguistic models. Since this kind of phenomenon is characteristic of syntactic development in any pidgin I will spell out the argument in more detail.

Studies of the linguistic input in the formative years of Tok Pisin have shown that plural marking by means of the *-s* affix was a widespread feature of Pacific English Foreigner Talk. However, morphological pluralisation was not transferred as a grammatical rule into the developing indigenous varieties of Tok Pisin; it is only reflected in fossilised lexical items such as *anis ant*, *kas card* or *bis bead*.

Later in its development Tok Pisin was yet again exposed to a European language with morphological plural marking, German. The German plural ending *-en* is still found in lexical items such as *hebsen pea*, *katopen potato*, *binen bee*, *sirsens cherry* and *bonen bean*. This is the complete list of items, since the plural marker has become totally lexicalised and was never added to any word of non-German origin.

At roughly the same time, contact with Tolai was intensive. Some observers argue that this contact changed the character of Tok Pisin from a simplified European to a Melanesian language (cf. Salisbury 1967). One way of forming plurals in Tolai is by means of reduplication. However, with the exception of

the somewhat dubious examples of sipsip *sheep* and meme *goat* (for both of which unreduplicated forms are also documented), this pattern did not catch on in Tok Pisin.

The plural marker which Tok Pisin eventually acquired was *ol*, derived from the third person plural pronoun *ol*, a development reminiscent of plural marking in a number of other pidgins and creoles (cf. Mühlhäusler 1981a).

The two questions one would like to ask about the data just presented are:

- a) Why didn't Tok Pisin borrow grammar from its contact languages when its speakers clearly had access to them?
- b) Why do grammatical rules such as *-s* pluralisation not get borrowed until very late in the development of the language?

Affixation to signal plurality of nouns, as in English or German, clearly conforms to the principle that plural forms should, from the point of view of the ease of perception, be longer than singular ones. However, affixes are less accessible than free forms. Since the optimisation of perception characterises the early development of a pidgin, one would not expect affixes to be borrowed until the pidgin is structurally and functionally comparable to a first language. It is for this reason that the free form *ol* (in earlier varieties the perceptually even more prominent form *oltugeta*) emerges in Tok Pisin, and that neither English *-s* nor German *-en* had a good chance of being borrowed.

A second important argument why German and English plural affixes did not get borrowed is the following: if a pidgin develops plural marking, it will appear first in the most natural environment (animates in subject position) and then spread to less natural ones. We find that the lexical items containing English or German plural affixes do not provide a favourable environment for the spread of a plural rule.

The question remains, why reduplication was not borrowed from Tolai as a plural-signalling device, since it would have conformed to the requirements of constructional iconicity as well as ease of perception. To this I do not have an answer.

As Tok Pisin develops, more grammatical categories are likely to emerge and existing categories which are optional at present (such as tense), may become obligatory. Let us now turn to the second aspect of grammaticalisation, however.

(b) Embedding and signalling of embedded constructions

The emergence of sentence embedding and the formal marking of embedded sentences has been discussed in a useful overview by Sankoff (1979). Detailed studies of individual cases have been made by Sankoff and Brown (1976 on relativisation) and Woolford (1979b on complementation). Their findings support the following general principles:

- a) With increasing age, Tok Pisin is becoming grammatically more complex in the sense that embedding and even multiple embedding are commonly encountered in the speech of younger speakers.
- b) There is a growing tendency to mark embedded sentences by such means as relativisers and complementisers.
- c) Markers of embedded structures originate by means of re-interpreting existing forms.
- d) There appears to be a natural order in which complex sentences emerge in a developing pidgin. However, many details remain

ill-understood at present and the notion of 'natural syntax' is not beyond dispute.

I will illustrate these points with data on the development of complementation in Tok Pisin. I have chosen complementation because it has featured prominently in recent theoretical discussions (e.g. Washabaugh 1975, 1979) and in the description of Tok Pisin.

The structure of sentential complements in expanded Tok Pisin can be traced to a number of sources, including:

- a) sentence adverbials *olsem* and *baimbai*
- b) prepositions, i.e. *long* and *bilong*
- c) verbal concatenation as in *se*

Two of these, *pabai* and *olsem* were encountered in a letter written in 1913:

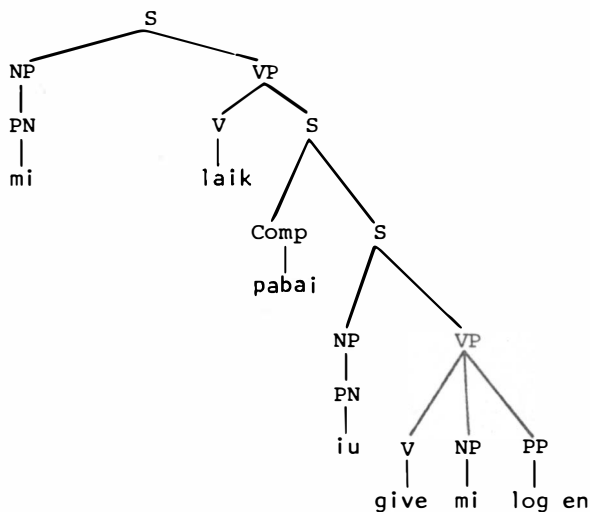
mi laik pabai iu givemi log en	<i>I want you to give it to me</i>
mi tokiu olosem mi laik save tok bolog iu	<i>I am telling you that I want to know your opinion</i>

It is not clear from these written examples whether *pabai* and *olsem* were still sentence adverbials or already complementisers. Compare:

Mi tokim yu olosem: Mi laik save tok	<i>I tell you thus: I want to know your opinion.</i>
Mi tokim yu, olosem mi laik save tok	<i>I tell you that I want to know your opinion.</i>

The fact that subject and object pronouns are not formally distinguished in Tok Pisin is the principal source of this ambiguity in written language. Unfortunately, no systematic study of the use of *olsem* among speakers of different age groups has been made. Whilst the time at which *olsem* became a complementiser remains uncertain, there is no doubt that it is widespread among second-language speakers nowadays.

The case of *baimbai* is better evidence that complementisers were around before 1920, since this form almost exclusively appears sentence initially in Tok Pisin. The above sentence must therefore be interpreted as follows:



Evidence from the development of complementisers out of prepositions may be regarded as support for the 'localist hypothesis' claiming that "the extension of the use of cases from marking local and concrete relationships to their use in marking abstract or syntactic relationships" (Washabaugh 1975:6) is a regular and universal process. The knowledge that prepositions often develop into complementisers is old, and a thorough discussion of some cases can be found, for instance, in Paul 1970:370ff. (originally 1880).

The use of long as a complementiser is documented in examples such as:

ol i no tingting long	<i>they are not aware of the fact</i>
ol i lusim bikpela mani	<i>that they are losing a lot of money</i>
i rong long misinari i	<i>it is wrong that missionaries</i>
wokim planti skul	<i>construct many schools</i>

The historical development of this type of complementation appears to be one in which the formal marking of the embedded sentence has developed very gradually.

In the earliest grammar of Tok Pisin (Brenninkmeyer 1924) only complementation without complementisers is documented, as in:

i gut yumi go	<i>it is good for us to go, let us go</i>
---------------	---

As late as 1971 Wurm (1971a:77) wrote that "noun clauses in Pidgin have no distinguishing characteristics, and precede (as subject) or follow (as object) other clauses without a conjunction." It must be taken into consideration, however, that Wurm is referring to Highlands Pidgin, which in some ways is less developed than the corresponding coastal varieties.

The earliest example of the use of long as complementiser, which has come to my attention is found in Hall 1943a:62:

kiap i no laik long mi	<i>the kiap does not want me to get</i>
long mekim taim	<i>myself indentured</i>

It would be grossly simplistic, however, to simply state that more and more instances of the long complementiser are encountered as the language develops. In actual fact, a large number of intervening factors, some of which are discussed by Woolford (1979b), are also operative:

- a) long is used differentially after different verbs, as the following data (Woolford 1979b:115) indicates:

Speaker	Age	Percent use of long preceding the complements of:			
		laik <i>want</i> (intr.)	laikim <i>want</i> (trans.)	giaman <i>pretend</i>	tokim <i>tell</i>
G.	50	0(0/17)	0(0/4)	100(3/3)	50(1/2)
P.	35-40	0(0/13)	100(1/1)	100(1/1)	50(1/2)
K.	21	0(0/53)	0(0/2)	0(0/5)	0(0/3)

- b) there may be social and sex-preferential differences;
- c) the range of long is encroached upon by other competing complementisers in the speech of some users of Tok Pisin.

The technical aspects of long grammaticalisation are discussed by Woolford (1979b) and will not be repeated here.

A last instance of complementiser development in Tok Pisin is the regrammaticalisation of serial verbs. The best known case is the development of *se*, originally used as an independent verb, into a complementiser following verbs of saying, proclaiming, etc. The putative development must have taken place in four steps:

- a) *se* becomes collocationally restricted, i.e. it is used only together with other verbs of similar semantic content, as in:

em i tok i se *he said, was saying*

- b) the *i* joining the two verbs is dropped because of the semantic similarity of the concatenated verbs:

em i tok se: mi laik kam *he said: I want to come*

- c) sentences in which the speaker is non-coreferential with the agent of the reported event neutralise the distinction between direct and indirect speech:

em i tok se papa i gat *he said: the father is ill*
sik *or he said that the father was ill*

- d) *se* is reinterpreted as a complementiser following certain verbs rather than an independent verb in concatenation. Conventions for the treatment of pronouns in the embedded sentence are introduced at the same time:

em i tok se em i laik *he said that he'd like to come*
kam

In Tok Pisin, *se* is found after a very small number of verbs only. However, in another pidgin, Cameroonian Pidgin English, its use has been extended to such a degree that "la proposition introduite par *se* peut se trouver après n'importe quel verbe." (Féral 1980:279).

Comparative evidence from West African Pidgin and other pidgins suggests that there is a highly restricted set of possibilities for grammatical expansion, though there tend to be competing possibilities for signalling such relationships as relativisation and complementation. It is interesting to observe that in different varieties of Tok Pisin, pretty well all these possibilities are tried at one point or another. Only some of them get selected for use in the wider pidgin speaking community, however. The importance of mapping such unsuccessful developments together with the ones that eventually make the day cannot be overestimated (cf. Mühlhäusler 1982c).

(c) Word order changes

Only a few basic word orders are encountered in stabilised Tok Pisin. Whilst these are adequate for this stage, an expansion of communicative and stylistic functions calls for additions to this small list. There appear to be two reasons for adding new conventions for word order to a pidgin grammar: a) to delineate the scope of grammatical particles such as negators or aspect markers, and b) to allow the movement of semantically prominent material into prominent syntactic positions. Both processes have not been studied in any detail and my remarks here have to be taken with caution.

Two examples of (a) are the movement of the future marker *bai* from a sentence-initial position closer to the verb it modifies, and also a tendency for the plural marker to move closer to the noun where it modifies complex noun phrases as when *ol sampela man* 'plural *some men*' becomes *sampela ol man*. A third hitherto rare phenomenon is the use of the former sentence negator *no* as a constituent negator, as in *em i lukim no meri* *he saw no women* instead of the more common *no gat meri em i lukim* *there is no woman that he saw*. The second development (b) is illustrated by the gradual emergence of movement transformations which shift parts of utterances into focus as in:

planti snek mi lukim

lots of snakes I saw

as against the unmarked

mi lukim planti snek

I saw lots of snakes

This development may involve the reinterpretation of former free variants (associated with individual rather than social grammars) as meaning-distinguishing forms.

All in all, the principle that diachronic and developmental studies of syntactic phenomena tend to be neglected in historical linguistics also goes for the study of Tok Pisin. In spite of a number of valuable descriptions of small areas of grammar, a detailed account of the overall trends has still to be made.

2.4.5.5 Expansion of the lexicon

2.4.5.5.1 Introduction

Inflectional and derivational morphology are the first victims when language contact leads to the development of a new pidgin, and appear to be the last developments in pidgin expansion. In fact, there are a good number of creoles that do not have either grammatical agreement or word-formation devices. The fact that Tok Pisin today has powerful language-internal means of extending its lexicon makes it a special case. As with syntax, the sources of Tok Pisin's lexical productivity appear to be almost entirely language-internal (reinterpretation of existing constructions) or universal. At the time when word-formation became prominent, Tok Pisin was used by speakers of a very large number of different languages and the importance of its original main substratum languages (Tolai and related vernaculars) had declined very considerably. Moreover, as has been shown by Mosel (1979), Tolai influence in Tok Pisin's productive lexicon is very small indeed. The development of word-formation in second-language Tok Pisin can be summarised as follows:

- a) Jargon stage: no productive word-formation.
- b) Stabilisation stage: use of circumlocution to express new ideas, a very small number of compounds at word level.
- c) Early expansion stage: increase of word-level compounds. As a rule the surface structure of derived lexical items is relatively close to their putative deep structure (e.g. *guttaim* (from *gutpela taim good time*) *peace* or *lukbuk* (from *lukim buk to look at a book*) *to read*).
- d) Late expansion stage: strong tendency to derive word-level rather than phrase-level lexical items, increasing discrepancy between lexical surface structures and related deep structures, lexical programs becoming increasingly productive.

The three general tendencies of lexical expansion are:

- a) the development of more and more abstract patterns of word-formation;
- b) a development from phrase-level to word-level derived lexical items;
- c) a tendency towards greater derivational depth.

These three tendencies will now be illustrated. No exhaustive account of Tok Pisin's lexical expansion will be given here, however, as this has been done in Mühlhäusler 1979c.

2.4.5.5.2 Quantitative growth of lexical productivity

Stabilised Tok Pisin had little or no resources for creating new words from internal resources. Present-day fluent adult Tok Pisin has about 25 programs or patterns involving multifunctionality (derivation by means of changing lexical category), about 25 programs of compounding, and about a dozen programs which use reduplication to create new lexical items. Remarks on the sequence in which these programs appeared can be found in Mühlhäusler 1979c:273-283. It appears that:

- a) Programs requiring no change in form are favoured in the early stages of expansion. However, as the language develops, multifunctionality is replaced and supplemented by other means of word formation.
- b) In the case of compounds those which are formally most similar to syntactic constructions (syntactic compounds in Bloomfield's classification of compounds 1933:233) appear first while asyntactic compounds, requiring more complex lexical programs, appear later. Thus, compounds of the type *blakboi black boy* are found before those of the type *winmasis gas lighter*, i.e. *matches which have wind*, which require an interpretation in terms of a complex paraphrase.
- c) Contrary to widely found views as to the importance of reduplication in pidgin formation, grammatically relevant reduplication and lexical reduplication are developmentally late.
- d) Not all developments in the derivational lexicon survive. There is a lot of experimenting and competition, and a number of formerly vigorous lexical programs have all but disappeared from present-day Tok Pisin.

If it was true that pidgins are maximally simple languages then one would expect lexical programs to operate with no exceptions right from the beginning. However, a closer look at the data reveals a very different picture. Lexical programs begin in a very restricted context (defined both by linguistic conditions and social needs for new lexical items) and only gradually extend to a larger number of cases. Thus, the situation where we have lexical regularities of great generality is only found late in Tok Pisin's expansion stage. Let us illustrate this type of 'lexical diffusion' (the jumping of a rule from one lexical form to the next rather than its applying simultaneously to a formally defined class of items) with an actual example.

The earliest documented type of Tok Pisin compound is that of the type

adj. + N (e.g. *blakboi*) related to a syntactic phrase adj. + N.

The emergence of fixed collocations of this type can be observed as early as the jargon phase, where we find:

big food	<i>feast</i>
white man	<i>European</i>

though an increasing number of such examples are only recorded after 1900 in both Tok Pisin and the closely related variety of Samoan Plantation Pidgin. The most common word-level compounds in use at the time include:

<i>blakboi</i>	<i>black indentured labourer</i>
<i>nuboi</i>	<i>freshly indentured labourer</i>
<i>olboi</i>	<i>labourer having served a three year term</i>
<i>waitman</i>	<i>European</i>

A great increase of compounds of this kind is found in Borchardt 1926, who lists the following:

biknem	<i>fame</i>
bikples	<i>mainland</i>
bikrum	<i>hall</i>
biktaun	<i>city, town (Rabaul)</i>
blakboi	<i>native labourer</i>
bluston	<i>antiseptic</i>
haiwara	<i>flood, tide</i>
hatwok	<i>toil</i>
etc.	

Also commonly used at this time are compounds referring to the names of the days of the week:

wande	<i>Monday</i>
tude	<i>Tuesday</i>
tride	<i>Wednesday</i>
poday	<i>Thursday</i>
paipde	<i>Friday</i>

Apart from compounds at word level, lexical phrases involving adjectives+pela and a noun are also found in the period before 1925, for instance:

waitpela masta	<i>European</i>
smolpela dokta	<i>medical orderly</i>
smolpela mun	<i>new moon</i>
blakpela boi	<i>black labourer</i>

Such lexical phrases continue to be the sole forms for a number of common concepts, illustrating that referential needs alone do not decide whether a phrase or a word-level compound is used. In present-day Tok Pisin, however, they have been replaced with waitmasta, smoldokta, smolmun and blakboi respectively. The sequence in which these replacements occurred is discussed, in some detail, by Mühlhäusler (1979c:279ff.). It emerges, among other things that:

- a) In the initial phase, many structurally similar compounds were borrowed from English, i.e. superstratum influence reinforced this development in the Tok Pisin lexicon.
- b) For a long time only strictly syntactic compounds are formed. However, late in Tok Pisin's expansion we begin to encounter adj.-N compounds related to noun phrases, where the adjective appears after the noun in syntax. An example is lepmani *spare money, savings* related to mani lep or mani i lep *money which is left* and not *lep mani or *leppela mani.

2.4.5.5.3 Phrase-level to word-level change

In the above examples we have already noted that some present-day word-level compounds originated in syntactic phrases or longer constructions. The replacement of older circumlocutions with more recent compounds can be illustrated with examples such as:

form recorded before 1945	form recorded in present-day Tok Pisin	gloss
lam wokabout	wokaboutlam	<i>hurricane lantern</i>
manki bilong masta	mankimasta	<i>servant (male)</i>
mekim hariap	hariapim	<i>to speed someone up</i>
hatpela wara	hatwara	<i>soup, hot water</i>
mani pepa	pepamani	<i>paper money</i>
wara bilong skin	skinwara	<i>sweat</i>

Let us consider one instance of 'downshifting' in more detail, namely lexical items involving the noun man *man*, *person*. Lexical phrases of the form man bilong V_{int} expressing *someone who usually does what is referred to by the verb* are documented in fair numbers for the mid-1920s, including:

man bilong singaut	<i>noisy person, beggar</i>
man bilong slip	<i>sleepy, lazy person</i>
man bilong stil	<i>thief</i>

The only word-level items at this point are sutman *policeman* and sutboi *indigenous hunter*.

For the mid-1930s the authors of the *Wörterbuch mit Redewendungen* remark (p.53) that "-man as the suffix of verbs forms agent nouns" (translation mine). However, only a few word-level items are listed:

wasman	<i>watchman</i>
sikman	<i>patient</i>
daiman	<i>dead, dying man</i>
stilman	<i>thief</i>

Phrase-level items listed in the *Wörterbuch* include:

man bilong toktok	<i>talkative person</i>
man bilong save	<i>wise, knowledgeable person</i>
man bilong pait	<i>warrior, fighter</i>
man bilong pret	<i>fearful person</i>

No additional word-level items are documented until 1957. At this stage Mihalic lists the following additional examples:

saveman	<i>wise person</i>
trabelman	<i>troublesome person, fornicator</i>
lesman	<i>lazy person</i>

Other forms are only documented as phrase-level items. Mihalic (1971) lists some new word-level items:

holiman	<i>a saint</i>
sinman	<i>a sinner</i>
paniman	<i>a joker</i>

My own observations confirm that the trend towards word-level derivations continues and that a number of items which were recorded as phrase-level items in Mihalic 1971 are now being supplemented by word-level items, examples being:

paitman	<i>fighter, warrior</i>
pretman	<i>easily frightened person</i>
bilipman	<i>believer</i>

Downward shift in size level was also observed with a number of other lexical programs.

The tendency of lexical derivation to take place at word level is further demonstrated by the gradual appearance of compounds containing more than two morphemes, such as:

woksaveman	<i>specialist</i>
mauspasman	<i>dumb person</i>
susoksman	<i>someone wearing shoes and socks, white collar worker</i>

2.4.5.5.4 Increase in derivational depth

While a large number of lexical programs are encountered in expanded Tok Pisin, there is one powerful restriction to their use: only one lexical program can be applied to a lexical base at any given time. This means, among other things that:

- No instrumental verbs can be derived from nominal compounds. Thus, while there is a form saripim *to cut with a grassknife* derived from sarip *grassknife*, no form *grasnaipim can be derived from grasnaip *grassknife*.
- No intensifying reduplications can be formed from denominalised verbs. Thus, whereas kilkilim *to hit with force* can be derived from kilim *to hit*, no form *brumbrumim can be derived from brumim *to sweep*, since this is a complex lexical item, i.e. a verb derived from the lexical base brum *broom*.
- No compounds involving more than two components are found. Thus, whereas man *man* plus meri *woman* can be combined to form manmeri or meriman *people* and whereas sikman or sikmeri *patient* are documented, no form *sikmanmeri *sick people* is permitted.

A number of progressive second-language speakers of Tok Pisin have begun to ignore these restrictions, though only in a very small number of instances.

2.4.5.5.5 Lexical diffusion or preprogrammed expansion

My observations so far have suggested that the growth of Tok Pisin's derivational lexicon, whilst governed by some general principles, was haphazard in that little could be predicted about the ways in which individual rules extended to more and more lexical items. However, there are indications that a more detailed analysis could reveal a large number of universally motivated subregularities and that the growth of the lexicon is largely predictable. This can be illustrated with the development of morphological causatives. Generally speaking, one can distinguish the following types of causative encoding in natural languages:

- lexicalisation, as in English *kill*
- periphrastic causatives, as in *to make die, to make appear*
- morphological causatives, as in *to frighten, to enlarge*, or Tolai vamat (va=causative prefix + mat=*die*) *to kill s.o.*

As in English and Tolai, all three types of causative encoding are found in present-day Tok Pisin. Examples are:

- kilim *to kill*
- mekim man i singaut *to make a person shout*
- wokabautim man *to make a person walk*

Whilst not all details are known, it appears that in pidgin expansion lexical, periphrastic and morphological causative marking always emerge in that order and that, moreover, the order in which morphological causatives are derived from various word classes is the following:

earlier (less marked?)	V int. stative	pinisim to finish
↓		
	V int.-stative	pundaunim to fell
	Adj.	bikim to enlarge
	V tr.	dringim to make drink
later (more marked?)	N	to slice (no examples in Tok Pisin)

I will now demonstrate that this hierarchy, and not the grammatical patterns of substratum or superstratum languages, determines the development of morphological causatives in Tok Pisin, in particular that:

- a) at the time of maximum contact between English and Tolai, very little borrowing occurred;
- b) the pidgin that was spoken at this time cannot be described in terms of a common core grammar.

These findings would not have emerged if the traditional static comparative method had been applied in determining the relationship between Tok Pisin and Tolai. If present-day expanded Tok Pisin is compared with Tolai, one can point out a number of amazing similarities in the ways in which morphological causatives are formed in the two languages. My findings strongly suggest that, in determining the role of substratum influence in pidgins and creoles, the base of comparison must be dynamic developing systems and not static abstractions. The following data support such an argument:

(1) Jargon stage (pre-1880)

During the jargon stage only a few lexicalised causatives, such as *kil to kill* and *break to break*, are found. The absence of periphrastic and morphological causatives can be accounted for by developmental factors. The fact that one is dealing with a one-word or two-word grammar at this stage means that constructions of the type *mekim NV to cause N to do what is expressed by V* are automatically excluded, in spite of the fact that such periphrastic causatives were found in most if not all linguistic systems in contact. The lack of morphological causatives can be explained in terms of the general principle that inflectional and derivational morphology are late developments, i.e. they are the first victims of language contact and the last features to be restored.

(2) Stabilisation stage (1900-1920)

As the language develops, more lexicalised causatives such as *cut to cut*, *to cause to be cut* and *move to move s.th.* are added. The first instances of periphrastic causatives are found in Tok Pisin's direct predecessor, Samoan Plantation Pidgin (cf. Mühlhäusler 1978d). Examples include:

yu mekim sam wara i boil	<i>bring some water to the boil</i>
mi mekim kabora i drai	<i>I dried the copra</i>

As sentences with simple embeddings become increasingly common, so the use of periphrastic causatives becomes more widespread. By around 1900 the idea of causativity could be unambiguously encoded in the language and, if one assumes that simplicity of expression and optimal decodability were the main forces in the development of pidgins and creoles, one would expect the development to have ended at this point. This, however, was not the case.

(3) Expansion stage (1900 to present)

The structural expansion during this phase is characterised by a drastic increase in referential potential during its first half and by a significant increase of non-referential potential in later years. The development of morphological causatives is an instance of the latter type of expansion, for, as we have seen, the referential demands of Tok Pisin speakers were fully met by the periphrastic construction. This is rather similar to the development of tense marking discussed by Labov (1971b). In present-day Tok Pisin, morphological causatives are stylistic variants of the equally widespread periphrastic causatives.

The first morphological causatives made their appearance in the late 1910s and early 1920s, at a time when contact with Tolai was intensive, and were of the type prefix *mek-* + V. This must be regarded as a direct calque of Tolai *va* + V. Compare:

Tolai		Tok Pisin	
<i>mat</i>	<i>to die</i>	<i>save</i>	<i>to know</i>
<i>vamat</i>	<i>to kill</i>	<i>meksave</i>	<i>to make know, inform</i>
<i>maranga</i>	<i>dry</i>	<i>pas</i>	<i>fast, obstructed</i>
<i>vamaranga</i>	<i>to make dry</i>	<i>mekpas</i>	<i>to fasten, tie up</i>
		<i>nois</i>	<i>to shake, tremble</i>
		<i>meknois</i>	<i>to make tremble, shake</i>

In spite of the productivity of this pattern in Tolai it did not catch on in Tok Pisin, and the above examples are the only ones found today. Their status is that of lexicalisations. The reasons for this absence of carry-over from Tolai seem obvious. In the development of morphological causatives, non-stative verbs (*nois*), adjectives (*pas*) and transitive verbs (*save*) are latecomers. As the *mek*-causativisation is not applied to stative verbs, the hierarchy is violated. The new pattern is premature since it does not fit in with the natural developmental tendencies of pidgin language. The absence of Tolai substratum influence in other parts of Tok Pisin grammar has been discussed by Mosel (1979).

The use of the same lexical base in a number of grammatical functions (zero-derivation) is a widespread phenomenon in pidgins and creoles (cf. Mühlhäusler 1978a) and is also used for causativisation in English, as in:

to walk a horse = *to make a horse walk*
to burp a baby = *to make a baby burp*
to start a car = *to make a car start*

Whilst this method is used in some related Pacific pidgins and creoles (e.g. Torres Straits Pidgin), it is not found in Tok Pisin. Instead, the transitivity marker *-im* is used to signal causativisation. Whilst this is found in neither Tolai nor English, it is a widespread feature of many natural languages. Its use in Tok Pisin illustrates the principle that even second-language speakers of a pidgin have access to universal resources for its expansion.

The first morphological causative ending in *-im* is found around 1910, *rausim to throw out* derived from *raus to be outside* (from German *raus*). By 1926 we get

a number of additional lexicon entries pertaining to the context of giving and receiving orders in a colonial setting. They include:

bek	<i>to be back</i>	bekim	<i>to return s.th.</i>
boil	<i>to boil</i>	boilim	<i>to boil s.th.</i>
hariap	<i>to hurry</i>	hariapim	<i>to make s.o. hurry</i>
lait	<i>to be bright</i>	laitim	<i>to light s.th.</i>

The above four items violate the postulated developmental hierarchy. The only explanation I can give for this is that one is dealing with an instance of pragmatic considerations upsetting the natural tendencies of language development.

From 1926 onwards the development closely follows the natural hierarchy. In the mid-1930s a number of stative intransitive verbs undergo morphological causativisation:

slip	<i>to sleep, be horizontal</i>	slipim	<i>to make lie down</i>
stret	<i>straight</i>	stretim	<i>to straighten</i>
orait	<i>all right</i>	oraitim	<i>to mend, repair</i>
pinis	<i>finished</i>	pinisim	<i>to finish</i>

Shortly afterwards the first morphological causatives are derived from true adjectives, i.e. those belonging to the small set that can appear in attributive position. They appear in the following order:

bikim	<i>to make big, enlarge</i>
kolim	<i>to make cool</i>
sotim	<i>to shorten</i>
switim	<i>to make feel pleasant</i>
truim	<i>to make come true</i>
raunim	<i>to make round</i>
stretim	<i>to straighten</i>

From the early 1960s onward more and more non-stative verb bases undergo causativisation. The pattern appears to be on its way towards full productivity.

noisim	<i>to make noise</i>
sanapim	<i>to make stand up, erect</i>
pundaunim	<i>to make fall down</i>
wokabautim	<i>to make walk</i>
pairapim	<i>to make belch</i>
gohetim	<i>to make advance</i>

The first causative derived from a transitive verb base was found in 1973:

dokta i dringim sikman *the doctor makes the patient drink*

Next to the as yet ill-understood impact of pragmatic factors on the evolving developmental hierarchy of causative marking, the appearance or non-appearance of new morphological causatives is also determined by a number of language-internal restrictions on productivity. These include:

- a) Words ending in $-[i]$ cannot take the causativiser $-im$. This excludes the forms **sambaiim to make help*, **kraiim to make cry* and **daiim to make die*, in spite of the Tolai model *vamat cause to die, kill*.
- b) The ideal word-length in stabilised and early expanded Tok Pisin is two syllables. Words with three or more syllables are increasingly unacceptable the greater the number of syllables. This explains the absence of **wokabautim to make walk* in all but the most progressive lects of this language.

- c) The restriction on multiple derivation which implies that Tok Pisin word bases cannot undergo more than one morphological process at a time. This means that no causatives can be derived from reduplicated verbs or adjectives, from compounds or from verbs or adjectives derived from another word-class. This restriction would exclude a derivational chain such as *krugut crooked*, *krukugut very crooked* and *krukugutim to make very crooked, to crush*.

While the full extent of the preprogrammed nature of lexical expansion and the complex interplay between universal tendencies, language-specific restrictions and pragmatic factors is not yet fully understood, there can be no doubt that the growth of Tok Pisin's derivational lexicon over the last 50 years obeys, to a very significant extent, certain laws and principles. The findings for Tok Pisin are of relevance not only for a comparison with other expanding pidgins but also for our understanding of developing word formation in first- and second-language learning in general and the loss of word-formation capacity in aphasia.

2.4.5.6 Stylistic expansion

Samarin (1971:122) remarked that most pidgins are impoverished with regard to their stylistic devices:

This is to say that a speaker of pidgin, as a *normal* human being in a normal society, can be expected to have more than one code-variety for different uses. The pidgin, on the other hand, is not normal, and when a person is speaking a pidgin he is limited to the use of a code with but one level or style or key or register, to cite some terms used for this aspect of the organization of language. (One might speak here of a 'monostatic', 'monoclaval' or 'monotonic' code.) In other words, he does not have the rich variety of language styles from which to choose whatever is appropriate to the context, situation, or person (or people) to whom he is talking.

This characterisation is certainly not applicable to expanded Tok Pisin. Instead, one of the principal effects of grammatical expansion of Tok Pisin is that it provided structural and lexical alternatives which could be employed for stylistic purposes. The full set of stylistic resources available to present-day second-language speakers has been discussed by Wurm and Mühlhäusler (1982). Some examples are also given in the chapter on present-day varieties (3.2). Let it suffice to point out that the 'terrible monotony' (Mead 1931:149) which characterised the language of the 1920s has since been replaced by an amazing richness of stylistic flexibility, which makes Tok Pisin an extremely powerful means of communication in the mouth of a skilled speaker. The challenges posed by the use of the language in new areas of discourse, new media and new functions has been answered by a sustained vigorous growth of its resources.

2.4.5.7 Expansion: summary

The expansion of Tok Pisin has involved a dramatic increase in structural complexity. An examination of the newly developed structures suggests that they

have sprung from internal resources rather than from borrowing. The most outstanding structural innovations are as follows:

- a) Derivational depth as developed - mainly through embedding.
- b) Grammatical categories such as tense and number have become compulsory (Sankoff and Laberge 1973 and Mühlhäusler 1981a).
- c) The language has acquired a word-formation component which enables speakers to create new names for new things (cf. Mühlhäusler 1979c).
- d) The language developed mechanisms for structuring discourse, such as focusing devices, pro-forms, and a complex set of deictic markers.
- e) Stylistic differentiation developed.

The result of expansion to date has been characterised by Wurm in the following words (1977d:511):

Pidgin shows the characteristics of a fully developed creole language: a comparatively rich vocabulary and quite complex grammar, a great flexibility of expression with highly developed and versatile idiomatic usages, a considerable range of possibilities of word-formation and the creation of new lexical items through processes inherent in the language itself, and the adequacy of the language for the expression of all aspects of Papua New Guinean life in its present transitory stage between the traditionally indigenous and the westernized.

The complexities of expanded Tok Pisin are best illustrated with some actual language examples.

Example 1) Rural Tok Pisin as spoken by a 25 year old man.

The following extract from a description of a fight on a plantation told by William from Lumi illustrates how the stylistic resources of the language are exploited in a vivid description:

Nau bosboi i kam troimwe han long mi pastaim. Troimwe han long mi pastaim nau, em i tok: A, yu laikim dispela? (gesture showing fist) Mi kirap, mi givim wanpela, orait, na narapela brata ya, em i givim wanpela longen. Em i pulim na i sanap na mi tokim ol: Han i no nap long yumi, inap long yumi pinis. Orait, yumi kisim stik. Na ol lain ya, ol lain bilong mi wok long painim ol stik ya. Mi tasol mi go pulim wanpela hap mangas i stap long paiaman. I stap long paiaman nau, na dispela bosboi sanap i stap nau. Mi troimwe stik longen, troimwe stik longen, long sol bilongen ya. Em i pilim em, nambatu, em i holim stik bilong mi. Mipela i wok long pulim, pulim, pulim, em i strong, em i strong, i go go go nau, mi go wok long holim stik i go olsem. Mi go klostu longen nau, mi troimwe wanpela han longen nau, em i wok long sotwin olsem: a,a,a,a,a. Mi troimwe wanpela han longen. Em i sotwin nogut tru ya, i pilim nau, orait. Na tupela boi ya. Em i lukim tupela pait wantaim masta. Masta kaikaiim buai stret. Orait, masta i laik mekim save long tupela liklik boi bilong mi ya

[Now, first the bossboy came and thrust his fist at me. He thrust his fist at me and said: "Hey, do you want this?" I got up, I gave him one, then another mate gave him one too. He pulled him up again and told them (= his mates): "Hands are not enough for us, for us to do the job properly, O.K., let's get sticks." And the group here, my group got busy looking for sticks. I alone went and got a piece of hibiscus timber which was next to the boy who looks after the copra dryer. I was next to him and this bossboy was standing there. I hit him with the stick, hit him with the stick on his shoulder. He felt it and on the second hit he took hold of my stick. We were busy pulling, pulling, pulling; he kept on and on, it lasted for a long time, and I also kept holding the stick. Then I went up to him, I thrust my fist at him, he was panting really hard: "A,a,a,a,a." He felt it. Well, two boys here. He noticed that they were fighting with the European. The European had a mouthful of blood. Well, the European wanted to teach my two little boys a lesson]

Some interesting points about this text are:

- a) ya: this is used both as postnominal emphasiser and as a marker of embedded sentence boundaries. Note that emphatic objects can be found sentence initially.
- b) wok long: this 'marker of continuous aspect' is a fairly recent addition to Tok Pisin grammar. Note that this marker can also be combined with others to form complex verb phrases as in *mi go wok long holim stik i go olsem I set out to keep holding the stick.*
- c) The use of metaphorical expressions such as *kaikai buai to chew betelnut = to bleed out of one's mouth.*
- d) Redundant use of the plural marker *ol* and the use of *ol* with mass nouns such as *ol lain group of people.*

Example 2)

A text from Bom, formerly Stephansort, a village that began to use Tok Pisin around 1900. The speaker is about 30 years of age:

Tumbuna ol i bin toktok olsem olgeta pis bilong solwara ol i go antap long ples na ol i singsing na taim ol i singsing pinis ol i go bek long solwara. Orait, ol i stap, na taim ol manmeri ronewe pinis ol i go antap long singsing.

[The ancestors told us that all the fish of the sea would come ashore and dance and when they had finished dancing they would go back into the sea. Well, they stayed, and after all the people had gone they would come ashore and dance.]

The following points are of particular interest:

- a) bin: 'past tense'. In recent years tense has become a widespread feature of Tok Pisin, in addition to the long-established category of aspect. Tense is one of the few innovations that can be ascribed to direct borrowing from English.
- b) olsem: this adverb, meaning *thus*, is used as a complementiser. In other varieties the preposition *long on, in, along* is found in the same function. Signalling of embedded sentences is the result of internal development.

- c) *taim*: the noun *time* is used as the conjunction *when* allowing the embedding of time clauses.
- d) *manmeri*: the Tok Pisin expression for *people* illustrates the additive type of compound. Other compounds corresponding to this pattern are *papamama parents*, *susoks footwear*, *naiptamiok cutting instruments*, and many others. Apart from this very basic type of compounding, other types are also found.

Example 3)

Extract from undated letter written to *Wantok* newspaper around 1973:

Dear Friends,

Plis mi laikim yufelo mast bringting em disfelo worry blong mi long news-paper. Orait na olsem wonem long ol Council blong mifelo i holim finis tufelo meeting blong na ol i gat wanfelo toktok yet olsem ol i laik rausim ol Catholic Mission blong ol ino ken mor ussing airstrip or ples palus mor long Wirui. Plis mi yet na ol arfelo man meri tu mifelo ino harim kilia em whatnem wrong or mixtake, or reason blong ol Catholic Mission ol ino naf long iussing ples palushiar.

[*Dear friends,*

Please I would like you to print this worry of mine in your newspaper. Well why has our council held two meetings and why do they have a discussion about the fact that they would like to prevent the Catholic Mission from using the airstrip, i.e. place for aeroplanes at Wiriu. Please, I myself and other people too, we do not really understand what wrong or mistake or reason there might be so that the Catholic Mission can no longer use this airstrip.

Note the following points:

- a) *em*: anaphoric pronoun after transitive verbs in *mast bringting em* suggests the development of new clitics of the kind discussed by Sankoff (1977c).
- b) *long* and *olsem* are both used as complementisers.
- c) *ol*: use of pluraliser in *ol Council the council* and *ol Catholic Mission the Catholic Mission*.
- d) The use of synonyms or near synonyms as in *em whatnem wrong or mixtake* used as a stylistic means of communicating across lectal boundaries (cf. Mühlhäusler 1979f).
- e) The multiple embedding of sentences.

Additional texts illustrating expanded Tok Pisin can be found in Dutton 1973. A collection of annotated Tok Pisin texts is in the early stages of planning (Mühlhäusler, forthcoming). Such additional texts are likely to confirm what has been the main message of this section: that the expansion of a pidgin is triggered off by external pressures for communication but that it develops almost exclusively from internal resources along universally motivated lines.

This then concludes the discussion of the developmental continuum as found with second-language speakers. Extended Tok Pisin has undergone further modifications, however. On the one hand, renewed intensive contact with English has led to considerable restructuring (i.e. changes rather than added complications

of grammar). On the other hand, changing social patterns have led to the development of communities where Tok Pisin is used as the first language. These two developments will be discussed in the remainder of this chapter.

2.4.6 THE POST-PIDGIN STAGE

2.4.6.1 Introduction

The discussion of this stage will be shorter and more general than that of the previous stage, since a linguistic characterisation of anglicised post-pidgin (urban) varieties of Tok Pisin has already been given elsewhere in this book (3.2.3.4.5). In addition, a detailed study of the beginnings of this variety has been made by Hall (1955b:91-109).

Linguistically, by a post-pidgin variety we understand a pidgin language which, after a period of relative linguistic independence, has come under renewed vigorous influence from its original lexifier language. This influence manifests itself in the restructuring and/or replacement of earlier lexicon and grammar in favour of patterns from the superimposed 'target' language.

While English has been available as a model for speakers of Tok Pisin for most of its history, a number of powerful social forces prevented closer linguistic contact throughout its expansion phase. The social factors which prevent and favour the development of post-pidgin varieties include:

- a) Social distance between pidgin speakers and others. In a colonial situation with rigid stratification (indigenes versus expatriates), a knowledge and use of the socially superior code does not bring with it any tangible benefits. Thus, the development of post-pidgin Tok Pisin gained impetus only in post-war Papua New Guinea and became widespread in the years immediately preceding self-government and independence.
- b) The functions in which a pidgin and its 'lexifier' language are used. Many linguists make a distinction between a coordinate bilingualism where each language is reserved for a well defined set of social functions, and compound bilingualism where the functional range of two or more systems overlaps. Whereas the former type promotes the linguistic independence of the systems used, the latter encourages language mixing and restructuring. In the case of Tok Pisin and English, the fact that English was taught in most parts of Papua New Guinea after the Second World War was not a significant linguistic influence on Tok Pisin, since functionally the two languages remained separate, the former in the classroom and a very small set of official transactions, the latter in all other spheres of non-traditional life, with the local vernaculars continuing to be used for traditional contexts.
- c) The symbolic value of Tok Pisin. The linguistic purity of the language is also dependent on speakers' attitudes, such as the view that Tok Pisin is a symbol of national unity and independence. As has been shown in the chapter on attitudes (2.3), many speakers have highly ambivalent views, i.e. whilst supporting the idea of a linguistically pure Tok Pisin they also acknowledge the role of English as an instrument of social advancement and communication with the outside world. For many, borrowing English lexicon and structures signals sophistication and modernity.

A more comprehensive discussion of these and other factors is given in the chapter on Tok Pisin's external development (2.2).

2.4.6.2 Code switching and code mixing

The relatively close linguistic relationship between Tok Pisin and English means that lexical and grammatical material can frequently be identified across both languages. This constitutes a considerable problem when analysing speech samples of post-pidgin Tok Pisin. Contrary to the widely held view that

It will be agreed, I think, that anyone who speaks a language A, knows that he is speaking A, and not a different language B At any one time a speaker knows what language he is speaking. He can never claim to be speaking two languages at once, or a fusion of two languages. (Biggs 1972:144)

Speakers of anglicised varieties of Tok Pisin appear to be doing precisely this. In the following texts we can see both code-switching (usually occurring at grammatical boundaries) and identification of words across the two languages. Capitalised texts refer to English, capitalised italics to instances which belong to both systems simultaneously. All these texts were recorded among students of the University of Papua New Guinea in 1976.

Example 1) A political debate

Nesonelis olsem, olgeta man i mas save longen ya. Wapela samting tu ya, SAM PIPEL ol i POLITICALLY MINDED na mipela sampela olsem yupela i BIN MANIPULATED BY OTHERS

Ol i KEN do WHATEVER THEY WANT TO. Em nau, mi save. O, I DON'T LIKE THEM. SO WHAT, laki tru na mi kam ...

Ol Morobe i autim tiket bilongen long wanem ON THE GROUNDS THAT em i no UNDERSTANDIM. Em i IGNORANT BIKOS em i no ritim dispela pepa.

A nationalist like this, everyone should know about him. And something else, some people who are politically minded and some people like you and me have been manipulated by others ...

They can do whatever they want. Now I know. Oh, I don't like them. So what, just as well I came

The people in the Morobe district voted his party out on the grounds that he didn't understand (the situation). He didn't know what was going on because he hadn't read this paper.

Example 2) Conversation about the movie *Planet of the Apes*

Na wapela narapela man i tok: "WHAT DID YOU SAY?", na em i tok, dispela APE i toktok, na em i tok: "NO, NO, IT'S ME. I SAID IT. WHAT DID HE SAY, THE BASTARD?" Em ALL THE OTHER APES, THEY DON'T TALK, BUT THIS ONE CAN TALK na HE GOT HIMSELF INTO TROUBLE, dispela APE ya.

And another man said: "What did you say?", and he said, this ape who was talking, he said: "No, no, it's me. I said it. What did he say, the bastard?" All the other apes, they don't talk, but this one can talk and he got himself into trouble, this ape.

Example 3) Conversation

Long moning ya, mi KAM LET long klas ya.	<i>This morning I was late for class.</i>
Mekim wanem na yu LET?	<i>What did you do so you were late?</i>
Mipela i spak long nait TILL TWO O'CLOCK	<i>We drank during the night until two o'clock.</i>
BULSIT.	<i>Bullshit.</i>
HONESTLY.	<i>Honestly.</i>
Yupela i spak long haus bilong husat?	<i>In whose room did you drink?</i>
Long RUM bilong Russel.	<i>In Russel's room.</i>
A, Russel i wokim yupela.	<i>I see, Russel treated you.</i>
Yu husat husat?	<i>You and who else?</i>
Charles, Isidor, yumipela na wantaim tambu bilong em.	<i>Us, Charles, Isidor and his cousin.</i>
Hamas katen?	<i>How many cartons?</i>
Wan, na WAN SMOL BAKADI.	<i>One, and a small Bacardi.</i>

It is those words and constructions that can be identified across both systems which have the best chance of becoming more widely adopted in Tok Pisin. However, it must be stressed that all languages are open systems and pidgins even more so than older established ones. Thus, the question as to whether a word or construction is pidgin or not (cf. Healey 1975) often does not arise for its speakers and should not be approached too rigidly by linguists.

2.4.6.3 Some theoretical observations on mixing

Linguistic systems in contact can influence one another in a number of different ways, the following characteristics of mixing being the most relevant ones to pidgin development and restructuring:

- a) A distinction must be made between a mechanical mixture and fusion. In the former case borrowed elements can be uniquely assigned to one or the other system, in the latter a new construction can be assigned to neither or both simultaneously. We have just seen that, under conditions of code-switching, double assignment is common. As has been illustrated in the chapter on variation, the development of a new third system is also a common result of language contact in the post-pidgin stage. However, linguists have considerable difficulties in identifying and describing such new systems.
- b) An important point discussed in the section on expansion was that grammar can only be borrowed/integrated if it is in agreement with developmental trends already found in a pidgin. This means that the syncretic capacity of developing pidgins is very low, other than at the lexical level. Thus, in spite of a common view that pidgins are mixed languages, they are, for the most part of their linguistic history, almost impervious to mixing. Mixing becomes easier, however, when a pidgin is greatly extended, as in the case of Tok Pisin.

- c) As a general rule, the ability of a language to incorporate materials from other languages is inversely related to its internal coherence. This means that messy languages are good mixers and vice versa.

In the light of these observations, contact between Tok Pisin and English is unlikely to result in a smooth transition between the two systems. Because grammatical expansion promoted a highly regular and economical grammar, any outside influence must be expected to be more disruptive than in cases where old, and therefore more irregular, languages such as English are influenced by another language. On top of the culture-related semantic barriers against language mixing we can also expect considerable mechanical (grammatical) barriers.

The development of post-pidgin varieties proceeds in spite of such barriers, however. Because of the social prestige attached to English and constructions borrowed from English, speakers are willing to put up with a more ambiguous, less structured and less efficient language. It is true that such a situation is not beyond repair. However, at present, the difficult job of merging English structures with Tok Pisin is solved mainly by individuals and small groups of speakers rather than at the level of the entire speech community. It is in this area that language planners will find their most urgent task. Some of the problem areas will now be briefly examined.

2.4.6.4 Changes in the phonological component

Influence of English at the level of phonology has remained slight and with the largescale withdrawal of European schoolteachers this situation is not likely to change. There is no exhaustive study, though a number of changes, mainly at the individual level, have been observed.

- a) Laycock (1970c:xii) reports that "some Pidgin speakers who have learnt English add an eleventh (vowel), as a third pronunciation of o. This is [ɔ], as in English *court* (Pidgin kot)." I have found little evidence for a spread of this pronunciation, however.
- b) Whereas Laycock (1970c:xv) states that English [dʒ] as in *June* is usually pronounced s, the English pronunciation is becoming increasingly common, as in *joinim to join*, *jeles jealous*, *jem germ*.

More dramatic than the addition of such marginal sounds to the sound inventory of Tok Pisin is the ongoing restructuring of a large number of words in the direction of their English etymons, a process which is greatly facilitated by the addition of new consonant combinations, in particular medial consonant clusters.

- c) Since medial clusters tend to be restored before final clusters, however, we find new irregularity in Tok Pisin's derivational lexicon as a result. Consider:

expanded Tok Pisin	post-pidgin Tok Pisin
bihain - bihainim <i>behind to follow</i>	bihain - bihindim <i>behind to follow</i>
poin - poinim <i>point to point at</i>	poin - pointim <i>point to point at</i>

This means that there are now exceptions to the general rule of expanded Tok Pisin that a transitive verb is formed simply by adding -im to the intransitive stem. Note that there is as yet no new simple rule in anglicised Tok Pisin, for at least

some intransitive verbs can end in a consonant cluster, e.g. *rifand to refund* and *koment to comment*. The presence of such consonant clusters affects yet another rule, that of reduplication. Instead of the former *holim to hold*, *holholim to hold tightly*, we now have *holdim to hold* and *holholdim to hold tightly*.

- d) Another far-reaching consequence of restructuring under the impact of an English model is described by Hall (1955b:95-96). Under the impact of Australian pronunciation, Tok Pisin [e] is variably replaced by [aj] in words such as *longwe far* and *nem name*. Because of the frequency of this replacement a number of back-formations have arisen, including *keke for kaikai food*, *lek for laik to like* and *tulet for tulait damn*. Note that as a result a number of potentially annoying homophones have emerged, as *lek* already means *leg* and *tulet* *too late*.

2.4.6.5 Changes in the morphological component

The two principal results of language contact at the morphological level are the variable appearance of English *-ing* after Tok Pisin verbs and the plural *-s* after nouns. Both cases involve far-reaching changes in the grammar of the language. The affix *-ing* is found in two principal contexts:

- a) In unintegrated longer phrases or borrowed abstract nouns such as:

standing komiti	<i>standing committee</i>
ekting siaman	<i>acting chairman</i>
ekaunting	<i>accounting</i>
mining	<i>meaning</i>

Whereas the first two examples cannot be integrated properly, Tok Pisin speakers have two ways of dealing with introduced abstract nouns: they treat *-ing* the same way as *-im* or they regard *-ing* as an integral part of the word stem. As a result we now encounter two competing verbs *to mean* in Tok Pisin: *min(im)* and *mining(im)*. This example confirms that, in the case of post-pidgin development, forms rather than *meaning+form* tend to get borrowed.

- b) English *-ing* is equated with the transitivity marker *-im*. In addition, for some speakers, the English meaning 'continuous action' is also signalled by *-ing*. A particularly valuable source of examples of this are written texts. The following are extracts from unpublished letters to *Wantok* newspaper:

moni ol i yusim long making rot	<i>money they use for constructing roads</i>
mi ting olosem long drawing plag bilong Pagini	<i>I was thinking of designing a flag for Papua New Guinea</i>
ol meri mekim ol kain wok draiving kar	<i>women do all sorts of jobs such as driving cars.</i>

The last example illustrates the variable use of *-im* and *-ing* by the same writer. Whereas in all the above examples a straight-forward *-im-ing* correspondence can be demonstrated, in the following example *-ing* appears where normal expanded Tok Pisin would have no transitivity marker:

me no man belong speaking English	<i>I am not a person who speaks English</i>
--------------------------------------	---

dispela i ming olosem wampela *this means a gathering of women*
bung belong ol meri

Again, the effects of borrowing a morphological affix can have wider, non-local consequences in other parts of grammar.

The case of the plural affix -s is of considerable theoretical importance and will therefore be dealt with in some detail. It supplements what has been said about the development of plural marking earlier in this chapter.

In the current literature on pidgins and creoles there is widespread confusion between expansion of the developmental type and restructuring of pidgins or creoles when they come into renewed contact with their former lexifier languages. A number of writers argue that the kind of linguistic processes leading to both restructured and expanded varieties are very much the same. The data on pluralisation certainly do not confirm this. Instead they indicate, as has been suggested by Bailey (1977), that mixing of systems of comparable complexity leads to unnaturalness. Before discussing this point any further I want to present some data on, as one of my informants put it, *i gat singular na plural i kam insait long namba tri Tok Pisin*, i.e. the adoption of English plural marking in Urban Tok Pisin.

The first one to draw attention to this phenomenon was Hall (1955b:99-100). Hall documents plural -s for the following lexical items:

bepis	<i>babies</i>
des	<i>days</i>
drektas	<i>directors</i>
yams	<i>yams</i>
yias	<i>years</i>
kreps	<i>crabs</i>
mails	<i>miles</i>
pauns	<i>pounds</i>
praisis	<i>prices</i>
silings	<i>shillings</i>
taims	<i>times</i>
wiks	<i>weeks</i>

Whilst Hall does not provide information on the grammatical environment in which these forms were found, it seems clear that the presence of the plural -s is not determined by the degree of animacy of a noun. My own data suggest that the presence or absence of plural -s is neither determined by the animacy hierarchy nor by the grammatical environment nor, in the case of written Tok Pisin, by spelling. The following data were taken from letters written in anglicised Tok Pisin. Sentences by the same writer are grouped together:

- | | |
|---------------------------------|---|
| (1) wok bilong kainkain gavamen | <i>the work of various government officials</i> |
| ol man (subject) | <i>men</i> |
| wanem gavamen (direct object) | <i>what government officials?</i> |
| long African kantris | <i>in the African countries</i> |
| (2) bilong mipela ol meri | <i>of us women</i> |
| planti meri wok olsem taipis, | <i>many women work as typists, post</i> |
| post office clerk, nurses, | <i>office clerks, nurses, radio</i> |
| radio announcer na sampela | <i>announcers and in other jobs</i> |
| wok moa | |
| ol Pacific Island | <i>Pacific Islanders</i> |

- | | |
|---|--|
| (3) sampela boys
ol meri skulmanki go long
haiskuls
long ol boys
olgeta kantris ol i laikim man
na meri citisens
ol pipol bilong narafelo kantris
bilong dispela tupela stejes
bipo yu givim kain points

ol skulmeri i save pulimapim
spes bilong ol boys
putim boys wantaim meri
hevim seperet haiskuls long
boys | <i>some boys
the schoolgirls go to the high-
schools
to the boys
all countries appreciate both their
male and female citizens
people from other countries
of these two stages
earlier on you gave a number of
arguments
the schoolgirls take up the places
for the boys
put the boys with the girls
have separate highschools for the
boys</i> |
| (4) ol gels (subject)
mipela ol girl (subject)
pilai long ol girl | <i>girls
we girls
have sexual intercourse with girls</i> |
| (5) dia friends
olgeta evangelis, Bible tisa,
pastors, waitmisiin
ol dispela lain | <i>dear friends
all evangelists, Bible teachers,
pastors and white missionaries
this group of people</i> |
| (6) liklik lain boys na girls
helpim friends long dresim
cuts or wounds
ol lapun (subject) | <i>a small group of boys and girls
help your friends to dress
cuts or wounds
old people</i> |

Whilst I could adduce numerous further examples of the emergence of -s plural marking in Urban Tok Pisin, the above data seem sufficient to show that:

- a) The emergence of -s does not follow any of the hierarchies that determine pluralisation in the non-anglicised dialects of Tok Pisin.
- b) Both -s plurals and ol plurals are found with recent loans (girls, pastors, ol visitor) and both encodings are found simultaneously with nouns (ol councillors). On the other hand, plural -s can also be attached to some old established lexical items, such as yams *yams* and yias *years*. There is a great deal of variability even with individual speakers.
- c) Whilst in many cases the functions are old and the forms new (as in gavamen *government officials*, stafs bilong haiskul *the staff of the highschool* or ol bisnisgrups *a business-group*), there are cases where both form and function are new in mesolectal Tok Pisin. Even in those cases, English grammar may not be the only source.

Summing up these findings, one can say that the kind of mixing processes found when two linguistic systems of comparable complexity are in contact are quite different from those resulting from contact between a developing pidgin and other languages. In the former case, borrowing appears to be by and large unrestricted and free to increase the unnaturalness of the developing mesolect, whereas in the latter case borrowing is highly selective and restricted by universal principles of language development.

A last subtle change in the morphology of Tok Pisin results from borrowing English adjectives. In the more traditional varieties of the language, all monosyllabic adjectives preceding the noun take the suffix *-pela*, e.g. *bigpela* *big*, *longpela* *long*. This regular pattern is gradually eroded in post-pidgin varieties of the language by the introduction of English monosyllabic adjectives as in:

recently introduced monosyllabic adjectives	gloss
em i fri kantri	<i>it is a free country</i>
mi gat rong namba ya	<i>I have got the wrong number</i>
em i kisim lo mak	<i>she got low marks</i>
ol patisipen i mas werim ful dres	<i>all participants must wear full dress</i>
draiwa i mas givim dim lait long	<i>drivers must have dimmed lights</i>
ol manmeri i wokabout long rot	<i>when people are walking on the road</i>

2.4.6.6 Syntactic changes

While the syntax of individuals can exhibit considerable influence from English, there are still few syntactic innovations which have gained wider currency in post-pidgin varieties of Tok Pisin. This may have to do with the fact that syntactic development up to the end of the expansion stage followed a closely defined developmental program and that deviations from it are paid for by considerable complications. However, an even more likely explanation is that syntactic changes, to a greater degree than phonological, morphological and lexical changes, are below the level of awareness for most speakers and are therefore ill-suited to signalling social group membership or sociopsychological factors. It is therefore not surprising that many of the syntactic changes also involve some perceptually more prominent lexical change, such as the addition of new grammatical words. Let us now consider some of the more common developments:

(1) New prepositions

Expanded Tok Pisin has three prepositions: *long* 'general locative', *bilong* 'of, possessive' and *wantaim* 'with, comitative', which appear to have emerged in that order. No prepositions were added because, according to Traugott (1974), such additions would have been more highly marked and secondly, because the job carried out by prepositions in English is equally efficiently carried out by verb chaining in Tok Pisin (cf. Givón 1979 on the typological differences between preposition and verb chaining languages). The addition of numerous new prepositions is thus likely to be in conflict with the unfolding developmental program and with the established alternative of verb chaining. Compare:

recorded new preposition	replacing expanded Rural Tok Pisin	gloss
ol i pait egens long enimi	ol i paitim egensim birua	<i>the fight against their enemies</i>
meri ya i wokabaut ekros long rot	meri ya i wokabaut krosim rot	<i>this woman crossed the road</i>
i no stret long laik bilong pipol ov Papua New Guinea (Poroman, December 1973)	bilong	<i>this is not correct in the views of the people of Papua New Guinea</i>

recorded new preposition	replacing expanded Tok Pisin	gloss
Haus ov Assembl <i>i</i>	bilong	<i>House of Assembly</i>
em i gat moa wari long mi	em i gat mo wari winim mi	<i>he has got more worries than I</i>
ten tu tri	ten minit i painim tri klok	<i>ten to three</i>
dispela bris across long riva	bris ya i brukim wara	<i>a bridge across a river</i>

(2) New conjunctions (complementisers)

Whereas during the expansion of Tok Pisin most new complementisers arose through the reinterpretation of existing grammar, such items are widely borrowed from English in anglicised varieties. Examples on record include:

(a) Causal conjunctions:

Traditional long wanem is frequently replaced by bikos and less frequently by other conjunctions. Some speakers also put the bikos sentence before the main sentence, though it is not clear whether this is due to influence from English.

Em i go pinis long People's
Progress Party, that's because
gavman i givim plenti mani
long ilektoret bilong em.

*He joined the People's Progress
Party because the government had
given lots of money to his elec-
torate.*

Ol Morobe autim tiket bilong
en long wanem on the grounds
that em i no understandim
bikos em i no ritim dispela
pepa.

*The Morobe people voted his party
out because he did not understand
them because he had not read this
paper.*

Because sapos people i mix
baimbai i gat more trabel
bihain.

*Because if people mix, there will
be trouble later on.*

(b) Embedded questions:

Whereas questions cannot be embedded in expanded Tok Pisin, many speakers of anglicised Tok Pisin copy the English method of doing this, as in:

post-pidgin varieties
Mi gat wari long how
cargo cult i gerap
planti.

expanded Tok Pisin
Mi gat wari olsem: wok
bembe i kirap planti
olsem wanem?

gloss
*I am worried about
how the cargo cults
have increased in
significance.*

Mi laik save long hau
mi ken duim dispela
samting.

Mi laik save bai mi
mekim olsem wanem.

*I would like to know
how I can do it.*

Yu lukim hau ol i
sindaun.

Yu lukim ol i sindaun
olsem wanem.

*See for yourself how
they live.*

(c) If-sentences (conditional sentences):

In stabilised and expanded Tok Pisin the if-sentence always precedes the main sentence, and the fact that the sequence of sentences mirrors the sequence

of events talked about is one of its many cases of iconic encoding (constructional iconicity). It promotes the ease of perception and the overall naturalness of the language. In some varieties of Tok Pisin, particularly written ones, this is no longer the case, and there are strong indications that the change started with translations of English texts. Examples from written Tok Pisin (in their original spelling) include:

Maski sapos sampela bus pipal i no klia gut yet.	<i>It doesn't matter if some bush- dwellers are not as yet well informed.</i>
Ol mas klia gut long dispela sapos ol laik sindaun long dispela kantri.	<i>They have to understand this if they want to live in this country.</i>

(both from *Nius bilong Yumi*, 15 October 1972)

(3) Comparatives

Expanded Tok Pisin expresses the concept of the English comparison of adjectives by means of the verb *winim to surpass*.

em i bikpela winim mi *he is big, surpasses me = he is bigger than me*

However, in anglicised varieties, the English *more+adjective* is becoming increasingly common, as in:

Ol i tok ol i mo impoten long yu.	<i>They said they were more important than you.</i>
Ol meri i mo strong long ol man.	<i>Women are stronger than men.</i>

(4) The relativiser husat

Contrary to English the relativisers that have emerged in expanded Tok Pisin (we and *ya--ya*) can stand both for human referents and others. However, in anglicised varieties of the language, one increasingly comes across the relativiser *husat* which refers to humans only, as in:

Opisa em i man husat i gat gutupela trenin.	<i>An officer is a man who has good training.</i>
Mister Paul Langro husat i bin askim sapos gavman i ken rausim tupela bisnisman.	<i>Mister Paul Langro who asked whether the government could deport two businessmen.</i>

(both from articles in *Poroman*, December 1973)

This brief list of examples emphasises that few of the syntactic additions increase the referential power of the language. In the majority of cases, such innovations are supplementary to existing forms of expression and often in violation of them or of the developmental trends of expanded Tok Pisin. It can be expected that continued borrowing of English syntax could considerably worsen communication problems and make the language harder to learn for second-language speakers.

2.4.6.7 Changes in the lexicon

Because of their prominence, lexical items used by a speaker are most likely to be associated with social and other extralinguistic categories. In other words, the easiest way to signal membership of the group of sophisticated urban dwellers

and the educated classes is to borrow from or restructure in the direction of the English lexicon. In addition, because of language transmission problems in the postwar years, many members of the younger generation have not had full access to traditional varieties of Tok Pisin and therefore simply have to rely on English. The influence of English on the lexicon can be summed up in two points:

- a) existing Tok Pisin items are made formally and semantically more similar to their English etymons;
- b) lexical items which are apparently or genuinely of non-English origin are replaced by others of English origin.

It is often argued that additions to and changes in the lexicon do not have a great overall effect on the nature of a language. This, in the case of Tok Pisin, is patently untrue. Because in expanded Tok Pisin a highly structured lexicon had developed, changes from outside are quite likely to affect established structures. Some of these changes will be considered here, though a fuller account is given by Hall (1955a) and Mühlhäusler (1979c).

2.4.6.7.1 Areas of conflict in phonological properties of lexical items

Many items of English origin are difficult to integrate into Tok Pisin either because they violate phonotactic restrictions or else add to the existing high degree of homophony.

The first area of conflict thus are loans with more than three syllables, such as kompetisin *competition*, dvelopmen *development*, dimokretik *democratic* or andadivelop *underdeveloped*, which were all encountered in radio broadcasts. While such words could be said to anticipate the eventual admission of longer words into Tok Pisin, they remain problematic when it comes to stress placement. Another drawback of such words is that they cannot serve as the basis of derivations ending in -im such as dimokretik-*dimokretikim *to make democratic*.

One of the major results of increased borrowing has been the drastic increase in homophones, a fact which has led observers to remark on the dangers to the communicative efficiency of Tok Pisin:

To add to this number [of homophones] incautiously could well overload the language with forms that sound the same but have different meanings, and all who have to translate into Pidgin should be aware of this danger. (Laycock 1969:13)

These dangers can be illustrated with examples such as the following (recent added meanings capitalised):

Urban Tok Pisin	from English
sip	ship, jib, JEEP, sieve, CHIEF
sem	shame, SAME
wet	to wait, white, WEIGHT
sevim	TO SERVE, to save
sekim	to shake, TO JACK, TO CHECK
pos	post, FORCE
wot	word, WARD
lek	LAKE, leg
kot	COAT, court
bis	BEACH, beads
bot	BOARD, boat

Urban Tok Pisin	from English
pas	<i>fast, TO PASS</i>
slek	<i>slack, SELECT</i>
lip	<i>lip, leaf, TO LEAVE</i>
stil	<i>still, to steal, STEEL</i>
sel	<i>shell, sail, CELL</i>
pak	<i>to fuck, TO PARK (a car), PARK</i>

If the lack of phonological contrasts in some of the less developed varieties is taken into account, the number of homophones is even more striking. The lack of a distinction between voiced and voiceless initial stops, for instance, would result in cases such as:

Tok Pisin	from English
pis	<i>beach, beads, fish, peach, piss, feast, peace</i>
klas	<i>class, clutch, glass</i>

The mechanisms for disambiguation are undoubtedly there, particularly in the linguistic and extra-linguistic context. However, because of the ad hoc nature of many of these innovations, serious misunderstanding can arise. Actual examples include the case of the member of the House of Assembly who explained that he was "les long toktok long sit nating" which was translated as *tired of talking to a bunch of shits* rather than the intended *tired of talking to empty seats*. Had the honourable gentleman used the established item *sia seat* rather than the English loan, no ambiguity would have arisen. Wurm, in the *ANU Reporter* of 27 February 1976 (p.1) comments on a couple of other cases:

A Government publication, for example, could quote a 'Board of Management' which would be written in the Anglicised version of pidgin as *bot ov menesmen*. To villagers, this would, at best, mean a *boat* and a *man* with the words, *bot* (*boat* in non-Anglicised pidgin) and *men* (*man*), connected by two syllables completely unintelligible to them.

In a Government technical paper on agriculture written in Anglicised pidgin, the word *nurseri*, meaning in English or Anglicised pidgin, a place where seedlings such as coffee beans are raised, was taken by the small rural coffee-growers to whom the publication was directed, to mean something to do with *hospital*. The broad interpretation by many of the coffee-growers was probably that the *nurseri* was some place to take sick plants.

Many similar observations can be made. The only systematic study of this phenomenon (Franklin 1975) underlines that considerable confusion can result from the proliferation of such homophones.

It has been argued that context will in most cases disambiguate utterances containing such homophones. In other instances a more permanent type of repair, therapeutic reorganisation of the lexicon, takes place, creating new lexical norms in the more advanced social varieties. Examples include:

Rural Tok Pisin		Urban anglicised Tok Pisin
mekim	<i>to do</i>	
duim	<i>to entice, seduce</i>	duim
		<i>to do</i>
		jelesim
		<i>to seduce</i>
lang	<i>fly</i>	
plai, palai	<i>lizard</i>	plai, palai
		<i>fly</i>
		lised
		<i>lizard</i>

Rural Tok Pisin

pasim to dress, wear
 abrusim to pass

kros-im to swear at
 bruk-im to cross

Urban anglicised Tok Pisin

pas-im to pass
 dres to dress
 wer-im to wear

kros-im to cross
 swer long to swear at

The problem with such repair is that it does not spread to the entire speech community thus threatening the former unity of the language.

2.4.6.7.2 Lexical additions and replacements

The continued need for more referential power in post-pidgin varieties of Tok Pisin is met, unlike in expanded varieties, mainly by borrowing from English. It is difficult to give a reliable estimate of the number of new lexical items that have entered the language in recent years, as many of them are ad hoc loans, and as different norms have emerged among different groups of speakers. There can be no doubt however, that this influence has been very considerable and will continue to be so for some time. Details have been discussed by Mühlhäusler (1979c:292ff) and, instead of repeating these arguments, a brief text will serve to illustrate the kind of phenomena we are dealing with:

Mipela i kam long Madang na dispela journey (1) ya i tekim (2) mipela about (3) twelv (4) hours (5) bikos (6) mipela i took off (7) long twelv na mipela arrive (8) around (9) twelv long nait long Madang. Long moning nau, mi wantaim wampela tambu bilong mi, mitupela i bin go long basstop (10), wetim Air Niugini kar nau, mipela wetim i stop (11) around seven o'clock nau, bas (12) i kam, kisim mi, mipela i go antap long Madang epot (13), i go tjek in (14), go tjek in nau, ol i tokim mi olsem mi no mi rikonfemim (15) sit (16) bilong mi nau. Ol i tokim mi wet.

[We came to Madang on this journey and it took us about twelve hours because we started at twelve noon and we arrived at twelve midnight in Madang. In the morning, I and a relative of mine went to the bus stop to wait for the Air New Guinea coach, we waited and it was around seven o'clock that the bus came, it fetched us, we went up to Madang airport, we checked in when they told me I had not reconfirmed my seat. They told me to wait.]

Whereas one expects to come across loans from English in a text on plane travel, there are many 'unnecessary' loans in this above story by a student from the University of Papua New Guinea. It would be almost incomprehensible to a speaker of a rural variety. The following observations can be made about the lexical properties of this text:

- (1) journey: ad hoc loan replacing wokabaut.
- (2) i tekim mi *it took me*: idiom borrowed from English instead of mipela i wokabaut inap n aua *we travelled for n hours*.
- (3) about: ad hoc loan instead of postposed samting, as in tri hau samting *about three hours*.

- (4) twelv: instead of wangepela ten tu (widely used).
 (5) hours: English plural -s after abstract noun (see section on morphology).
 (6) bikos: instead of long wanem (widely used).
 (7) took off: phrasal verb in past tense, ad hoc loan, very difficult to reconcile with established Tok Pisin grammar.
 (8) arrive: ad hoc loan replacing kamap.
 (9) around: replacing samting as in (3).
 (10) basstop: recently borrowed compound, widely known.
 (11) stop: instead of stap.
 (12) bas: replacing earlier less differentiated kar (widely used).
 (13) epot: English compound becoming root in Tok Pisin, replacing ples balus (widely used in urban varieties).
 (14) tjek in: no word for this concept in other varieties; however, the borrowing of phrasal verbs remains problematic.
 (15) rikonfemim: new concept, the borrowed item violates existing conventions of word length - not analysable into components in Tok Pisin.
 (16) sit: instead of sia, increasing the homophony of Tok Pisin.

2.4.6.7.3 Borrowed phrasal verbs

In the rural varieties of Tok Pisin, phrasal verbs borrowed from English are treated either as unanalysable wholes or reanalysed as verb chains. The two types are illustrated as follows:

bagarapim rot i bagarap *to cause the road to be ruined*
 (here the entire stem is repeated in its intransitive form)

but
 haisimap plak i ap *to cause the flag to be hoisted up*
 (here only the ap is repeated indicating that it is interpreted as a separate intransitive verb)

Recent loans usually end up as unanalysed wholes, thus adding to the list of excessively long words in the language. In addition, some of the verbal particles, such as tru < *through* and aut < *out* can be confused with existing adjectives or verbs in this case tru *true*, *definitely so* and aut *to be outside*. In many cases Tok Pisin already has a grammatical means of expressing the idea carried by the verbal particle in English. Compare:

recent loan	expected form in expanded Tok Pisin	gloss
mi laik sapotim na i GO TRU	mi laik strongim i win pinis	<i>I would like to support it so it goes through</i>
em i OPENIM AP hotel	em i openim hotel i op	<i>He opened up a hotel</i>
nois ya i WEKIM em AP	nois ya i mekim em i kirap	<i>The noise woke her up</i>
mipela TOOK OFF	mipela i lusim pinis ples balus	<i>We took off</i>
ol i no save LUK AFTER long maket	ol i no save lukautim maket	<i>They do not look after the market</i>

The above examples confirm the general principle that complex lexical items are more difficult to integrate than simple ones.

2.4.6.7.4 Lexical suppletion

Many words in expanded Tok Pisin are accounted for by one of the numerous programs for the formation of complex words. Whereas people with little access to English continue to make maximum use of these programs, borrowing by speakers of anglicised varieties frequently takes the form of unnecessary loans, i.e. loans which could be expressed more economically by existing means. If such borrowing continues, many existing patterns of word-formation could become riddled with exceptions, so that instead of regular patterns we will find numerous cases of suppletion. This will greatly reduce the learnability of Tok Pisin. This loss of regularity can be illustrated by the following examples:

(1) Abstract nouns in Tok Pisin are almost always derived from adjectives or verbs. This principle has been violated in the following observed cases of lexical borrowing:

expanded Tok Pisin		post-pidgin Tok Pisin	
bekim	bekim	bekim	ansa
<i>to answer</i>	<i>the answer</i>	<i>to answer</i>	<i>the answer</i>
bungim	bung	kolektim	bung
<i>to gather</i>	<i>gathering place</i>	<i>to gather</i>	<i>gathering place</i>
hariap	hariap	hariap	spit
<i>to hurry up</i>	<i>speed</i>	<i>to hurry up</i>	<i>speed</i>
subim	subim	subim	pos
<i>to shove</i>	<i>force</i>	<i>to shove</i>	<i>force</i>
tingting	tingting	tingting	aidia
<i>to think</i>	<i>idea</i>	<i>to think</i>	<i>idea</i>
hevi	hevi	hevi	wait
<i>heavy</i>	<i>weight</i>	<i>heavy</i>	<i>weight</i>
peim	pe	peim	wes
<i>to pay</i>	<i>pay, wages</i>	<i>to pay</i>	<i>wages</i>
vot	vot	vot	ileksen
<i>to vote</i>	<i>election</i>	<i>to vote</i>	<i>election</i>
bikpela	bik	bikpela	sais
<i>big</i>	<i>size</i>	<i>big</i>	<i>size</i>

(2) Compounding is a powerful mechanism of word-formation. Apart from providing greater regularity it also enables speakers to signal less-central concepts. Whereas the central concepts of Tok Pisin tend to be single roots, compounds and longer lexical phrases encode more marginal concepts. Borrowing words from English can thus negatively affect the constructional iconism of Tok Pisin word formation. Some examples are:

Rural Tok Pisin	literal translation	Urban Tok Pisin	gloss
smokbalus	<i>smoke plane</i>	setplen	<i>jet plane</i>
bunbalus	<i>skeleton plane</i>	helikopta	<i>helicopter</i>
glasbalus	<i>glass plane</i>	helikopta	<i>helicopter</i>
wilkar	<i>wheel-cart</i>	wilbero	<i>wheelbarrow</i>
senkar	<i>chain-car</i>	katapila	<i>caterpillar</i>
switmulu	<i>sweet lime</i>	orins	<i>orange</i>
solmulu	<i>sour lime</i>	lemen	<i>lemon</i>

Rural Tok Pisin	literal translation	Urban Tok Pisin	gloss
bikhangre	<i>big hunger</i>	femin	<i>famine</i>
bikgraun	<i>big land</i>	menlen	<i>mainland</i>
bikman	<i>big man</i>	sip	<i>chief</i>

The emergence of a large number of exceptions to a previously regular pattern of compounding is further illustrated in the following examples involving compounds referring to activities:

Rural Tok Pisin	Urban Tok Pisin	English
wok skul	edikesen	<i>education</i>
wok gaten	egrikalsa	<i>agriculture</i>
wok kot	jastis	<i>justice</i>
wok prin	printing	<i>printing</i>
wok lukaut	trastisip	<i>trusteeship</i>
wok marimari	sariti	<i>charity</i>
wok ami	difens	<i>defence</i>

More examples and a further discussion of this question will be found in the chapters on language planning and that on good and bad Tok Pisin, where considerations other than the purely structural will also be taken into account.

(3) Violation of basic category membership. Word class membership in expanded Tok Pisin is ruled by much stricter conventions than is the case in languages such as English. It is based mainly on semantic criteria. All other things being equal:

- a) touchable and countable entities are referred to by nouns;
- b) a small class of basic qualities (big, small, good, bad, etc.) is referred to by adjectives;
- c) qualities and actions are referred to by verbs.

Such conventions mean, among other things, that English abstract nouns commonly correspond to verbs or adjectives in expanded Tok Pisin. This regularity has been considerably upset by the large-scale introduction of abstract nouns which were borrowed together with their English derivational suffix, as in:

amenmen	<i>amendment</i>
anaunsemen	<i>announcement</i>
kompetisen	<i>competition</i>
institusen	<i>institution</i>
ileksen	<i>election</i>

As a result expanded Tok Pisin *ol i vot they are voting* is replaced by *i gat ileksen there is an election*. Another result is the increasing number of back-formations of the type *ileksenim to elect someone* or irregular derivational word pairs such as *ilekt to elect* and *ileksen election*. It is obvious that this constitutes a considerable complication when compared with previous *vot to vote*, *votim to vote for someone* and *vot election*.

Many more examples of this and other types of lexical 'interference' and conflict could be adduced. However, even the small range of cases discussed here should have amply demonstrated that borrowing lexical material means more than just adding to an unstructured list and that continued change in this area of Tok Pisin could result in a drastic restructuring of the entire language.

2.4.6.8 The post-pidgin stage: summary

The post-pidgin stage is characterised by both functional and linguistic expansion of Tok Pisin. Whilst its functional expansion is in the direction of those areas of discourse which are most closely related with new urban (post-colonial) ways of life, its structural expansion is influenced heavily by borrowing from English in an at least partly diglossic situation. The most outstanding characteristics of this stage, which is still very much in progress, are:

- a) The emergence of a new second-language variety of Tok Pisin only partially intelligible to speakers of other varieties.
- b) While there is no continuum of constructions intermediate between English and Tok Pisin, English influence is felt in all components of grammar.
- c) Because of the highly structured nature of traditional Tok Pisin, this language has a relatively low syncretic capacity. In many instances loans cannot be integrated without destroying existing patterns.
- d) Many of the innovations encountered among urban speakers still have an ad hoc character and are intelligible only to English-Tok Pisin bilinguals. It will be interesting to see which norms emerge among urban Tok Pisin monolinguals.
- e) In contrast to previous stages, the growth of the language is no longer subject to general principles of language expansion. Consequently, the eventual outcome of prolonged contact with English is difficult to predict on linguistic grounds alone.

Again, the discussion of this stage in Tok Pisin's history will be illustrated with an annotated text.

Text: Narration by 20 year old student from the University of Papua New Guinea.

"Daru olsem wanem?"

"O, wangepela gutpela ples, liklik taun."

"Em nau, yumi kamap long Daru, nau, em nau, samting ya i stap."

"Mi ting Nambai i save luautim yu."

"Man, Daru nau, yu ken tok, samting i stap."

"Nau dispela taim mi kam nupela ya, na mi no nap raun, na bikos mi laik traiim long painim ples bilong slip ya, bat laki, taim mi laik kam mi tokim brata bilong mi na em go toksave long brata long stesen ya na ring i kam long faders long hap hia long bukim sit bilong mi na ol i save olsem bai mi kam. So when I came, mi kam stret pundaun long epot, mi go lukim, I pay half the price, suppose to be fifty na mi peim twentifaiv. I brought fifty Kina just to pay for that plane but ol i hapim prais na ol i givim twentifaiv na mi lus with twentifaiv, o nau shit, mi amamas pinis."

[*Why Daru?*" (name of town and island)

"*Oh, it's a good place, a little town.*"

"*That's right, we arrived in Daru, right, there were lots of attractive women.*"

"*I was under the impression that Nambai was looking after you.*"

"Man, Daru at that time, you have to admit, there really were women."

"When I first arrived, I wasn't able to stroll around, because I wanted to try to find a place to sleep, but luckily, when I first thought of going there, I mentioned it to one of the (religious) brothers and he informed a brother on this station and he rang up the fathers over there to book a seat for me and so they knew that I was coming. So, when I went, I had just got off at the airport, I went to see them, I paid half price, it was supposed to be fifty and I paid twenty-five. I brought fifty Kina just to pay for that plane, but they halved the price and they returned twenty-five and there I was with twenty-five, oh shit, I was really happy."

The above passage illustrates a number of characteristics of anglicised Tok Pisin, as well as code switching between English and Tok Pisin. That code switching can be pinpointed is an indication that one is not dealing with a post-pidgin continuum. Note the following characteristics:

- a) The use of samting *something* for women (which illustrates the tok bokis *hidden or secret register*).
- b) Use of borrowed subordinating conjunctions bikos, when, and the coordinating conjunction bat.
- c) Use of English plural -s in faders.
- d) A large proportion of recently borrowed lexical items, including epot *airport* for ples balus, brata for bruder *religious brother* and bukim sit *to book a seat*. (In traditional Tok Pisin sit means *leftovers, ashes, faeces*.)
- e) Use of English counting system rather than the traditional Melanesian one, that is, the use of twentifaiv instead of tupela ten faiv.

Examples such as this underline the central message of this section, that renewed contact with English has caused considerable changes in the character of Tok Pisin over a relatively short time. Many of these changes have led to grammatical complications and contradictions. It is too early to predict whether these will be repaired in future second-language varieties or whether it will result in disintegration and language death.

2.4.7 CREOLISATION

2.4.7.1 Introduction

The linguistic history of Tok Pisin sketched so far has been concerned with varieties spoken by second-language speakers and it has been stressed again and again that the changes and elaborations made by this group are of considerable theoretical interest. However, a study of the much smaller group of first-language Tok Pisin speakers also offers considerable insights into the human language capacity.

As noted earlier, a creole is a pidgin that has become the native language of a speech community. Because creolisation can take place at any stage in the life cycle of a pidgin, different types of creolisation have to be distinguished. One type occurs when an unstable jargon is adopted as a first language, as, for

instance, in the plantation context in the West Indies, where large immigrant groups were forced to form new societies. Because there were no dominant indigenous languages on these plantations, the jargon had to become the first language of the second generation. This kind of creolisation involves considerable restructuring and repairing on the part of the first-generation creole speakers.

The second type of creolisation is that which occurs after stabilisation and expansion. In this case, the transition from second to first language is gradual, involving bilingualism and gradual rather than sudden replacement of local vernaculars.

Because of the contract labour system (in opposition to the slave labour system in the West Indies), the social context for the first type of creolisation has always been rather restricted in the south-west Pacific. There are examples of intermarriages between New Guineans from various areas on the Samoan plantations, and children grew up in Samoa speaking as their first language a pidgin closely related to Tok Pisin. When I interviewed two of these creole speakers they had virtually forgotten the language, and they used English and Samoan as their principal means of communication. The main reason for such a language shift is the limited usefulness of Samoan Plantation Pidgin in Samoan society. No viable creole can develop in a social vacuum, no matter how natural or ingenious the linguistic innovations of first-language speakers.

In Papua New Guinea, creolisation of Tok Pisin is found in a number of social settings, the most important ones being urban areas, non-traditional rural settlements, and occasionally in traditional villages.

In the towns of Papua New Guinea intertribal marriages are common and, according to the latest available statistics, there are tens of thousands of households where Tok Pisin is the principal language. Creolisation in the urban context is rather rapid. However, the English-language school system also constitutes a major influence, and the norms of Tok Pisin in the towns are still influenced by the very large number of second-language Tok Pisin speakers.

After World War II, population movement from the interior to the coast and the introduction of new cash crops such as the oil palm resulted in the establishment of non-traditional rural settlements where Papua New Guineans of different origins would form a new community. One such community is Hoskins on New Britain; another is Malabang on Manus Island. When I studied Malabang Tok Pisin in 1974, the second generation of native speakers was growing up. As contacts with the outside world are frequent, linguistic developments are regulated and checked by the fact that communication with second-language speakers remains one of the principal functions of the language. Thus, only young children were found to be significantly ahead in their language development; I have observed adults actively discouraging children from using forms which they considered too progressive.

Creolisation in traditional villages is often paired with the gradual disappearance of the traditional vernaculars, since the latter are felt to be useful in fewer and fewer functions and domains. As new technologies find their way to the villages and as communication with the outside world becomes more important, many of the smaller vernaculars experience structural and functional decline. The more useful Tok Pisin becomes, the earlier it is learned; the age of learning is a true continuum, and the distinction between first- and second-language learning is becoming blurred.

Our understanding of creolisation in Tok Pisin is far from complete and will remain so as long as no detailed longitudinal studies of this process are forthcoming. The absence of any reliable data on child language development in these

varieties is particularly regrettable. The observations made on the following pages will therefore remain highly tentative and probably quite unrepresentative of Tok Pisin creolisation as a whole.

2.4.7.2 Developments in phonology

Virtually nothing is known about phonological aspects of Tok Pisin creolisation. While it is generally acknowledged that creole speakers are more fluent than second-language speakers, the various parameters of this fluency have not as yet been isolated, nor is it known whether there are genuine qualitative differences as compared with fluent Tok Pisin as spoken by second-language speakers.

I have observed considerable differences in the tempo of first generation creole as spoken by children when compared to the pidgin of their parents in a number of locations. Recordings made of children playing were virtually unintelligible to their parents, it would seem primarily because of their more 'advanced' phonology. However, older children typically conformed more closely to the norms of adult second-language speakers. This means that many of the expected introductions of natural phonological processes actually occur in creolisation but are later filtered out for communicative reasons. This process is comparable to children in other societies learning to conform to adult standards by suppressing many of the natural processes encountered in early child phonology. However, in the case of Tok Pisin, such oppression must be even greater as adult phonology is clearly considerably less natural than that of 'ordinary' languages. Longitudinal studies are badly needed in this area.

Another question which has received no answers to date is that of sound symbolism. It could be argued that children who begin to speak a pidgin as their first language typically face an acute shortage of words, especially words relating to linguistic functions such as self-expression or social integration (i.e. functions predominant in early childhood), and that they must create new words. Unfortunately, the area of spontaneous word creation by children is virtually ignored both in ordinary languages and pidgins/creoles, in spite of the fact that a study of such creations could throw light on the question of necessary or arbitrary relationship between sound and meaning. Again, the survival chance of such words is very low in the case of Tok Pisin because of lack of reinforcement by adult second-language speakers.

2.4.7.3 Developments in inflectional morphology

Most of the changes encountered in expanded Tok Pisin and described in the section on morphology in the descriptive chapter are also encountered in creolised Tok Pisin. As a general rule, the developments begun in second-language varieties are carried on and accelerated in the creolised ones, i.e. in the area of inflectional morphology the changes are mainly of a quantitative nature. This can be illustrated with further data on the behaviour of the plural marker *ol*.

Arguing from what is widely maintained in the theoretical literature on creolisation I set up the following hypotheses:

- a) plural marking will become categorical in all environments, i.e. it is semantically determined;
- b) the position of the plural marker in the noun phrase will become fixed;

- c) differences in surface form will always be associated with differences in meaning;
 d) semantic plural will be marked in parts of the sentence other than the noun phrase.

None of these predictions were borne out in full. Moreover, it appears that different solutions to the problems of plural marking are found in the three creolised varieties of Tok Pisin examined, i.e. those of Malabang (Manus Island), Yip (on the Keram River) and urban Lae (data recorded by Sankoff and Laberge). Unfortunately, the texts examined were not of sufficient length for a detailed syntactic analysis such as the one undertaken here, and elicitation and formal interviews were only used in Malabang. However, the following generalisations can be made with confidence:

(a) Plural marking remains variable for all creolised varieties examined; the only instance of categorical plural marking was that of animate subjects in Malabang Tok Pisin. Still, plurals without *ol* are in the minority in all semantic environments of the varieties examined. My own feeling is that the trend towards a categorical marking of the semantic plural is blocked by the fact that *ol* is a relatively stressed free-standing formative and not an unstressed affix. Thus, its use in contexts where the idea of plurality is subordinate would seem slightly unexpected (for instance, in constructions such as *lukautim pik to hunt pigs*, *hukim pis to catch fish*, etc.). It seems that the choice of *ol* as a plural marker was not an entirely fortunate one because of the difficulty of reducing this form to a phonologically reduced affix.

(b) My data suggest that the position of *ol* in the noun phrase is not fixed in creolised Tok Pisin and that variation is found not only across creolised varieties in different localities but also within the speech of individual speakers. However, the favourite form is the one in which *ol* appears at the beginning of a noun phrase. Compare the following data:

- a) Speakers from Yip aged between 8 and 12:

<i>ol</i> adj. N	adj. <i>ol</i> N	<i>ol</i> adj. <i>ol</i> N
<i>ol dispela lain</i> <i>this group</i>	<i>dispela liklik ol tumbuna</i> <i>those little grandchildren</i>	<i>ol narapela ol tumbuna</i> <i>the other grandchildren</i>
<i>ol planti dok</i> <i>many dogs</i>	<i>olgeta ol pis</i> <i>all the fish</i>	

- b) Speakers from Malabang (first generation Tok Pisin speakers aged 25-35):

<i>ol dispela lain</i> <i>this group</i>	<i>dispela ol man</i> <i>these people</i>
<i>ol faivhandet masalai</i> <i>five hundred spirits</i>	<i>bikpela ol man</i> <i>big men</i>
<i>ol lokal pipel</i> <i>the local people</i>	

- c) Speakers from Lae (children recorded by Sankoff in 1971):

<i>ol</i> adj. N	adj. <i>ol</i> N	<i>ol</i> adj. <i>ol</i> N
	<i>ol dispela man</i> <i>these men</i>	<i>ol dispela ol man</i> <i>these men</i>
<i>sampela ol man</i> <i>some men</i>	<i>ol sampela man</i> <i>some men</i>	

More fixity is found with some prenominal modifiers, such as *olgeta all*, which is always followed by *ol* and *lokal local*, which is always preceded by *ol*. It is not clear to me to what extent the position of *ol* is linked to certain lexical items.

(c) While the principle of one form-one meaning is realised to a greater degree in creolised Tok Pisin than in other varieties, I have not been able to find any consistent difference in meaning between, for instance, *ol sampela man some men* and *sampela ol man some men*. I would predict, however, that, unless speakers settle for one of these two alternatives, a difference in meaning will develop in creolised Tok Pisin.

(d) The prediction that plurality will be marked in parts of the sentence other than the noun phrase is partly fulfilled in Malabang creole Tok Pisin, where a kind of agreement between plural noun subjects and reduplicated verbs is developing. Examples of this construction are:

- | | |
|--|---------------------------------|
| a) <i>ol pikinini i pilaipilai</i> | <i>the children are playing</i> |
| as against | |
| b) <i>wanpela pikinini i pilai</i> | <i>a child is playing</i> |
| c) <i>*wanpela pikinini i pilaipilai</i> | <i>a child is playing</i> |
| d) <i>planti man i lainlain</i> | <i>many men were lined up</i> |
| e) <i>ol manmeri i bungbung</i> | <i>the people gathered</i> |

In conclusion, the following generalisations can be made about morphological developments in Tok Pisin's creolisation phase:

- a) The differences between non-creolised and creolised Tok Pisin are slight rather than drastic.
- b) Whilst there is a definite tendency for rules to become more productive (and less restricted by environmental conditions), the endpoint of maximum simplification has not yet been reached.
- c) The amount of redundancy found in creolised Tok Pisin is not significantly greater than that found in late expanded Tok Pisin.

2.4.7.4 Syntactic developments

A small number of Tok Pisin syntactic constructions has been studied in its creolised varieties, notably by Sankoff and Woolford. At this point their findings are limited by the following factors:

- a) their restriction to urban varieties of creolised Tok Pisin;
- b) the lack of genuine longitudinal data;
- c) less than reliable sampling techniques for quantitative analysis.

These shortcomings, to a large extent, are inherent in the subject matter and not the fault of the fieldworker. However, it would seem wise not to draw too many conclusions from the findings so far.

Of the areas of syntax studied, the following ones deserve particular attention:

- a) complementation
- b) relativisation

- c) the behaviour of the predicate marker (clitics)
- d) aspect markers
- e) passives.

(a) Complementation

The development of complementisers in creolised Tok Pisin is seen as a continuation of ongoing change in second-language expanded varieties. Woolford (1979b:122) stresses that "all the changes ... are quite ordinary processes of language change. There is nothing involved that is unique to creolization." This assessment is basically confirmed by my data on complementation in Malabang creolised Tok Pisin. Again, the additional complementisers *we that*, and *sapos for ... to* have developed out of the existing forms *we relativiser* and *sapos if* as in:

dispela min we i olsem wanpela bikpela man long wara	<i>this meant that there was a big man by the river</i>
mi laik sapos dispela botol i pupalap	<i>I would like this bottle to be full</i>

(b) Relativisation

Sankoff and Brown's 1976 study of the emergence of *ia ... ia* bracketing as the relative clause marker again suggests that this phenomenon originated in adult second-language discourse:

We can now relate this development to the creolization process. First, we know that the existence of creole speakers of Tok Pisin in any significant numbers can be dated no earlier than the mid-1950's; and we have five clear cases of *ia*-marked relatives attested from more than a decade earlier. Certainly there is no reason why fluent second-language speakers of Tok Pisin could not have made the transfer between stages 2 and 3 in the use of *ia*. That they indeed did so is confirmed by the adults in our sample, who have this usage well established in their speech and have not learned it from their children. (p.663)

However, the authors make the point that creole speakers are responsible for the very rapid spread of this construction:

But it is also clear that the rapid SPREAD of the *ia* bracketing rule ... is a recent phenomenon, characteristic of that community which uses Tok Pisin as its primary language. (p.664)

A second relativiser, *we*, is encountered in some second-language varieties of Tok Pisin though it is only documented where significant numbers of creole speakers are found and its use appears to be restricted to areas such as Manus where creolisation is particularly important. Some examples recorded at Malabang village among third generation creole speakers are:

dispela pikinini we i no bin go long skul	<i>this child who did not go to school</i>
Em i pilim spia we em i sutim na klostu bai em i laik dai na em i singaut i go long ples, em singautim sampela man we em kam klostu	<i>He felt the spear that hit him and he was on the point of dying and he shouted to the village, he shouted at some men who had come near</i>

(c) Predicate marking

The grammar of the Tok Pisin 'predicate marker' remains ill-understood and attempts by leading experts on Tok Pisin (e.g. Wurm 1978) to fully account for observed usage have met only limited success. The reasons for this include the fact that its presence or absence is partly conditioned by phonological factors, though the tendency to be merged with following high vowels is often overridden by other factors (cf. Smeall 1975), in particular substratum influence (cf. Franklin, forthcoming), and also that *i* is used for stylistic rather than strictly grammatical purposes by many speakers. Even so, there appears to be considerable variation in second-language speakers' use of *i*, and one would expect such inconsistent input to be regularised by first generation creole speakers. That this is indeed the case is supported by observations made by Sankoff (1977b:71) of children in Lae and nearby areas:

This leads us to the main difference between adults and children at Stage IV. As indicated in Figure 1, both groups have less *i*- in noun-subject sentences than do Hall's Stage III subjects in the 1930s. But the children have even fewer than the adults. This looks like a reversal of the earlier trend, cliticization of *i*-, which as far as our present indications go, seemed to have reached a peak in the 1930s. Smeall (1975) and Woolford (1975) have shown the complex syntactic and phonological conditioning of *i*- deletion in our 1971 data, and Woolford's comparison of these data with materials collected by Wurm in the late 1950s indicates that *i*- was more frequent then, than at the 1930 date indicated in Figure 1. I do not discuss this conditioning here, but it appears that (a) it is not totally related to current *em*-cliticization, i.e. *i*- is dropping out a little more rapidly than *em* is coming in; and (b) it represents a further complexity in the children's grammar, where *i*, having lost first its semantic and then syntactic weight, could undergo morpho-phonologically conditioned deletion. And it is in phonology in general that children appear most significantly to differ from adult speakers of Tok Pisin at present (e.g. the differences in stress documented in Sankoff and Laberge 1973).

However, there is no categorical absence of *i* in any of the creolised varieties studied and the gradual loss of this syntactic marker is yet another instance of a trend begun in second-language Tok Pisin being continued in first-language varieties. To conclude I would like to quote a brief passage recorded among second generation native speakers at Malabang on Manus Island:

Em *i* stap (1) na (2) sutim em long dispela spia na dispela man kamautim (2) dispela spia long Warabe, em yet *i* kamautim (1) long skin bilong en ... taim em kirap (2) long kilim dispela man bilong Howa *i* ron (1) bihain *i* go (1) insait long wanpela liklik wara na taim tupela *i* go daun long dispela wara bai kirap (2) na swim (2) *i* go (1) insait long liklik hul liklik hul long dispela wara we wara we long dispela man *i* ran (1) *i* go (1) daun long en.

[He stayed and he shot him with this spear and this man removed the spear from Warabe, he himself removed it from his body ... when he got up to kill this man from Howa he ran and afterwards he went to a small river and when the two of them had reached the river he got up and swam to a little hole near the river where this man had run to.]

- (1) i present where also present in expanded Tok Pisin;
 (2) i absent where expected in expanded Tok Pisin.

Some tentative observations emerging from this text are that (a) i is lexically conditioned by certain verbs (ron *run*, go *go*, etc.), (b) not deleted when in emphatic statements and likely to be deleted when in the environment of high vowels; similar conditions also pertain to second-language varieties.

(d) Aspect marking

The principal aspect markers of Tok Pisin whose role in creolised varieties has been studied are save 'habitual', stap 'continuous' and bai 'future and/or irrealis'. Again, there appear to be no great differences between second-language and creole varieties. Lazar-Meyn (1977) discusses a number of changes in the use of stap and save over time but is unable to associate such changes directly with creolisation. Similar findings were made for bai by Sankoff (1979:29):

In Tok Pisin, baimbai has been reduced to one syllable for most contemporary speakers, and creole speakers often pronounce it simply [bə] (Sankoff and Laberge 1973). In addition, it has moved from sentence-initial position, as in (5), to preverbal position, used redundantly with all verbs marked for future, as in (6):

- (5) BAI em kam bek na i stap na kaikai na kisim wara.
 (Fut.)-*she-come-back-and-(pred.mkr.)-stay-and-eat-and*
-fetch-water
She will come back and stay and eat and fetch water.
 (from Mühlhäusler 1979:5)

Note that the verbs stap, kaikai, and kisim are unmarked. In (6), however, excerpted from a story I recorded as told by an eight-year-old creole speaker of Tok Pisin, all verbs are marked with bai:

- (6) Pes pikinini ia BAI yu go long wok, - BAI yu stap ia
 na BAI yu stap long banis kau bilong mi na BAI taim
 mi dai BAI yu lukautim.
You, first son, will go and work in, - you'll remain
here and you'll stay on my cattle farm and when I die
you'll look after it.

Bai is also used in the apodosis of conditionals, as in (7):

- (7) Sapos yu no lusim mi, BAI mi kikim yu nau.
If you don't let me go, I'll kick you. (creole speaker
 J.P., age 15, recorded by S. Laberge).

The transition from adverb to auxiliary would seem to have taken place prior to the 1960's, though a careful historical study has not yet been carried out. Looking for differences between pidgin and creole speakers in the sample of people we recorded in 1971, Laberge and I found no differences pertaining to placement of bai or to its redundancy. We were, however, able to show that the creole speakers used more phonologically reduced forms, and tended to unstress it significantly more than pidgin speakers.

A much broader data base is needed before the nature of creolisation in such constructions can be grasped.

(e) Passivisation

Pidgins and creoles are often characterised as languages that lack full passives, i.e. passives where the semantic agent is expressed as in English, e.g. *the postman was bitten by the dog*. Instead, as pointed out by Markey and Fodale (1983):

In contrast to a general lack of "full" passives, creoles frequently attest rampant lexical diathesis, or notional passivization; e.g. Engl. dial. *this steak eats good*. In both notional and truncated passives, the semantic agent remains unexpressed. Lack of full passives is also diagnostic of pidgins, even those that are developmentally refined, e.g. Tok Pisin, which, while it lacks full passives, attests both truncated passives and lexical diathesis: ol i kolim nem belong em Jisas; mekim pinis (orait).

In most varieties of Tok Pisin even notional passivisation is extremely rare, constructions such as *dua i lok long insait the door is locked from the inside* being the exception rather than the rule. As yet, the emergence of such constructions has not been studied. However, it appears that one would find a gradual growth in the number of lexical items which can undergo this process. Whilst it is not extended to all verbs in any of the varieties I have studied, it is most widely used in Malabang creolised Tok Pisin. Compare:

Malabang Tok Pisin	expected form i second-language expanded varieties	gloss
klos i ain pinis	ol i ainim klos pinis	<i>the clothes are ironed</i>
mi bles pinis	ol i blesim mi pinis	<i>I am blessed</i>
pik i kil pinis	ol i kilim pik pinis	<i>the pig was killed</i>
hos i sadol pinis	ol i sadolim hos pinis	<i>the horse is saddled</i>

Note that these cases differ considerably from Hooley's (1962) characterisation of an alleged passive construction in Tok Pisin, the principal difference being that Malabang Tok Pisin can passivise verbs which only appear as transitive verbs with an -im ending in other varieties. The case of *sadol to be saddled* further indicates that passivisation can apply to verbs that have been derived from nominal bases. This will be further discussed in the section on lexical developments.

2.4.7.5 Lexical developments in creolised Tok Pisin

From the discussion of creolisation so far it has become clear that changes in first-language varieties have a survival chance only if they do not lead to communication breakdown between first- and second-language speakers. This means that the most successful innovations of creolised Tok Pisin are those which continue existing trends or reinterpret existing structures rather than those which are entirely new. Thus, although many qualitatively different innovations may occur, their survival chance is limited. With regard to the lexicon, one cannot expect the addition of many new bases, though some borrowing to fill in referential gaps is in evidence. Note that this borrowing is restricted, as a rule, to relatively marginal vocabulary and that its source is neighbouring languages with whose speakers such topics may be discussed more readily than with speakers from further away. Thus, in Malabang Tok Pisin one finds a number of lexical additions in the area of plant and animal names, including:

Malabang Tok Pisin	descriptive phrase provided by informants	gloss
pehelu	liklik binatang i olsem star	<i>firefly</i>
goha	pisin i save putim bikpela kiau long graun	<i>bird which lays big eggs on the ground</i>
ramai	bikpela pisin olsem kakaruk	<i>big bird like a chicken</i>
peau	sak birua	<i>kind of man-eating shark</i>
maluam	i kain welpis	<i>kind of whale</i>
menuai	bikpela pisin	<i>eagle</i>
kalalauai	kain bataplai	<i>kind of butterfly</i>
mala	biknem bilong sel	<i>generic name for shell</i>

The main mechanism for lexical expansion in creolised Tok Pisin is the use of already established patterns for the formation of lexical items to generate new names, as are needed when the language is used in the full set of functions required of a human language. This is manifested (a) in the increased productivity of established lexical programs and, more importantly, (b) in the relaxation of the principle which bars multiple derivation. Thus, lexical rules operate with fewer exceptions (i.e. they are simpler) and apply recursively. Increased lexical productivity as encountered in Malabang Tok Pisin includes the following cases:

(a) The derivation of further abstract nominals from verb or adjective bases, as in:

Malabang Tok Pisin	gloss
no ken gat SOT bilong wara	<i>there won't be a SHORTAGE of water</i>
i gat planti HARIM bilong tok pisin	<i>there are many DIALECTS of Tok Pisin</i>
maski mi gat STING nogut	<i>although I have a bad INFECTION</i>
i gat planti kain KOLIM bilongen	<i>there are many different NAMES for it</i>
RAIT bilong mi i no klia tumas	<i>my WAY OF WRITING is not very clear</i>
KARIM bilong dispela meri i hat tru	<i>the ACT OF CHILDBIRTH is very painful for this woman</i>
DILIM bilong yu i no stret	<i>your WAY OF DEALING (cards) is not correct</i>
em i lukim RON bilong olgeta pis	<i>he looked at the MOVEMENT of the fish</i>

(b) The derivation of causative verbs from intransitive verbs and adjectives. It has been shown above that only a small number of forms are encountered in second-language varieties of the language. In creolised Tok Pisin of Malabang this rule has become virtually exceptionless, new forms encountered including:

Malabang Tok Pisin	gloss
wara i STINGIM ol plang	<i>the water makes the planks rot</i>
dispela kaikai i SWITIM maus bilong mi	<i>this food gives my mouth a pleasant taste</i>

Malabang Tok Pisin	gloss
meri i BONIM pikinini	<i>the woman gave birth to a child</i>
em i wok long RAUNIM diwai	<i>he is busy making a piece of wood round</i>
meri i SMATIM em yet	<i>the girl dolled herself up</i>

It is interesting to note that Malabang Tok Pisin now exhibits the same lexical productivity in this part of the lexicon as Tok Pisin's original principal substratum language Tolai. A static comparison of the two languages would suggest direct substratum influence. However, a developmental approach such as the one given in this chapter clearly identifies causatives in creolised Tok Pisin as the endpoint of long independent development of a lexical rule and not as borrowing. The comparison of arbitrarily chosen states is particularly misleading in the case of pidgins and creoles.

(c) The derivation of verbs derived from nouns referring to instruments includes:

Malabang Tok Pisin	gloss
em i bin go AKISIM paiawut	<i>he went to cut firewood with an axe</i>
POKIM kaikai	<i>to eat food with a fork</i>
SENIM kago	<i>to lift up loads with a chain</i>
mi mas LETIM trausis bilong mi	<i>I must fasten my trousers with a belt</i>
man i bin KOSIM rot	<i>he found his way by means of a compass (kos)</i>
mi mas SOKIM lek bilong sia	<i>I have to put a wedge (sok) under the leg of the chair</i>

(d) A number of new compounds are formed by using the existing lexical program which converts phrases of the type N i V_{int} into compounds of the type (V_{int} + N) V_{int}, its use having been extended from that involving nouns referring to body parts, as in *belisi peaceful*, *contented* or *hanbruk having a broken arm*. Other examples include:

Malabang Tok Pisin	gloss
dispela ples i MANSOT nau	<i>this village is short of people, has few inhabitants</i>
em i go huk, tasol em i LUSROP	<i>he went fishing, but he returned empty-handed (his fishing line was empty)</i>

Other new compounds involving parts of the body are:

Malabang Tok Pisin	gloss
ol i sindaun LEKPAS	<i>they sat with crossed legs</i>
mi SIKHET long san	<i>I got dizzy in the sun</i>
NUSPAS	<i>having a blocked nose</i>
ASPAS	<i>unable to defecate, constipated</i>

Next to such examples of greater lexical productivity one finds the large-scale abolition of certain lexical constraints. For instance, the disappearance of the constraint specifying that words should not consist of more than two morphemes can be seen in the following examples observed in spontaneous conversations:

Malabang Tok Pisin	gloss
nektaim	<i>to tie a necktie around someone</i>
hankapim	<i>to put handcuffs on</i>
kolsiselim	<i>to cut with a cold chisel</i>
pinistaimman	<i>returned labourer</i>
bikhetpasin	<i>stubbornness</i>

More important, and hardly ever observed in non-creolised varieties, is the high incidence of multiple derivation, i.e. the operation of lexical programs on derived lexical items, as in:

a) derivation of abstract nouns from derived verbals:

huk	→ huk	→ huk
<i>hook</i>	<i>to go fishing</i>	<i>fishing</i>
kuk	→ kukim	→ ol Hailans i gat narapela KUKIM
<i>to boil, cook</i>	<i>to cook something</i>	<i>bilang saksak</i>
		<i>the Highlanders have a different</i>
		<i>COOKING METHOD for sago</i>

b) derivation of abstract nouns from reduplicated verbs:

holim	→ holholim	→ paip i gut long HOLHOLIM bilongen
<i>to hold</i>	<i>to grasp, hold fast</i>	<i>the pipe is good with regard</i>
		<i>to its HANDLING QUALITIES</i>
lukim	→ luklukim	→ meri i gut long LUKLUKIM bilongen
<i>to look, watch</i>	<i>to gaze, stare</i>	<i>the girl is really very good-</i>
		<i>looking</i>

c) reduplication of derived verbals:

smok	→ smokim	→ smoksmokim
<i>smoke</i>	<i>to smoke (coconuts)</i>	<i>to smoke thoroughly</i>
sak	→ sakim	→ saksakim
<i>bag</i>	<i>to fill in bags</i>	<i>to fill many bags</i>
krugut	→ krugutim	→ krukrukutim
<i>crooked</i>	<i>to crush</i>	<i>to crush to little pieces</i>

It is important to note that many of the changes in the lexicon do not relate to an increase in referential power of the language but provide new linguistic styles. Thus, where second-language Tok Pisin has several ways of expressing the concept 'a person associated with a certain object or activity', Malabang creolised Tok Pisin has developed yet another. Compare:

second-language Tok Pisin	Malabang creolised Tok Pisin	gloss
Manusman, sunam	pomanus	<i>a true Manus man</i>
Manusmeri, meri sunam	pimanus	<i>a true Manus woman</i>
man bilong smokim paip	popaip	<i>a pipe smoker</i>
man bilong smokim brus	pobrus	<i>a cigar smoker</i>
spakman	pospak	<i>a habitual drinker</i>

2.4.7.6 Creolisation: summary

Whilst detailed studies remain to be carried out on most aspects of creolisation of Tok Pisin, the following general tendencies appear to be characteristic of this stage:

- a) Grammatical categories such as tense and aspect become obligatory and redundant.
- b) Rules favouring the optimisation of production appear. Phonological reduction is manifested in greater overall fluency and stylistic variability.
- c) Multiple embedding in syntax and cyclic application of word-formation rules is increasingly common.
- d) Existing rules of word-formation are exploited more fully.
- e) Rules catering to the non-referential functions of Tok Pisin (e.g. discourse structure rules, rules providing stylistic synonyms, etc.) are becoming common.

Again, some salient aspects of different varieties of creolised Tok Pisin will be illustrated with texts.

Text 1) Creolised Rural Tok Pisin

The following text represents Tok Pisin as spoken in the non-traditional rural settlement of Malabang. Its speaker is a first generation native speaker of Tok Pisin:

Tupela kilim pik na mipela karim i kam na i hevi tru,
 biiiikpela tru, orait, em mipela i karim i kam long bris.
 Na tupela ya na mipela i wokim wanrot, mipela wokim wanpela
 rot. Tupela i no laikim mipela long go tambulo na tupela
 i brukim long bris na i bruk, tupela bris i bruk, tupela
 i brukbruk, orait, na tupela i pundaun long wara, na
 tupela ya i go hait pinis hait pinis, na mipela painim
 mekim.

Tupela winim tru, tupela ya winwinim wara na tupela
 kam antap.

[These two killed the pig and we (excl.) carried it and it was very heavy, really huge, well, this one we carried toward the bridge. And these two and us were walking along the same path, we were walking along one path. The two did not want us to go down and the two broke a bridge so that it was broken, two bridges were broken, two were broken, well, and the two dived into the water, and the two hid, they were hidden, and we were busy looking for them.

The two conquered it, these two really conquered the river and the two appeared again.]

The grammatical complexity of the above passage can be seen in the following constructions:

- a) *em mipela i karim it was carried* illustrates change in basic word order for focalising.
- b) *wanrot/wanpela rot same road* illustrates variable deletion of adjective suffix *-pela* for stylistic purposes.

- c) Reduplication of the verb or repetition of verb phrase with dual subjects appears, as in *tupela i brukbruk, tupela i go hait pinis hait pinis*. (This type of concord has been observed many times in Malabang Tok Pisin.)
- d) *laikim mipela long wanted that we* illustrates the use of the preposition long as complementiser, a development also found in non-creolised varieties of Tok Pisin.

Text 2) Creolised Rural Tok Pisin

The following text by Yangol, about nine years of age, was recorded at Yip, a non-traditional administrative and school centre on the Keram river. Note that Yangol's school language is English and that his topic is the non-traditional Jack and the Beanstalk (recorded in 1973):

.... Mama holim em na putim em insait long bikpela pot na hangamapim antap na em i stap na em i kam kilim dispela man pinis na meri bilongen i kukim nau. Man ya i kirap na kauntim mani bilongen na dispela mani bilong en karim i kam ausait kauntim i stap stil pinis. Dispela man ya em i kirap ya ron tasol i kam daun ya, mani bilongen ya, em sel i kam daun long mama bilongen i go givim em na em tok bai em i go bek na em i kam gen long mama ya na em i tokim yu, yu yangfela tru ya kam olsem bai mi kilim yu mi mekim wonem long yu nau mama dispela man em i sindaun wantaim em i stap em i kam nau na guriaim haus bilongen na tok mama

[.... *His (i.e. the giant's) wife took hold of him and put him inside a big pot and hung it up and he was there and he had come to kill this young man his wife was 'cooking'. The giant got up and counted his money and he carried this money outside and he was counting it until he had finished. This boy got up and ran down (and took with him) this money, he came sailing down to his mother, gave it to her and said to her he was going back and he came again to this (giant's) wife and she said to him, you little boy, have you come for me to kill you? What shall I do with you now? The woman's husband who lived with her was there and he came and he made his house shake and he said: Wife]*

Again, we are dealing with a text of considerable grammatical complexity and linguistic sophistication. The following aspects deserve special mention:

- a) The frequent use of *ya* as a sentence bracketing device.
- b) Some borrowing from English, e.g. *pot* instead of *sospen pot*.
- c) There are some referential problems caused by the use of *mama* to refer to both *mother* and *wife* (common also in second-language varieties) and *man* to refer to *boy* and *giant*.
- d) The form *guriaim to make tremble, shake* uses an existing program of word-formation but ignores the restriction common to second-language varieties that the causative ending cannot be attached to verbs ending in a vowel.
- e) The use of several aspect markers with a single verb to express shades of meaning difficult to express in second-language varieties.

- f) Frequent omission of the predicate marker *i*.
- g) Change of word order for emphasis, as in *dispela mani bilongen karim i kam he carried this money towards*.

Text 3) Creolised Urban Tok Pisin

This is an extract from a story by John P. recorded by Gillian Sankoff in Lae:

Em tupela, olosem tupela meri ia, tupela itok; em, tevel meri, em, -long nait na ... tevel meri sanap arere long haus na em i harim, em tok s(em): "Tumara moning, hap nait yet yu kirap, orait, (yu) kirapim mi, orait, mipela igo long, -(olo)sem igo ... long, -nambis na mipela go huk. Nau, tevel meri harim pinis. Na tupela meri igo slip nau, long nait em tevel meri i kam nau, em i giamanim em: "Orait (yu) kirap, mi kam pinis." Tupela kirap nau, tupela igo, em i ting meri tru. Tupela igo, igo kisim kanu na tupela igo, igo igo nau; na meri tru ia em i wok -huk. Em i wok long/go pulim pis na tevel meri i wok long kaikai fis.

[The two, well these two women, they were talking; she, the spirit woman, she ... at night the spirit woman stood outside the house and heard one of the (real) women say: Tomorrow morning when it is still dawn you get up, well, and you wake me up, well we go, well, we go to the beach to fish. Then the spirit woman had got the message. The two women went to sleep, during the night the spirit woman came and deceived her (the one of them): All right, get up, I have come. The spirit woman and the real woman got up, they go, she (the real woman) thought she (the other one) was a real woman. They went, they fetched a canoe and went a long way, and the real woman did the fishing. She was fishing and the spirit woman was eating the fish.]

Whilst there are no signs of heavy reliance on borrowing in this text (thus attenuating the difference between urban and rural varieties of the language), the following points deserve special mention:

- a) Redundant use of the dual marker *tupela*.
- b) Phonological reduction of *ol(o)sem that, thus* in several places. It seems likely that abbreviated *olsem (sem)* will be identified with the complementiser *se*.
- c) Use of sentence bracketing device *ya*. Also used as emphasiser here.
- d) Variable deletion of the predicate marker *i*.

In all the above texts the differences between first- and second-language varieties were quantitative rather than qualitative. At this point no reliable records of more advanced creole varieties spoken by younger children are available.

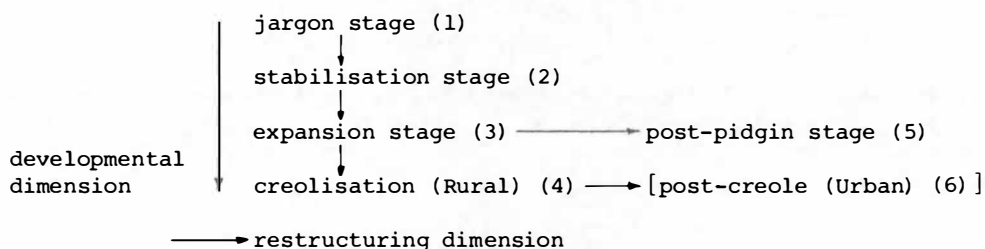
Our understanding of creolisation of Tok Pisin is still in its infancy. One must hope that the following tasks will receive closer attention in coming years:

- a) Longitudinal studies of creole acquisition.
- b) Determination of referential and other possible deficiencies in first generation creole.

- c) Detailed studies of phonological reduction and sound symbolism.
- d) Investigation of differences between child and adult creolised varieties and problems of mutual intelligibility.

2.4.8 THE INTERNAL DEVELOPMENT OF TOK PISIN: CONCLUSIONS

The aim of this chapter has been to sketch the linguistic development of Tok Pisin from its earliest beginnings to the present. For this purpose a model distinguishing a number of different stages was proposed, some of them on a developmental continuum (from less to more complex systems) and some along a restructuring one (structural changes not leading to greater linguistic power). The development of Tok Pisin can be represented as follows:



It is obviously quite impossible to give an exhaustive account of all the developments in this language since a detailed account of one single aspect would require many pages. However, I hope to have captured some of the more salient developments and underlying principles. At the same time I have attempted to point out areas where further research is badly needed.

The two principal questions asked have been that of the nature of linguistic changes and that of their origin. With regard to the former, I would like to recapitulate some changes using the following reconstructed utterances:¹¹

English:	<i>(There are many small roads on this island enabling people to go to its interior and produce goods which advance our country.)</i>
jargon:	Plenty little road along island. You fellows can go inside. You fellows work. Allright. Him plenty good.
stabilised pidgin:	Planti rot i stap long ailan hia. Yupela ken go insait long ailan. Yupela ken wokim samting. Sapos yu wokim, orait, yupela ken mekim kirap kantri bilong yumi.
expanded pidgin:	I gat planti rot long disfela ailan long go insait longen. Yupela ken wokim samting i kirapim kantri bilong yumi.
post-pidgin:	I got plenti roads i stop long ailan hia long go insait longen. Yufela ken wokim samting i getapim kantri bilong as.
creole:	Lo tesela ailan i gat planti ol liklik rot lo go insait lo 'n, na woki ol samti we krapim kantri bilong yumi.

I shall omit the post-creole stage as this has not yet really emerged. It is particularly difficult to forecast the changes resulting from contact between a fully fledged creolised Tok Pisin and English (cf. Mühlhäusler 1982 for general comments).

We can sum up the grammatical properties of these stages as follows:

- jargon: one- or two-word sentences, tendency towards CVCV word-structure, no deictic markers, referentially impoverished, numerous holo-phrastic expressions;
- stabilised pidgin: gradual emergence of simple sentence structures, some shallow embedding, consonant clusters are becoming more common;
- expanded pidgin: complementisers and relativisers emerge, development of a productive word-formation component, discourse-structuring devices;
- post-pidgin: disintegration of lexical and grammatical structures as a result of unsystematic borrowing, considerable increase in unnatural grammar;
- creole: complex (multiple) embedding in syntax and multiple derivation in word-formation component, numerous stylistic devices.

As regards the origin of linguistic structures, the following generalisations can be made with regard to morphosyntactic phenomena (including derivational morphology):

<i>stage</i>	<i>source of innovations</i>
jargon	great individual differences drawing variably from sub- and superstratum grammar, foreigner talk register, linguistic universals and other pidgin traditions
stabilisation	almost exclusively universal grammar, selective borrowing from sub- and superstratum grammars
expansion	almost exclusively internal development, i.e. reinterpretation of existing structures, universal program of second-language development and discourse-derived structures basically same as expansion stage, though apparently greater role of universal sources
post-pidgin	borrowing from former lexifier language, language mixing

The developments in other components of grammar (e.g. phonology and discourse) appear to be governed by different principles, though little is known about these at present. It should also be remembered that in many instances we are dealing with a conspiracy between more than one source, the most common combinations being:

- a) superstratum and universal tendencies;
- b) substratum and universal tendencies;
- c) substratum and superstratum influence;
- d) a combination of all three factors.

Little has been said about the ultimate causes of the phenomenal development of Tok Pisin over the last hundred years, though there can be little doubt that it was promoted primarily by the immense pressures for communication between people who did not share a language or a culture. That such a development could take place among those who are often labelled 'primitives' and 'Stone Age men' clearly invalidates the notion that there is any direct link between cultural and linguistic sophistication. Moreover, the fact that this development occurred among

second-language speaking adults (in most cases, long before any creole speakers emerged) seriously challenges the notion of a critical age for language learning and rule changing creativity.

I will conclude my remarks on the internal development of Tok Pisin with some guesses as to its future. The principal factors involved here are:

- a) its continued usefulness as a second language;
- b) the influence of English;
- c) the growth of the creole community;
- d) language planning and other human involvement (this will be dealt with under a separate heading, see chapter on language planning (6.8)).

(a) Languages, and pidgins in particular, depend on their continued usefulness to a community of speakers. Their linguistic sophistication is directly related to such factors as the functional range of the language, domains of use, social standing and so forth. The growth of Tok Pisin up to very recently happened in the context of rapid expansion of the external use of pidgin and growing numbers of speakers. In future, one can foresee some functional decline of the language in favour of English and regional vernacular *lingue franche*, as well as much slower growth, or even decrease, in the numbers of speakers. While this may not affect the structure of the language for some time, in the long run it could contribute to structural decline and ultimate language death.

(b) The use of English in functions and domains previously occupied by Tok Pisin has led, in recent years, to considerable structural changes, some of them deserving the label 'structural breakdown'. At present English influence is found mainly in urban areas and this has led to the compartmentalisation of Tok Pisin into mutually no longer fully intelligible sociolects rather than the structural decline of the whole language.

(c) Urbanisation and the establishment of more and more non-traditional rural settlements have counteracted in part the above developments. It is in the mouth of creole speakers that Tok Pisin has acquired its greatest structural sophistication and stability. If the number of first-language speakers were to grow, a point may be reached where first-language varieties rather than second-language ones become the accepted standard.

Everything points to the conclusion that it will be the human factor which will decide whether Tok Pisin will continue to grow and develop, or disappear within a few generations. In the latter case it is unlikely that it will be replaced by anything possessing the structural consistency and learnability of expanded or creolised Tok Pisin.

NOTES

1. It is not clear to what extent child and adult language learning and acquisition differ. It is certain, however, that the conventional boundary, sexual maturation, is not very clearly linked with the capacity to drastically change and restructure grammars (cf. Steinberg 1982:145).
2. Thus, Freyberg (1975:35) observes that "we generally find that even readers who regularly use the most recent forms of expression are still able to

understand the older forms, whereas the rural people are not so likely to understand the newer modes of expression."

3. Examples of heavily germanised Tok Pisin and relexified Pidgin German are discussed in Mühlhäusler 1977a:63ff).
4. It is interesting that a number of writers have remarked that German is very difficult to pronounce for the islanders and that for this reason, Germany was forced to continue the use of 'English' in its colonies.
5. Whilst there is clearly no direct historical link with New Guinea Tok Pisin here, the strategies adopted by the users of jargons are in all likelihood very similar.
6. The question whether jargons have fixed grammatical structures is dealt with in some detail by Labov (1971a).
7. Thus, Whinnom (1971:101) notes: "Naive language learning ... concentrates on acquiring lexemes with scant regard to pronunciation or grammar."
8. For further discussion cf. Agheyisi 1971:31-34.
9. The fact that even a small inventory of lexical items can be made to go a long way has been observed by several writers, for instance Jacomb (1914:91) who writes on early Bichelamar: "Probably the vocabulary of the ordinary speaker of Pidgin-English consists of not many more than a hundred words, but those words are made go a long way. Many gradations of meaning are added by changed intonation and facial expression."
10. Some early texts have the variant *gat him*. However, it appears that this form was subsequently merged with the phonetically similar *karim to carry*, as can be seen in present-day forms such as *karim pen to have or carry pain*.
11. The only one of these utterances on actual record is that found in expanded Tok Pisin.

2.5 WRITING SYSTEMS AND THE ORTHOGRAPHY OF TOK PISIN

S.A. Wurm

2.5.1 GENERAL REMARKS

This chapter is concerned with the nature, development and history of the writing systems used for rendering Tok Pisin in writing and with the various attempts at the creation of orthographies, or standard spelling systems, of Tok Pisin over many years.

Since the beginning of Tok Pisin in what is today Papua New Guinea in the 1880s (Mühlhäusler 1976), Tok Pisin has been reduced to writing first only very sporadically in public announcements such as warnings, directives, etc., and with gradually increasing frequency as time wore on, though its use in writing had remained very restricted until after the turn of the century when missionaries, in particular in what was then German New Guinea, took a very active interest in the question of creating orthographies for Tok Pisin - then called simply Pidgin. Until that time, Tok Pisin words had largely been spelt in accordance with the spelling of the English words from which they were derived, which involved some misinterpretation such as the writing of *he* for the Tok Pisin particle *i*, which is of Austronesian origin. However, with the early development and stabilisation of Tok Pisin taking place in an area in which the dominant language was German, not English, pressure from the English spelling system in writing Tok Pisin was comparatively weak, and it must be taken into account that in contrast to the attitude of English speakers towards Tok Pisin or other varieties of English-based pidgins, German speakers largely recognised Tok Pisin as a language in its own right and separate from English, and did not regard it simply as a bastardised form of English, which has been the common attitude towards English-based pidgins in areas in which the dominant language is English.

However, the close similarity between much of the lexicon of Tok Pisin and that of English was recognised by those concerned with the creation of the earliest standardised Tok Pisin orthographies, and this fact left very clear marks on the orthographic systems created by them. This tendency has persisted until today and is strongly in evidence in all standardised Tok Pisin orthographies created and proposed to date. This meant that even if the creators of standardised Tok Pisin orthographies attempted to make strong allowances for the specific nature of Tok Pisin phonology, they also paid very much attention to the English origin of Tok Pisin words in devising standardised spellings for them, even if the features reflected in the English spelling of such words were absent from the Tok Pisin phonological shapes of these words.

One very typical feature of this kind is the distinction between the voiced and voiceless stops *b* and *p*, *d* and *t*, and *g* and *k* in many cases according to the spelling of the English word from which a Tok Pisin word may be derived, even though the actual pronunciation of the Tok Pisin word is at variance with that of the English word in this respect. Final stops are usually voiceless in Tok Pisin and the spelling *dok*, and in some varieties of Tok Pisin even *tok*, will be

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167

phonologically correct for *dog* rather than the spelling *dog*. Initial dental stops tend to be voiceless in Tok Pisin, but whenever an English source word has an initial *d*, standard orthographies tend to propose the use of initial *d* in the Tok Pisin words derived from them, even though the initial dental stop is phonologically *t* in such words, such as *dispela* (pronounced *tispela*) which is derived from English *this fellow*.

At the same time, distinguishing voiced and voiceless stops in Tok Pisin spelling in accordance with the spelling of the English source words, and other instances of following the English spelling as a model rather than rendering the Tok Pisin phonological shape of the words, has the advantage of giving greater clarity to written Tok Pisin: Tok Pisin has a very large number of homonyms, many of them attributable to the conversion of phonologically different English source words into a single phonological shape in Tok Pisin. This does not constitute a very serious problem in spoken Tok Pisin, because situational contexts and the embedding of such words into utterances accompanied by a range of extra-linguistic clues makes the distinction between the various meanings of homophonous Tok Pisin words a simple matter in most instances. However, the determination of the specific meaning of a given written Tok Pisin word, for which other homographic forms with different meanings exist, may tend to be much more difficult in many instances than the corresponding situation involving spoken Tok Pisin. Because of this, a decrease in the homography of Tok Pisin words certainly contributes to disambiguating written Tok Pisin. Good examples of this in the latest standardised orthography of Tok Pisin are the following: the spelling as *dok* of the Tok Pisin word for *dog* and *tok* for the word for *speech, language* (derived from English *talk*), though both these Tok Pisin words are generally pronounced alike in Tok Pisin as *tok*; the spelling *hot* of the Tok Pisin word for *hot* and *hat* of the Tok Pisin word for *hard*, though both are pronounced as *hat*; the spelling as *jip* of the Tok Pisin word for English *jeep* and as *sip* of the Tok Pisin word for *ship*, though both are pronounced alike in Tok Pisin as *sip*; the spelling as *pis* of the Tok Pisin word for *fish*, and as *bis* for the Tok Pisin word for *beads*, though both are generally pronounced alike as *pis*.

In spelling systems devised during the period in which English had become the dominant language, another factor prompting the imitation of English orthographic principles in writing Tok Pisin made itself felt. The view was largely held by members of the Australian Administration who were concerned with education and with administration in general, that English features of Tok Pisin spelling systems might make it easier for indigenous Tok Pisin speakers to learn English subsequently, and to spell it correctly. Also, the view was held by some members of the administration that an increasing influence of English upon Tok Pisin, beginning with its spelling system, might lead to Tok Pisin eventually becoming English anyway - a development which would have been welcomed by many such expatriates who viewed Tok Pisin with very low esteem indeed.

A third factor had a quite decisive influence upon the nature of the spelling and form of the spelling systems and orthographies devised for Tok Pisin until 1955: the designers of such individual orthographies were guided by the assumption that decisions concerning their shape were exclusively a matter for European speakers of Tok Pisin. The designed spellings for Tok Pisin words generally reflected the ways in which European speakers of Tok Pisin pronounced the language - who, as has been pointed out above, yielded in this to pressure from English orthographic principles. Some allowances were made for what such European speakers of Tok Pisin might have regarded as the local pronunciation of Tok Pisin words. In addition, in the case of several missions, spelling habits developed from the writing of vernacular languages exerted pressure on the spelling systems which such missions devised for writing Tok Pisin.

2.5.2 HISTORY OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF STANDARD TOK PISIN ORTHOGRAPHIES

2.5.2.1 The period until 1955

Some remarks have already been made above (section 2.5.1) on the early period of the designing of spelling systems and orthographies for Tok Pisin and on factors and circumstances impinging upon such activities in the early days, in particular on the fact that the dominant language was German, not English, though some pressure from English and English orthographic principles was present in the development of spelling systems for Tok Pisin.

It has been pointed out that the development of Pidgin spelling systems and orthographies in the early days rested generally with missions. For example, well before World War I, missionaries of the Roman Catholic Society of the Divine Word (SVD) devised a spelling system and orthography for Tok Pisin, which was used quite extensively in the activities of that mission, but also adopted by the German Administration (Hall 1966). It had quite a long life in the framework of the Catholic missions. It embodied to a very large extent the principles mentioned above (section 2.5.1), regarding attitudes towards some approximation to English spelling as far as the consonants were concerned, though the five vowel symbols a, e, i, o, u represented sounds according to German usage. The view was very strongly held by the creators of this spelling system that the German speakers' pronunciation constituted the model to be followed in the spelling of Tok Pisin words of English origin. It was recognised by its creators that the Tok Pisin pronunciation of local speakers tended to be at variance with the pronunciation suggested by the spelling of the words as designed, but the view was held by them that the local indigenous speaker ought to be taught to pronounce Tok Pisin according to its designed spelling and that, in all cases, the European pronunciation of Tok Pisin words was decisive.

After Alexishafen near Madang, which in those days was the headquarters of the SVD mission, this SVD spelling system was named the Alexishafen spelling. Its use was quite widespread, but it was not followed by missionaries of other denominations, and in other parts of what is today Papua New Guinea, even Catholic missionaries devised spelling systems which differed from the Alexishafen spelling in various ways and to varying extents, and even in underlying philosophies. So for instance, SVD missionaries in the Rabaul area of New Britain held the view, which was supported by administration education officials, that Tok Pisin was very predominantly, and originally, a language used by the indigenous population and that therefore spelling systems devised for it should reflect the pronunciation of Tok Pisin as used by local indigenous speakers. This view which was directly opposed to that held by the creators of the Alexishafen spelling, led to the abandonment of the principle of following the English spelling principles regarding the distinction between voiced and voiceless stops in the spelling of Tok Pisin words, and to some other quite fundamental differences from the Alexishafen spelling, including differences in vowel representation.

Another system, devised by the Methodist Mission in Rabaul for writing Tok Pisin, followed the principles adopted for the writing of vernacular Austronesian languages of Melanesia. Features in which this system deviated particularly strongly from the other systems mentioned above were the use of k for both g and k sounds and the adoption of g for representing the sound of ng in *sing* for which, in the other Tok Pisin orthographic system, ng or ŋ had been adopted. Also the sound represented by y in English and in most other Tok Pisin orthographic systems was represented by i (Hall 1955a).

With more and more missions and other agencies creating their own spelling systems and orthographies for writing Tok Pisin in the years until the mid 1950s, the systems multiplied and by the mid 1950s, a very large number were in actual

use, amongst them nine major systems. The various missions, different news media and different government departments all had their own spellings, which in part were greatly different from each other.

No attempts at creating a single standardised Tok Pisin spelling through a collaborative effort involving the various agencies themselves were made, and repeated attempts by the Department of Education of the Administration in the late 1940s and early 1950s did not produce results because the users of the various spelling systems showed no interest in cooperating in these efforts and in compromising, largely because of lack of interest and unwillingness to get involved in such an exercise. At the same time, the view was held by many Europeans involved in using varying Tok Pisin spelling systems that pidgin was only corrupt English anyway and that there was no reason to waste time and effort on devising a general standard orthography for it.

At the same time, all parties concerned seemed to slowly move towards the view in the early 1950s that the basis of Tok Pisin spelling systems and orthographies should be the way in which local indigenous speakers pronounced the language, rather than the ways in which European speakers of it pronounced it. However, in practice, a clear division developed over this issue between missionary agencies and news media and government departments. The former largely adopted the principle that recent loan words from English had to be respelt in the orthographies used by them so as to reflect the actual Tok Pisin pronunciation. However the latter tended to spell such recent English loan words according to English orthography.

2.5.2.2 The period from 1955 until 1969

In the year 1955 the administration of what was then the Territory of Papua New Guinea, through its Department of Education, decided that the time had come for serious official steps to be taken towards the standardisation of the spelling systems and orthographies used for Tok Pisin. The background to this attitude by the administration was the official approval in that year by the Minister for Territories in Canberra, of the use of Tok Pisin in what was then the Territory of Papua and New Guinea. This approval had been given on the understanding that the purpose of the approval was to serve the aim of furthering the teaching of all children in administratively controlled areas of Papua New Guinea to read and write English, that Tok Pisin was to be used exclusively as a medium of instruction and that only in schools in areas where it was in general use, and that the production of primers, readers and textbooks in Tok Pisin was not to be permitted to prejudice or limit the production and distribution of similar teaching materials in English for the use in all phases of school work.

In connection with this approval, the Minister also approved that a regional form of Tok Pisin be selected which was to be adopted as the standard form of Tok Pisin for the Territory of Papua New Guinea, that a linguistically sound standardised orthography be adopted for Tok Pisin, that a Tok Pisin grammar and dictionary be prepared and published and that school primers, readers and textbooks in Tok Pisin be prepared for publication.

These ministerial approvals followed the recommendations, in March 1955, of the use of Tok Pisin officially in the Territory of Papua and New Guinea by the Education Advisory Board and the Committee on Languages, which were under the auspices of the Department of Education. Upon the recommendation by the Director of Education to the Administrator of the Territory of Papua and New Guinea that these suggestions be adopted, approval for them was given by the Minister for

Territories in Canberra. It was against the background of these official actions that the events outlined below took place. Also, R.A. Hall of Cornell University, who had devoted many years of study to questions of Tok Pisin, published detailed orthographical proposals for Tok Pisin in that year (Hall 1955d), based on his analysis of the phonology of Tok Pisin. His proposals were adopted as the basis of scholarly activities aimed at producing a standardised Tok Pisin orthography. T. Dietz and L. Luzbetak were engaged by the Administration of the Territory of Papua and New Guinea to carry out extensive consultations with missions and education and school authorities in the Territory for this purpose and to undertake the necessary scholarly work aimed at the creation of such a standardised orthography. The task of the two linguists was a very difficult one, because while they received a considerable number of constructive suggestions from the missions and agencies approached, there was in general little support for their work from the various missions which were utilising Tok Pisin to a great extent in their work, and they also met with considerable opposition from some quarters.

However, Dietz and Luzbetak succeeded in devising a new Tok Pisin orthography which was reflecting essentially the pronunciation of Tok Pisin by indigenous speakers using the variety of Tok Pisin as encountered in northern coastal areas of the Territory of Papua and New Guinea, with the form met at Madang given the greatest consideration. The orthography was not entirely based on the phonemic structure of Tok Pisin as represented by its northern coastal variety, which led to some difficulties with it, as discussed below.

This proposed orthography and spelling system received approval from the Director of Education and the Administrator of the Territory of Papua and New Guinea, and was also approved by the Minister for Territories in Canberra. Subsequently, it was decreed to constitute the standard Tok Pisin orthography in an official publication issued by the Department of Education (Department of Education 1956) and was used, with a few minor changes, in Mihalic's Tok Pisin grammar and dictionary which was published a year later (Mihalic 1957).

In the beginning, various mission bodies strongly resisted the introduction of this new Tok Pisin orthography. The reasons for this resistance were in part traditionalism and in part rivalries between the missions. L. Luzbetak who, as has been mentioned above, was one of the two linguists engaged by the administration to work on devising the new standard Tok Pisin orthography, and F. Mihalic, the author of the new Tok Pisin grammar and dictionary, were both members of the Catholic Mission, which may have contributed significantly to the resistance of other missions to the new Tok Pisin orthography. However, the missions gradually moved towards the adoption of it, at least on the New Guinea mainland, and it appeared, at least for the short period of about two years, that the spelling system and orthography of Tok Pisin was moving towards quite widely adopted standardisation. Nevertheless, a number of missions and other agencies were continuing to use Tok Pisin orthographies of their own design and there was some quite pronounced criticism of features of the new Tok Pisin orthography which reflected the English spelling of Tok Pisin words derived from English, with these spellings being quite considerably at variance with the way in which such words were pronounced by indigenous speakers of Tok Pisin. An example of this was the use of final *nk* in word such as *stink rotten* and *plank board* which, while spelt like the English words from which the Tok Pisin words were derived, were actually pronounced *sting* and *plang*.

Ironically, the standardisation process involving the orthography of Tok Pisin which had been introduced by the administration, was ruined by the administration itself. The various administration departments and the Europeans active in them had shown a very pronounced lack of enthusiasm in adapting to the standard orthography, but nevertheless moved, though rather reluctantly and grudgingly, in

the direction of adopting it, bowing in this to the official backing given to the new standard Tok Pisin orthography by the administration. Reasons for this reluctance were diverse. Inertia and general lack of interest were certainly amongst them, but also the fact that a mission had played a significant part in the devising of the new Tok Pisin orthography constituted an important reason in the light of the frequently not overly positive attitude of administration officials towards missionary activities in the Territory. In addition, many Europeans in the Territory of Papua and New Guinea did not regard Tok Pisin as a language in its own right, but only as a corruption of English and could not see why it was necessary to worry unduly about how to spell what they regarded as a contemptible and rather ridiculous jargon. The misinformed and unrealistic pronouncement of the United Nations Trusteeship Council of 1953, which urged Australia to immediately abolish and prohibit the use of Tok Pisin in the Territory of Papua New Guinea, is likely to have constituted a strong encouragement to many Europeans who harboured such views and showed attitudes as mentioned above towards the newly devised standardised orthography of Tok Pisin. It was not uncommonly felt by European officers in the administration circles in the Territory that Tok Pisin would soon cease to exist as a result of the impact of English, considering the insistence of the administration after 1953 that the use of English be encouraged in all possible instances.

In the light of these attitudes, it becomes understandable that in administration agencies, in which European officials reluctantly adapted to the use of the new standardised Tok Pisin orthography, no serious attempt was made to ensure that the indigenous employees, whose task it was to carry out the official translating and writing work in Tok Pisin, used the officially adopted standard Tok Pisin orthography. In addition to the background reasons for this attitude as mentioned above, the view held by many of the European administration officials was apparently that, since Tok Pisin was the language which the indigenous speakers knew best, they should, and ought to, know how to spell it. This attitude, though completely in error (see below), demonstrated a complete change from earlier attitudes on the part of Europeans, as referred to before in this chapter, according to which Europeans had taken the view that the European pronunciation was to be regarded as decisive for how a Tok Pisin word was to be spelt. The attitude of the administration officials, and as has been mentioned below, of missions to regard the indigenous speaker of Tok Pisin as the arbiter of how a Tok Pisin word ought to be spelt constitutes in itself a very interesting shift in attitudes on the part of Europeans in this matter when compared with earlier days.

The indigenous employees working in the various administration departments were largely unable to use the new standardised Tok Pisin orthography for a variety of reasons. The most important of these reasons was that they did not know it. The wording of the approval by the Minister for Territories in Canberra regarding the use of Tok Pisin in education excluded the teaching of Tok Pisin as a language in all government schools and in consequence also in all schools eligible for government finance and subsidy. In addition, in spite of the approval quoted above, the use of Tok Pisin as a medium of instruction, including literacy, in such schools was virtually banned as a matter of policy around that time. The only schools in which Tok Pisin was taught or instruction in Tok Pisin given were non-subsidised standard schools administered by various missions as an annexe to the government-subsidised English language schools which were under their auspices. Translators and writers of Tok Pisin employed by the administration obviously required a high proficiency in English, which such schools could not impart to their pupils and, as a result, such indigenous employees in administration departments had all been through an education process in which English had been employed exclusively. Having had no formal training in Tok Pisin, they did

have a native proficiency of Tok Pisin, but no familiarity with the new standardised official orthography, except that some of them may have been vaguely familiar with it from publications which they might have seen. At the same time, indigenous employees of administration departments and other agencies such as media services came from different parts of Papua New Guinea and in consequence used different varieties of Tok Pisin: In the mid 1950s, dialect diversification of Tok Pisin was still quite strongly in evidence, though in subsequent decades local dialect differences tended to be reduced and to disappear as a result of increasing mobility of the population. As a result of the regional differences of Tok Pisin which they wrote tended to show a number of spelling features reflecting features of the pronunciation of their respective Tok Pisin dialects.

The free rein given to such indigenous employees in administration departments with regard to how they spelt Tok Pisin in writing, had however one interesting result: recent English loan words in Tok Pisin were very generally spelt by them according to their Tok Pisin pronunciation, although, in some instances, such indigenous employees tended to include English spellings into their written Tok Pisin, even in cases of Tok Pisin words which were not recent loans from English.

The result of the apathetic and lax attitude on the part of the European administration officers, as mentioned above, towards the ways in which the indigenous employees spelt Tok Pisin in writing, was a proliferation of diverse Tok Pisin spelling systems in areas outside the missionary sphere and resulted in even greater chaos in Tok Pisin spelling systems than had existed before.

At the same time, some of the missions which had, with some reluctance, adapted their ways of writing Tok Pisin to the rules laid down in the standard Tok Pisin orthography guidelines, gradually started modifying it largely to approximate their spelling systems to the indigenous pronunciation of Tok Pisin in the northern coastal variety of it, in particular as it was heard in the Madang area. The Lutheran Mission went about quite systematically in this and devised a modified standard Tok Pisin orthography for their own use. These modifications were brought about largely by pressure upon the Lutheran Mission and Church by indigenous Tok Pisin speakers who were literate in the language. One of the changes, for instance, resulted from the insistence of such indigenous Tok Pisin speakers that the distinction between *ng* as in *sing* and *ngg* as in *fingger*, which was a feature of the standard Tok Pisin orthography as decreed by the administration, be abolished and that both be written as *ng* only, though the indigenous speakers recognised the difference in their pronunciation and the fact that they clearly constituted a phonemic contrast in Tok Pisin, but took the attitude that there was no need to distinguish between these two phonemically distinct sounds in writing the language.

The fact that such suggestions coming from indigenous speakers of Tok Pisin were adopted by the Lutheran Mission, though they contravened established linguistic principles, also accentuates the shift in European attitudes towards the role to be played by indigenous speakers of Tok Pisin in determining features of Tok Pisin orthography, which has already been referred to above with regard to European administration officials. At the same time, the abovementioned suggestions by native speakers of Tok Pisin show that the views which were held then, and are still being held today, by the majority of linguists, according to which newly created spelling systems for languages had to indicate all phonemic distinctions found in the language for which they were to be used, are in error. These suggestions appear to indicate that in practical orthographies, phonemic distinctions with a low functional load need not be indicated. Alternatively, practical orthographies may well benefit from incorporating subphonemic distinctions in some instances - this has been clearly shown in the case of a practical orthography

devised for the Äyiwo language of the Reef Islands in the Santa Cruz Archipelago at the eastern extremity of the Solomon Islands chain, which had largely been devised and developed by indigenous speakers of the language, which the present writer has been studying (Wurm, Bwakolo and Moŷiya, forthcoming).

The modified orthography incorporating suggestions as mentioned above was adopted officially by the Lutheran Mission for their publications and constitutes the orthography used in the Tok Pisin translation of the New Testament, which was first published in 1968 and became the largest and most circulated book published in Tok Pisin to that date: 40,000 copies of the 861-page book were sold within nine months of its publication. It has certainly contributed to acquainting speakers of Tok Pisin with the modified standard Tok Pisin orthography used in it.

2.5.2.3 The period since 1969

As has been mentioned above, the influence of the modified standard Tok Pisin orthography used in the translation of the New Testament made itself felt as a result of the wide circulation of the book amongst many indigenous speakers of Tok Pisin who had access to the book, and who tended to adapt at least some of their spelling habits in Tok Pisin to the New Testament spelling. At the same time, most publishers of literature in Tok Pisin, such as the Bible Society, the New Guinea branch of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, the Creative Training Centre at Nobonob in the Madang Province, the Christian Leadership Training College, the Kristen Pres in Madang, Wantok Publications in Wewak, etc., but rather importantly, not the Government Printer and the Department of Information and Extension Services, adopted the modified standard Tok Pisin orthography used in the New Testament, which led to a further proliferation of this type of Tok Pisin orthography amongst Tok Pisin speakers.

In the light of this, it was decided in November 1969 to take further steps in attempting to arrive at a standardised Tok Pisin spelling system and orthography. Meetings of experts concerned with the standardisation of Tok Pisin orthography were called and a Tok Pisin Orthography Committee set up under the joint chairmanship of F. Mihalic, the author of the original standard orthography Tok Pisin grammar and dictionary (Mihalic 1957) and J. Sievert, one of the chief translators and editors of the Tok Pisin New Testament. The purpose of this committee was to fully standardise the spelling system and orthography of Tok Pisin and to attempt to persuade all publishing agencies of the then Territory of Papua and New Guinea to voluntarily cooperate in this venture. At the meetings in which the heads of seven government departments, three university professors, linguists from the Summer Institute of Linguistics, translators, indigenous journalists and broadcasters, four indigenous members of the then Papua New Guinea House of Assembly, and various missionaries took part, the Tok Pisin spelling system employed in the New Testament was unanimously recognised as the norm for the spelling system and orthography of Tok Pisin to be used universally in writing and publishing in the language, and it was suggested that the dialect used along the north coast of mainland New Guinea be chosen as the standard for a High Tok Pisin.

At the same time it was decided not to try to resort to a decree for the adoption of these proposals, because it was felt that all agencies involved in the writing of Tok Pisin in the country would recognise that it would be in their own interest to cooperate in this matter.

In 1970 the Orthography Committee approached government departments and other agencies repeatedly, strongly suggesting the adoption of the proposed orthography

by them. However in the absence of official enforcement, the proposals of the Orthography Committee were largely disregarded in government departments and other agencies, which continued using their own varied Tok Pisin orthographies and spelling systems. The reasons for these attitudes may have been local traditionalism and inertia, and perhaps also the feeling on the part of some people in the government departments and other agencies that may not have been well disposed towards missionary activities, that the Tok Pisin orthography proposed by the Orthography Committee constituted a missionary spelling.

At the same time, the publication of a new edition of Mihalic's Tok Pisin grammar and dictionary appeared in 1971 (Mihalic 1971) and in this the New Testament spelling was employed. At the same time, other teaching and similar materials aimed at Europeans, which were published in Papua New Guinea and also in Australia (e.g. Dutton 1973), also used this orthography, and it had also been employed in teaching courses in Tok Pisin held at the Australian National University in Canberra. This has led to an increased acceptance of and adaptation to this Tok Pisin orthography amongst Europeans.

The political events in Papua New Guinea during the last decade, culminating in the independence of the country in 1975, resulted in the gradual disappearance of Europeans who had been in the country for a long time and who had been the main exponents of the negative attitude towards Tok Pisin as mentioned in this chapter and elsewhere in this publication. They are being replaced by new Europeans who do not have the biased attitudes typical of many of this vanishing group of former Europeans in the country. Many of these new Europeans take Tok Pisin seriously as a foreign language and study it as such, getting acquainted with it through its new standard orthography. Many members of this new generation of Europeans in Papua New Guinea are persons who play an intensely active role on the Papua New Guinea scene over short periods and thereby contribute significantly to the proliferation of the acceptance of the new Tok Pisin orthography. A new enlarged and revised edition of Mihalic's Tok Pisin grammar and dictionary is in preparation, and will put a new major reference work, using the new standard Tok Pisin orthography, into the hands of those seeking information on the language.

Official acceptance of this orthography by government agencies in Papua New Guinea is still lacking, but may be expected to be officially forthcoming in the wake of the official acceptance of the name 'Tok Pisin' for the language by the government to replace its traditional designation as 'Pidgin'.

The continued use of this new Tok Pisin orthography in publications of wide circulation such as the weekly newspaper *Wantok* (supported by the Catholic Church), which has a circulation of over 10,000 copies, ensures that Tok Pisin materials utilising this orthography are frequently seen by indigenous Tok Pisin readers.

However, there have been developments involving Tok Pisin in recent years which constitute a counterbalance to the general acceptance of the new standardised Tok Pisin orthography.

One of these is the strong development of two distinct Tok Pisin sociolects, rural and urban (Mühlhäusler 1975e). Of these, the rural sociolect constitutes a continuation of general Tok Pisin, whereas the urban sociolect shows very strong influence from English without at the same time becoming more readily intelligible to speakers of English. This sociolect which tends to become rather more fluid in its structure and vocabulary than the rural sociolect, incorporates a large number of recent English loans and there is an inclination by some indigenous speakers of it to introduce English spelling habits into writing it. Another, perhaps even more important factor is constituted by the gradual appearance of Tok Pisin literature in the form of plays, poems, songs, and stories written by

indigenes of usually high, mainly tertiary educational level. Such writers tend to use their own varieties of Tok Pisin, and even if the language in which they write is very close to the High Tok Pisin as exemplified by the New Testament and other major translations of Scripture which have since been prepared, the spelling systems which they employ tend to reflect local and sometimes idiosyncratic pronunciation habits of the writers. This indigenous Tok Pisin dialect literature is very popular among indigenous speakers of Tok Pisin and constitutes a powerful factor militating against the general adoption of the new standard Tok Pisin orthography by its readers.

An interesting study of varying spelling habits by post-secondary students at the Administrative College in Port Moresby in recent years provided by Carrington (1983) shows that, while a number of students more or less closely followed the standard orthography in their writing of Tok Pisin, a considerable number of them deviated from it in various, often quite idiosyncratic, ways.

It is difficult to predict how far, in the absence of official government directives, the new standard Tok Pisin orthography is likely to become more or less generally accepted and used in the writing of Tok Pisin in future. This question, which ties up closely with the roles likely to be played by the language in Papua New Guinea in years to come, remains unsolved. While it is likely that European users of Tok Pisin employ the new standard orthography more and more in writing it, it remains to be seen how far this orthography will gain general acceptance amongst the indigenous users of the language in writing.

2.6 ETYMOLOGISING AND TOK PISIN¹

P. Mühlhäusler

The methods of classical etymology ... are not directly applicable to non-conventional languages such as creoles (R. Wood 1972, quoted from Edwards 1974:5)

2.6.1 INTRODUCTION

In a linguistic framework of description where synchronic investigation is regarded as methodically prior to diachronic investigation (i.e. the prevailing paradigm derived from Saussure and Chomsky), there is little room for etymological studies. The decline of such studies has been recently discussed by Malkiel (1975:101-120) and proposals were put forward to restore etymological research to a position nearer to the core of linguistics. With the renewed emphasis, in the most recent past, on developmental and historical aspects of language (e.g. Bailey 1980a,b) there is hope that a reassessment of this neglected subfield of linguistics is imminent. It is likely that pidgin and creole languages, where mixing at the lexical level is particularly intricate, will provide the point of departure for more sophisticated models of etymological research.

The main arguments against an etymological approach to language include:

- a) That most researchers are misled by the 'etymological fallacy', i.e. the belief that the meaning of words can be determined by investigating their origin.
- b) That it hinges on chance-discoveries, flashes of imagination and accidents.
- c) that it is a time-consuming process yielding few insights relevant to other areas of linguistics.

I feel that the only criticism that stands up to closer inspection is that etymologising remains a very time-consuming business. All other weaknesses can be mended and I do not see why a well-developed theory of etymology could not provide vital information to researchers in many areas of language change.

2.6.2 ETYMOLOGISING FOR PIDGINS AND CREOLES

Perhaps the most important single lesson that can be learnt from the study of pidgins and creoles is that their linguistic history is in direct conflict with the simplistic Stammbaum or family tree model of language development and language relationships. In a family tree model, the origin of a lexical item is traced back by following a path such that nodes lower down are connected to nodes higher up by a single line. Thus, the origin of the Tok Pisin word *bel* *belly*, *seat of emotions* would be represented as follows:

S.A. Wurm and P. Mühlhäusler, eds *Handbook of Tok Pisin (New Guinea Pidgin)*, 177-219. *Pacific Linguistics*, C-70, 1984.

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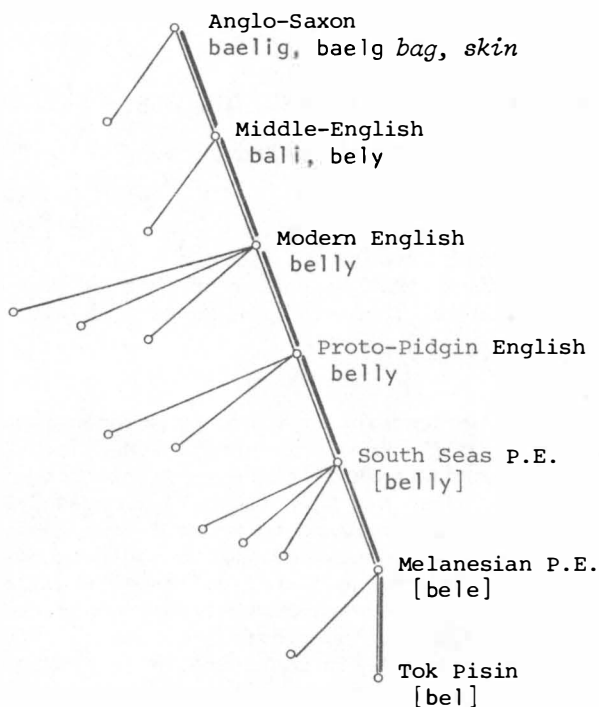


Table 1

The family tree model, and the implied belief that lexical items from a pidgin or creole language can be traced back to a single source, is still widely found. A recent example is Bollée (1980) who establishes that in the French creoles of the Indian Ocean 96.7% of the vocabulary is of French origin. The principal problem of etymology according to her, and writers subscribing to a similar view, is that of tracing the non-European lexical back to its African (or indigenous) sources. A family tree for Pidgin English similar to the one above is given by Hall (1961:414):

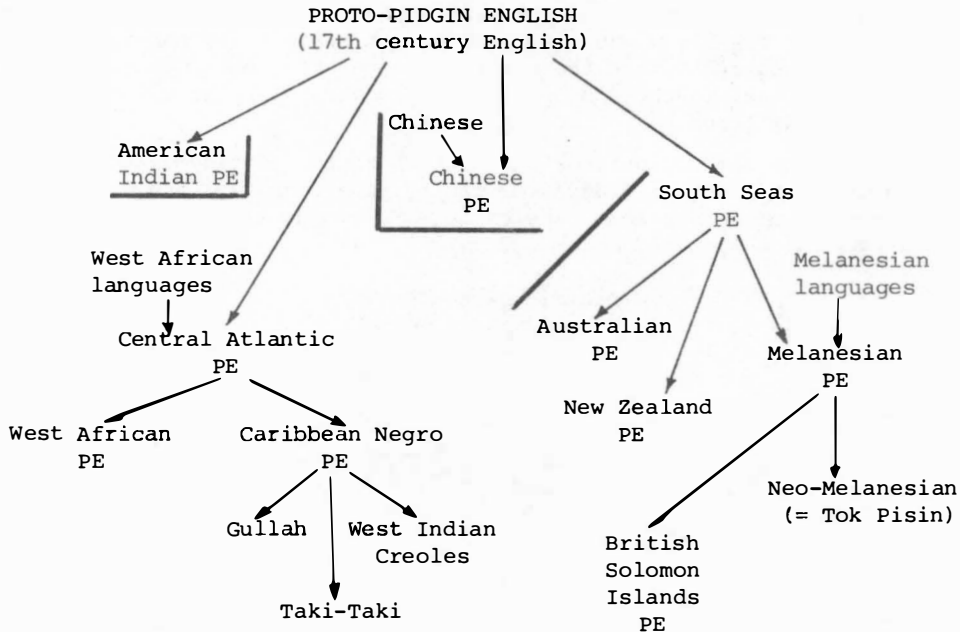


Table 2

Etymological research in Tok Pisin has also centred around the questions of relative proportion of English lexical material and the origin of non-English items. Typical studies are those designed to determine the relative percentage of lexical material of different origins. Thus Salisbury (1967:46) finds the following:

Words derived from English	79%
Tolai	11%
other New Guinea languages	6%
German	3%
Malay	1%

Laycock (1970d:115) finds that "though Pidgin is a 'mixed language' it is in fact somewhat less hybrid than is English". A realistic count of the vocabulary gives the following figures:

English	77%
Tolai	11%
other New Guinea languages	6%
Malay	1%
German	4%
Latin	3%

Laycock goes on to remark that the actual token frequency of lexical items of different origin may vary considerably with a chosen speech style or speech topic. He, like Salisbury, does not go into the problem of changes at different developmental stages. Thus, vocabulary of German origin may have accounted for as much as 20% of all types in some varieties around 1920 (cf. Mühlhäusler 1975b) and lexical items from other New Guinea languages appear to have been of considerable importance in some areas in the 1930s. The criticism that such percentage counts

are abstract idealisations is not the most important objection to traditional etymologising for Tok Pisin, however. Much more serious is that word counts of the type just discussed ignore the mixed character of the language, which manifests itself not just in the composition of the vocabulary as a whole but within individual lexical items.

Research into the sociohistorical context of the development of Tok Pisin suggests that a simple tree diagram of family relations is inadequate. Instead we must conceive of a much more complex network of mutual and non-mutual influences such as is represented here:

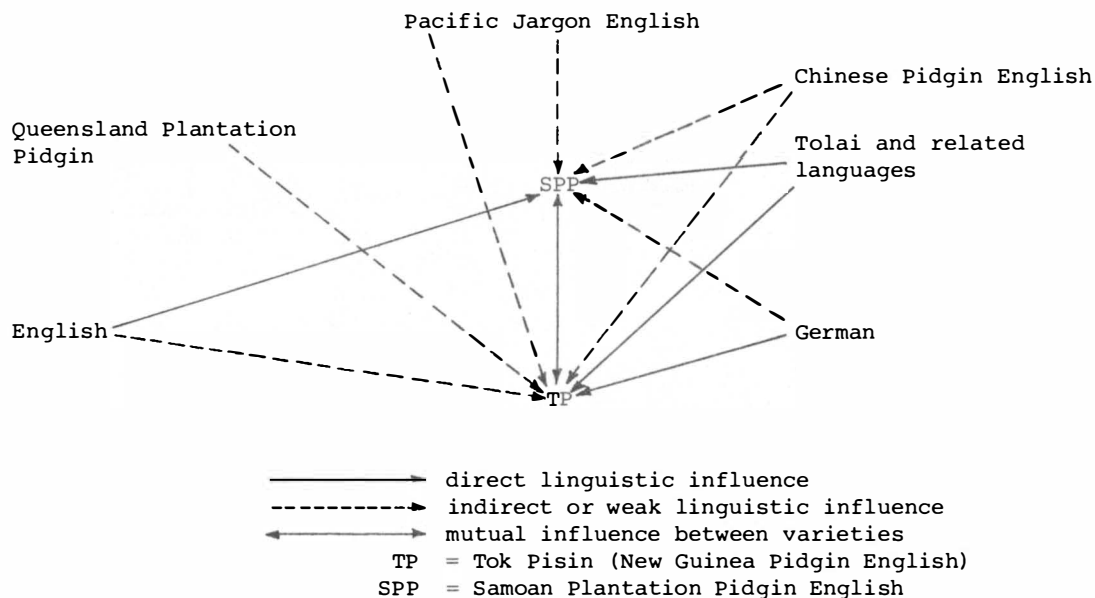


Table 3
Linguistic influences on Tok Pisin around 1900²

These influences can be realised within a single lexical item. Taking again the lexical item *bel* *belly, seat of emotions*, we find that it relates to:

Tolai: <i>bala</i> <i>belly, seat of emotions</i>	English: <i>belly</i>
Samoan Plantation Pidgin } Early Tok Pisin } Present-day Tok Pisin }	<i>bele</i>
	<i>bel</i> ³
	<i>belly, seat of emotions</i>

The main problem of Tok Pisin etymologising can thus be seen as determining the degree of mixture within individual lexical items. Subordinate to this are the question of time-bound changes [it must be assumed that the etymological affiliation of a lexical item may not be the same at different stages in the development of a pidgin, as the inventory of a lexicon at any given time is the result of partial transmission and partial reborrowing] and the embedding of etymologising into a wider framework of sociohistorical studies.

2.6.3 MULTIPLE ETYMOLOGIES (LEXICAL HYBRIDISATION)

Before attempting to assign Tok Pisin lexical items to their languages of origin, the question of multiple origins must be discussed in further detail. As the lexicon is the most arbitrary level of grammar, a developing pidgin can, from a purely linguistic point of view, borrow from any language in a contact situation. What actually happens is often determined by social factors, in particular, differential status. Linguistic factors favouring the adoption of one lexical form rather than another include a) the accidental similarity of lexical items across languages, b) ease of pronunciation, and c) iconicity. In this section we will be concerned mainly with factor (a).

The fact that Tok Pisin developed in a multilingual contact situation is reflected in the vigorous presence of, firstly, multilevel syncretisms (cf. Edwards 1974:5), i.e. cases where phonological, syntactic and semantic aspects of lexical items can be traced to different sources, and secondly cases where lexical items as a whole have to be assigned to more than one source simultaneously (lexical confluences). One type of multilevel syncretism involves items which contain a Melanesian form but have been in part adjusted to a European (English) model. A possible example is the predicate marker *i*, as in *tambaran i limlimbur the ghost went on a stroll*, which closely corresponds to Tolai *a tabaran i limlibur* (cf. Mosel 1980:127). Historical evidence suggests that the Melanesian use of the predicate marker was reinforced by the anaphoric English pronoun *he* and the English copula *is* and in some more advanced varieties of Tok Pisin *i* is used like the English copula.

A lexical example is the attempt by the Catholic mission in the Rabaul area to vest Tolai words with new doctrinal meaning. Thus *kurkurua beads, necklace* has come to mean *rosary* and Tolai *tematan member of a different tribe* has come to mean *heathen* in Tok Pisin.

In another type of lexical syncretism, English forms are used in a (partly or wholly) Melanesian function. A few examples are:

- a) *Yes* or *yesa* (from *yes sir*) after negative questions is used to negate, as in *Yu no laik kam? Yes, mi no laik kam. Don't you want to come? No.*
- b) Most Tok Pisin verbs, like their Melanesian equivalents, are neutral with regard to inception and completion of intention vs. non-intention. Thus, *redi* can mean *to prepare oneself* and *to be ready* and *lusim* can mean *to get rid of* and *to lose*.
- c) Reduplicated verbs such as *waswas* *to bathe* and *toktok* *to talk* do not reflect English foreigner talk but must be regarded as calques from Tolai where reduplication in verbs signals intransitivity.
- d) Calquing is also evident in longer idioms, such as *bel bilong mi i hevi my belly is heavy = I am sad*. Such idioms are discussed in Todd and Mühlhäusler 1978.

Lexical conflation has been discussed by a number of writers (e.g. Cassidy 1966:211-215; Valkhoff 1966:223-240; Edwards 1974:1-26) and it has been shown for many languages that partial similarity of form and meaning of distinct lexical items in the source language(s) can lead to their conflation in a pidgin. Le Page (1974:49) characterises the linguistic 'encounter' leading to this development as follows:

Contact situations are bound to involve a good deal of exploration by both speaker and hearer, which will inevitably result in some lucky and many fruitless sallies. The lucky ones are likely to be immediately reinforced by the participants, each eager to snatch at means of communication; the unlucky ones are unlikely to be often repeated. Coincidence of form with some similarity of meaning between items from two codes will mean that such items will have a high probability of survival in the emergent pidgin code. A lexical example would be English *dirty* and Twi *doti* jointly giving rise to some pidgin forerunner of Jamaican creole *doti*.

We find a number of different types of this phenomenon:

(a) Two phonologically and semantically related lexical items of English origin are subsumed under a single one in Tok Pisin. The existence of this process was pointed out first by Brenninkmeyer (1924:23): "Sometimes, similarly sounding words are wrongly taken to be a single one, as in: pull-full, catch-fetch, work-walk, etc." (author's translation). Other items which are the likely result of such conflation include:

- banis* derived from both *fence* and *bandage*, the shared semantic elements of these two lexical items suggesting a basic meaning of *something which is put around something else*;
- basis* translated by Smythe (n.d.) as *a place where things have to go*, suggests a dual etymology involving both *passage* and *basis*;
- bilasim* is usually considered to be derived from English *flash*. However, its use in the verbal chain *tok bilasim to ridicule* has led the authors of the *Wörterbuch mit Redewendungen* (n.d.) to assume a second etymology *to bless*;
- giaman* *to deceive, be mistaken* is most probably related to Australian English *gammon* in the same meaning. However, a number of European writers have expressed the opinion that it is also understood as containing elements of meaning from *German* and *sermon*, referring to the alleged agents or instrument of deceit respectively (cf. Clark 1955:9).

More examples are listed in Mühlhäusler 1979c:219ff.

(b) The number of lexical items which can be derived equally well from German or English is quite large, and it can be assumed that many of them are the result of conflation, in particular since the phonological structure of stabilised Tok Pisin provides for the neutralisation of a number of differences in the pronunciation of German and English, such as the treatment of word-final stops. Consider the following:

Tok Pisin	related German word	related English word	gloss
<i>ais</i>	<i>Eis</i>	<i>ice</i>	<i>ice</i>
<i>anka</i>	<i>Anker</i>	<i>anchor</i>	<i>anchor</i>
<i>as</i>	<i>Arsch</i>	<i>arse</i>	<i>arse, reason, origin</i>
<i>bet</i>	<i>Bett</i>	<i>bed</i>	<i>bed, shelf</i>
<i>gaten</i>	<i>Garten</i>	<i>garden</i>	<i>garden</i>
<i>hama</i>	<i>Hammer</i>	<i>hammer</i>	<i>hammer</i>
<i>mas</i>	<i>Mast</i>	<i>mast</i>	<i>mast, flagpole</i>
<i>rip</i>	<i>Riff</i>	<i>reef</i>	<i>reef</i>
<i>sadel</i>	<i>Sattel</i>	<i>saddle</i>	<i>saddle</i>

Numerous additional examples have been pointed out in Steinbauer's dictionary (1969). Altogether, we are dealing with around 75 items, or 10% of the lexicon at the time of German-English contact (1884-1920).

(c) Conflation of lexical items of Melanesian and European origin is less frequent, though it is difficult to determine to what extent chance similarity in sound and meaning may have influenced the selection of the basic inventory of Tok Pisin. Edwards (1974:4) argues that the correspondences in sound and meaning may have been rather haphazard and quite spurious in some instances. Speaking about West African Pidgin English he observes:

The most obvious form of lexical pidginization is found when one (or more) African forms blended with one (or more) European forms, resulting in a new restructured pidgin item. The parent forms need not have been closely analogous in form or meaning. From our (disad)vantage point, three centuries removed, African and English forms often appear to have fallen together in unpredictable ways. One thing seems clear, however: pidginization was a highly selective process. The need for precise phonological congruence was often superseded by the immediate semantic requirements of the speech community. A necessary condition governing the selection and uniting of parental items was that crosscultural, even multicultural, communication be furthered. This could occur when roughly analogous form-meaning combinations (semi-synonyms, sharing selected sounds, and sememes) occurred in the traditions of each of the contact cultures.

That a number of Tok Pisin lexical items exhibit similarities with items from both English and local languages was first pointed out by Nevermann (1929: 253-254):

Some Pidgin words which at first glance appear to be English have, however, only a chance similarity to it. Thus, the Tolai word *kiap chief* has nothing to do with *captain* but is native. Pusi *cat* also seems not to be connected with English *pussy* but is probably Samoan. The word for *woman*, *mari* or *meri*, which is usually derived from the name *Mary*, popular among sailors, seems to me to be connected rather with the Tolai word *mari to love* or *mári pretty, beautiful*, if it is not to be derived from *married*. (author's translation)

This quotation clearly illustrates the reluctance of linguists at the time to acknowledge the possibility that a lexical item may be the result of conflation, and their consequent insistence on single 'true' etymologies. The possibility of conflation was acknowledged later, however, by Bateson (1944:138) who argued as follows:

In a few cases, a single word may combine both English and native roots. The word *liklik*, meaning *small*, for example is such a hybrid between the English *little* and *ikilik*, the word for *small* in the language of Rabaul.

Apart from *meri woman* and *liklik small* a number of other lexical bases are strong candidates for this type of lexical conflation:

Tolai	English	Tok Pisin
atip <i>thatched roof</i>	<i>on top</i>	antap <i>on top, roof</i>
bala <i>belly, bowels</i>	<i>belly</i>	bel <i>belly, seat of emotions</i>
bulit <i>sap</i>	<i>blood</i>	blut, bulut, bulit <i>blood, sap, glue</i>
rokrok <i>frog</i>	<i>croak croak</i>	rokrok <i>frog</i>
yat <i>emphasiser</i>	<i>yet</i>	yet <i>emphasiser, yet</i>
noko <i>midrib of sago</i>	<i>nock, node</i>	nok <i>midrib of sago or feather</i>
momo <i>to drink</i>	<i>more more</i>	momo <i>lots (mostly used in connection with drink)</i>

An example involving a New Guinea mainland language and English is nansei 'exclamation used to attract the attention of members of the other sex, *effeminate man*' which appears to be related to both Yakumul nansei *sweetheart* and English *nancy*.

Roughly analogous combinations of form and meaning can also be pointed out in cases such as:

Tolai	English	Tok Pisin
lok <i>to push through</i>	<i>lock</i>	lokim <i>to lock with a key</i>
tak <i>to take</i>	<i>take</i>	tekimwe <i>to take away</i>
tun <i>to cook, bake</i>	<i>turn, done</i>	tanim <i>to stir food</i>
dur <i>dirty</i>	<i>dirty</i>	doti <i>dirty</i>
kap <i>to carry, take</i>	<i>carry</i>	karim <i>to carry, take</i>

Unfortunately, data about the use of Tok Pisin by the indigenous population is very scarce and one can only speculate about the possible extent of lexical conflation. More than two sources appear to have been involved in some instances. A particularly intriguing case of lexical conflation is that of sanga *pliers, hand of crayfish, forked post, slingshot* which appears to be related to German Zange *pliers*, Malay tiang *forked branch* and Australian English shanghai *slingshot*.

(d) Conflation of Malay and Melanesian lexical items.

A Malay origin or at least partial Malay origin has been claimed for a large number of Tok Pisin lexical items in a paper by Roosman (1975). Laycock's unpublished remarks on the prefinal and final versions of this paper form the basis of this discussion.

In a number of cases, the meaning of cognate forms is very different in Malay and Tok Pisin. Examples are Malay hormat *honour* which Roosman claims to be one of the sources of Tok Pisin amamas *to rejoice*, Tok Pisin kalang *earring* is said to be related to Malay kalang *circle*. Laycock points out that a more likely source for amamas is a New Ireland language and that kalang in the meaning *earring* is found in Tolai and related New Ireland languages.

A second problem, which is of a more general nature, concerns the fact that a number of Malay words were borrowed in all likelihood not from Malay speakers but from English and German, where these items had become firmly established at the time of contact with Melanesian languages in New Guinea. They include the items kapok *kapok (tree)*, nanas *pineapple (from German Ananas)* and mango *mango*.

The 'central question of etymology' (Laycock) of 'Which group did the Tok Pisin speakers get a word from?' is not really considered by Roosman, though he must have realised that the mere presence of cognates is no evidence for actual borrowing at some point in the past.

(e) Conflation of lexical items originating from different Melanesian languages.

What goes for Malay goes even more for the closely related Melanesian languages spoken in the areas where Tok Pisin came into being. As pointed out by Mosel (1978:25):

... due to the lack of sufficient data from all languages which were probably involved in the development of the Tok Pisin lexicon, we can only show the *possible* source language(s) and exclude others, but we cannot definitely state that any Tok Pisin word is exclusively borrowed from a specific Patpatar-Tolai language.

Thus, the mere fact that a word can be traced back to Tolai is no guarantee that it was actually borrowed from Tolai. A few examples include:

Tok Pisin	gloss	indigenous languages	gloss
atap	<i>roof, thatch</i>	Tolai: etep Mioko: atip	} <i>kunai grass thatch</i>
buai	<i>betelnut</i>	Tolai: buai Label: buai Lamassa: buai Pala: buei Mioko: bue Molot: bua	
bulit	<i>sap, glue</i>	Tolai: bulit Mioko: bulit Molot: bulit	} <i>sap of certain trees, glue</i>

Table 4

The presence of lexical items with multiple etymologies thus poses a number of problems. They are related to the fact that pidgins are the result of, or accompany, the gradual acculturation of a group of speakers. To be more precise:

- a) There are significant cultural and linguistic differences between the groups in contact which are only partially bridged in the initial phases. Pidgins at the beginning of their life are rather crude makeshift tongues. Many writers (e.g. Silverstein 1972) have remarked on the differences in grammar and lexicon to be found within a group of pidgin users. Multiple etymologies can reflect this cultural and linguistic gap. It cannot be assumed that speakers and hearers share a lexical item in the same way that native speakers in a well-defined speech community do. Thus, with a number of words, it is impossible to determine what is the central and what the derived 'metaphorical' meaning unless reference is made to the speaker. Tok Pisin *salat* is related to both German *Salat lettuce* and Melanesian *salat stinging nettle*. For a German missionary to use this word to mean *stinging nettle* would be a metaphor. For a Papua New Guinean the situation would be exactly the reverse.
- b) Acculturation is an ongoing process and etymologies must be seen against changes in linguistic and social structure. It may be true that the word *ais ice* was borrowed from both German and English at some time in the past. However, present-day speakers of Tok Pisin probably did not get this form from an older generation of speakers but borrowed it directly from English. The extent to which reborrowing and normal transmission shape the vocabulary of a pidgin at any given stage in its development is not well understood. However, we can assume a considerable amount of discontinuity in its transmission which invalidates any attempts at

drawing straight unbroken lines between present-day forms and their historical sources (cf. Mühlhäusler forthcoming). The idea of 'synchronic etymologies' thus appears to be a rather attractive notion for a pidginist creolist.

2.6.4 PHONOLOGICAL CHANGE

Tok Pisin began as a second language learnt by adults in an imperfect learning context and fits the following characterisation given by Harrison for Negro English (1884:223): "Negro English is an ear language altogether built on ... otosis, an error of ear, a mishearing".

Mishearing accounts for a number of phenomena in Tok Pisin, for instance the merging of complex English constructions into single lexical stems in Tok Pisin. Compare:

English	Tok Pisin	gloss
<i>tortoise shell</i>	trausel	<i>tortoise</i>
<i>billy can</i>	briken	<i>billy can</i>
<i>guard of honour</i>	katuana	<i>guard of honour</i>
<i>that's all</i>	tasol	<i>but; that is all</i>
<i>I do not know</i>	aidono	<i>to not know</i>

Such examples illustrate why "it is often the case that English words which the natives have made palatable to themselves are mistaken by missionaries and other Europeans for native words" (Schuchardt 1979, translation pp.24/25). Failure to identify the English or German origin of a Tok Pisin lexical item is a very common phenomenon among the lexicographers and analysts of this language. Landtmann (1927:461), writing about Kiwai Island Pidgin, assigns the item *gas intestines* to words that are "uncertain as to their derivation". Shelton-Smith (*Rabaul Times* 24 May 1929) reports a personal experience with this phenomenon:

About a fortnight after I considered that I had mastered the language, as does everyone after a fortnight. So much a master was I that I discovered a 'pidgin' word that no one had heard before, not even the Government interpreters. It was *chacun* and meant *to make peace*. I was allowed to enjoy pride in my discovery for several days, until someone pointed out that my profound etymological discovery was nothing more than *shake hands* pronounced in native fashion 'shakund'.

More drastic than the results of mishearing are some of the natural phonetological processes (cf. Stampe 1973), i.e. processes facilitating pronunciation. Such processes are found both with children and adult second-language learners. Whilst they are extremely common in the early stages of the development of a pidgin, their survival in later stages depends on the availability and social status of the original lexifier language, as well as how such changes affect perception.

Thus, we find that a process such as vowel epenthesis (*straight* - *sitiret* or *clean* - *kilin*) has a high survival rate because it does not drastically affect perception. Reduplication, on the other hand, as in *mechanic* becoming *mekmek* or *niknik* or *onion* becoming *aniani*, tends to disappear as a pidgin develops. Only in a few cases have drastically restructured lexical items survived. These pose special problems for etymological studies.

An example of how both perception and production strategies can conspire during pidginisation to hide the English origin of a Tok Pisin word is the lexical item *abus*, *edible meat*, *side dish*. In Mihalic 1971 its origin is given as Gazelle, i.e. Tolai or a closely related language. However, consider the possibility of the source of this item being English *animals*. The transition from *animals* to *abus* can be described in a number of highly natural processes:

- a) l becomes u because of their close acoustic similarity. This yields *animus*;
- b) the least prominent syllable is lost, to yield *amus*;
- c) the more highly marked nasal is replaced with a homorganic stop, to yield *abus*.

The author has to confess that this possibility only occurred to him when his 21-month-old daughter began to refer to animals as *abus*.

2.6.5 SEMANTIC CHANGE

As is the case with phonetological changes, the most drastic divergences from the lexifier language in the semantic area can be found in the early stages of the development of a pidgin, or when a word is newly borrowed. The pressure from the lexifier language will bring it closer to its etymological meaning over time. The extent to which semantic restructuring can occur is illustrated by the recently borrowed word *jeles* (from English *jealous*). Informants in different areas gave its meaning as *to fight with*, *to have sexual intercourse with* and *to tell a secret*. Only one group of informants, in an urban area, gave a meaning *jealous*.

As most dictionaries of Tok Pisin are highly normative and biased toward etymological purity, the true extent of semantic developments is probably much greater than commonly admitted. Few insights about the naturalness or otherwise of such semantic changes can be gained until the meaning used by actual speakers of the language rather than dictionary makers has been investigated more fully.

A second area of semantics which requires further attention by the student of Tok Pisin etymologising is that of doublettes, i.e. cases where a single word from a source language has become two separate words in Tok Pisin. The extent of this phenomenon again is concealed by the normative practices of lexicographers. Well known cases include:

English	Tok Pisin	gloss
<i>card</i>	<i>kas</i>	<i>playing cards, luck</i>
	<i>kat</i>	<i>(identification) card</i>
<i>monkey</i>	<i>manki</i>	<i>young boy, unmarried man</i>
	<i>monki</i>	<i>monkey</i>
<i>nail</i>	<i>nel</i>	<i>fingernail</i>
	<i>nil</i>	<i>nail, thorn</i>
<i>pillow</i>	<i>pilo</i>	<i>pillow</i>
	<i>pero</i>	<i>wooden headrest</i>
German		
<i>Hobel plane</i>	<i>hobel</i>	<i>carpenter's plane</i>
	<i>hoben</i>	<i>screwdriver</i>

2.6.6 THE ETYMOLOGICAL STATUS OF COMPLEX AND DERIVED ITEMS

There is considerable uncertainty as to whether words derived from, or composed of, lexical bases related to English words should be regarded as of English origin. Thus, *do klinpaia fire which cleans = purgatory* or *susoks man shoe and socks man = white collar worker* qualify as items of English origin or not? The common practice in the past has been to give an affirmative answer. However, this may just be one of the many manifestations of the view that pidgins do not have a life of their own but are parasitic upon either a substratum or superstratum language.

Thus we find in Mihalic's dictionary (1971) entries such as:

sakim (E. *sack him*) *to sack s.th., to bag, to put in a bag*
 pulsen (E. *pull chain*) *a zipper, a hookless fastener*
 pairap (E. *fire up*) *to explode*

Similarly Steinbauer (1969) opts for an English origin of *draiwara low tide, ebb* and *dripman pilgrim, wanderer*.

This practice is widespread in lexicographical studies of other pidgins and creoles. Thus, Bollée (1980:71) includes among the 96.7% words of French origin in Seychelles "creole neologisms formed out of French lexical material" (author's translation). This practice raises a number of problems, however, including:

- a) It blurs the distinction between clearly borrowed lexical items such as *renkot raincoat*, calques from English such as *manki spana monkey wrench* and internal word formation as manifested in *manki masta indigenous man in European employment*.
- b) It ignores the possibility that compounds may have been borrowed not directly from English but via other languages. An example is *lukbuk* (E. *look book?*) which in all likelihood was borrowed from Tolai *lukbuk to read*.
- c) It does not deal adequately with calques from local languages and other instances of lexical conflation.

The most important objection, however, is that the independence and vigorous creativity of a language such as Tok Pisin is simply ignored. Consequently, in my (unpublished) revision of Mihalic's dictionary I have opted for giving an English origin of a complex word only where direct borrowing is likely.

2.6.7 THE 'ETYMOLOGICAL FALLACY' AND TOK PISIN

Lyons (1977:244) has characterised the etymological fallacy as follows: "the common belief that the meaning of words can be determined by investigating their origins". This view contrasts with the widely accepted one that "etymology of a lexeme is, in principle, synchronically irrelevant." (Lyons 1977:244).

There are a number of reasons why this is not necessarily so in a pidgin such as Tok Pisin. A first counterargument is that the development of Tok Pisin has not been a continuous one. Instead of being passed on from generation to generation, words which are marginal to the language get borrowed again and again from other languages. Let us illustrate this with a simple example. It would seem illegitimate to trace back present-day Tok Pisin *bi bee* to *bi* documented for Pacific Pidgin English before 1900. Instead, one would have to say something like:

before 1900 bi *bee* was borrowed from English;
 between 1900 and 1960 the form *binen*, from German *Bienen*, was used;
 after 1960 bi *bee* was yet again borrowed from English.

The extent to which Tok Pisin items have been reborrowed rather than transmitted in a straightforward fashion is not known, but probably quite significant.

A second argument concerns the continuous restructuring of semantic and phonological information to bring Tok Pisin lexical items closer to their putative or genuine etymological source. Tok Pisin-English is the semantic area for the following items:

early stabilised Tok Pisin	expanded Rural Tok Pisin	Urban Tok Pisin	gloss
harim	harim smelim	hirim smelim pilim listenim	<i>to hear</i> <i>to smell</i> <i>to feel</i> <i>to listen to</i>
banis	banis	banis fenis	<i>bandage</i> <i>fence</i>
peles	ples	ples viles	<i>place</i> <i>village</i>
Sande	Sande wik	Sande wik holide	<i>Sunday</i> <i>week</i> <i>holiday</i>
peim	peim baiim	peim baiim spentim	<i>to pay</i> <i>to buy</i> <i>to spend</i>

Table 5

These examples illustrate the operation of language-external rather than language-internal pressures affecting the narrowing and specialisation of meaning. In at least three cases, those of *banis*, *peles* and *peim*, it does not seem legitimate to trace the urban form directly back to early stabilised Tok Pisin. Whereas present-day *ples* and *viles* are clearly related to English *place* and *village*, it would seem absurd to trace back *viles* to early stabilised Tok Pisin *peles*, in spite of the fact that this item is a syncretism of these two English words. I am not even sure whether present-day *ples* can be traced back to earlier *ples*, because the semantic narrowing experienced by this item appears to be due to renewed contact with English.

English etymologies are relevant in yet another area, that of items with pejorative meaning. The following statement is perfectly reasonable when applied to the stable Tok Pisin spoken in remote rural areas:

Why then, I wonder, do speakers of English describe Pidgin as being full of insulting words, though they must be aware of the fact that these words which bear formal resemblance to insulting words in English, have perfectly harmless meanings in Pidgin. (Wurm 1967:9)

Educated urban Papua New Guineans are now found either to avoid items which resemble English expletives, such as *bagarap* *ruined* or *bulsitim* *to deceive*, or to use them in the full awareness of the connotations they have in Tok Pisin's lexifier language:

Shifts of meaning occasionally take place under the influence of English, especially in response to ridicule or disapproval such as that expressed by speakers of English toward Neo-Melanesian words or meanings which diverge from those of English. (Hall 1955b:105)

The number of lexical items thus affected is significant, some important examples being:

lexical item	interpretation in Rural Tok Pisin	interpretation in Urban Tok Pisin
rabis	<i>poor, destitute</i>	<i>rubbish, worthless</i>
baksait	<i>back</i>	<i>backside</i>
pisop	<i>to depart quickly</i>	<i>to piss off</i>
sarap	<i>to be silent, quiet</i>	<i>to shut up</i>

In these and similar instances, the continued presence of the lexifier language promotes a special type of interlingual word-taboo (cf. Haas 1964).

Finally, we can observe, in the history of Tok Pisin, a gradual change from independent word-formation types to borrowed ones. Thus, a *raincoat* in classical Tok Pisin is *kot ren*, whereas in many present-day varieties it is *renkot*. My feeling is that only the latter item should be assigned an English etymology. It should not be related directly to earlier *kot ren*, nor should this item, for reasons outlined above, be directly related to English *raincoat*.

The growing importance of English as a contact language has also weakened some traditional folk-etymologies. An example is *blakbokis flying fox* (the translation of the folk-etymology being *black box*). Under the impact of English *flying fox* and most recently *plaifoks flying fox* (the word *foks fox* being a very recent loan). We are not dealing with a continuous development here either, and in no sense can the development, in Tok Pisin, from *blakbokis* to *plaifoks* be regarded as a mirror image of that from English *flying fox* to *blakbokis*.

The data just presented not only illustrate that the etymological fallacy is no fallacy in Tok Pisin and that, moreover, statements such as "once an etymology, always an etymology" do not apply to languages with an intensive contact history, in particular where borrowing between lexically related languages is involved.

2.6.8 FOLK-ETYMOLOGIES IN TOK PISIN

By folk-etymology we understand:

... an invented explanation of why a certain form means what it does, and the invention, no matter how far-fetched, usually turns somehow on the same sort of vague similarity of shape which underlies metanalysis and reshaping. (Hockett 1958:288)

The above quotation points to the fact that folk-etymologising is closely associated with the derivational lexicon of a language, in particular compounding. Since word-formation processes emerge late in the development of Tok Pisin, most folk-etymologies are of very recent origin.

The extent to which folk-etymologising is found in Tok Pisin is not quite clear, though it seems certain that the number of examples used in actual speaking is much greater than suggested in available dictionaries. Its importance is inversely correlated with a speaker's knowledge of and identification with standard

forms of English. As no full study of this phenomenon in Tok Pisin is available, I shall restrict myself to remarks on a number of points which would seem to deserve closer attention.

2.6.8.1 The role of folk-etymologising in the development of a derivational lexicon

The development of new grammatical structures out of the limited structural resources of an incipient pidgin often proceeds by way of grammatical reanalysis, i.e. existing surface structures are reinterpreted in a way that provides alternative grammatical analysis. Thus in Tok Pisin, an utterance such as:

em i tok olsem: tumora	<i>He said: tomorrow the patrol</i>
kiap bai kam	<i>officer will come</i>

is interpreted as

em i tok, olsem tumora	<i>He said that the patrol officer</i>
kiap bai kam	<i>will come tomorrow</i>

i.e. the adverbial *olsem thus* is reinterpreted as a complementiser *that*.

Similar processes are also found in the lexicon. The item *sutman* (from German *Schutzmann police constable*) was interpreted as *sut shoot* and *man man, i.e. somebody who shoots*. This is one of the first compounds documented for Tok Pisin and this particular instance of folk-etymologising may well have been an important factor in the development of V + N agentive type compounds.

Similarly, folk-etymology converting German *Büffel buffalo* to *bikbel big belly* may have triggered off the development of an adjective + noun type of compound relatable to a paraphrase 'N has what is expressed by adj. N'.

A slightly more complex case is that of compounds of the type as + N meaning 'original or authoritative N' as in *asples home village, place of origin* or *aslo fundamental law, constitution*. The vigorous development of this type of compound was helped greatly by the reinterpretation, on the part of Tok Pisin speakers, of a number of different English forms as *as foundation, authority*. Compare:

English	Tok Pisin
<i>archbishop</i>	as-bisop <i>authoritative bishop</i>
<i>Ash Wednesday</i>	as-trinde <i>important Wednesday</i>
<i>yesterday</i>	as-tete <i>origin of today</i>

The grouping together of words with partial semantic and phonological similarities is frequently found with cases of multifunctionality, i.e. the use of lexical items in more than one grammatical category.

Whilst the categorial differences are retained after borrowing, the close semantic and phonological similarity may result in the interpretation of two lexical items as being derivationally related. The following cases were observed:

- a) Tan *done* as in *kaikai i tan the food is done* is interpreted as being related to *tanim, originally to turn*, so that *tanim kaikai* is now interpreted by many speakers of Tok Pisin as *to turn or stir the food thereby causing it to be done*; this example has already been reported by Brenninkmeyer (1924:23).
- b) *Sakim to shake* is often interpreted as being related to *sak sack* since in the context of filling copra into bags, shaking is one of the main activities. Thus *sakim kabora (kopra) to fill copra into sacks by shaking them*.

- c) Belo *bell* is considered by some speakers to be the base from which the verb beloim *to blow* as in beloim hon *to blow the horn* is derived.
- d) English *judge* and *charge* have fallen together in Tok Pisin and the verbs sas *to judge* and sasim *to judge or charge someone* are regarded as being derived from the noun sas *judge*.
- e) Some speakers are reported to regard the noun pisop *bishop* as being derived from the verb pisop *to piss off* because of the habit of some ecclesiastical dignitaries to only pay brief visits to outlying areas.
- f) English *preach* and *priest* have both become pris, and are thought of as being an instance of an intransitive verbal being derived from a noun base.
- g) Plet appears to be derived from both English *plate* and *flat*, and the intransitive verbal plet *flat* is often interpreted as *being like a plate*.

2.6.8.2 The preservation of German-derived lexical material

The disappearance of lexical items derived from German in more recent varieties of Tok Pisin has been commented upon by a number of writers (for a survey see Mühlhäusler 1979c:242). Many of those that survived are supported by folk-etymology. Next to the already discussed examples of sutman *police constable* and bikbel *buffalo* we find:

German	Tok Pisin	reinterpreted as
Bleistift <i>pencil</i>	blaistik or plastik	(blai) <i>stick</i> <i>plastic</i> (when used to refer to a biro)
Schubkarre <i>wheelbarrow</i>	supkar	<i>shove car</i>
Walfish <i>whale</i>	welpis	<i>oil fish</i>

2.6.8.3 Established versus ad hoc folk-etymologies

A characteristic of Tok Pisin folk-etymologies is that they tend to be found mainly in the less developed second-language varieties of the language and in those furthest removed from English. In many cases observed instances of folk-etymologies reflect individual learning strategies rather than communal usage. Thus, the majority of Papua New Guineans would not interpret self gavman *self government* as sel kambang *lime gourd* nor would they interpret bolhet *bald* as het olsem bol *head like a ball*. Only a few examples, such as the interpretation of sikenpoks *chickenpox* as sikipoks *skinpox*, have gained wider currency.

Quite often, folk-etymologies are made up in the course of word play, such as the following forms I noted among first-language speakers:

praimeriskul	<i>primary school</i> was reinterpreted as
prai meri skul	<i>school for frying girls</i> and contrasted with
prai man skul	<i>school for frying boys</i> .

A similar word game is the reanalysis of the lexical base *kandare relative on the mother's side* as *kan female genitals* + the 'cranberry formative' *dare* and the creation of *kokdare male genitals* + *dare* for *relative on the father's side*.

2.6.8.4 Gestalt-characteristics of compounds

Folk-etymologies provide an interesting argument for the separation of lexicon and syntax. Compounds should not be seen as being transformationally derived from underlying sentences, but rather as having a Gestalt meaning.

For instance, the meaning contained in related paraphrases is at best indirectly related to the 'Gestalt' meaning of derived lexical items. Consider, for example, the compounds *luslain to take leave*, *paip smel clay pipe* and *slingsut slingshot*. On asking informants for the meaning of these items the author was given two alternatives in each case, these being:

<i>luslain</i> <i>to take leave</i>	<i>mekim olsem sip i lusim lain</i> <i>man i lusim lain</i>	<i>ship casting off the mooring lines</i> <i>man leaving the labour line</i>
<i>paip smel</i> <i>clay pipe</i>	<i>paip i gat gutpela smel</i> <i>paip ol i wokim long smel</i>	<i>the pipe has a good smell</i> <i>pipe made out of cement</i>
<i>slingsut</i> <i>slingshot</i>	<i>yu sutim siling longen</i> <i>sling bilong sutim pisin</i>	<i>you shoot shilling pieces with it</i> <i>sling for shooting birds</i>

Table 6

The 'underlying' paraphrases differ both as regards the syntactic relations they exhibit and the lexical items they contain. However, this does not affect the basic function of these compounds as names for certain objects. Differences between speakers are found not only in the ways in which they relate derived lexical items to paraphrases, but also, as regards whether they regard a word as a compound or not.

Because of Tok Pisin's close links with English it has borrowed a large number of English compounds. Different speakers may have quite different intuitions about the degree of transparency of such items, a fact which does not affect the way in which they use these items as names for actions or things. Thus, the correct use of terms such as *paiauwut firewood*, *renbo rainbow* or *draidok drydock* is not dependent on a speaker's knowledge of the lexical bases *wut wood*, *bo bow* or *dok dock*, though an increasing number of speakers is now becoming aware that these items can be interpreted as compounds.

Nor does the reinterpretation of certain English bases as compounds or semi-compounds change their basic character as names as, for instance, in *windua - windo wind-door - window* or the use of *hauspital house pital* for *hospital hospital*. In the light of these observations it must be argued that the relation between derived lexical items and related paraphrases is indirect rather than direct, that the function of such paraphrases is that of providing associative frames rather than generative devices and that derived or morphologically motivated lexical items contain unpredictable information found neither in related bases nor suitable for description in terms of rules.

2.6.8.5 Folk-etymologising in name-giving

An area in which folk-etymologising is very much alive is that of proper names, particularly the names of Europeans. Thus a European whose name is Bruce is often referred to as Masta Brus *the European who smokes tobacco*, Les is identified with Tok Pisin les *lazy* and Jack with sek *shake or cheque*. A well-known example involving the name of a Papua New Guinean is that of the parliamentarian Pita Lus whom I heard saying Nem bilong mi Lus tasol mi no lus *my name is Lus but I am not at a loss*.

2.6.8.6 Folk-etymologising in the cargo movements

A very important, although hitherto neither well described nor properly understood, dimension of folk-etymologising is encountered in the context of cargo activities. Here we find deliberate attempts on the part of speakers of Tok Pisin to reconstruct the true meaning of lexical items, and to develop a secret language where all lexical items are used in their true meaning. The possession of such a secret vocabulary is considered to constitute an instrument of political and religious power.

Two factors: the widespread belief that the missionaries lied about the 'true meaning' of many of their lexical innovations, and the fact that "the natives actually, and quite frequently, impute secret meanings to pidgin words and sentences in the same, or a similar way, as they are accustomed to do with their own vernacular languages" (Aufinger 1949:117), are instrumental in the development of secret vocabularies. Thus Schwartz (1957:156ff) discusses the development of new secret meanings for certain doctrinal terms in the Paliu movement of Manus Island, referring to the widespread belief that:

The mission lied too about what is called Imperno and Purgatorio. The mission explained these in Neo-Melanesian as fire belong marsalai. Outside of the Neo-Melanesian literature of the missions, the word marsalai denotes malevolent spirits of the bush. The folklore of the old culture is peopled with these demons. They could cause the death of human beings. Missionaries had told their converts not to believe in marsalai, but they had also borrowed the word to translate the devils and the demons of Christianity. Paliu called this talk about fire belong marsalai a lie. Imperno was simply the ground in which one was buried when one dies. Christ was buried in the ground, then His think-think ascended to Heaven after three days. It is this way with all men. Your body went into the ground and your mind-soul went back to God. As for Purgatorio, another "fire" in which men were supposed to pay for their minor sins after death, this was also a lie of the missionary. This Purgatorio is the house calaboose into which the government put people who had done some wrong. It was not a fire, it was not in Heaven, and it had nothing to do with marsalai. This was the mission's way of avoiding talking about the coercive power of the government.

Folk-etymologising of this type is not restricted to doctrinal terms, however, and the list of expressions collected by Schwartz includes other examples such as:

Tok Bokis expression	ordinary meaning	special meaning in Paliau movement
orait	<i>all right, healthy</i>	<i>to be equal to the white man in terms of knowledge, goods, etc.</i>
kastem haus	<i>customs house</i>	<i>a shed for receiving and handling goods in trade with other villages</i>
King Berra	<i>Canberra</i>	<i>mythical king of the land of cargo</i>
mep	<i>map</i>	<i>graveyard</i>
prais	<i>price, prize</i>	<i>reward, cargo</i>
star	<i>star</i>	<i>turnstile in the village gate having reference to heaven</i>

Table 7

The development of special vocabularies by various cargo movements was and still is quite widespread. There are regional differences and rapid replacement of old secret terms with new ones, partly in order to prevent outsiders from getting to know the secret language but mainly because the search for the true meaning brings with it a very large number of wrong interpretations. The difference between the literal and the secret 'real' meaning can be quite drastic, though it may go unnoticed by the outsider, thus leading to far-reaching misunderstandings.

It can be seen from the cases discussed that folk-etymologies not only provide comical relief to the lexicographer and lexicologist but that their study raises a number of important questions of a theoretical nature.

2.6.9 SOME SHORTCOMINGS OF PRACTICAL ETYMOLOGISING FOR TOK PISIN

2.6.9.1 Introduction

Etymologising for a language such as Tok Pisin involves a number of theoretical problems and practical obstacles. Given the extent of the difficulties and the fact that most dictionary compilers have not been trained lexicographers or linguists the results are surprisingly good. However, we find a number of harmful tendencies which I would briefly like to discuss here for the benefit of future compilers of etymological dictionaries of the language.

2.6.9.2 The 'if it is exotic it must be Tolai' principle

As pointed out by Mosel (1980:23ff), a number of lexical items commonly listed as of Tolai or Gazelle origin cannot possibly come from this source. Two important types of words are:

- a) Words which contain the sound [s] which is not found in Tolai or the Duke-of-York language. This excludes the items *balus* *bird* and *melisa* *barracuda*, listed in Mihalic 1971, and *mosong* *fluff* and *susu* *breasts* for which Tolai has been given as the source by other lexicographers.

- b) Words containing no prenasalisation before voiced stops.⁴ Thus, neither *rabun ridge of house* nor *abus animal* can be of Gazelle origin (as assumed by Mihalic 1971), moreover, the latter item also contains the sound [s].

Mosel (1980) gives a number of other lexical items which have been wrongly traced back to Tolai or closely related languages, including *aila tree with edible fruit*, *karapa maize*, *pui naked* and *arowa to steer around*. The German origin of *pui* has already been remarked upon. A possible English etymology for *arowa* is *all over* and *abus animal* has been shown above to be related to English *animals*.

Mosel's research has helped to determine what items did not originate in the Gazelle Peninsula or neighbouring areas, but further research is necessary to determine positively the origin of a number of items.

2.6.9.3 'Diachronic purism'

This term refers to conscious or unconscious attempts on the part of missionary lexicographers to find an innocuous source for Tok Pisin words derived from English four-letter words or, failing this, to simply classify such words as of unknown origin.

A good example of diachronic purism in etymologising is the derivation of *bagarap to be ruined, tired* from English *bankrupt*, as is done in the *Wörterbuch mit Redewendungen* (around 1935), or from a non-existent *beggared up* as is done by Schebesta and Meiser (1945), who comment on their etymology: "In English to beggar is transitive but here the effect is taken". The correct derivation from English *to bugger up* does not appear before Mihalic 1957. Similar purified etymologies are found for other lexical items. Compare:

lexical item		English etymon	Etymons listed in:			
item	gloss	etymon	WMR	SM	M71	ST69
kan	<i>female genitals</i>	<i>cunt</i>	--	--	--	?
kok	<i>male genitals</i>	<i>cock</i>	<i>cock</i>	--	--	E*
sit	<i>ashes, faeces</i>	<i>shit</i>	?	not listed	E	E

WMR = *Wörterbuch mit Redewendungen*

SM = Schebesta and Meiser 1945

M71 = Mihalic 1971

ST69 = Steinbauer 1969

*E = English

Table 8

Such etymologising can have side effects, in particular when used as the basis of a quasi-etymological writing system. Thus, in devising a standard spelling system for Tok Pisin, the Alexishafen authors of the *Wörterbuch mit Redewendungen* suggest that it should closely follow English pronunciation. However, whilst they spell Tok Pisin [han] *hand* as hand, they do not restore the final consonant in [kan] *female genitals*, since its English origin is not acknowledged.

2.6.9.4 Fanciful etymologies

As pointed out by Malkiel (1975:105), etymologising is dependent on chance discoveries, flashes of imagination, and lacunary records, and hence one can expect unfortunate guesses next to lucky discoveries. In the history of Tok Pisin, a number of rather unlikely etymologies have been given. As some of them are still quoted, particularly in the context of exposing alleged deficiencies of the language, a brief discussion seems indicated.

(a) *puspus* (to *copulate*, reduplicated form signalling intransitive verb, from English *pus* to *push*). Churchill (1911:30) remarks on this item:

The most ridiculous word in the jargon is the name of love. Lest the reader smile at the absurdity obscure the pity of it all, I would revive a note which I made in a former paper (*American Journal of Philology*, XXIX, 36):

In Duffield's New Ireland vocabulary (*Proceedings of the Royal Society of Queensland*, I, 115) *pus-püss* is defined as "a cat, a white shell, a delicate word". In Stephan and Gräbner's "Neu-Mecklenburg" (the same island) it is cited in the phrase "bimeby she puss-puss plenty" as covering every outward exhibition of affection, static and kinetic. Such, too, is my recollection of the word from an earlier date in the same wild archipelago. The student of ethics will find herein a striking disclosure of the jejunity of the intellectual or spiritual development of these savages when their first need of a term for the affections, possibly their first discovery of the existence of such emotions, is awakened by seeing a rude sailor petting a cat, aliens both.

(b) *pekpek* (to *excrete*, *defecate* from Tolai *pekapeke*). For this item Aufinger (1949:118) proposes the following unlikely explanation:

The word "bekbek" for defecation is probably derived from the habit of the natives along the beach to ease themselves along the water-line, thus forming a line of many backs, expressed by the reduplication "bekbek".

(c) *bung* (*market*, from Tolai *bung market day*). According to Shelton-Smith in the *Rabaul Times* of 24 May 1929 "the native market is bunt, but beyond those there are few German words." It is unlikely that German *bunt* *colourful* had anything to do with this word.

(d) *senkelboi* (*a single man living off the community, male 'spinster'*). Mihalic relates this item to German *schenken* to *give a present*, apparently because the type of person referred to depends on presents from other members of the community. However, a much more likely explanation is that we are dealing with a variant of *skelman*, *skelboi* *unmarried man* (from English *single*) also listed in Mihalic's dictionary.

(e) *kanaka*. Mihalic, in addition to a Fijian origin (1971), also mentions, in an article on Tok Pisin in *Wantok* (August 1973) a connection with English *cane hacker*, since a large number of men were employed in the Queensland cane fields. This etymology is unlikely, however, since *cane hacker* is not a very common expression in Queensland English and since only very few Papua New Guineans ever served in the Queensland cane fields.

The tendency to identify un-English-sounding words with Tolai etymons has already been discussed in a previous section. The opposite tendency, to identify English-sounding Tolai words with English origins, should also be mentioned. It accounts for such etymologies as:

mumut *large bushrat* from English *marmot* rather than Mioko mumut

salat *stinging nettle* from German *salat* or English *salad* rather than Melanesian *salat nettle*.

However, lexical syncretism may have been operative in some of the examples just mentioned.

Finally, in a very small number of cases, the lexicographer's inability to identify word boundaries resulted in entries for non-existent words. The best example for Tok Pisin is *asa to be rich in, to abound* first mentioned in Schebesta and Meiser 1945 and later listed again by Mihalic 1957 and 1971. None of the authors provides an etymology, but there can be little doubt that we are dealing here with *as ya the origin of* followed by the emphasiser *ya*, and that sentences such as *dispela ples i asa bilong ol natnat this place is just filled with mosquitoes* must be interpreted as *this place is the origin of mosquitoes*. I have asked many informants whether they knew the word *asa* and I have never had a positive response nor have I seen this 'word' in any text written by an indigenous writer.

2.6.9.7 Conclusions

Shortcomings can be expected in any etymological work, particularly when there is no long-standing etymological tradition and when the number of scholars involved is diminutive. Future work should concentrate on the following aspects:

- a) Provision should be made for discontinuity in lexical transmission.
- b) A clearer distinction should be made between the source from which an item was borrowed and its ultimate source, i.e. it makes sense to give the source a *virgo virgin* as Latin, but not that of *kriet to create*. Similarly, *bulmakau cattle* should be traced back to Fijian or Fijian Pidgin but not to English *bull-and-cow*.
- c) Greater attention should be paid to the language-internal lexical creativity of Tok Pisin.

Having made these general points, the rest of this chapter will consist mainly of a discussion of lexical items derived from languages other than Tok Pisin's principal lexifier language, English.

2.6.10 SOURCES OF TOK PISIN LEXICAL ITEMS

2.6.10.1 Introduction

In tracing the origins of Tok Pisin, it is essential to pay close attention to the sociocultural context in which this language developed, for it is a necessary condition for an etymology to be supported by reasons why a lexical item should have been borrowed from one rather than another language. This is particularly so in the case of Tok Pisin, where the principal lexifier languages themselves are often historically related and hence exhibit a large percentage of shared cognates. The sociohistorical setting not only determined which languages

were possible lexifier languages but, more importantly, at which point in the history of the language. Information about the relative percentage of lexical items from various sources in present-day Tok Pisin is unlikely to reveal much about the origin of the language. Ideally, we would like to know for each lexical item at what point in time it is first documented in Tok Pisin and (where applicable) at what point it dropped out of the language, as used by the fluent majority of speakers. There can be no doubt that, in the brief span of 100 years, there has been considerable fluctuation in the indigenous and German content in the lexicon of Tok Pisin. Our knowledge of the dynamics of the lexical inventory is still rather limited and certainly quite insufficient to derive strong claims about the contact history in the formative years of the language. I shall now discuss, in alphabetical order, the sources of the Tok Pisin lexicon and their known socio-historical setting.

2.6.10.2 African languages

Between 1885 and 1914 Germany controlled parts of Africa and the Pacific. Colonial administrators were transferred from one colony to another and small contingents of the indigenous police force of German New Guinea were taken to German East Africa for some time. Some Tok Pisin words, including *meri woman* and *kanaka uncivilised bush-dweller*, are documented for Cameroons Pidgin English (Loreto Todd, personal communication). The only Tok Pisin word of possible African origin is *sanguma secret murder committed by orders from sorcerer* or *sorcerer*, which may be related to Bantu and Pidgin Bantu (Fanakalo) *sangoma witch doctor*. However, it must be noted that the first listing of this item is in the *Wörterbuch mit Redewendungen* which was published around 1935, i.e. a long time after contacts with Africa had ceased. A derivation from the Monumbo *sanguma secret murder* therefore seems more likely.

2.6.10.3 Chinese and Chinese Pidgin English

In the early years of German colonisation a substantial number of Chinese workers were recruited to work on the plantations of Kaiser-Wilhelmsland. After 1900 a second wave of Chinese migrants settled around Rabaul and other centres in the Bismarck Archipelago. By 1914 about 1,400 Chinese lived in German New Guinea, most of them around Rabaul, at the time the focal area for the spread of Tok Pisin. Whereas the indentured Chinese plantation workers were recruited from the Dutch East Indies and therefore spoke Malay, most of the free Chinese brought with them some kind of Pidgin English. I have been told by old timers in Rabaul that both Tok Pisin and Chinese Pidgin English were used in Rabaul for a considerable time. The influence of Chinese and Chinese Pidgin English on Tok Pisin has not yet been fully established. It can be documented best in the names for certain vegetables, quoted from Wu 1977:1053:

Chinese names	Pidgin names	English names
Choi Sum	Toi Tum	<i>Chinese cabbage</i>
Kai Choi	Kai Toi	<i>Chinese mustard</i>
Kai Lum	Kai Lun	<i>Chinese broccoli</i>
Lau Pak	Lau Pak	<i>turnip</i>
Ong Choi	Kangkung (Kango)	<i>Chinese watercress</i>
Pak Choi	Pak Toi	<i>Chinese cabbage</i>
Sung Choi	Sala, Lesis	<i>lettuce</i>

Chinese names	Pidgin names	English names
... Tao	Tao	<i>beans of several kinds</i>
See Kua	Sika	<i>a kind of squash</i>
Tung Kua	Tung Ka	<i>'winter' melon</i>
Wu Tau	Taro bilong Saina	<i>taro</i>
Yin Sai	Min Tai	<i>Chinese celery</i>

The item *maski never mind* may also have found its way into Tok Pisin via Chinese Pidgin English.

It is not clear to what extent Chinese Pidgin English influenced the jargon used by whalers and trepang fishermen operating in parts of the Bismarck Archipelago in the 1850s and 1860s, nor is it clear how much linguistic continuity there is between these early jargons and late Tok Pisin.

2.6.10.4 Fijian

Influence from Fijian came in two forms:

- a) Missionary activity predating German colonisation. Many of the evangelists were of Fijian origin.
- b) Recruiting to the Fijian plantations. Few Papua New Guineans ever went to Fiji, but others may have learnt words of Fijian origin on the plantations of Samoa and Queensland from other workers who had been to Fiji. Mihalic (1957) lists the following items: *dinau debt*, *lotu worship*, *laplap loincloth*, *talatala protestant* and *taro taro*. *Laplap* is almost certainly not of Fijian origin. Another item which can be traced back to Fiji, i.e. the Pidgin which was spoken there, is *bulmakau cattle*.

At present, little is known about the social and linguistic impact of Fijian evangelists and it may well turn out that a Fijian origin can be attributed to some of those lexical items for which no etymological information is available at present.

2.6.10.5 German

German terms were borrowed not only during the German colonial period but also up to the Second World War when most of the missionaries were still of German origin. In most instances we are dealing with direct borrowing from German, though in some cases (documented by Mühlhäusler 1977a), there was contact with Pidgin German.

The borrowing of German lexical items was a case of adlexification rather than relexification, i.e. German provided new words in additional semantic fields. The most common ones will be listed below.

A distinction has to be made between ad hoc loans and loans which gained wider currency. The fact that almost 150 items of German origin were found by the author to be listed in various dictionaries and vocabularies compiled after the termination of German control indicates a fair degree of institutionalisation of these loans. Here follows an exhaustive list of lexical items of German origin, arranged in semantic groups. For each item no more than three sources are given, for which the following abbreviations are used:

BO	=	Borchardt 1930
BR	=	Brenninkmeyer 1924
CH	=	Churchill 1911
DA	=	Dahmen 1957
H43	=	Hall 1943a
H55a	=	Hall 1955a
H55b	=	Hall 1955b
H59	=	Hall 1959a
H66	=	Hall 1966
KU	=	Kutscher n.d.
M57	=	Mihalic 1957
M71	=	Mihalic 1971
SM	=	Schebesta and Meiser 1945
ST	=	Steinbauer 1969
VB	=	van Baar n.d.a
WR	=	<i>Wörterbuch mit Redewendungen</i> n.d.

Otherwise, either the author and the year of the publication from which an item was culled, or the locality where it was found by the author during fieldwork between 1972 and 1974 will be provided. The spelling of all items is based on the principles laid down in the *Standard Neo-Melanesian orthography* (1956). Of the above sources those of Brenninkmeyer, Borchardt, Dahmen and Kutscher represent the use of Tok Pisin of the New Guinea Islands, particularly New Britain and Manus, whereas those of Schebesta and Meiser, van Baar and the *Wörterbuch mit Redewendungen* reflect the mainland variety. Items listed by Steinbauer 1969, Dahmen 1957 and Mihalic 1971 are still widely used in areas of former German control.

(1) terms for building, carpentry and new crafts

Tok Pisin	from German	source	English
ambos	<i>Amboss</i>	SM,M57	<i>anvil</i>
bank	<i>Bank</i>	WR,SM,M71	<i>bench, pew</i>
baisange	<i>Beisszange</i>	Ali,Manus	<i>pincers</i>
bigelaisen	<i>Bügeleisen</i>	Ali	<i>flat-iron</i>
borim	<i>bohren</i>	SM,M71	<i>to drill something</i>
ele	<i>Elle</i>	Ali	<i>yardstick</i>
faden	<i>Faden</i>	Ali	<i>thread</i>
gumi	<i>Gummi</i>	ST,M71	<i>rubber, tube</i>
harke	<i>Harke</i>	WR	<i>rake</i>
hobel	<i>Hobel</i>	ST,M71	<i>plane</i>
kail	<i>Keil</i>	DA,ST,M71	<i>wedge</i>
kele	<i>Kelle</i>	M57,M71	<i>trowel</i>
kit	<i>Kitt</i>	ST,M71	<i>putty</i>
klama	<i>Klammer</i>	SM,Smythe(n.d.)	<i>clamp</i>
kupus	<i>Kuhfuss</i>	KU,BR	<i>crowbar</i>
laim	<i>Leim</i>	ST,M71	<i>glue</i>
laten	<i>Latten</i>	WR	<i>batten, board</i>
maisil	<i>Meissel</i>	DA,M71	<i>chisel</i>
meta	<i>Meter (das)</i>	ST,M71	<i>yardstick</i>
nit	<i>Niete</i>	KU	<i>rivet</i>
pendel	<i>Pendel</i>	KU	<i>pendulum</i>
reken	<i>Rechen</i>	WR	<i>rake</i>
sapfen	<i>Zapfen</i>	KU	<i>pin, pivot</i>
sange	<i>Zange</i>	H55b,KU,DA	<i>pliers</i>
sere	<i>Schere</i>	Ali,Alexishafen	<i>scissors</i>

Tok Pisin	from German	source	English
sikmel	<i>Sägmehl</i>	Vunapope	<i>sawdust</i>
slos	<i>Schloss</i>	Dagua, Manus	<i>padlock</i>
spais	<i>Speis</i>	BR	<i>mortar, cement</i>
sparen	<i>Sparren</i>	Dagua, M71	<i>rafter</i>
swinge	<i>Zwinge</i>	Manus, M71	<i>clamp</i>
supkar	<i>Schubkarre</i>	ST, M71	<i>wheelbarrow</i>
ter	<i>Teer</i>	WR	<i>tar</i>
wasawage	<i>Wasserwaage</i>	Vunapope, Dagua	<i>water-level</i>

(2) schoolroom terms

The German numbers 1-10 were known to many of the author's older informants on the New Guinea mainland, other loans include:

abese	<i>ABC</i>	Ali	<i>a, b, c</i>
balaistip	<i>Bleistift</i>	BR, DA, M57	<i>lead-pencil</i>
bilt	<i>Bild</i>	WR	<i>picture</i>
blok	<i>Block</i>	Manus	<i>pad of paper</i>
gripel	<i>Griffel</i>	DA, ST, M71	<i>slate-pencil</i>
karaide	<i>Kreide</i>	KU, DA, ST	<i>chalk</i>
malen ⁵	<i>malen</i>	ST, M71	<i>to paint, draw</i>
nul	<i>Null</i>	DA	<i>zero</i>
peder	<i>Feder</i>	DA	<i>pen</i>
punk	<i>Punkt</i>	DA, KU	<i>full stop, point</i>
singen ⁵	<i>singen</i>	WR, M71	<i>to sing</i>
sule	<i>Schule</i>	Ali, Vunapope	<i>school</i>
stima	<i>Stimme</i>	SM	<i>melody, tune</i>
strafe	<i>Strafe</i>	ST, M71	<i>punishment</i>
tafel	<i>Tafel</i>	DA, KU, Manus	<i>blackboard</i>
tinte	<i>Tinte</i>	DA, BO	<i>ink</i>
tok doits	<i>Deutsch</i>	Dagua, Ali, Manus	<i>German language</i>

(3) terms used in the domestic context

ananas	<i>Ananas</i>	ST, M71	<i>pineapple</i>
auto	<i>Auto</i>	Ali, Manus	<i>motor car</i>
bonen	<i>Bohnen</i>	BR, DA, BO	<i>beans</i>
buter	<i>Butter</i>	BR, DA, WR	<i>butter, avocado</i>
dose	<i>Dose</i>	Ali	<i>tin, box</i>
esik	<i>Essig</i>	DA, ST, M71	<i>vinegar</i>
gabel	<i>Gabel</i>	BR, KU, H55b	<i>fork</i>
guruken	<i>Gurken</i>	BR, DA, Rabaul	<i>cucumber</i>
hebsen	<i>Erbsen</i>	KU, ST, M71	<i>peas</i>
kane	<i>Kanne</i>	WR	<i>jug</i>
katopel	<i>Kartoffel</i>	Ali, Vunapope	<i>potato</i>
kese	<i>Käse</i>	DA	<i>cheese</i>
kuken	<i>Kuchen</i>	KU, DA	<i>cake</i>
malsait	<i>Mahlzeit</i>	Krämer-Bannow 1916	<i>'bon appetit'</i>
puskoman	<i>Putzpomade</i>	WR, DA	<i>boot polish</i>
saitung	<i>Zeitung</i>	BR, DA	<i>newspaper</i>
sarang	<i>Schrank</i>	H59, M71	<i>cupboard, shelf</i>
sim	<i>Zimt</i>	KU	<i>cinnamon</i>
sirsen	<i>Kirschen</i>	M57, M71	<i>cherries</i>
soken	<i>Socken</i>	ST, M71	<i>socks</i>
spaisesima	<i>Speisezimmer</i>	Ali	<i>dining room</i>

Tok Pisin	from German	source	English
spigel	<i>Spiegel</i>	Ali, Manus	<i>mirror</i>
spinat	<i>Spinat</i>	SM, VB	<i>spinach</i>
teplik	<i>Teppich</i>	KU, M71	<i>carpet, rug</i>
(4) mission and doctrinal terms			
baikten	<i>beichten</i>	Ali, Dagua, WR	<i>to confess</i>
balsam	<i>Balsam</i>	DA, WR	<i>balm</i>
beten	<i>beten</i>	ST, M71	<i>to pray</i>
bruder	<i>Bruder</i>	ST, M71	<i>religious Brother</i>
buse	<i>Busse</i>	SM, VB, WR	<i>penance</i>
eremit	<i>Eremit</i>	DA	<i>hermit</i>
grisgot	<i>Grüss Gott</i>	WR, M71	<i>bless you</i>
haiten	<i>Heiden</i>	ST, M71	<i>heathen</i>
kapela	<i>Kapelle</i>	SM, WR	<i>chapel</i>
kelek	<i>Kelch</i>	KU	<i>chalice</i>
kirke	<i>Kirche</i>	Dagua, WR	<i>church</i>
ministran	<i>ministrant</i>	SM, WR	<i>choir boy</i>
palmen	<i>Palmen</i>	M57, M71	<i>palm tree</i>
pater	<i>Pater</i>	ST, M71	<i>religious Father</i>
pirista	<i>Priester</i>	BR, BO	<i>priest</i>
segen	<i>Segen</i>	SM, WR, Dagua	<i>blessing</i>
svesta	<i>Schwester</i>	DA, Dagua, Manus	<i>religious Sister</i>
vairau	<i>Weihrauch</i>	KU, DA	<i>incense</i>
(5) terms used in the police force			
gever	<i>Gewehr</i>	SM, H66, Ali	<i>rifle</i>
hauman	<i>Hauptmann</i>	Detzner 1921, Reinecke 1937	<i>captain</i>
kostik	<i>Kopfstück</i>	H55b, M71	<i>bridle</i>
popaia	<i>vorbei</i>	ST, M71	<i>to miss (target)</i>
ros	<i>Ross</i>	WR	<i>horse</i>
sadel	<i>Sattel</i>	SM, M71	<i>saddle</i>
selban	<i>Zeltbahn</i>	SM	<i>large canvas</i>
senkipia	<i>Seitengewehr</i>	BR	<i>side-arm</i>
sutman	<i>Schutzmann</i>	Reed 1943, DA	<i>constable, guard</i>
(6) commands and terms of abuse			
donabeta	<i>Donnerwetter</i>	KU, DA, Vogel 1911	<i>blast!</i>
donakail	<i>Donnerkeil</i>	KU, DA	<i>blast!</i>
dumkerl	<i>dummer Kerl</i>	Manus	<i>stupid fool!</i>
dumkop	<i>Dummkopf</i>	Angoram, Dagua	<i>idiot!</i>
haltmunt	<i>halt den Mund</i>	Reed 1943, Manus	<i>shut up!</i>
javol	<i>jawohl</i>	BR, BO	<i>yes!</i>
pasmalauf	<i>pass mal auf</i>	Reed 1943, Ali	<i>take care!</i>
papelu	<i>verflucht</i>	SM, H66, WR	<i>damn!</i>
raus	<i>raus</i>	ST, M71	<i>get out!</i>
rintfi	<i>Rindvieh</i>	Ali, Manus	<i>cattle!</i>
saise	<i>scheisse</i>	Ali, Manus, Dagua	<i>shit!</i>
sapkop	<i>Schafskopf</i>	Ali, Marienberg	<i>sheep brained idiot!</i>
sisan	<i>stillgestanden</i>	BR, WR	<i>stand still!</i>

(7) nautical terms

Tok Pisin	from German	source	English
bakabor	<i>Backbord</i>	Reed 1943,WR	<i>port side</i>
kiliva	<i>Klüver</i>	KU,DA,M71	<i>jib sail</i>
kuter	<i>Kutter</i>	SM	<i>cutter</i>
sluk	<i>Schluck</i>	H43	<i>whirlpool</i>

(8) certain names of animals

bifel	<i>Büffel</i>	H55a,SM,WR	<i>buffalo</i>
binen	<i>Bienen</i>	ST,M71	<i>bees</i>
esel	<i>Esel</i>	H55b,M57,ST	<i>donkey</i>
fros	<i>Frosch</i>	WR	<i>frog</i>
kakalak	<i>Kakerlake</i>	ST,M71	<i>cockroach</i>
kamel	<i>Kamel</i>	DA,ST	<i>camel</i>
lewe	<i>Löwe</i>	KU	<i>lion</i>

(9) terms belonging to other semantic fields

akas	<i>Akazie</i>	SM,M57	<i>acacia</i>
bensin	<i>Benzin</i>	BO	<i>petrol</i>
bogen	<i>Bogen</i>	KU,M71	<i>arch</i>
boksen	<i>boxen</i>	DA,ST,M71	<i>to box</i>
brait	<i>breit</i>	ST,M71	<i>wide, width</i>
brus	<i>Brust</i>	H66,M57,WR	<i>chest</i>
doktal	<i>Dr Hahl</i>	Stephan and Gräbner 1907	<i>the German governor Dr Hahl</i>
gip	<i>Gift</i>	M57,M71	<i>poison</i>
kapsel	<i>Kapsel</i>	KU	<i>capsule</i>
kaputim	<i>kaputt</i>	Smythe(n.d.)	<i>to ruin</i>
kaisa	<i>Kaiser</i>	WR,Ali,Rabaul	<i>emperor</i>
kle	<i>Klee</i>	KU	<i>clover</i>
krum	<i>krumm</i>	SM,M71	<i>bent, crooked</i>
langsam	<i>langsam</i>	H55b,DA,KU	<i>to go slow, slow</i>
lepra	<i>Lepra</i>	M71	<i>leprosy</i>
links	<i>links</i>	H43,M57	<i>left (side)</i>
lupsip	<i>Luftschiff</i>	Ali	<i>aeroplane</i>
mak	<i>Mark</i>	SM,M71	<i>mark, shilling</i>
milis	<i>Milch</i>	SM,M71	<i>coconut milk, semen</i>
nets	<i>Netz</i>	WR	<i>fishing net</i>
pui	<i>pfui</i>	M71	<i>naked</i>
ros	<i>Rost</i>	ST,M71	<i>rust</i>
sreg	<i>schräg</i>	WR	<i>sloping, oblique</i>
stange	<i>Stange</i>	Ali	<i>tobacco stick</i>
surik	<i>zurück</i>	ST,M71	<i>to flinch back</i>
tais	<i>Teich</i>	ST,M71	<i>pond, swamp</i>
trip	<i>Trieb</i>	ST,M71	<i>sprout</i>
turm	<i>Turm</i>	Angoram, Ali	<i>tower, steeple</i>
yot	<i>Jod</i>	SM,ST	<i>iodine</i>

Further remarks about the German influence on Tok Pisin have been made by Mühlhäusler 1975b and 1977a.

2.6.10.6 Hiri Motu

Contact between speakers of Tok Pisin and Hiri Motu, the principal lingua franca of Papua, is relatively recent. It first occurred during the years of the Second World War and has since become significant in some urban centres of Papua, such as Port Moresby and Daru. Because the speakers of these two languages tended to be somewhat hostile towards one another in the past, little borrowing occurred in either direction. However, as Port Moresby is becoming a national rather than a regional centre, some rapprochement has taken place, in particular in the army and the University of Papua New Guinea. The few items of Hiri Motu origin which have gained wider currency in post-independence days are:

hemarai lasi	exclamation: <i>aren't you ashamed?</i>
tura	form of address: <i>friend</i>
mani lasi	<i>no money, bankrupt</i>

The use of Hiri Motu items must be seen as signalling solidarity between Papuans and New Guineans and is unlikely to expand beyond a few such signals.

2.6.10.7 Latin

Latin terms were introduced into Tok Pisin through deliberate planning on the part of a number of mission bodies, in particular those of the New Guinea mainland. Whereas a few remain in common use, many of them have since been replaced by items of English or local origin. Thus, instead of former *benediksio* we now find *benediksen* *benediction* and *evangelio* has been replaced by *gutnius gospel*. The most widely used items of Latin origin are:

deo	<i>God</i>
hostia	<i>host</i>
indulgensia	<i>indulgence</i>
komunio	<i>communion</i>
konpesio	<i>confession</i>
korona	<i>rosary</i>
misa	<i>mass</i>
pekato	<i>sin</i>
prosesio	<i>procession</i>
santu	<i>holy</i>
trinitas	<i>trinity</i>
virgo	<i>virgin</i>

All of these items belong to the semantic field of liturgical and worship terms and tend to be little known outside mission areas.

Further items are listed in the appendix to Mihalic's 1971 dictionary and in an appendix to Kutscher's dictionary (n.d.:139-147).

2.6.10.8 Malay

Remarks on the Malay element in Tok Pisin have been made by Roosman (1975), Mühlhäusler (1979c) and, most recently, Seiler (1982). Ongoing research by the latter is likely to throw light on a number of questions which have not yet been explained satisfactorily.

Malay influence on Tok Pisin is much less noticeable than has been made out by writers such as Roosman (1975), the main reasons being that:

- a) Malay was spoken on the New Guinea mainland and not around Rabaul where Tok Pisin stabilised.
- b) Contact with Tok Pisin occurred after the latter had already developed into a stable language.

On the New Guinea mainland contact between Tok Pisin and Malay was due to three factors:

- a) Malay trade links with a few villages and islands west of Wewak, in particular Tarawei Island.
- b) Bird-of-Paradise hunters from Irian Jaya operating in the border areas of Papua New Guinea. The beginning of their operations appears to roughly coincide with German colonisation (cf. Seiler 1982).
- c) The employment of Malay and Malay-speaking Chinese on a number of German plantations on the New Guinea mainland, in particular in the Bogadjim area (Stephansort, Erima).

A semantic analysis of the Malay lexicon in Tok Pisin suggests that the third fact is the most important one. For the most part, the presence of lexical items of Malay origin reflects the brief period of time during which Coastal Malay was the lingua franca of the plantations on the New Guinea mainland. With the decline of the Malay population and the employment of Melanesian labourers, Tok Pisin rapidly gained ground after 1900. Biskup (1974:99) remarks on the brief impact of the Malay presence: "They had left behind a style of architecture which can be described as Dutch East Indian, and had enriched Pidgin with such words as mambu, kanda, and sayor." Reed (1943:277) provided a short list of items of Malay origin, including:

Tok Pisin	gloss
karabau	<i>water-buffalo</i>
kapok	<i>the kapok tree and its fibres</i>
klambu	<i>mosquito net</i>
krani	<i>clerk; Malay worker</i>
mambu	<i>bamboo</i>
mandor	<i>overseer</i>
pinatang	<i>insect</i>
sayor	<i>leaf vegetable</i>
tandok	<i>signal</i>
tiang	<i>post</i>

A full list of items, combining the results of research by Mühlhäusler (1979c:199) and Seiler (1982), is as follows:

Tok Pisin	gloss	Malay (in modern Indonesian orthography)
karabu	<i>water-buffalo</i>	kerbau
kapok	<i>the kapok tree and its fibres</i>	kapok
klambu	<i>mosquito net</i>	kelambu
krani	<i>clerk; Malay worker</i>	kerani
mambu	<i>bamboo</i>	bambu
mandor	<i>overseer</i>	mandur
pinatang	<i>insect</i>	binatang (= <i>animal</i>)
sayor	<i>leaf vegetable</i>	sayur
tandok	<i>signal</i>	tanduk (= <i>horn</i>)
tiang	<i>post</i>	tiang
lombo	<i>red pepper</i>	lombok
bliong	<i>hatchet</i>	beliung
baret	<i>ditch, groove</i>	parit
kasang	<i>peanut</i>	kacang (= <i>pea</i>)
kambing	<i>sheep, goat</i>	kambing
kango	<i>watercress</i>	kangkung
tuan ⁶	<i>master, European</i>	tuan

Table 9

A number of these items, including tandok, mandor and bliong, appear to have remained restricted to some areas on the New Guinea mainland, whilst others, including baret and lombo, have gained wide currency.

In recent years a number of these items, which were widely used in parts of the Sepik area, have begun to be replaced by words used in other parts of New Guinea or by new loans from English. They include:

original Sepik		
Tok Pisin	replacement	gloss
klambu	taunam, moskeda net	<i>mosquito net</i>
kasang	galip, pinat	<i>peanut</i>
tuan	masta	<i>European</i>

2.6.10.9 New Guinea mainland languages

Up to about 1900 Pidgin Malay rather than Pidgin English was the dominant language of the mainland plantations. At the same time, most mission work was carried out in the local vernaculars rather than in one of these lingue franche. As a result, New Guinea mainland languages contributed only relatively little to the lexicon of stabilised Tok Pisin. The only words which have gained currency are katamot *naked* and sumatin *student* from the Tumleo language and sanguma which in all likelihood was borrowed from the Monumbo language. There were no doubt many other names for aspects of the indigenous culture in use at different times and in different localities. However, the language planning policies of the Alexishafen missionaries in the late 1920s and early 1930s strongly favoured a policy of bringing Tok Pisin closer to English and therefore probably discouraged such terms.

This may explain why the remaining items, belonging as they do to the context of informal interaction rather than to the list of names for fixed referents, have also gained wider currency. They are:

Tok Pisin	source	gloss
nansei	Yakamul	exclamation used to attract members of the opposite sex
yakabor	Yakamul ⁷	expression of surprise
kasintu	Abelam	<i>my friend</i>

The item *kasintu* was used extensively in the Australian propaganda campaign in the Sepik during the Second World War to promote feelings of solidarity. In the postwar years it was replaced by *wantok friend* which was used as a nationwide form of address, and it is only recently, in the wake of growing regionalisation in Papua New Guinea, that *kasintu* and the abbreviated form *kas* have made a re-appearance as a form of address among people from the Sepik districts living away from home.

2.6.10.10 Other Melanesian languages

The fact that Tok Pisin was firmly established as a language of intertribal communication in the New Guinea Islands and most coastal areas by the 1930s, plus the rapid functional expansion of the language in these areas, led to increased borrowing from native vernaculars.

The need to communicate new concepts combined with the relative inaccessibility of English as a lexifier language led to borrowing from different languages in different areas. Since most lexicographers carried out their work around Rabaul and Alexishafen many of these innovations were probably never recorded. Few of them gained wider currency in Tok Pisin, since the mechanisms to promote their spread were lacking and since they were used in semantic domains which were of little relevance to cross-territorial communication. Some have been replaced with items of English origin, whilst others are probably still found in the regional varieties of the language.

Regional vocabulary is in evidence in a number of previously important recruiting areas in the Bismarck Archipelago, such as New Ireland and Manus. New Ireland regional vocabulary was listed by Kutscher (n.d.):

New Ireland Tok Pisin	gloss	recent replacement
pudel, pudelim	<i>heap, to heap</i>	hip
tapak	<i>leprosy</i>	leprosi
talambar	<i>picture</i>	piksa
ramitim	<i>to kiss, to lick</i>	kis long
palar	<i>flat</i>	plet
pirpir, pir	<i>story</i>	stori
hea	<i>handle</i>	hendal
kurbis	<i>lobster, crayfish</i>	-
okin	<i>kangaroo</i>	-
krani	<i>clover</i>	-
muar	<i>parrot</i>	-
kungal	<i>fungus</i>	masrum
komoskim	<i>to weld</i>	weldim
varkia	<i>to change (dress)</i>	senisim

Table 10

Items which had currency on Manus Island in the 1920s are given by Borchardt (1926) whilst Smythe (n.d.) provides additional ones current after World War II. The author has found, however, that many of these items have since been replaced by more standard forms.

a) provided by Borchardt (1926):

Manus Pidgin	gloss	recent replacement
bulukal	<i>sago boiled with water</i>	hatwara
burukin	<i>dish</i>	dis
burumbut	<i>to tread on</i>	-
kaur	<i>bamboo</i>	mambu
kauvas	<i>friend, gift</i>	pren

b) items listed by Smythe (n.d.):

Manus Pidgin	gloss	recent replacement
mangang	<i>to become silent, to be at a loss for words</i>	sarap
angkau	<i>false, pseudo</i>	giaman
bilele	<i>goat</i>	meme
guma	<i>snail</i>	snel

The only item listed by both Borchardt and Smythe which is still widely used in Manus Pidgin is *miningulai sea eagle*. New regional vocabulary was found by the author on Manus in 1974, including:

Manus Pidgin	gloss
wusiai	<i>landlubber</i>
mantakor	<i>coastal dweller</i>
maniani	<i>slow, steady</i>
piak	<i>to fart</i>

As these and similar items of local origin are used in areas of communication which normally do not involve expatriates, they have tended to go unnoticed by lexicographers. There is a great need to better document regional expressions in Tok Pisin, as their importance is likely to increase over the next years.

2.6.10.11 Pacific Pidgin English

Tok Pisin shares a large number of lexical items with other varieties of Pidgin English in the Pacific. In most instances lexical similarities are due to the shared lexifier language. In some instances, however, such shared vocabulary is sufficiently different to postulate a separate linguistic tradition.⁸ The first author to draw attention to a Pacific Pidgin English vocabulary was Reed (1943:275):

... mention must first be made of that class of words common to Beach-la-mar and Australasian English before the settlement of New Guinea. Certain words and phrases had so wide a distribution in Pacific trade jargons of early days that their origins can only be surmised. A list of such words would include, among others, the following:

Pidgin	English	use of meaning
baimbai	<i>by and by</i>	(adverb of future time)
bilong	<i>belong</i>	(preposition denoting possession)
fela	<i>fellow</i>	(the article)
geman	<i>gammon (?)</i>	<i>no good, deceitful</i>
maski	<i>?</i>	<i>never mind</i>
pikanini	<i>pickaninny</i>	<i>child, the young</i>

R. Clark (1977:3) stipulates that lexical items can only be regarded as potential members of a specifically Pacific tradition of Pidgin English if they meet the criteria of:

- a) being different from standard or dialectal English;
- b) being unlikely to have arisen independently in more than one pidgin tradition;
- c) being independent of geographical and cultural factors.

Unfortunately, no account such as that of the Atlantic pidgins and creoles (Hancock 1969:7-71) is available for the Pacific at present, and the following list, based on R. Clark's data and the author's own investigations, must be regarded as preliminary to more detailed investigation:

Pacific Pidgin English	present-day Tok Pisin	gloss
all same	olsem	<i>like, as</i>
along	long	general preposition
bulmakau	bulmakau	<i>cattle, meat</i>
fellow	-pela	adjective suffix, <i>something</i>
catch	kisim	<i>to get, obtain</i>
come up	kamap	<i>to appear, become</i>
lookout	lukautim	<i>to look for, search</i>
mary	meri	<i>woman</i>
what name?	wanem	<i>what?</i>
pull	pulim	<i>to abduct, force, seduce</i>
stop	stap	<i>to stay, remain</i>
kiki	kaikai	<i>to eat, food</i>

Some additional information can be found in a glossary of Hawaiian Pidgin compiled by Carr (1972:119-158).

2.6.10.12 Portuguese and Spanish

Although Spanish and Portuguese sailors made contacts with New Guinea long before the arrival of English and German colonisers, these were very brief and apparently left no linguistic traces in any of the local languages. At the time of Tok Pisin's formation no contact with speakers of either of these languages existed. It is customary for dictionaries of Tok Pisin to trace back pikinini *small, small child* to Portuguese pequeno *small* and kalabus *prison* to Spanish. However, all evidence examined by me suggests that these words were already established in Australian or Pacific English at the time Tok Pisin came into being, and that they were probably borrowed from a variety of English. The presence of such items in Tok Pisin should certainly not be taken as evidence of relexification of an earlier Spanish or Portuguese derived pidgin.

2.6.10.13 Samoan and Samoan Plantation Pidgin

Samoan words in Tok Pisin have often not been recognised in the past, since the linguistic and social links with Samoan Plantation Pidgin (SPP) were not recognised. Once these links are taken into consideration, however, one would seem to be justified in stating that a significant proportion of Tok Pisin's English-derived vocabulary entered the language via SPP. In most instances, however, there is no way of establishing such links on the basis of available evidence. I shall therefore restrict myself to a small number of clearcut cases.

Borrowings from SPP could have resulted from any of the following factors:

- a) the large-scale recruiting of New Guineans to Samoa between 1879 and 1914;
- b) the use of Samoan teachers by a number of missions operating in the Bismarck Archipelago;
- c) the presence of a socially influential German-Samoan mixed race community in the Gazelle Peninsula.

The first writer to acknowledge the Samoan element in Tok Pisin, Nevermann (1929: 254), remarks:

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

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

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

Equally interesting are items of English origin, the phonological and/or semantic properties of which coincide in Tok Pisin and SPP but differ in other Pacific Pidgins such as New Hebridean Bichelamar. They include:

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

Table 11

Contact with Samoa came to an end after 1920 and some of the items listed here are in the process of being restructured in the direction of English or being replaced by loans from English.

2.6.10.14 Tolai and related languages

Borrowing from native vernaculars, in particular Tolai and other languages from the New Britain and New Ireland areas, played an important part in the development of a stable basic vocabulary of Tok Pisin. With regard to the influence of Tolai and related languages Nevermann (1929:253) observes:

The influence of this native language on the formation of Pidgin can be explained by the fact that in its sphere of influence the first plantations and government and trading posts were set up, for instance, in Mioko, Herbertshöhe, Kerewara, Matupi and Ralum. (author's translation)

Similar observations have been made by a number of authors. One of them, Reed (1943:275-176), provides a more extensive but not quite reliable⁹ list of items borrowed from Tolai, remarking that these "now enjoy Territory-wide acceptance". The spelling used in the following list is that provided by Reed:

Tok Pisin	gloss
baira	<i>hoe</i>
balus	<i>pigeon</i>
bembe	<i>butterfly</i>
biruwa	<i>enemy</i>
bung	<i>market</i>
bui	<i>areca nut</i>
diwai	<i>tree</i>
karamut	<i>wooden gong</i>
kulau	<i>unripe coconut</i>
kuria	<i>earth tremor</i>
kwali	<i>edible nut</i>
liklik	<i>small</i>
luluai	<i>war leader</i>
meri	<i>woman</i>
marimari	<i>to care for</i>
marsalai	<i>evil spirit</i>
pato	<i>duck</i>
pipia	<i>rubbish</i>
pukpuk	<i>crocodile</i>
purpur	<i>flower</i>
tambaran	<i>ghost</i>
ubian	<i>fish net</i>

The weakness the most prominent in these earlier analyses is the lack of a clearcut distinction between words of definite Tolai origin, words with possible multiple etymologies, and words borrowed from other languages. There is a marked tendency among earlier writers to subsume all these categories under one common denominator: "words of non-European origin" (e.g. Hall 1943b:193). An early source which does not resort to this simplification of presentation is that of Nevermann (1929:253):

Therefore a number of words from the Gazelle language occur in this lingua franca in unchanged form. These include:

murup *cassowary*, kiau *egg*, kapul *possum*, pukpuk *crocodile*, limlibur *to stroll, be unoccupied*, taberan *devil, bush-spirit*, davai *tree*, longlong *mad*; from the related languages of New Ireland and the Duke of Yorks we have: liklik *little*, päkpäke *faeces*, etc. (author's translation)

A very significant step forward is Mosel's (1980) investigation of the influence of Tolai on Tok Pisin. On pages 25-40 she gives an exhaustive list of lexical items originating from Tolai and other languages from the Blanche Bay-Duke of York area, stating for each item all likely cognates. Such information enables us, for the first time, to approach the important question as to the relative influence of Mioko, the transit camp for workers recruited for the Samoan plantations of the Deutsche Handels- und Plantagen-gesellschaft. An analysis of the (unfortunately not quite complete) data given by Mosel suggests:

origin	number of lexical items
Mioko only	1
Mioko and other languages excluding Tolai	3
Tolai only	30
Tolai and other languages excluding Mioko	14
Mioko and Tolai	25
Mioko, Tolai and other languages	32
other languages	7

Next to such clearcut cases, we find that the present-day pronunciation of six further items suggests a Tolai rather than a Mioko origin, whereas in three instances a Mioko origin is more likely than a Tolai one.

From these figures, one could induce an overwhelming influence of Tolai. However, the data as they stand, like all data of a static nature, are quite unreliable, and we have to consider the following factors:

- a) the date for which a lexical item is documented for the first time;
- b) the centrality or marginality of the lexical items concerned;
- c) changes in pronunciation over time.

Let me elaborate on these factors:

(a) A large number of the lexical items listed by Mosel are unlikely to have been in existence in the formative years of Tok Pisin. Unfortunately we do not have very reliable evidence, but certain assumptions can be made and occasional evidence is found in print.

- 1) Some writers report circumlocutions as late as 1920 for meanings which have since become referred to by a word of Tolai origin, examples being (see Mühlhäusler 1979c:232) snek bilong wara for maleo *eel* and smok bilong graun for tobon *dust*.
- 2) Some items refer to institutions which were introduced by the Germans after 1900, e.g. tultul *interpreter*, luluai *village headman* or karavia *quarantine*.
- 3) Many items of Tolai origin were introduced by the missions in the 1920s, as Tok Pisin became one of the established mission languages; in a number of instances indigenous words were vested with new doctrinal meaning, as in:

Tok Pisin	meaning in Tolai	doctrinal meaning
tambu	<i>taboo</i>	<i>holy</i>
ruru	<i>to fear, respect</i>	<i>to honour</i>
vinamut	<i>silence, peace</i>	<i>retreat</i>
vartovo	<i>to teach; lesson</i>	<i>doctrine</i>
tematan	<i>member of a different tribe</i>	<i>heathen</i>
kurkurua	<i>beads, necklace</i>	<i>rosary</i>

Table 12

- 4) In early Tok Pisin some words were used in both a Tolai and a Mioko form, an example being *mal* or *malu* *loin cloth*.
- 5) A number of words of Tolai origin used in present-day Tok Pisin are fairly recent innovations. The word used for betelnut, for instance, was *bilinat*, and the form *buai* appeared after 1930 only. Other candidates include *laka* 'question tag', and *maiau* *what about me?*, the latter being first documented in the 1970s.

(b) It would seem important to ask: What sort of lexical items were needed and used in the formative years of Tok Pisin?

A minimal wordlist for incipient pidgins is that by Cassidy (1971). Only four items of indigenous origin appear in the Tok Pisin version: *kiau* *egg*, *liklik* *small*, *diwai* *tree* and *susu* *breast*.

Interestingly enough, three of these basic items have Mioko reflexes. According to Mosel (1980), their origin is as follows:

<i>kiau</i>	Tolai, Mioko, Molot and Lamassa
<i>liklik</i>	Mioko and Molot
<i>diwai</i>	Mioko and Molot
<i>susu</i>	Label, Laur, Lamassa and Pala

This list could be expanded to include other items which appear to have been relevant to early contact between Europeans and Bismarck Islanders. I propose that the following items of indigenous origin are good candidates:

item	origin	gloss
<i>atap</i>	Mioko	<i>roof, thatch</i>
<i>balus</i>	other	<i>pigeon</i>
<i>birua</i>	Tolai, Mioko	<i>human flesh</i>
<i>bung</i>	Tolai, Mioko, other	<i>assembly, market, meet</i>
<i>garamut</i>	Tolai, Mioko, other	<i>slit gong, signal</i>
<i>guria</i>	Tolai, Mioko, other	<i>earthquake; to shake</i>
<i>kakaruk</i>	Tolai	<i>chicken</i>
<i>kambang</i>	Tolai, Mioko, other	<i>lime</i>
<i>kapul</i>	Tolai, Mioko, other	<i>tree kangaroo, possum</i>
<i>kaur</i>	Tolai, Mioko, other	<i>bamboo</i>
<i>kivung</i>	Tolai, Mioko	<i>meeting</i>
<i>kulau</i>	Tolai, Mioko, other	<i>green coconut</i>
<i>kumul</i>	Tolai, Mioko	<i>bird of paradise</i>
<i>kunai</i>	Tolai	<i>alang alang grass</i>
<i>kundu</i>	Tolai, Mioko, other	<i>drum</i>
<i>lang</i>	Mioko, other	<i>fly</i>
<i>longlong</i>	Mioko, other	<i>crazy, drunk</i>
<i>matmat</i>	Mioko	<i>cemetery</i>

item	origin	gloss
muruk	Tolai, Mioko, other	<i>cassowary</i>
pekpek	other	<i>to defecate; faeces</i>
pukpuk	Tolai, Mioko	<i>crocodile</i>
tambu	Tolai, Mioko, other	<i>taboo, sacred</i>
tumbuna	Tolai, Mioko	<i>ancestor</i>

Table 13

Out of these 23 items two have reflexes in Mioko alone whilst four additional ones are found in Mioko and languages other than Tolai. Only two items are found exclusively in Tolai. The bulk consists of items shared by Tolai and Mioko (5) and Tolai, Mioko and others (11). This is not surprising, since such items can be expected to have a better chance of survival. A revised analysis of the Blanche Bay-Duke of York component of Tok Pisin's vocabulary thus suggests a fairly heavy influence from Mioko in the first years and growing importance of Tolai as a lexifier language in later years. Such an analysis also squares with the known external evidence, i.e. the decline of Mioko and the Duke of York Islands as centres of European trade and mission activities after 1900 and the establishment of the German capital Rabaul on the New Britain mainland.

(c) In many cases the pronunciation of Tolai and Mioko items does not differ drastically and it seems reasonable to extrapolate from the very restricted evidence we have to a more general statement that variable pronunciation of lexical items of indigenous origin was widespread in the formative years of Tok Pisin. The fact that Rabaul, and thus a Tolai-speaking area, was made the capital of German New Guinea would seem to account for the fact that Tolai pronunciations acquired a special prestige status in later years. Again, we cannot conclude directly from such later pronunciations to the early contact pidgin.

2.6.10.14 Conclusions

The principal message of this section has been that etymologising in Tok Pisin cannot reasonably be carried out unless sociohistorical and, above all, temporal factors are taken into consideration. A mere analysis of present-day Tok Pisin vocabulary in terms of the origins of its lexical inventory is bound to be quite misleading. Whereas a great deal of research remains to be carried out, the table on p.218 can be regarded as a reasonable summary of our present knowledge. Much remains to be done before an authoritative account of the origin of Tok Pisin lexical items can be given. Most urgent seems to be to find plausible sources for the many items that are given no clear source in available dictionaries. They include:

abrus	<i>to be apart from</i>
aila	<i>tree with edible nuts</i>
aitan	<i>timber tree</i>
amamas	<i>to rejoice</i>
amberai	<i>timber tree</i>
ambusa	<i>dolphin</i>
arang	<i>pandanus</i>
arovar	<i>to steer around</i>
baibai	<i>decorative palm</i>
bar	<i>vegetable</i>
baubau	<i>native pipe</i>

bilu	<i>half coconut shell used as ladle</i>
bilum	<i>netbag</i>
bong	<i>lever</i>
buk	<i>boil, swelling</i>
bumsikis	<i>capsize</i>
bunim	<i>north wind</i>
butoma	<i>navel</i>
dadap	<i>tree with edible leaves</i>
dendem	<i>snail</i>
erima	<i>kind of tree</i>
epa	<i>stingray</i>
haphap	<i>hoe</i>
hum	<i>kind of tree</i>
galimbong	<i>sheath containing coconut blossoms</i>
gam	<i>large cowrie shell</i>
gingin	<i>small cowrie shell</i>
kakang	<i>barbed wire</i>
kais	<i>left</i>
kalapa	<i>sorry! (interjection)</i>
kalop	<i>wooden headrest</i>
kapupu	<i>to break wind</i>
karakum	<i>red ant</i>
karanas	<i>coral rubble</i>
karapa	<i>maize</i>
kaut	<i>tube used by men in producing a pony tail</i>
kavang	<i>betel palm flower sheath</i>
kokeru	<i>rooster</i>
konda	<i>paper money</i>
korvo	<i>stingray</i>
krakon	<i>vine</i>
kru	<i>sprout, brain</i>
kusai	<i>to deceive</i>
labula	<i>timber tree</i>
lepas	<i>receipt, docket</i>
lim	<i>flower sheath of palm tree</i>
malambur	<i>kind of fish</i>
mami	<i>type of yam</i>
mangas	<i>kind of tree</i>
melisa	<i>barracuda</i>
moran	<i>python</i>
morso	<i>kind of reef fish</i>
mukmuk	<i>roasted sago</i>
nar	<i>hardwood tree</i>
ngae	<i>to be unfit</i>
oben	<i>screwdriver</i>
papai	<i>mushroom</i>
pep	<i>base of sago palm leaf stalk</i>
pipi	<i>turkey</i>
plangis	<i>hatchet, scone axe</i>
por	<i>dugout canoe</i>
rabun	<i>ridge of house</i>
salamon	<i>ceremonial rattles</i>
samsam	<i>to shuffle</i>
sewa	<i>range, target</i>
sikau	<i>wallaby</i>

sporam	<i>hidden reef</i>
sugu	<i>cigarette</i>
tauka	<i>squid</i>
top	<i>cork bark</i>
uruai	<i>to heave to</i>

For a number of the above items it also has to be established whether we are dealing with widely known lexical items or ad hoc loans used in a very restricted region. This is particularly relevant in the case of names for trees and animals.

Further tasks awaiting the Tok Pisin etymologist include:

- a) To explore all possibilities of lexical encounters and other forms of lexical syncretisms; one etymology is often not enough in the case of a pidgin language.
- b) To establish for each item, its first occurrence, continuity or discontinuity of use and geographical spread.
- c) To distinguish between spontaneous borrowing and planned introduction.
- d) To trace changes in form and meaning over time. In pidgin languages such changes can be expected to be of a greater magnitude than for more traditional languages over the same time span.
- e) It would seem worthwhile to follow up Laycock's suggestion (1970c:xi) that token counts could be made for running texts. According to this writer "one can say, impressionistically, that the proportion of English vocabulary may drop as low as 60%, or rise above 90%, depending on the subject of discourse".
- f) More must be found out about shared lexical traditions and lexical diffusion among the Pidgin Englishes of the south-western Pacific. A promising start has been made by Clark (1977).
- g) The relative distribution of English and other lexical material, and the centrality of lexical items of different origins in the lexicon of Tok Pisin may provide valuable evidence regarding the social context in which these languages developed. The suggestions made by Johnston (1971) could serve as a point of departure.
- h) The publication of an inexpensive etymological dictionary for Tok Pisin speakers would seem to be a worthwhile project in view of the growing metalinguistic capacity of the users of this language (cf. Mühlhäusler 1983a).

Throughout this paper it has been maintained that the mixed nature of the Tok Pisin lexicon requires the development of new apparatus. The insights gained from etymological studies of Tok Pisin may well turn out to be of considerable interest to etymologists and historical linguists in general, as similar processes of language contact have played a role in the histories of virtually all known languages. The suggestions that discontinuity of transmission, new starts resulting from mixing and convergence are key processes in language change will call for considerable rethinking by those who have used a family tree model of linguistic relationships.

NOTES

1. I wish to thank Don Laycock and my wife Jackie for many helpful suggestions.
2. Note that these influences can vary considerably at different points in time.
3. Both Mihalic (1971) and Steinbauer (1969) trace this item back to an English etymon only.
4. This restriction does not hold for all varieties of Tolai, as pointed out to me by Don Laycock.
5. The use of the infinitive form of the German verb may be an indication that these forms were borrowed via the foreigner talk register of German rather than ordinary German (cf. Clyne 1968:132).
6. The use of this item was observed in the area around Wewak by John Harris (personal communication, August 1981).
7. Roosman (1975:233) suggests another origin for this item, namely "the pidginization of Ya, Allahu Akbar! *Oh, Allah is Great!*, often expressed by Moslems also as an exclamation of surprise." This form may have entered Tok Pisin through the mediation of Malay plantation workers.
8. The existence of a small number of lexical items throughout the Pacific varieties of Pidgin English does not warrant the postulation of a common ancestral Proto-Pacific Pidgin English, however (cf. Hall 1961:413-415).
9. The origin of the word *pato duck*, for instance, is not quite clear. The most likely explanation is that it is a Portuguese word which entered Tok Pisin via Coastal Malay, an observation supported by reports mentioning a form *batok* (Friederici 1911:102). For the item *meri woman* and *liklik small* multiple derivation from both English and Tolai may have been involved.

3. THE NATURE OF TOK PISIN

3.1 TOK PISIN AND THE CENSUS

Don Laycock

3.1.1 INTRODUCTION

The three major censuses of Papua New Guinea over the last 20 years (1966, 1971 and 1980) have yielded various types of information about language data - especially about the extent of knowledge of Tok Pisin, and its geographical distribution. The data, however, are of varying reliability, and are capable of being analysed in various ways. The questions asked at the three censuses were not the same, and different samples of the population were surveyed. This paper does not attempt to analyse all the data; rather, it is a brief overview of the main conclusions which can be reached at present. As far as possible, the data are presented without analysis, so that the reader can draw his own conclusions.

3.1.2 1966 CENSUS OF THE TERRITORY OF PAPUA AND NEW GUINEA

The 1966 census attempted to cover all the non-village population, and approximately 10% of the rural village population. The language and literacy questions, as given in the Preliminary Bulletin No.20 of the census, were as follows:

Language

Persons who completed a Householder's Schedule were asked to state language in accordance with the following instructions.

"For persons 10 years and over, Language -

- (a) Can the person speak simple English? ANSWER 'YES' or 'NO'
- (b) Can the person speak simple Pidgin? ANSWER 'YES' or 'NO'
- (c) Can the person speak simple Police Motu? . ANSWER 'YES' or 'NO'

For persons whose information was collected by means of an Interview Questionnaire a similar series of questions were asked in order to determine whether simple English, Pidgin or Police Motu were spoken. The test of whether such persons were able to speak a language was whether they were able to answer Census questions in that language.

Literacy

Persons who completed a Householder's Schedule were asked to state literacy in accordance with the following instructions.

"For persons 10 years of age and over, literacy -

- (a) Can the person read and write simple sentences in English? ANSWER 'YES' or 'NO'

- (b) Can the person read and write simple sentences in Pidgin? ANSWER 'YES' or 'NO'
- (c) Can the person read and write simple sentences in Police Motu? ANSWER 'YES' or 'NO'
- (d) Can the person read and write simple sentences in any other language (indigenous or foreign)? ANSWER 'YES' or 'NO'

For persons whose information was obtained by means of an Interview Questionnaire a similar series of questions were asked. Where the interviewer was not sure whether a person was literate or not in a particular language he adopted the following procedure. The person was shown a simple picture depicting common objects and then asked to fill in a literacy Test Card. The card asked a few simple questions about the content of the picture.

For example, "How many pigs can you see in the picture?",
"I can see pigs."

The overall results of the census are given in Tables 1 to 5 (non-indigenous population excluded).

In evaluating these tables, the nature of the questions asked should be borne in mind. In the case of forms completed by the respondent, it is likely that in many cases competence in the prestige languages of English, Tok Pisin and Motu may have been exaggerated. In addition, the 'test of literacy' administered by interviewers was not very searching, and may also have led to some inflation of the figures. A further consideration that may have led to distortion of the figures is the fact that some respondents may have been confused as to the difference between Tok Pisin and English; in even well-contacted areas in the Sepik region in 1959, many persons encountered thought that Tok Pisin was the 'white man's language'. However, in the case of the 1966 census, the testing techniques (filling out the census form in either Tok Pisin or English, or personal interviews by a census officer) should have minimised the possibility of confusion on this account.

Taking the figures at face value, however, we see that Tok Pisin then had, overall, almost three times as many speakers as English, and over four times as many speakers as Hiri Motu. The literacy figures, however, are very different; almost all the English speakers were literate in that language, but only about a third of the Tok Pisin speakers claimed literacy in Tok Pisin, and only some 40% of the Hiri Motu speakers were also literate in the lingua franca.

Languages spoken	Papua			New Guinea			Total			Percentage Distribution
	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	
English	14,464	13,338	27,802	5,884	5,228	11,112	20,348	18,565	38,913	2.67
Pidgin (a)	12,687	1,945	14,632	254,877	123,725	378,602	267,564	125,669	393,233	26.97
English and Pidgin	5,398	1,113	6,511	63,761	29,951	93,712	69,159	31,064	100,223	6.87
Police Motu (b)	36,224	17,147	53,371	163	125	288	36,387	17,272	53,659	3.68
English and Police Motu	16,970	9,455	26,425	176	81	257	17,146	9,536	26,682	1.83
Pidgin and Police Motu	6,655	839	7,494	2,701	520	3,221	9,356	1,359	10,715	0.74
English, Pidgin and Police Motu	19,181	2,934	22,115	4,595	809	5,404	23,776	3,743	27,519	1.89
Other (c)	97,089	142,100	239,641	218,100	348,001	566,101	315,189	490,553	805,742	55.26
Not Stated	348	302	650	387	333	720	734	635	1,369	0.09
TOTAL (10 years of age and over)	209,015	189,625	398,640	550,643	508,771	1,059,414	759,658	698,396	1,458,054	100.00

(a) Lingua franca of the Territory of New Guinea; (b) Lingua franca of a large area of Papua;
(c) Persons who cannot speak simple English, Pidgin or Police Motu.

Table 1: Languages spoken by the population of 10 years of age and over: Territory of Papua and New Guinea, Census, June-July 1966

Language	Papua			New Guinea			Total			Proportion of total population 10 years of age and over
	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	
English	56,013	26,840	82,853	74,416	36,069	110,485	130,429	62,908	193,337	13.26%
Pidgin	43,921	6,831	50,752	325,934	155,005	480,939	369,855	161,835	531,690	36.46%
Police Motu	79,030	30,375	109,405	7,635	1,535	9,170	86,665	31,910	118,575	8.13%

Table 2: Population of 10 years of age and over speaking English, Pidgin or Police Motu: Territory of Papua and New Guinea, Census, June-July 1966

Classification	Papua			New Guinea			Total		
	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons
English	6,130	3,956	10,086	7,508	4,666	12,174	13,638	8,622	22,260
Pidgin (a)	1,039	155	1,194	24,452	7,663	32,115	25,490	7,817	33,307
English and Pidgin	1,062	180	1,242	17,911	9,086	26,997	18,974	9,266	28,240
Police Motu (b)	1,930	1,968	3,898	91	32	123	2,020	1,999	4,019
English and Police Motu	4,085	2,279	6,364	88	47	145	4,173	2,336	6,509
Pidgin and Police Motu	292	45	337	224	51	275	516	96	612
English, Pidgin and Police Motu	1,491	245	1,736	511	105	616	2,002	350	2,352
Other Language (c)	13,459	14,656	28,115	18,439	21,825	40,264	31,898	36,481	68,379
English and Other	11,366	9,421	20,787	3,341	3,570	6,911	14,707	12,992	27,699
Pidgin and Other	1,642	224	1,866	33,151	11,590	44,741	34,793	11,814	46,607
English, Pidgin and Other	2,696	413	3,109	35,460	15,234	50,694	38,157	15,647	53,804
Police Motu and Other	5,161	2,837	7,998	173	130	303	5,334	2,966	8,300
English, Police Motu and Other	9,234	4,390	13,624	436	106	542	9,671	4,496	14,167
Pidgin, Police Motu and Other	1,005	100	1,105	788	100	888	1,794	200	1,994
English, Pidgin, Police Motu, and Other	6,968	1,135	8,103	2,824	429	3,253	9,792	1,563	11,355
Illiterate	141,088	147,319	288,407	404,849	433,739	838,588	545,937	581,058	1,126,995
Not Stated	364	305	669	398	387	785	763	692	1,455
TOTAL (10 years of age and over)	209,015	189,625	398,640	550,643	508,771	1,059,414	759,658	698,396	1,458,054

(a) Lingua franca of the Territory of New Guinea; (b) Lingua franca of a large area of Papua; (c) Indigenous or foreign.

Table 3: Literacy of the population of 10 years of age and over: Territory of Papua and New Guinea, Census, June-July 1966

Classification	Papua			New Guinea			Total			Proportion of population 10 years of age and over
	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	
English	43,032	22,019	65,051	68,079	33,253	101,332	111,114	55,272	166,386	11.41%
Pidgin	16,195	2,497	18,692	115,321	44,258	159,579	131,516	46,755	178,271	12.23%
Police Motu	30,166	12,999	43,165	5,135	1,010	6,145	35,301	14,009	49,310	3.38%

Table 4: Population of 10 years of age and over literate in English, Pidgin or Police Motu: Census, June-July 1966

Further bulletins gave the breakdown of the same tables by each of the then Districts - which by and large are the same as the present Provinces. Most of this data has been analysed by Sankoff (1977c), from which article Table 5 is taken:

Districts		Tok Pisin		English		Hiri Motu	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Papuan Coastal	Central	25,630	28.2	37,381	41.1	55,018	60.5
	Northern	7,267	19.1	13,464	35.4	14,686	38.6
	Gulf	2,873	8.0	7,189	20.1	12,097	33.8
	Milne Bay	3,547	5.2	16,169	23.9	16,714	24.7
	Western	1,844	4.5	5,305	12.8	9,825	23.8
New Guinea Islands	New Ireland	32,550	94.2	8,687	25.1	253	0.7
	Manus	11,784	89.2	4,639	35.3	211	1.6
	West New Britain	21,026	75.7	5,577	20.1	207	0.7
	East New Britain	48,464	69.5	20,299	29.1	1,356	1.9
	Bougainville	31,843	68.0	11,036	23.6	253	0.5
New Guinea Coastal	East Sepik	79,680	76.6	11,962	11.5	756	0.7
	West Sepik	45,208	67.4	4,314	6.4	318	0.4
	Madang	62,426	61.5	11,293	11.1	957	0.9
	Morobe	65,634	47.1	14,942	10.7	2,582	1.9
Highlands	Eastern Highlands	35,237	26.3	7,296	5.4	1,252	0.9
	Chimbu	20,706	17.4	3,519	2.9	339	0.3
	Western Highlands	26,385	13.0	6,922	3.4	687	0.3
	Southern Highlands	9,592	7.7	3,346	2.7	1,065	0.9

Note: For each language, percentages in italics are those which exceed the national average for that language. (Data abstracted from Table 11 of the 1966 Preliminary Census Bulletins for each district.)

Table 5: The number and proportion of Papuans and New Guineans age 10 and over speaking Tok Pisin, English and Hiri Motu in each district

Her summary of the regional distribution of Tok Pisin, from this table, is as follows:

Tok Pisin is the most widely spoken official language in all but five Papuan Coastal Districts, i.e. Central, Northern, Gulf, Milne Bay, and Western. In all of the New Guinea Coastal and Islands Districts, Tok Pisin is spoken by a proportion of people considerably higher than the national average of 36.5%. And even in the New Guinea Islands Districts, where the proportion of English-speakers is far ahead of the national average of 13.3%, the number of Tok Pisin speakers is in every case more than double the number of English-speakers, and there are very few 'English only' speakers. Tok Pisin currently dominates as the language of widest currency in the largest proportion of districts.

In particular, one should note the very high proportion of Tok Pisin speakers in New Ireland and Manus, and the quite low figures for all Highlands areas. A major expansion of Tok Pisin in the Highlands was yet to come.

3.1.3 1971 POPULATION CENSUS OF PAPUA NEW GUINEA

In the 1971 census, the language questions, for all persons over the age of 10 years, were the following:

- (10a) What language does this person usually speak at home?
 (10b) Can this person speak simple English? Write Yes or No.
 If Yes - can this person read and write simple sentences
 in English? Write Yes or No.
 (10c) Can this person speak simple Pidgin? Write Yes or No.
 If Yes - can this person read and write simple sentences
 in Pidgin? Write Yes or No.
 (10d) Can this person speak simple Police Motu? Write Yes or No.
 If Yes - can this person read and write simple sentences
 in Police Motu? Write Yes or No.
 (10e) Can this person read and write simple sentences in any
 other language? If Yes, write name of language.
 If No, write No.

The 'other languages' were not tabulated, except as totals of persons literate in other languages. No real attempt was made to check on language claims, whether for speaking or literacy, and it is likely that competence in more languages was claimed than was really the case.

Table 6 gives the summary data for each District/Province, in terms of claimed knowledge of Tok Pisin and other lingue franche; this should be compared with Table 5.

Districts		Tok Pisin		English		Hiri Motu	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Papuan Coastal	Central	41,772	36.0	52,779	45.5	70,671	60.9
	Northern	11,989	28.5	18,682	44.5	18,684	44.5
	Gulf	4,446	12.5	8,491	23.9	12,701	35.7
	Milne Bay	5,742	8.1	25,020	35.3	17,665	24.9
	Western	4,198	9.5	10,627	24.0	12,742	28.8
New Guinea Islands	New Ireland	37,443	*93.1	14,013	34.8	508	1.3
	Manus	14,231	93.1	7,031	46.0	236	*1.5
	West New Britain	34,090	89.4	11,377	29.8	623	1.6
	East New Britain	54,208	73.4	29,758	40.3	2,009	2.7
	Bougainville	45,285	75.6	21,570	36.0	1,596	2.7
New Guinea Coastal	East Sepik	91,031	82.1	19,862	17.9	1,127	1.0
	West Sepik	39,223	*63.9	7,547	12.3	422	0.7
	Madang	74,949	68.9	21,522	19.8	1,215	1.1
	Morobe	93,175	59.3	25,941	16.5	4,333	2.8
Highlands	Eastern Highlands	50,863	33.5	13,588	8.9	1,569	1.0
	Chimbu	27,604	26.4	6,909	6.6	536	0.5
	Western Highlands	56,228	24.3	19,900	8.6	1,460	0.6
	Southern Highlands	20,356	15.9	9,110	7.1	1,567	1.2
NATIONAL		707,126	44.5	323,767	20.4	150,652	9.5

Note: For each language, percentages in italics are those which exceed the national average for that language; an asterisk denotes a decline in the percentage since 1966. (Data abstracted from Table 8 of the 1971 Population Census Bulletins for each district.)

Table 6: The number and proportion of Papuans and New Guineans age 10 and over speaking Tok Pisin, English and Hiri Motu in each district

It will be readily seen that knowledge of all lingue franche increased in all provinces, with the exception of the three figures marked with an asterisk. In the case of the decline in Hiri Motu in Manus, the number of speakers is so small that this probably has no significance. However, the apparent 1.1% decline in Tok Pisin in New Ireland, and, more importantly, the apparent 3.5% decline in Tok Pisin in the West Sepik, is inexplicable. It probably reflects an error in the figures at some point.

The largest increases in Tok Pisin are in the Highlands provinces, but the increases in Central and Northern provinces are also considerable. The traditional Tok Pisin speaking areas of the north coast and islands increased in knowledge of Tok Pisin, but less dramatically. All provinces which in 1966 had a higher proportion of knowledge of lingue franche than the national average retained that lead in 1971, but no new provinces were added to the list.

Laycock (1979) compared the overall data for the use of Tok Pisin, lingue franche, and vernacular languages; the results are given in Tables 7 and 8.

Languages	1966 Census			1971 Census			Changes 1966-1971		
	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total
Tok Pisin (TP) %	267,564 35.25	125,669 18.01	393,233 27.00	287,633 35.06	162,118 21.07	449,751 28.29	+20,069 -0.19	+36,449 +3.06	+56,518 +1.29
Police Motu (PM) %	36,387 4.79	17,272 2.48	53,659 3.68	33,512 4.09	21,488 2.79	55,000 3.46	-2,875 -0.70	+4,216 +0.31	+1,341 -0.22
English %	20,348 2.68	18,565 2.67	38,913 2.67	24,266 2.96	25,429 3.31	49,965 3.13	+3,918 +0.28	+6,864 +0.64	+10,782 +0.46
TP and English %	69,159 9.11	31,064 4.45	100,223 6.88	131,053 15.98	63,331 8.23	194,384 12.22	+61,894 +6.87	+32,267 +3.78	+94,161 +5.34
PM and English %	17,146 2.26	9,536 1.37	26,682 1.83	18,420 2.25	14,241 1.85	32,661 2.05	+1,274 -0.01	+4,705 +0.48	+5,979 +0.22
TP and PM %	9,356 1.23	1,359 0.19	10,715 0.74	13,712 1.60	2,793 0.36	15,965 1.00	+3,816 +0.37	+1,434 +0.17	+5,250 +0.26
TP, PM, and English %	23,776 3.13	3,743 0.54	27,519 1.89	37,913 4.62	9,114 1.18	47,027 2.96	+14,137 +1.49	+5,371 +0.64	+19,508 +1.07
none of the above %	315,189 41.53	490,553 70.30	805,742 55.31	274,320 33.44	470,792 61.20	745,112 46.87	-40,869 -8.09	-19,761 -9.10	-60,630 -8.44
not stated	734	635	1,369	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total indigenous population % increase	759,659 -	698,396 -	1,458,055 -	820,289 -	769,306 -	1,589,595 -	+60,630 +7.98	+70,910 +10.15	+131,540 +9.02

Table 7: Competence in non-indigenous languages among indigenous Papua New Guineans over the age of 10 years

Language	1966 Census			1971 Census			Changes 1966-1971		
	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total
Tok Pisin %	369,855 48.73	161,835 23.19	531,690 36.50	469,771 57.27	237,356 30.85	707,127 44.49	+99,916 +8.54	+75,521 +7.66	+175,437 +7.99
English %	130,429 17.19	62,908 9.02	193,337 13.27	211,652 25.80	112,115 14.57	323,767 20.37	+81,223 +8.61	+49,207 +5.55	+130,430 +7.10
Police Motu %	86,665 11.42	31,910 4.57	118,575 8.14	103,017 12.56	47,636 6.19	150,653 9.48	+16,352 +1.14	+15,726 +1.62	+32,078 +1.34

Table 8: Total numbers of speakers of major lingue franche among indigenous Papua New Guineans over the age of 10 years

From these tables it is apparent that the fastest growing language, overall, in the period in question was Tok Pisin; but Tok Pisin is only marginally ahead of English, and, in fact, the percentage increase for English is greater among males than it is for Tok Pisin. Many women are acquiring Tok Pisin as their first non-vernacular language, but many are also acquiring it along with English.

It is likely that many of the changes between 1966 and 1971 reflect the addition of children who were too young to be censused in 1966, but who are now at school and are acquiring Tok Pisin and English, and, to a lesser degree, Hiri Motu.

However, the census figures should be treated with caution. The National Statistician of Papua New Guinea, writing in the Preliminary Bulletin of the 1980-81 census, points out that the original figures for the census involved a severe underestimation of the population; when these figures were adjusted for publication, too big an adjustment factor was used, so that the population was overestimated. Whether these adjustments greatly affect the language data, at least in terms of percentages of speakers of the various languages, is difficult to determine.

It is also impossible to estimate from the census data the number of first-language Tok Pisin speakers.

3.1.4 1980-1981 PAPUA NEW GUINEA NATIONAL POPULATION CENSUS

The first census of an independent Papua New Guinea took a form different from that of previous censuses. Firstly, the census was spread over a long period, and did not count the population in respect of a single night. Secondly, the census was administered with two questionnaires, called the 'short form' and the 'long form'. All urban areas, rural non-villages (non-traditional settlements, missions, work camps, and the like), and a sample of rural villages were surveyed with the 'long form'; the remaining rural areas used the 'short form'. No language questions were included on the 'short form'; on the 'long form' the questions were as follows, for all persons 10 years of age and older:

A In your house what language do you speak most?
Use list of languages

17 _____

B When buying at the market what language do you speak most?
Use list of languages

The 'list of languages' referred to was an arbitrary list of major languages likely to be encountered, given as follows in the interviewer workbook for the 'long form':

English	}	- All P.N.G.
Motu		
Pidgin		
Enga		- Enga Province
Tolai/Kuanua		- East New Britain
Melpa		- Western Highlands
Kuman		- Simbu
Huli		- Southern Highlands
Mendi		- Southern Highlands
Kate		- Morobe, Madang and Eastern Highlands
Yabem		- Morobe, Madang and Eastern Highlands
Tok Ples or Other		- All other languages

The census data obtained from this questionnaire have not yet been published, but even when they are available, it is difficult to see how they can be compared with the language data of previous censuses. The data on language USE will certainly be valuable, but information on language COMPETENCE will be lost. In a region such as Buin, for example (North Solomons Province), almost all the 17,000 or so speakers of Buin will give 'Buin' as their answer to both language questions: however, most of these also speak Tok Pisin, and a reasonable number speak English. These facts will not appear in the census data, so the number of speakers of all *lingue franche*, across the country, must necessarily appear to be less.

Laycock (1982b) has argued that Tok Pisin may have already reached its point of maximum expansion, but the data to support this are not yet available. Perhaps when the data do become available, the language may have already started to decline - but in any case it is clear that Tok Pisin will continue to serve the provinces of maximal linguistic diversity (East and West Sepik, Madang, Morobe, and Manus) for many years yet.

3.2 VARIATION IN TOK PISIN

P. Mühlhäusler

3.2.1 INTRODUCTION

Tok Pisin has been accused again and again of being a 'grammarless' language, one whose grammatical rules¹ were defined by the law of the jungle and not by conventions such as are found in 'civilised' languages. The answer to these charges has been given by a number of structuralist linguists who demonstrated the absurdity of the 'no grammar' accusation by writing substantial grammars of the language. Extensive descriptions of Tok Pisin are given, for instance, by Hall (1943a and 1955a), Wurm (1971a) and Mihalic (1971). These grammars were based on the beliefs, current at the time, that languages were independent systems, unaffected by, and unrelated to, extralinguistic facts. Thus, they aimed at representing idiolects, common core grammars or, in later years, the competence of the ideal abstract speaker-hearer, and discarded as marginal or irrelevant the fact that actual speakers and hearers are members of a society and subject to influences of space and time as well as psychological factors.

While structuralist descriptions of Tok Pisin were a great step forward in the knowledge of this language and pidgin languages in general and while there were also a number of practical applications such as the development of a written standard language, abstract descriptions suffer from a number of limitations. Most serious is their failure to capture the dynamic character of pidgins and their resulting high degree of synchronic variability. Once it was realised, however, that such variability could be studied in its own right, it became more and more obvious that the results of such studies had far-reaching implications for linguistic theory.

Among the changes in linguistic thinking stimulated by the study of pidgin and creole languages have been the development of new sociolinguistic theories which put linguistic variation at the centre rather than the periphery of language study. So far, the new paradigm of language study is not fully developed, and, in particular, it lacks a single consistent terminology and method dealing with language variation. It has also become clear that the methods used for the description of one instance of language variation may not necessarily be adequate for dealing with other cases, and that one has to approach the problem by establishing a kind of typology of variations (cf. Orjala 1975:1).

There have been found to be two major types of pidgins and creoles. The first type is the continuum situation, encountered for instance, in Jamaican and Guayanesse Creole. In a continuum situation, the linguistic performance of speakers can be placed on a scale ranging from the basilectal² pidgin/creole to the local form of the standard lexifier language; in the case of Jamaican Creole, from basilectal rural creole to standard English. Two significant facts characterise such a continuum: first it involves continuous scaled variation rather than a number of discrete levels between the extremes of the continuum, the competence of speakers spanning different ranges within it. Second, a speaker's position on

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such a continuum, as well as the range of his/her competence, is determined by social factors, upward movement on a linguistic continuum typically reflecting upward social mobility.

The second major type does not exhibit continuity, but rather discreteness of coexistent linguistic systems. A case in instance is the position of Haitian Creole relative to French as described by Stewart (1962:149-159) and Orjala (1975). Here Creole and French are separate linguistic entities and it is possible in all circumstances to assign speech events to either one or the other language. This does not mean that carry-over of linguistic features in either direction cannot be observed, in fact, Urban Creole in Haiti is characterised by many influences from French.

So far, linguistic variation has been studied almost exclusively in 'natural' languages, i.e. the native languages of a speech community. Although the methods of linguistic analysis developed appear to be very promising, and although many significant insights into variation in 'natural' languages have been gained, there are indications that pidgins, i.e. languages which typically have no native speakers, may behave differently. It could turn out that the behaviour of pidgin languages with regard to variation may be a pivotal factor in providing linguistic evidence for setting these languages apart.

3.2.2 SPECIAL PROBLEMS CONNECTED WITH VARIATION IN TOK PISIN

The term Tok Pisin was adopted as a convenient label for a very complex linguistic phenomenon. It embraces a large number of speech varieties spoken by individuals in a very complex multilingual situation. It covers the halting attempts of members of isolated communities to communicate with representatives of the administration, the garbled baby-talk used by many Europeans in domestic situations and the fluent speech of those for whom it is the first language.

Much of the variation found in Tok Pisin is the result of its being learnt as a second language. The first language of most of its speakers is one of the 700 or more languages spoken in the area of Papua New Guinea. This immediately raises the question of the role of substratum influence in the linguistic performance of second-language Tok Pisin speakers. Though many remarks on this topic are found throughout the literature, there has been no detailed systematic case study. Thus, it remains to be determined whether it merely results in non-systematic interference or in well-structured linguistic patterns. The perspectives for research into substratum influence are considerable. It is conceivable, for instance, that a number of recent changes in the grammar of Tok Pisin are the result of speakers of non-Melanesian Highlands languages replacing coastal Melanesian languages as those of the greatest numerical importance.

The fact that Tok Pisin is a second language causes difficulties in adopting yet another useful distinction often applied in the study of creoles, namely that between basilect, mesolect and acrolect, terms used to refer to positions on a lectal continuum. In the case of Tok Pisin, variation is found along a number of different dimensions, ranging from idiolectal differences in incipient second-language learning in the case of Bush Pidgin to the degree of identification with English-speaking cultures in Urban Pidgin. Post-pidgin and post-creole continua may develop among some groups of urban speakers, however.

The mode of transmission of Tok Pisin is also a reason for the absence of pronounced regional differences. Until a few decades ago, Tok Pisin was typically learnt not in the learner's home village, but far away on the plantations or patrol

posts. In how far this factor was instrumental in neutralising substratum influences remains to be determined, but it certainly did help to bring about a certain amount of country-wide uniformity. This uniformity is greatest in syntax and lexicon and much less noticeable in phonology and phonetics. One is justified in speaking of a standard rural variety as long as it is kept in mind that this is an abstraction from the linguistic realities, and both the extent of variation and the relationship between standard Rural Pidgin and the other varieties are made explicit. I adopt the notion of a standard Rural Pidgin for yet another reason, namely because of the importance of certain fixed standards for future language planning. In the past, standards were developed by the Catholic mission, and the number of those speakers who either learnt their Tok Pisin from the missions or received formal education in Tok Pisin on mission stations is substantial. As a result, a considerable degree of agreement is found regarding the acceptability of the core constructions of the language, something which is absent in many young and less stable pidgins (cf. Bickerton 1976).

It should have become obvious from the previous discussion that the treatment of variation in Tok Pisin will be lacking in rigour and in data to support some of the claims made. On the other hand, pre-theoretical observations such as will be made below are an essential step in linguistic inquiry and it is hoped that they will help in leading to an adequate account of the complex phenomenon of Tok Pisin.

3.2.3 THE SOCIAL VARIETIES OF TOK PISIN

3.2.3.1 General remarks

I have drawn attention to the problem of social differentiation of Tok Pisin in a number of places (e.g. Mühlhäusler 1975e and 1979e). My conclusions do not differ greatly from those of one of my informants Mr Joseph K, of Lorengau:

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

Translation:

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. Tok Pisin was not like a real language. All sorts of bits of language came from the various areas of New Guinea. Thus, a real language developed, the one we speak today. Now, the development of the language spoken by my generation has come to an end and now today there is a new language again. Now, they speak it today because many boys have attended high school and they are well educated. They are used to Tok Pisin and they are used to putting quite a few little bits of English into it. Some bits of difficult language don't fit into Tok Pisin. Well, they bring some bits of language from English, they abbreviate it, they lengthen it. But, in the time of the ancestors this didn't happen, it was very different; we are not able to understand their language.

The above quotation illustrates a number of points relevant to the discussion of 'social dialects' or 'sociolects' in Tok Pisin. The speaker draws attention to the existence of three types, first the broken jargon spoken in the days of early contact with Europeans, a variety which is hardly intelligible to the next generation, second his own stable variety and lastly the anglicised variety spoken by many schoolboys around Lorengau. Again, this latter variety is difficult for his generation to understand. Many of my informants in other parts of Papua New Guinea have given me similar accounts. Because of their limited geographic outlook they regard the jargon as purely of the past, ignoring that the early contact situation is still found in many outlying areas, such as the Irian Jaya border areas or parts of the New Guinea Highlands. Again in such areas, the anglicised type is often still a development to come.

Nevertheless, we can base our investigation of social varieties on this folk classification. The terms given by some speakers to them are Tok Pisin bilong bus, Tok Pisin bilong kanaka = *Bush Pidgin*, Tok Pisin bilong (as) ples *Rural Pidgin*, Tok skul or Tok Pisin bilong taun *Urban Pidgin*. A fourth variety, the broken English used by many expatriates, is often referred to as Tok Masta *the speech of the European*.

Before discussing the linguistic and social determinants of the individual varieties, I will characterise some of the main forces underlying the differentiation of Tok Pisin.

3.2.3.2 Social factors and linguistic variation

3.2.3.2.1 Background

Before the colonising powers began to exercise influence over Papua New Guinea, linguistic developments were relatively slow and the structure of the indigenous societies subject to few changes. With the arrival of the colonial powers, some drastic changes occurred and the traditional way of life began to be replaced by a new contact-culture in many areas. Tok Pisin has been described as one of the major factors instrumental in bringing about change and disseminating new modes of life. At the same time, the changes which had started to take place throughout

the social system also had their repercussions on Tok Pisin. It is the aim of this section to deal with a number of such changes and how they are related to the diversification of Tok Pisin. Generally speaking, we can observe the development of Tok Pisin from a contact language to a caste language and eventually into one associated with upward social mobility. As long as class and race distinction were rigidly maintained, access to European ways of life was very limited and the linguistic distance between English and Tok Pisin was firmly supported by the social distance between Papua New Guineans and Australian colonisers. With the removal of these barriers Tok Pisin has become more receptive to innovations from English. However, most recently, the shift of power from central to provincial government has started a development, sketched by Laycock (1982b), which has decreased the need for a national *lingua franca*. Instead, the major local vernaculars appear to be taking over functions which in colonial days were associated with Tok Pisin. This development is reinforced by the decrease in regional mobility resulting from the widespread practice of employing local people in administrative and teaching positions.

Among the factors accounting for a social diversification of Tok Pisin the following are the most important:

3.2.3.2.2 Race of the speaker

For a long time the social status of a person in Papua New Guinea has been closely associated with his racial origin. As a rule, members of the white expatriate community seldom had intimate contact with the indigenous population. Contact across racial barriers was often limited to the giving and receiving of orders in the domestic or plantation context. For this purpose a restricted variety of broken English, referred to as Tok Masta by Papua New Guineans, was used. Its widespread use, particularly in the prewar years, reflects the desire of the expatriates to maintain their status as a closed group and to restrict communication with members of other racial groups to a minimum. However, not all expatriates can be classified as Tok Masta speakers, their attitudes and professional status also determining their linguistic competence.

Proficiency in Tok Pisin of members of other race groups, such as the mixed race population and the Chinese, does not differ much from that of the indigenous population, reflecting the much less rigid maintenance of social distinctions between these groups in colonial times (cf. Wu 1977:1051).

3.2.3.2.3 Urban versus rural communities

The development of larger urban centres is an important factor in the diversification of Tok Pisin. The influence of urbanisation was felt differently by Europeans and indigenes. For the expatriate, the towns provided the best opportunities for meeting other English speakers. Because of the social segregation of the races in colonial times, many expatriates felt little need to acquire any significant amount of Tok Pisin. It was only in the more isolated rural areas that a knowledge of the language became a necessity.

The opposite has been true of the Papua New Guinea villager who enters the towns. To survive he or she has to use Tok Pisin. Elton Brash (1975:323) remarks on the effects of urban life on the linguistic development of the language:

Evidence of the operation of ethnogenesis within Papua New Guinea cities can be found in the growing number of original Pidgin expressions covering the shared experience of their black inhabitants. These range from descriptive terms referring to town occupations, the shortage of money, to sport, beer drinking, brawling, sexual adventure, card playing, the police, the whites, and so on, together with more complex terms which recognise the effects of city life on the individual.

The reliance of the developing Urban Tok Pisin on English has been remarked upon by a number of observers (e.g. Hall 1955b and Mühlhäusler 1979f). Bickerton (1975a) speculates that this will eventually lead to the development of a post-pidgin continuum.

To sum up, one could postulate an environmental continuum ranging from the urban centres to the very isolated areas in the bush, where a move away from the urban centres is accompanied by a decrease in contact with English. On the socio-linguistic side, a decrease in contact with towns and administrative centres is paralleled by a decrease in the functions of Tok Pisin. In the very remote areas its sole use is for the occasional contacts with visiting patrols from outside.

The degree of proximity to urban centres is also connected with a third factor which is relevant for the development of sociolects of Tok Pisin, namely the age at which it is learnt.

3.2.3.2.4 Age at which Tok Pisin is learnt

This factor is relevant not only for the characterisation of sociolects but also for the distinction between creolised Tok Pisin and the second-language varieties. The ages at which Tok Pisin is acquired must be ranged on a continuum. Nevertheless a distinction can be made between three categories which, though the boundaries between them are vague, are of relevance in our understanding of Tok Pisin sociolects. These categories are:

- a) Tok Pisin learnt between the ages of two and six;
- b) Tok Pisin learnt between the ages of six and 18;
- c) Tok Pisin learnt after the age of 18.

Generally speaking these three types can be correlated with two other factors: locality, and the mode of transmission of Tok Pisin. With regard to locality, type (a) is most typically associated with children growing up in or near urban centres. They learn Tok Pisin as their first language in many instances and may have little or no knowledge of their parents' first language.

Type (b) can be found in areas not directly adjacent to towns, but which have easy access to them by means of roads or waterways. Decrease in the intensity of contact with urban areas is reflected by an increase in learning age. The way of life in these localities remains basically defined by traditional values, though most of the inhabitants would have been to the nearest town on occasional visits. Exposure to English is minimal in everyday life, though younger children would acquire a limited knowledge of English in primary school.

Type (c) represents the position of areas which are far removed from commercial and administrative centres and whose contact with the outside world is minimal. Tok Pisin is learned by those who leave the village to engage in work on the coastal plantations or in the towns.

It must be pointed out that there have been many changes in recent years. Even in the remoter areas children now learn Tok Pisin at an early age and the spread of Tok Pisin schools (cf. Zinkel 1977) is likely to reinforce this development. It remains to be seen whether the increasing importance of regional languages will reverse this trend. In at least one instance, that of Tolai (cf. Orken 1954) this has already happened.

3.2.3.2.5 The modes of transmission of Tok Pisin³

The age at which Tok Pisin is learnt also correlates with its mode of transmission. For those who learn the language between the ages of two and six, the parents and the peer group are the main models of language behaviour. The age group described as type (b) above is much less exposed to Tok Pisin in their home environment, though a passive knowledge of some Tok Pisin may be acquired fairly early. School and contact with groups from outside the village provide the main stimuli for learning the language and a desire to become involved with life outside the village may reinforce this. Outsiders instrumental in promoting the use of Tok Pisin are missions, health and agricultural authorities and administrative officers, in that order. In contrast to type (a), type (b) is clearly a case of second-language learning and the functions of Tok Pisin are restricted.

Language learning in case (c) is characterised by restricted opportunities to learn and to use Tok Pisin at village level. It is learnt from outsiders, sometimes visiting patrol officers or missionaries, but more typically on the plantations or in prison. The gradual spread of Tok Pisin in some parts of the Western Province, for instance, is largely due to the fact that villagers in newly opened areas were sent to the prisons in the Tok Pisin-speaking Southern Highlands and not to Hiri Motu-speaking Daru. Opportunities to use Tok Pisin and to get feedback from other speakers are very limited in remote areas, and the pressure to conform to standards is low.

3.2.3.2.6 The speakers' age

In a community in which children learn Tok Pisin as their first language there may be middle-aged or old members of the community who may have learnt the language in a very different way. This reflects the fact that the linguistic history of this language is repeated again and again, with new areas becoming exposed to its use and with the gradual decline in the importance of the traditional vernaculars in some of the old contact areas. Thus the kind of linguistic phenomena observed in very old people in the established Tok Pisin-speaking areas are similar to those characteristic of Tok Pisin spoken by members of the younger generation in recently opened up areas.

As yet unknown are the effects of age on unlearning and forgetting Tok Pisin. As has been pointed out by Clyne (1981) the loss of a second language follows regularities which differ from those observed in cases of loss of a first language (aphasia). Researchers should certainly be aware of the fact that linguistic data on Tok Pisin elicited from elderly informants may not give an entirely accurate picture of the language as it was used many years ago.

3.2.3.2.7 The speakers' sex

Tok Pisin, as one of its traditional names 'Tok Boi' suggests, was originally a male language and continues to be so in many of the more remote areas. It was acquired in the context of plantation work and similar male activities. Women were typically excluded from the male subculture which developed on the coastal plantations and were supposed to stay at home and follow traditional patterns of life. Though women have invariably learnt Tok Pisin after an extended period of cultural contact, they are often not expected to use it and therefore have relatively little practice. An exception are those who received some mission education, where the taboo surrounding the use of Tok Pisin by females was not enforced.

Salisbury (1967:46) remarks on the use of Tok Pisin among the Emenyo tribe of the Eastern Highlands:

Bilingualism seems to be disvalued among the women. In 1953 no Emenyo wife spoke pidgin, or appeared to understand it. An Emenyo sister who had married a foreign policeman and had lived in other districts of New Guinea, did return briefly on a visit and could speak pidgin. But her use of it occasionally in speaking to men seemed to cause much embarrassment and giggling among all the other women. In 1961 no women except the tultul's second wife spoke pidgin, although I gained the impression that many could understand the language yet chose to deny it.

Often, girls learn and use Tok Pisin before they reach puberty but cease to use it thereafter. This pattern is still found in many rural communities, and the latest census data confirm that the number of women who use Tok Pisin is significantly lower than that of men.

To date no detailed study of sex-related language differences in Tok Pisin has been made. Such a study would be primarily concerned with the symbolic expression of power relations through Tok Pisin and the conventions regulating its use by female speakers and would thus complement similar studies on sex-related aspects of bilingualism (cf. bibliography in Thorne and Henley 1975). Research should also consider the very considerable differences in the lexicon for talking about and to women and men and the emergence of certain sex-specific speech markers such as nasalisation among women. It can no longer be assumed that sex differences in Tok Pisin are of no linguistic importance. However it is unlikely that their full extent will be discovered as long as the majority of fieldworkers continue to be males.

3.2.3.2.8 The professional status of speakers

The professional status of speakers affects both the number of contexts in which they use Tok Pisin and the degree of contact with English.

Speakers who remain associated with traditional village activities make least use of Tok Pisin, whereas certain other professions, such as work on the plantations, in the police force, on mission stations or in the light urban industries, require an almost exclusive use of Tok Pisin. Very often these professions are associated with a high degree of regional mobility which results in the use of a regionally unmarked variety.

Certain professions which have not been traditionally open to Papua New Guineans require some knowledge of English and, if Tok Pisin is used at all to discuss these fields, it tends to be heavily influenced by English at the lexical level.

3.2.3.3 Bush Pidgin - Rural Pidgin - Urban Pidgin - Tok Masta

3.2.3.3.1 General remarks

In speaking about Tok Pisin sociolects we can distinguish between two central lects, Rural and Urban Pidgin, and two fringe lects, Bush Pidgin and Tok Masta. The importance of the former is a function of their large numbers of speakers and structural as well as stylistic sophistication. The marginality of the latter manifests itself in their relatively small number of speakers, in their being suited to a very restricted number of situational contexts and in their lack of structural complexity and stability. Speakers of these varieties are typically only marginally involved in Papua New Guinea affairs.

Thus, for speakers of Bush Pidgin, their interest in politics is confined to the rather narrow boundaries of their villages, whereas white expatriate speakers of Tok Masta are often more interested in the politics of their home country. The main difference between these two varieties is that Tok Masta appears to be a very persistent phenomenon, whereas Bush Pidgin is often just a transitional stage. This reflects the fact that speakers of Tok Masta are usually not interested in better communication with the bulk of the population, whereas the acquisition of even a substandard variety of Tok Pisin by people in the bush indicates their desire for participation in outside events.

An important criterion for distinguishing these four varieties is that of speech community.⁴ It appears that Tok Masta and Bush Pidgin are not embedded into genuine speech communities but constitute collections of unstable 'idiolects', i.e. individual solutions to the problems of cross-linguistic communication. Individual norms are also strongly present in Urban Pidgin, though there are signs of the development of new social norms. Rural Pidgin is distinguished from the other varieties by its socially sanctioned norms of grammar and the stability of its speech community.

We will briefly consider the two marginal varieties before turning to the pivotal varieties of Rural and Urban Pidgin.

3.2.3.3.2 Tok Masta

Tok Masta is the name given by Papua New Guineans to the domestic jargon used by the majority of expatriates in dealing with their indigenous employees or servants. Functionally, it is restricted to the giving of orders and instructions in this narrow context. Its most outstanding structural property is instability, stemming from the assumption of its speakers that Tok Pisin is just English foreigner talk (cf. Ferguson 1975). Because of the many ad hoc simplifications made by its users it is a difficult 'language' to follow, since, in order to understand it, one has to know both the grammar of English and the set of simplificatory rules used by the Tok Masta speaker. Therefore, in spite of the fact that it is used in fairly limited and almost self-explanatory contexts, such as the domestic or plantation context, the number of misunderstandings and frictions between 'masta' and servants is high (cf. Hall 1955a:18ff).

In spite of the fact that Tok Masta is an unsatisfactory means for communication across linguistic and racial boundaries, it was the only form of Tok Pisin known to most expatriates until recently. Bell (1971:38) states: "A rough and hopeful guess is that one in fifty can understand Pidgin as spoken by the indigenes to each other." It has been said by way of excuse that most whites were unaware of the differences between broken English and real Tok Pisin and that the colonial administration was unwilling to provide teaching materials from which

new settlers could acquire a knowledge of the language. However, the bulk of the blame has to be given to the expatriates who simply could not be bothered to find out anything about Tok Pisin, an attitude which Hall (1955a:18) has described as "the unwillingness of the native speaker of English to make the necessary effort to understand what Pidgin is really about."

Whilst Tok Masta is on the way out in Papua New Guinea - partly a result of changed political realities, partly one of changing expatriate attitudes - it is perpetuated in the English speaking press in other countries. Symptomatic is the report in the *Daily Mail* of 28 March 1977 about the Queen's visit to Papua New Guinea. It bears the headline "The big fellah Kwin she like Pidgin chat", a sentence which contains no less than three erroneous assumptions about the language. A detailed account of Tok Masta is given in Mühlhäusler 1981b.

3.2.3.3.3 Bush Pidgin

Bush Pidgin is the name given to those varieties found in remote areas of Papua New Guinea, which have usually come in contact with the administration only very recently. Poor communication with the outside world, general conservatism and limited learning facilities create the climate in which Bush Pidgin survives. There is very little incentive to learn Tok Pisin, especially for the older generation and women. When spoken, Bush Pidgin is characterised by a deviant sound system, simple syntax and a limited vocabulary. This goes hand in hand with poor understanding and misinterpretation of the pidgin spoken by more fluent speakers. Due to the rapid development of the Highlands and other areas in the remote interior, these varieties are widespread.

However, it must be stressed that Bush Pidgin is a transitional phenomenon, and that increased contact with the outside world, such as results from the system of migrant labour and improvements in infrastructure, promotes a gradual shift towards standard Tok Pisin with its nationally accepted norms of grammar.

The following case study of the situation among the Siane is representative of many similar situations:

Among the Siane of the Eastern Highlands I observed the change from there being only one or two Pidgin speakers in each village of two hundred to there being twenty or more. In the first situation each speaker has idiosyncrasies and gets away with unstandard ("bad") Pidgin as no one can check him With twenty speakers idiosyncrasies are scorned and standardisation is the rule. (Salisbury 1967:46)

With administrative control stretching over the entire area of Papua New Guinea and with regular Tok Pisin broadcasts reaching even remote areas, Bush Pidgin is now being replaced by more widely accepted standard varieties.

3.2.3.3.4 Rural Pidgin

The term Rural Pidgin is applied to what may be called basilectal Tok Pisin, a fluent but unsophisticated variety, influenced by Melanesian rather than English grammar, which has become widely accepted as providing the norms for 'good Pidgin' (cf. Laycock 1969:12). For this reason it has recently been used as the basis for the standardised Tok Pisin of the *Nupela Testamen* translation, *Wantok* newspaper and many other publications prepared by mission bodies. It is the most stable of

all varieties, though it exhibits a certain degree of variability associated with geographical and social factors, in particular different age groups.

The social setting for this variety is the rural community, away from the big urban centres but not completely cut off from their influences. Western ideas, in particular those of the missions and the administration, are well known in these areas, though such influences have not drastically affected the traditional modes of behaviour.

With regard to the communicative functions of Rural Pidgin, it has been pointed out that these may range from a few functions supplementary to the local vernacular to almost the entire linguistic repertoire of a speaker. Literacy in Tok Pisin is common in the rural setting and a good knowledge of this language, i.e. a knowledge of the most readily accepted norms, is found throughout the community, with the exception of perhaps a few old women and very old men.

The reason for the uniformity found in Rural Pidgin must be sought in the structure of colonial society and the modes of acquisition and spread it has created. The first factor is the relative uniformity of the indigenous population within the colonial framework, i.e. their position of powerlessness vis-à-vis the expatriate administration, economy and missions, providing few incentives for upward social mobility. The second factor involves the plantation and migrant worker system in which a stable variety was learnt in a small number of focal areas, such as the plantations around Rabaul.

Though self-government and independence have provided new opportunities for some members of the rural communities, the lifestyle in general differs little from that found in colonial days and continues to be stable and conservative. Social as well as linguistic changes filter through from the more progressive towns at a very slow rate. As yet, the majority of Papua New Guinea's population is firmly rooted in its rural communities and it is to be expected that Rural Pidgin will remain the most important variety for a long time.

3.2.3.3.5 Urban Pidgin

Urban Pidgin describes the variety that is spoken not only by the inhabitants of urban areas but also by people who, as a result of their education and professional status, have had contact with the European way of thinking and are engaged in activities outside the traditional sphere. A school teacher in a rural area or a doctor on patrol in a remote bush area would consequently be classified as speakers of Urban Pidgin. As with Bush Pidgin and Tok Masta, the grammar and lexicon of Urban Pidgin are characterised by the absence of stable norms and resulting intra-individual and inter-individual variation. The instability of Urban Pidgin results from attempts by individual speakers to approximate - by making shifts in phonology, grammar or lexicon - to the prestige language of English. Similar unsystematic shifts in the direction of a superimposed target language have been noted in a number of other pidgins and creoles, for instance by Orjala (1975) in a recent discussion of Haitian Creole and by Lefèbvre (1974:47-78) for Martinique French Creole.

These shifts appear to be made mainly because the anglicised varieties enhance their speakers' prestige, a phenomenon which is discussed in the paper on linguistic attitudes elsewhere in this volume. It would be rash to regard prestige factors as the only ones involved, however, and others include the relative distance of urban inhabitants from the linguistically more conservative rural areas and thus the norms of Tok Pisin, their continued exposure to English in the urban context, and the need for new expressions to cope with the technological and social

conditions of the urban environment. It is possible that the rapid changes and instability found in Urban Pidgin reflect the drastic social changes of the last few years and that in an atmosphere of more stable social conditions Urban Pidgin will develop fixed norms. Such a development is already foreshadowed by the association of Urban Pidgin with group identity among urban dwellers. In other words, Urban Pidgin is in the process of becoming the language of a separate speech community.

3.2.3.4 The linguistic properties of the sociolects of Tok Pisin

3.2.3.4.1 Introduction

To try to relate the accepted folk knowledge to a rigid linguistic analysis of differences between the sociolects is not without problems. Whilst no exhaustive or definitive analysis can be presented here, it may help to draw attention to at least some of the problems involved. As I am not primarily concerned with questions of sociolinguistic theory the discussion will be along rather informal lines.

The following problems arise with regard to the delimitation of Tok Pisin:

- a) There is no a priori reason why linguistic differences should be associated with independently defined social groups. At least, it would be a mistake to assume that homogenous subsystems can be found within such groups.
- b) One of the reasons for this is that social groups are normally defined by fewer parameters than are relevant to linguistic differentiation. In our case, sex differences found within sociolects have been ignored, though such differences can be shown to exist at a number of levels in Tok Pisin (e.g. nasality in female speech, or possibly heavier use of *ya* as a sentence bracketing device).
- c) The differences between the various sociolects postulated appear to be quantitative rather than qualitative, but to date few quantitative studies have been made of Tok Pisin and none of the quantitative data available suffice for a demonstration of sociolectal differences.
- d) Whilst stylistic variation plays a less important part in a pidgin than it does in other languages, it can be observed that the criteria of formality and social stratification are interdependent. Thus use of marked substratum features by a speaker of Urban Pidgin can be interpreted as a special type of informal style. Little empirical work has been done in this area.
- e) The compartmentalisation of a language into sociolects tends to ignore the dynamics of the system as a whole, the continuously shifting boundaries and the close contact between the various subsystems.

In the following discussion I will deal mainly with the kind of processes underlying the differentiation of the various sociolects rather than concrete inventories of rules or lexical items. An important reason for this is that, in the case of Tok Masta, Bush Pidgin, and Urban Pidgin, the role of individuals is important, while that of social conventions is secondary.

3.2.3.4.2 Tok Masta

Impoverishment, assumptions about the nature of Tok Pisin, and ad hoc simplification of English are the principal factors that account for the differences between the various Tok Masta idiolects and Rural Pidgin. Impoverishment is manifested most clearly at the lexical and discourse levels. Many words of indigenous or German origin are not familiar to most expatriate speakers. Similarly there is a marked absence of discourse structuring devices. Examples include the absence of the sentence bracketing and emphasising particle *ya* (discussed by Sankoff and Brown 1976), the absence of reduplication and repetition as emphasising and sentence linking devices (cf. Mühlhäusler 1975c), and the absence of aspect and direction markers. A good example of the lack of these features is the record *Tripela liklik pik* which enjoys great popularity among expatriates and visitors to Papua New Guinea.

The main assumption about the nature of Tok Pisin current among Europeans has been that it is just a special (debased, bastardised, etc.) form of English. Thus, it has been assumed that the true pronunciation of Tok Pisin lexical items is that of their English etymons. The following examples were taken from travellers' reports in the period after World War II. They reflect what expatriate residents will have told them about Tok Pisin and their observations in the narrow setting of European households. The original spelling employed in these sources has been retained:

Tok Masta	Rural Pidgin	gloss
he got sheepee-sheep	i gat sipsip	<i>is there any lamb?</i>
three-fella	tripela	<i>three</i>
hear'im	harim	<i>to hear, listen</i>
this fella	dispela (tesela)	<i>this, that</i>

Another assumption is that the meaning of words is normally that of their English cognates. Again, this is true only in a minority of cases, fewer than even existing standard dictionaries would suggest. As has been pointed out by various writers (e.g. Bell 1971:33-34, Hall 1955a:18-19), this fact can lead to serious misunderstandings, e.g.

(1) I was in a certain New Guinea hotel, and witnessed the following scene between the assistant manageress (recently arrived from Australia) and a Papuan house-boy. She had not seen him all afternoon, and thought that he had only just come in, so she began to scold him:

Manageress: Why you no come this afternoon? [One would never say "why" in Pidgin, but *bilong wonem?* Still, the house-boy got her drift, and answered:]

House-Boy: No, misis, mi kam long belo kaikai (*On the contrary, madam, I came at noon.*) [Belo kaikai is a phrase meaning *the bell for food*; originally a term used on the labour lines in copra plantations, it has now become the general expression in Pidgin for *noontime*.]

Manageress: Belly kaikai! That's all you niggers ever think of, is filling your bellies with kaikai.

House-Boy: Tasol misis, mi stap long haus kuk (*But madam, I was in the kitchen.*) [Haus kuk is a phrase of the same structure as *belo kaikai*, with two nouns, the second telling some characteristic or purpose of the first; it means *room for cooking*, and therefore *kitchen*.]

Manageress: Nonsense! You're not the cook of this house. (Hall 1955a:18-19)

Some other lexical items that are reported to have led to confusion are *baksait* interpreted as *backside* rather than *back*, *kilim* interpreted as *to kill* instead of *to hit*, *strike*, and *pusim* *to push* instead of *to copulate*. Murphy (1973:28ff) lists a number of pitfalls that should be avoided by expatriates. He also points to another assumption current in these varieties, namely that any English word can be translated into Tok Pisin by adding *-fela* or *-im*. Thus: "There are no such words as: *Whysat*, *gotim*, *wantim*, *tellim*, *broke*, *broke'im*, *callim* (meaning *to call*), *cryout*." (Murphy 1973:29).

Even a very short passage of Tok Masta can differ from indigenous Tok Pisin in a surprising number of ways. This is illustrated by the following sentence taken from a radio talk by Puddy on the BBC (15 May 1970): "Im fellow Matthew e got im three fellow egg": Translation: *Matthew has three eggs*." A number of typical European misconceptions can be pointed out here:

- a) It is not the case, as claimed by many European writers, that each noun is preceded by *fellow*. Instead *-pela* (from *fellow*) is used as a suffix with monosyllabic adjectives.
- b) *Em* (from *him*) serves as third person singular pronoun and as an emphasiser when preceding nouns. *-im* (from *him*) marks transitivity and causativity with verbs. It is not sufficient to liberally sprinkle a sentence with *-ims*. The first *-im* in the above text is ungrammatical as it is not followed by a noun, the second one is unacceptable because *gat* is one of the lexically marked verbs that do not take *-im*.
- c) Many Tok Pisin words, particularly those referring to aspects of flora and fauna, are not of English origin. The word for *egg* is *kiau* (from *Tolai*).

Thus, in ordinary Rural Pidgin the above sentence would read: *Matthew i gat tripela kiau*.

3.2.3.4.3 Bush Pidgin

The main forces characterising Bush Pidgin are imperfect learning and contact with more standardised varieties and local vernaculars. The linguistic status of Bush Pidgin is that of varieties of pre-pidgin continua. In investigating varieties of Bush Pidgin one would have to pay attention to instances of impoverishment, simplification and restructuring.

Impoverishment is manifested in the small size of the lexicon, lack of stylistic differentiation, lack of syntactic complexity and virtual lack of a word-formation component. At the lower end of the pre-pidgin continuum, speakers just know a list of lexical items and expressions - at the other end they are characterised by deviant phonology and deviant use of lexical items. Whilst some of these deficiencies can be neutralised by the use of paralinguistic means of expression and by the situational context, misinterpretation is the rule of the day. The lack of vocabulary is often repaired by direct borrowing from the speaker's native language. An example is stories recorded by Laycock in the Upper Sepik region (Laycock 1970c:55,59).

Simplification is manifested mainly in the overgeneralisation of rules of standard Tok Pisin. An example that comes to mind is the use of the predicate marker *i* before all predicates, including idioms. Compare:

Bush Pidgin	Rural Pidgin	gloss
mi i kam	mi kam	<i>I am coming</i>
em i kam	em i kam	<i>he is coming</i>
em i tasol	em tasol	<i>that's all</i>

Another example is the indiscriminate use of the adjective suffix *-pela*, rather than with certain lexically marked adjectives only.

Bush Pidgin	Rural Pidgin	gloss
hamaspela	hamas	<i>how much/many?</i>
maupela	mau	<i>ripe</i>
krungutpela	krungut	<i>crooked</i>

Note, incidentally, that exactly the same forms are also produced by some speakers of Urban Pidgin in an attempt to 'hyperpidginise', i.e. to counteract the tendency in anglicised Tok Pisin to drop the adjective suffix.

Finally, restructuring is the result of untargeted or semitargeted learning. It is manifested either as a carryover of substratum grammar or as the application of certain natural processes to the learned language. Few detailed studies of substratum influences are available. The most complete account to date is that by Bee (1972:69-95) on the influence of Usarufa on Tok Pisin sound patterns. At the syntactic level one can observe rearrangements in word order, as in:

Bush Pidgin	Rural Pidgin	gloss
dok bilong tit	tit bilong dok	<i>dog's teeth</i>
meri tripela	tripela meri	<i>three women</i>
man yu lukim	yu lukim man	<i>you see the man</i>

An example of a natural phonological process is the reinterpretation of polysyllabic words as reduplications, a process common in child language. Compare:

Bush Pidgin	Rural Pidgin	gloss
mekmek, niknik	mekanik	<i>mechanic</i>
amasamas	amamas	<i>to be glad</i>
toritori	teritori	<i>territory</i>

As more and more speakers of Bush Pidgin become proficient Tok Pisin speakers (a process which sets in about 10 years after initial contact), the opportunities for studying these varieties are becoming fewer. One must hope that detailed work will be carried out before it is too late.

3.2.3.4.4 Rural Pidgin

Rural Pidgin has come to be regarded as the most desirable base for a standardised Tok Pisin and it is for this reason that the other sociolects have been described as approximations to or deviations from Rural Pidgin. Nothing will be said here about its grammatical nature as descriptions are readily available, e.g. those by Mihalic (1971), Wurm (1971a) and Laycock (1970c), and the chapters on the lexical system, morphology and syntax in this handbook.

In characterising Rural Pidgin one must point out its relative stability, the existence of widely accepted social norms, the presence of powerful mechanisms of internal expansion, in particular its word-formation component and the very moderate rate of borrowing from other languages.

3.2.3.4.5 Urban Pidgin

The principal force shaping Urban Pidgin is the renewed vigorous contact with English, resulting from English education and widespread English-Tok Pisin bilingualism. In particular, we can distinguish between replacements of, additions to and restructuring of the more traditional Tok Pisin grammar.

Whilst the main source of innovations is English, i.e. the type of English accepted as standard in Papua New Guinea, it would be an oversimplification to assume that all borrowing from English will make Tok Pisin more like English. It is true that one of the tacit assumptions in many studies of post-pidgin or post-creole continua has been that the eventual outcome of contact between an English-derived pidgin or creole and standard English is English. However, it is not obvious why the mixing of two linguistic systems should lead to the replacement of one system by another. If this was the case then the post-pidgin or post-creole continuum is indeed the red herring that Dreyfuss (1976) suspected it to be, and rather a special instance of language death and language replacement.

My own observations seem to suggest, however, that the result of renewed contact between a pidgin and its original lexifier language is in parts at least, a new third system. Thus, in spite of heavy borrowing, Urban Pidgin does not appear to be more readily intelligible to a speaker of English than Rural Pidgin. At the same time, it is no longer easy to understand for speakers of Rural Pidgin. In the light of these observations, it may become clear why attempts by various bodies to bring Tok Pisin closer to English by introducing English vocabulary and structure have in fact not had the desired effect. The following examples will illustrate the principle involved:

(a) Borrowing of vocabulary

Mühlhäusler (1979c:300-309) has drawn attention to the fact that the lexical information of English lexical items is subjected to loss and restructuring in the borrowing process. A rather drastic change in meaning was observed in the following items:

Urban Pidgin	from English	meaning
jeles	<i>jealous</i>	<i>to attack, have sexual intercourse with</i>
dabol	<i>double</i>	<i>a lot, large amount (as in dabol mani = paper money of denominations of 5 kina and more)</i>
praut	<i>proud</i>	<i>to be haughty, unapproachable</i>
teksi	<i>taxi</i>	<i>any small passenger motor vehicle, including private cars</i>
kompreserim	<i>compressor</i> + V_t affix	<i>to deepen, dig deep</i>

It should be noted that a lot of individual variation is found in this area, confirming the general principle that speakers of socially less prestigious codes exhibit unsystematic linguistic behaviour when trying to approximate to a superordinate code.

(b) Borrowing of grammar

The status of Urban Pidgin as an incipient third system different from both Rural Pidgin and English can be illustrated by some data on developments in the domain of the grammatical category of plural. Signalling plural by the suffix -s

is becoming increasingly common in Urban Pidgin, particularly in recently borrowed lexical items such as gels *girls* or kwatas *quarters*. Whilst form and function agree with that of its English model in many cases, in other examples the function of the plural -s is as unfamiliar to a speaker of English as the form is to a speaker of Rural Pidgin.⁵ Compare:

Urban Pidgin	English
STAFS bilong dispela skul	<i>the staff of this school</i>
mi bin baim sampela MITS	<i>I bought some meat</i>
INKAMS bilong mipela	<i>our income</i>

At this point it is unclear whether a stable system intermediate between Rural Pidgin and English will in fact crystallise or whether the language of the urban community will become a kind of Papua New Guinean English.

As mentioned above, Urban Pidgin differs from Rural Pidgin as a result of three processes (more information in Hall 1955b), which are as follows:

i) Replacement

This is most obvious at the lexical level, where items of German and indigenous origin are being replaced by loans from English, as in:

Rural Pidgin	Urban Pidgin	gloss
taunam	moskito net	<i>mosquito net</i>
bitono	nevel	<i>navel</i>
konda	pepa mani	<i>paper money</i>
beten	pre	<i>to pray</i>
srang	kapot	<i>cupboard</i>

ii) Additions

Among the additives are new sounds, such as long vowels and the consonants ʃ, z, ʒ, though such additions invariably lead to restructuring. Mere additions are found mainly at the lexical level, for instance in the form of new terminologies in the technical spheres.

iii) Restructuring

This is often a result of additions to the lexicon.⁶ Thus, the change from an aspect system in Rural Pidgin to a tense system in Urban Pidgin can be related to lexical borrowing. First, the introduction of vocabulary that incorporates lexical and aspectual information which is expressed syntactically in Rural Pidgin led to a weakening of the aspect system. Subsequently the introduction of the tense marker bin further weakened the role of the completion marker pinis. Compare:

Rural Pidgin	Urban Pidgin
rere to prepare o.s.	priperim to prepare o.s.
rere pinis to be ready	rere to be ready
bagarapim to spoil	spowelim to spoil
bagarapim pinis to destroy	bagarapim to destroy
painim to look for	lukaut long to look for
painim pinis to find	painim to find
dai to be unconscious	ankonses to be unconscious
dai pinis to be dead	dai to be dead

There is considerable variability in Urban Pidgin. It remains to be seen to what extent it is amenable to linguistic description. A recent study on the

behaviour of -s pluralisation in this variety (Mühlhäusler 1981a) appears to indicate that we are dealing with random upward shifting in this area of grammar.

3.2.3.5 Communication across sociolectal boundaries

That the widening gap between the sociolects of Tok Pisin, particularly between Rural and Urban Pidgin, has led to communication problems has been discussed in the paper on language planning in this volume (6.8). There seems to be little doubt that, in the long run, only language planning, and in particular standardisation, can provide an answer. Meanwhile, speakers have developed certain strategies enabling them to communicate across lectal boundaries. It should be noted that these strategies depend on a speaker's bilectism and that they may not be available once the separation between Urban and Rural Pidgin has further advanced. The main strategy employed is that of saying things in two different ways, in the hope that the hearer will be able to correctly understand one of the alternatives. This phenomenon has been studied by Mühlhäusler (1979f).

We can characterise this phenomenon by considering the following situation. A Papua New Guinean discussing certain aspects of criminal law in a letter to a local newspaper might include sentences such as the following in his argument:

- | | |
|---|---|
| (1) Dispela kain em i min MEDERING.
Na em dispela woda i mas i gat
SAS long dispela we. | <i>This means murdering and this
warder must be charged for this
behaviour (way).</i> |
| (2) Tupela i gat bikpela DIFRENS. | <i>Those two acts are quite different.</i> |

Though he would be understood by a small audience who knows English, it is likely that the majority of Tok Pisin speakers would not get his message. A solution would be to replace the neologisms *medering*, *sas*, and *difrens* by established lexical items. The disadvantage from the point of view of the writer would be that this would not enable him/her to show off his/her knowledge of English. Thus, to meet both aims, that of establishing meaningful communication and that of displaying his/her knowledge of English, the writer makes use of word-pairs. Thus, the actual letter as printed in *Wantok* of 17 April 1976 (p.2) contains the sentences:

- | | |
|--|--|
| (3) Dispela kain em i min MEDERING
o KILIM MAN. Na em dispela woda
i mas gat KOT o SAS long dispela
we. | <i>This means murder, i.e. to kill
a person. And this warder must
be brought before a court, i.e.
charged, for this behaviour.</i> |
| (4) Tupela i gat BIKPELA DIFRENS
o ol i NARAKAIN TRU. | <i>Those two acts are quite different,
i.e. quite unlike.</i> |

Letters to newspapers are not the only context in which the use of word-pairs is found. Other contexts are public notices, such as the following one from the Cooperative Store in Urip Village:

- | | |
|--|---|
| (5) dispela tok bilong SEK o PAS
BILONG MANI bilong mani i stap
long HAUS MANI o BENG. | <i>this expression cheque, i.e.
money-letter for the money in the
money-house, i.e. bank.</i> |
|--|---|

Communication with a maximum number of people is also essential in government publications. Thus, one finds frequent use of word-pairs in many government pamphlets, as illustrated by the following examples taken from a pamphlet on the economy:

- (6) TRET o BAIIM DISPELA SAMTING
LONG GIVIM MANI o BEKIM SAMPELA
ARAPELA SAMTING *trade, i.e. to buy things for
money or exchange them for other
things*
- (7) Planti LEBA o WOKMAN ol i no bin
KISIM TRENING o SKUL GUT long
wok. *Many labourers, i.e. workers have
not received a training, i.e.
learned their profession well.*

Broadcasts in Tok Pisin often employ pairs of synonyms in order to make sure that the message is understood by people from different regions and social classes. The following examples were taken from a medical programme broadcast by Radio Wewak in 1973:

- (8) em bilong STOPIM o PAIT WANTAIM
dispela kain sik ol dokta i
kolim LEPROSI o SIK TOMATO *this is in order to stop, i.e.
combat this disease which the
doctors call leprosy, i.e. tomato
sickness*
- (9) bai leprosi GERM o BINATANG o
WARA bilongen i stap wantaim
long dispela (skin nogut). *then the leprosy germs, i.e.
little creatures or liquid which
are found on infected skin.*

The use of synonym pairs is particularly common in newspapers. The following examples were found in an article on changes in Pangu Party policies in a recent edition of *Wantok Niuspepa*:

- (10) Ol ausait bisnisman i noken
HOLIM o BOSIM moa ol dispela
kain bisnis. *Expatriate businessmen can no
longer hold, i.e. control this
kind of business.*
- (11) ol lida bilong nupela Yunaited
Pati OFIS o BRENS long Goroka *the leaders of the new United Party
office, i.e. branch of Goroka*
- (12) Papua Niugini pipel i mas MEMBA
o SEA long olgeta wok factori
bilong ol ausait bisnisman. *Papua New Guineans must be members,
i.e. shareholders in every industry
controlled by foreign businessmen.*
- (13) Pangu pati POLISI o AS TINGTING *the policy, i.e. original concept
of the Pangu Party*

Other contexts in which such synonym pairs are encountered include court proceedings, political speeches, and sermons. I have also observed its use in face-to-face conversations between speakers of Urban and Rural Pidgin.

More important than an enumeration of the contexts in which synonym pairs are found is the determination of the communicative functions of this construction.

The primary function of such synonym pairs is that of reducing misunderstanding in crosslectal communication. Thus, it is found mainly in public settings, i.e. when a speaker has to address a heterogenous audience, such as when a judge addresses a court, a member addresses parliament or a politician his electorate. For this reason synonym pairs are also closely associated with two channels of communication, namely radio and printed materials.

A number of secondary facts derive from the fact that speaking Urban Pidgin is associated with a knowledge of the prestige language English. By explaining synonym pairs speakers can exhibit their knowledge of English without becoming unintelligible to those who do not possess this knowledge. It also enables such speakers to communicate about complex topics without having to sacrifice precision, and, at the same time, to be understood at a more basic level by those who are not familiar with all the semantic subtleties associated with technical terms borrowed from English. This latter function appears to be of great importance in the transactions in the Papua New Guinea House of Parliament.

The most common linguistic device used in introducing pairs of synonymous expressions is the conjunction *o that is* (rather than disjunctive *or*). Usually the less known innovation is introduced first, as in:

(14) em i kisim MEDEL o MAK *he got a medal, i.e. a badge*

This tendency is particularly strong when the better known expression is a compound or when the newly introduced term has to be explained by means of a circumlocution:

(15) dispela EKAUNTIN o WOK BILONG
LUKAUTIM MANI *this accounting, i.e. the work
of looking after money*

(16) ol studen i no ken GREDUET o
PINISIM SKUL *the students are unable to graduate,
i.e. to finish their school*

A number of other devices are used to form synonym pairs. Instead of *o* the conjunction *olsem* is sometimes found:

(17) gaten bilong ol i gat KROP PLES
tasol, olsem OL SAMTING BILONG
GATEN OL YET i save kaikai *their gardens were for subsistence
farming only, i.e. the people ate
what they planted*

Juxtaposition of two synonyms is found in:

(18) yu mas raun long olgeta membas
LUKIM HEVI, LUKIM WARI *you have to visit your constituency,
consider their grievances, consider
their complaints*

The extent to which synonymy needs to be used depends on the degree of intelligibility among the various sociolects. Whereas no formal tests have been carried out, a number of informal observations can be made:

- a) Tok Masta is only partially intelligible to most Papua New Guinean speakers of Tok Pisin, and speakers of Tok Masta cannot usually follow another variety of Tok Pisin spoken fluently.
- b) Speakers of Urban Pidgin have no difficulty following the Rural Pidgin of their age group, but may find it difficult to follow that of very old speakers.
- c) Speakers of Rural Pidgin find it difficult to follow heavily anglicised varieties of Urban Pidgin.
- d) Jargonised Bush Pidgin tends to be difficult to follow for most other Top Pisin speakers. As with Tok Masta, intelligibility in both directions is at best partial.

There are additional communication problems arising from factors such as the creolisation of Tok Pisin. Thus, fluent first-language speakers are often not well understood by second-language speakers and, to a lesser extent, people from different geographic backgrounds may have initial difficulty in understanding speakers from other areas.

3.2.4 REGIONAL VARIATION IN TOK PISIN

3.2.4.1 General remarks

Dialect geography and its methods have been subjected to far-reaching criticisms in recent years (e.g. Bailey 1979) and I share the feeling expressed by many of its critics that language geography without regard to social circumstances will not promote an understanding of the nature of regional variation in Tok Pisin.

The idea that social and regional variation are closely linked has been expressed recently by Brash (1975:322):

Pidgin's growth has been more rapid in some areas than others, and it now contains different ethnically, socially and occupationally-based dialects. As with English, no one individual could fully command all of them. A move from Rabaul to Madang, or from a plantation to a mission station, involves a move between significantly different dialects; but, as with English dialects, there is usually sufficient overlap between them to enable communication to continue. The various dialects could conceivably be arranged along ethnic, social, and occupational axes, each with the most commonly spoken dialect as its median, the other dialects ranging away towards more English-influenced speech on the one side, and more independent folk speech on the other.

Discussion of regional variation has been restricted to occasional remarks, the only attempt to deal with this question in more detail being that of Mühlhäusler 1977b. The first comment was made by Friederici (1911:95) who simply mentions that "pidgin is a living language that has dialects". Other remarks are of similar brevity. Wedgwood (1954:785) observes:

So live a language is Pidgin that already minor dialectal variations have been observed within the Trust Territory. They are mainly variations in the vocabulary, the result of adopting certain words from local vernaculars. The differences are, however, so slight that a Pidgin-speaker from say the Middle Sepik can converse freely with one from South Bougainville.

Similarly, Wolfers (1971:413) states: "Its vocabulary, its special expressions, even its grammatical structure, vary quite widely from place to place throughout the territory."

Using different criteria, the question of regional varieties can receive a number of possible answers. Several writers have raised the question of its relationship to other Pacific varieties of Pidgin English, for instance Turner: "New Guinea Pidgin, or Neo-Melanesian, is a regional variety of a large group of pidgin languages spread by traders through the Pacific." (Turner 1966:203)

However, I feel that lexicostatistic considerations and geographic proximity alone are of secondary importance in defining a regional variety. Instead it should be regarded as essential to establish that a variety was at one stage included in the boundaries of a well-defined speech community. Thus, it is argued that the relationship between Tok Pisin and other varieties of Pidgin English spoken in the geographic area of Papua New Guinea, such as Kiwai Island Pidgin English or Papuan Pidgin English, is only very indirect, since these two pidgins developed in isolation from Tok Pisin. On the other hand it seems justified, in the light of what is known about Tok Pisin's external development and on linguistic grounds, to call Samoan Plantation Pidgin (henceforth SPP) a regional variety of Tok Pisin, from which it became severed at the beginning of World War I, since they at one stage constituted a single stabilised pidgin.

The differences between regional varieties will now be discussed in terms of the presence of a number of social and linguistic forces in different geographic areas.

3.2.4.2 Factors determining regional variation

3.2.4.2.1 Geographic isolation and proximity

This factor, important in the differentiation of regional variants of conventional languages, appears to be of less importance in the case of pidgin languages such as Tok Pisin. The reason for this is that one of its main functions has always been that of an inter-regional lingua franca, an unwritten norm being that 'good' Tok Pisin is that variety which can be understood readily throughout the country (cf. chapter on good and bad Tok Pisin (3.3)).

The only instance in which quite pronounced geographic varieties have developed is in the case of SPP. With the strong links between the Samoan plantations and Papua New Guinea severed after World War I, Pidgin English in these two localities developed along different lines. SPP lingered on in Samoa without expanding its functional domains or linguistic structure, whilst Tok Pisin developed into a viable and highly sophisticated lingua franca. SPP is of great importance for the linguist, however, since it can be regarded as a fossilised form of Tok Pisin as it was at the beginning of this century. It is also important in that a comparison between the two offers a good example of the principles underlying the life-cycle of pidgin languages (Hall 1962:151-156). SPP's becoming restricted to a small communicative niche on the one hand, and Tok Pisin's continued expansion on the other, must be regarded as the result of the social conditions in which these two distinct regional varieties developed. It was only when SPP was taken to Papua New Guinea and the Bismarck Archipelago that it could develop from a restricted plantation pidgin into an extended pidgin serving as a means of communication over a wide range of topics.

3.2.4.2.2 The presence of other lingue franche

Coastal Malay was the lingua franca of the Papua New Guinea mainland until about the turn of this century. Since then its importance has declined rapidly, the only area in which it is still used being that part of the West Sepik Province bordering on Irian Jaya. There are some indications that the Tok Pisin of former Coastal Malay-speaking areas, particularly the remote ones, may have derived some of its syntactic peculiarities from a relexification of Malay. This hypothesis is at present being investigated by Dr Walter Seiler of the Department of Linguistics, Research School of Pacific Studies of the Australian National University.

It would also be worthwhile to make a case study of the transformation of a Hiri Motu-speaking area into a Tok Pisin-speaking one, though, because of the close structural similarity of these two pidgins, a study of relexification would possibly have to concentrate on the process rather than its result. Some borrowing of Hiri Motu words can be observed in areas where both pidgins are in currency, such as in Port Moresby.

A further example of contact with another pidgin having led to the development of a new regional variety of Tok Pisin occurred on Mussau Island. Though I have not visited Mussau, I have reliable information (M. Ross, personal communication) that Tok Pisin spoken there exhibits a number of lexical and syntactic peculiarities resulting from the influence of Seventh Day Adventist missionaries from the Solomon Islands. It appears that both the relative isolation of Mussau Island and the common belief of the people, which differs from that of neighbouring areas, have been contributing factors in this development. The observation that the pidgin of Mussau Islanders is often unacceptable and sometimes unintelligible to speakers from other areas deserves further investigation, and the author hopes to receive linguistic data for this purpose.

3.2.4.2.3 The varying influences of Tok Pisin's lexifier languages

The lexical composition of Tok Pisin, according to Laycock (1970c:xi), is approximately as follows: English 77%, Tolai 11%, other Papua New Guinea languages 6%, German 4%, Latin 3% and Malay 1%. However, these percentages are different not only as one moves along the stylistic and social dimensions but also from area to area.

An important factor accounting for regional variation in the Tok Pisin lexicon is whether an area was under the influence of the German administration and German-speaking missions, or whether it was introduced by the Australian administration. In the former areas, it shows a strong German influence in its vocabulary, particularly in the speech of older people, though also to a lesser extent among the younger generation. A study of the German vocabulary in Tok Pisin has been made by Mühlhäusler (1975b). The status of words of German origin has also been enhanced by the presence of German-speaking missionaries in certain areas.

Regional variations in the percentage of lexical items of Tolai and other local origin were fairly pronounced in Tok Pisin's earlier stages. At that time its referential potential was limited and lexical items borrowed from local vernaculars were used in certain areas to meet certain communicative needs. A look at some older vocabularies such as those of Brenninkmeyer (1924), Borchardt (1926) and Kutscher (1940), shows that a fair number of local words were current in Tok Pisin as spoken on Manus, New Ireland and New Britain. Today, most of these lexical items are either obsolete or have become accepted throughout the country.

3.2.4.2.4 Influence of regionally restricted language policies

The first attempts to standardise Tok Pisin were made in the mid-1920s by various Catholic mission bodies. The two most important varieties resulting from these early uncoordinated attempts are that used by the Sacred Heart missionaries of the Rabaul area, which is found throughout the Papua New Guinea islands, and that of the Divine Word mission of the Papua New Guinea mainland. The differences between the two are mainly lexical and are found most typically in the field of doctrinal terminology. The policy of the Sacred Heart missionaries was to borrow words from Tolai, whereas the Divine Word missionaries introduced a large number of words of German origin. In recent years, attempts have been made to reduce these regional idiosyncrasies.

The differences resulting from mission language planning were reinforced by yet another factor, namely the development of certain centres from which innovations spread over the surrounding areas. Among these, Rabaul was the centre of diffusion of Islands Tok Pisin whereas Madang/Alexishafen was the centre for the mainland variety.

3.2.4.2.5 Substratum influences

Though the notion of 'substratum influence' is not a well-defined theoretical concept, it is a useful term to cover a number of observations about the influence of a speaker's first language on his performance in Tok Pisin. Substratum influences can manifest themselves as certain lexical, syntactic and phonological habits in multilingual speech communities. A more detailed assessment of substratum differences is given elsewhere in this volume (see chapter 5.).

3.2.4.2.6 Outlook

There has been a tendency towards greater uniformity and the reduction of regional variation throughout the historical development of Tok Pisin. One of the main reasons for the absence of pronounced regional dialects lies in Tok Pisin being a means of communication beyond geographic and linguistic boundaries, with contacts outside a speaker's first language community. Therefore the Tok Pisin of speakers from different language backgrounds is a compromise and highly marked regional idiosyncrasies have no place in 'good' Tok Pisin. High regional mobility, necessitating the use of Tok Pisin by a large number of speakers from different language backgrounds, together with the continuous pressure for intelligibility, accounts for the levelling of regional differences such as may arise in the short term. The language is a social rather than an individual solution to the problem of communication, and any innovations have to be accepted by a large number of speakers from various areas before they are adopted.

In recent years the transition from a fairly homogeneous to a heterogeneous society has led to the development of socially rather than regionally conditioned variations. Whether it will be possible to achieve greater uniformity in future will depend greatly on the success of standardisation procedures and the reduction in differences of social status between traditionally oriented and westernised groups. It may well be that, with an increase in regionalism (cf. Laycock 1982b) and a decrease in geographical mobility, regionally determined differences will become more pronounced.

3.2.4.3 Linguistic aspects of geographically determined variation

3.2.4.3.1 General remarks

Many speakers of Tok Pisin claim to be able to identify the origin of a speaker from his or her pronunciation and syntax. I have carried out some informal tests and found considerable discrepancy between such judgements and the actual facts. At present, the only reliable data are lexical and even here there are many gaps in our knowledge. Lexical variation of this type can be characterised as follows:

- a) The use of different lexical items in different regions is restricted mainly to those areas of meaning less likely to be discussed in inter-regional contacts, i.e. to lexical items of low frequency. Examples are the terms for *navel*, for which a large number of lexical items were recorded in different parts of Papua New Guinea (bitono, butoma, hap bel, rop bilong bel, as bilong snek, etc.), or *pandanus* (aran, pandanus, karuka).
- b) Regional variation is found with some lexical innovations referring to recently introduced items of European origin, for instance, *brassiere* (kalabus bilong susu, banis susu, kep susu, masel bilong susu) or *helicopter* (bunbalus, glasbalus, balus as bilongen no gat mit).
- c) The influence of different language policies and the previous use of other lingue franche is reflected most strongly in the vocabulary of older speakers.
- d) Many speakers have at least a passive knowledge of synonyms conditioned by geographic factors.

- e) Regional differences appear to manifest themselves primarily in differences with regard to the inventory of lexical items and some differences in lexical information found with individual items. Though there is evidence that semantic field properties may differ from region to region (e.g. kinship terminology in patrilineal and matrilineal areas), no in-depth study of this has been made.

The main division of Tok Pisin into regional areas is that into Highlands, Coastal Mainland and New Guinea Islands Pidgin. This distinction, made by most speakers of Rural Pidgin, appears to reflect the fact that Tok Pisin reached these three areas at different times, i.e. in the 1880s for the Islands, around 1900 for the Papua New Guinea mainland and about 1940 for the Highlands.

3.2.4.3.2 Some data

I will now consider some lexical items which are restricted to certain regional dialects. A first group are items which refer to locally restricted aspects of culture. A number of these are borrowed from local languages. However, regionally restricted items may also be formed from Tok Pisin's internal resources, as demonstrated by the following examples used mainly by Highlanders. However, with Highlanders coming to the coast in large numbers and with increased contacts between Highlanders and Lowlanders, these items are gradually becoming known throughout Papua New Guinea.

Highlands Tok Pisin	gloss
karim lek	<i>form of courting involving the mutual touching of legs or putting one's legs under the partner's legs</i>
dabol seven	<i>form of courting; partners touch each other's head and bend down 49 times</i>
kukim nus	<i>to rub noses</i>
givim nuspes long	<i>to make a gift or have a feast, to remember someone</i>
manistik	<i>a pole to which paper money is tacked, used in paying the brideprice</i>
haus kol	<i>house with no fireplace</i>
haus pik	<i>house for humans and pigs</i>

Some other differences in the lexicon can be accounted for in terms of the previous or contemporary presence of other lingue franche. Thus, on the Papua New Guinea mainland around the formerly Malay-speaking plantation areas and in the border areas of the West Sepik Province, a number of Malay words can still be heard, particularly among middle-aged and old speakers. Thus Townsend (1968: 54) reports, speaking about his experience in Aitape:

In Rabaul a native foreman was spoken of as a boss-boy, at Aitape the Malay word *mandor* was used. This was the original word used in German times when Malays - chiefly Amboinese - were employed as foremen

Bello, the striking of a bell or gong to mark the meal and other significant hours on a station, was at Aitape known as *tandok*, also with many other terms Malay or German was used.

Another item that was heard in the Sepik area as late as the 1960s is *tuan white man* (John Harris, Canberra College of Advanced Education, personal communication, August 1981).

Whilst regional differences in lexical inventory due to Malay and German influences have gradually disappeared over the years since World War II, there are signs that Tok Pisin in the Port Moresby area has acquired a number of loans from Hiri Motu, the local lingua franca. Thus Bell (1977) writes: "Loanwords may not necessarily be English derived. With most of the Army stationed at Port Moresby it is not surprising that the Motu magani has displaced sikau as the word for wallaby." Borrowing of Hiri Motu words is becoming increasingly common in the Port Moresby area, this being a result of the increasing Tok Pisin/Hiri Motu bilingualism of many migrant workers in the area.

Consider the following example recorded among students of the University of Papua New Guinea in 1978: (_____ Hiri Motu, _____ Tok Pisin or English, _____ English)

Yu, mipela givim long yu! Like
O.K. one, edeseni oi lao? Like
fresh one. Tura, edeseni oi lao?
 O, like good ones Tambu, can I
 have the back one? Ai, nogat mani
 ya, yu stupid. Like unused one.
 Yu nogat mani ya.

*Hey, we'll give it to you! You
 look O.K., where're you going?
 You look pure enough. Friend,
 where're you going? Oh, you look
 good. Brother, can I have the
 one at the back? Gee, you haven't
 got any money, you idiot. You
 look unused. You haven't any money.*

For the rest, very little is known about geographic differences in Tok Pisin vocabulary. The following is a tentative list of some lexical items which I have found to be diagnostic of regional differences:

Islands Pidgin	Highlands Pidgin	Lowlands Pidgin	gloss
taunam	taunam	klambu	<i>mosquito net</i> ⁷
raring	pre	beten	<i>to pray</i>
kilamo	ai	tuptup	<i>lid</i>
laka?	a?	a?	question tag: n'est-ce pas?
galip	pinat	kasang	<i>peanut</i> ⁸
aran	karuka	aran	<i>pandanus</i>

Some differences in lexical information may be added to this list:

- a) the treatment of indirect objects after verbs such as *givim* and *soim* differs in Islands Pidgin:

Islands Pidgin	other varieties of Tok Pisin	gloss
mi givim yu long buk	mi givim buk long yu	<i>I gave you the book</i>
mi soim yu long buk	mi soim buk long yu	<i>I showed you the book</i>

- b) Another difference between Islands Pidgin and the other varieties is the use of the preposition *long* after transitive verbs ending in *-im* as in:

Islands Pidgin	other varieties of Tok Pisin	gloss
mi pilaiim rekot ol i kolim long ...	mi pilaim rekot ol i kolim ...	<i>I will play a record called ...</i>

Islands Pidgin	other varieties of Tok Pisin	gloss
ol i laikim tumas long mani	ol i laikim tumas mani	<i>they really like money</i>
dispela tumbuna stori yu rabisim longen	dispela tumbuna stori yu rabisim em	<i>this ancestor story which you ridiculed</i>

c) A number of differences in semantic information of Islands versus other varieties were also found:

Islands Pidgin	other varieties of Tok Pisin
aismalang <i>foreigner</i>	aismalang <i>homosexual</i>
pulpul <i>flower, grass skirt</i>	pulpul <i>grass skirt</i>

At this stage, very little is known about the geographic distribution of lexical items in Tok Pisin. It is hoped, however, that with a better knowledge of Tok Pisin, linguists will pay more attention to this question with regard to lexical properties as well as utterance and discourse syntax.

3.2.5 STYLISTIC VARIATION IN TOK PISIN

3.2.5.1 Introduction

Pidgin languages are sometimes distinguished from normal languages through their lack of stylistic choice. Samarin (1971:122) remarks:

This is to say that a speaker of a pidgin, as a *normal* human being in a normal society, can be expected to have more than one code-variety for different uses. The pidgin, on the other hand, is not normal, and when a person is speaking a pidgin he is limited to the use of a code with but one level or style or key or register, to cite some terms used for this aspect of the organization of language. (One might speak here of a 'monostratic', 'monoclaval' or 'monotonic' code.) In other words, he does not have the rich variety of language styles from which to choose whatever is appropriate to the context, situation, or person (or people) to whom he is talking.

Such a view is appropriate when speaking of the very early developmental stages of pidgins. As a pidgin becomes a means of creating social cohesion and expressing one's feelings, it acquires the stylistic flexibility needed for such functions.

The investigation of linguistic functions and their relationship to linguistic structures is still at an early stage. However, my observations on the development of Tok Pisin suggest that it may turn out to be a crucial area for the explanation of pidgin expansion. In first language systems we find a developmental hierarchy such as the one given by Halliday (1974):

- a) instrumental (directive, social control)
- b) regulative
- c) interactional (phatic)
- d) personal (expressive)
- e) heuristic

- f) metalinguistic
- g) imaginative (poetic)
- h) representational (referential, communicative)

In contrast, an examination of historical sources on Tok Pisin and data from the unstable bush varieties of the language suggests the following tentative hierarchy in the functional development:

- a) referential
- b) directive
- c) integrative (connative, regulative)
- d) expressive
- e) phatic
- f) metalinguistic
- g) poetic

Paralleling the functional expansion there is also an expansion of individual functions into new domains. As the language develops towards a creole, all functions and domains necessary for the communicative requirements of Tok Pisin speakers are covered (cf. Mühlhäusler 1979c).

A great deal of theoretical work and data analysis needs to be done before the relationship between structural and functional expansion can be fully understood. However, the following table can be taken as a rough guideline to what can be expected. Note that both structural and functional expansion are implicationally ordered, i.e. the presence of structural or functional properties implies the presence of these features higher up in the hierarchy.

functions	structures
referential	simple sentence structures but no grammar beyond the sentence, list-like lexicon
directive and integrative	development of systematic aspects in the lexicon, e.g. address systems, forms that mark politeness, emergence of socially determined lexicon and grammar, some syntactic variants for requests
expressive	additions to lexical inventory, beginnings of word-formation, emergence of devices for focalising, grammar beyond sentence
phatic	increase in stylistic variation on lexical and syntactic levels
metalinguistic	emergence of lexical items for speaking about language, hypercorrection
poetic	stylistically determined variation earlier stages of developmental continuum can become stylistic devices, productive word-formation component providing lexical synonyms, stylistic syntactic transformations, development of conventions for metaphorical expansion (tok piksa) and word-games, phonological rules particularly those allowing contraction and weakening of vowels

I am at present engaged in documenting the development of styles in Tok Pisin. The very amount of data combined with their relative inaccessibility means that it will be some time before a more authoritative account can be written. The remarks on stylistic diversification given here must be seen as preliminary to such an account.

Before looking at the data in more detail it would seem necessary to briefly examine some of the principal linguistic sources of stylistic diversification in Tok Pisin. They include:

a) Backsliding, i.e. using earlier or less developed varieties of the language as stylistic variants. This is documented as early as Samoan Plantation Pidgin. My informants referred to the practice of saying *soksok* instead of *toktok* to talk among speakers of Tolai, who made no s/t distinction. More recently, I recorded the following example among students of the University of Papua New Guinea:

Nau, in the end now, ol ape i	<i>Now, in the end, the apes con-</i>
kontrolim ol man, i go pait	<i>trolled the men, they were fighting</i>
nabaut, pait i go i go. Ol i	<i>and fighting. They wore their</i>
werim ol klos bilong ol, ol i	<i>clothes, they raped them and had</i>
holimpas nau, putput nau.	<i>intercourse with them.</i>

The form *putput* instead of *puspus* to have sexual intercourse is chosen for its humorous effect, an effect which is enhanced by its contrast to the preceding anglicised Tok Pisin and English.

b) What might be referred to as 'sidesling', i.e. using language from a different part of a restructuring continuum (in the case of Tok Pisin, an anglicised variant), as in:

Mifelo olgeder ihapi long	<i>We are all happy about short</i>
sortfelo sikert. Ino wearim	<i>skirts. Do not just wear them,</i>
tasol, supplyim stret away.	<i>supply them straight away.</i>

The writer of this example borrows phonological (e.g. various postvocalic r's), graphological (e.g. *wearim*) and lexical features (e.g. *supplyim*) from English. Note that such texts are very much individual solutions to the problem of increasing the stylistic flexibility of the language.

c) Stylistic variation is provided by the many competing solutions in grammatical expansion. Thus, speakers may signal relativisers by both *we* and *ia ... ia* bracketing in the same text. Similarly, different degrees of phonological condensation may be used by the same speaker to achieve certain stylistic ends. An example is the use of *baimbai*, *bai* and *ba* 'future marker' in the same text.

d) Competing Melanesian and European idioms provide some stylistic choice as in *mi ihapi* as against *bel bilong mi gut* *I am happy*.

e) The diversification of media, e.g. written, broadcast, film, has resulted in some new medium-specific stylistic features (cf. Siegel 1981 for written Tok Pisin).

In sum, the development of Tok Pisin over the past 80 years has led to considerable linguistic variation, much of which is exploited by fluent speakers of the language to signal differences in style.

A number of studies on the stylistic properties of Tok Pisin have been made in recent years (e.g. Brash 1971, 1975; Wurm and Mühlhäusler 1982; Laycock 1977a) but no exhaustive description is available yet.

A useful distinction to be made here is that between register, i.e. certain linguistic features, and the use of such registers to achieve certain stylistic ends (their communicative function). The difference, as it manifests itself in Tok Pisin, can be illustrated with the following table:

linguistic properties of special registers	communicative function
use of metaphor, often over long stretches of speech	playful talk, vivid description or conversation, sometimes taboo
lexical replacement	taboo, stress group identity, exclude outsiders from conversation
syntactically and lexically simplified Tok Pisin	foreigner talk, i.e. Tok Pisin used by indigenes to address Europeans
use of repetition and other mechanisms of sentence linking	narration, careful instruction
backslang, i.e. Tok Pisin spoken backwards	exclude outsiders from conversation, taboo
heavily anglicised Tok Pisin	enhance speaker's prestige, stress his membership in the class of educated peoples
use of lexical synonymy	establish communication across sociolectal boundaries, ensure successful communication

The relationship between these registers as linguistic subsystems and their use for certain communicative purposes will now be illustrated with reference to the registers of tok piksa and tok bokis and their functions.

3.2.5.2 Tok Piksa, Tok Pilai, Tok Bokis, Tok Hait

The presence of some special levels of style, involving complex metaphors or lexical replacement, has drawn considerable attention. (For example, Aufinger 1949:90-92, Healey n.d.:122f, Brash 1971:12-20.) However, no rigorous analysis of these registers is available at present. One of the main weaknesses of the available accounts is the confusion between the terms tok piksa, tok pilai, tok bokis and tok hait. Bell (1977), for instance, admits that:

I am not able to discern the fine distinction between tokbokis and tokhait, but the use of one or the other is quite usual if an interloper, be he European or indigene, intrudes upon a conversation not meant for general consumption.

The synonymy of tok bokis and tok hait is also asserted by Brash (1971:12), whilst Healey (n.d.:123) introduces the following distinction:

Tok bokis is idiomatic Pidgin just as an expression like 'Tonight I am taking my Bert Wheeler to the bank of France' is in English. Though different words are used, the meaning is clear. Hait tok in written form conveys the actual correct meaning of the words. Its hidden meaning is only

revealed if the spoken word is used, influenced by atmosphere, situation and the expression of the speaker, factors that cannot be included in a written example.

The terminological difficulties can be resolved, however, once the distinction between a linguistic register and its use in a certain social context is introduced. Thus tok bokis is the name for a special linguistic register which involves the replacement of lexical items by others whose meaning and/or form is fully conventionalised, rather than predictable from lexical conventions about metaphorical shift or lexical derivation. Tok hait, on the other hand, is the name given to the speech act involving the use of lexical substitutions with the purpose of excluding outsiders from a conversation.

A similar distinction can be drawn between the terms tok piksa and tok pilai. As pointed out by Brash (1971:15-16), tok piksa refers to a register involving the use of similes, whilst tok pilai refers to a situation in which "a metaphor can be kept up in light-hearted conversation to extend a conceit that is understood by both speakers." This play with words is an end in itself rather than an intentional effort to exclude others from overhearing what is said.

Once the separation between the various linguistic registers and the speech acts in which they can be involved is made, the fact that both tok piksa and tok bokis can be used for the same communicative function, for instance taboo language, need no longer be confusing.

At the same time, outsiders can be excluded from a conversation by means of registers other than tok bokis, e.g. by the use of backslang, sometimes referred to as tok mainus or tok bek (cf. Aufinger 1949:91). Most Europeans can be excluded from a conversation by the use of ordinary Tok Pisin instead of a simplified foreigner talk register. This also suffices if the person who is not meant to overhear a conversation is physically absent. Talking behind a person's back is often referred to as tok baksait.

3.2.5.3 The linguistic properties of Tok Piksa and Tok Pilai

A distinction needs to be made between traditional established metaphors such as *bel bilong mi i hat my belly is hot = I am angry* and the more ad hoc metaphors coined in spontaneous conversations: among the former the most widespread metaphors involve nouns and adjectives. Brash (1971:15) mentions that:

the comparing of one person or object with another has been common in Pidgin since the language was first used. The frequently used word *olsem* enables comparisons to be made as in -

Pita i olsem sak *Peter is like a shark*

Shark here denotes a predatory nature and is most commonly used to refer to behaviour between sexes.

Brash (1971:15) continues to point out that "when the speaker wants to add force to his comparison the word *olsem* is dropped" The examples which could be adduced here are numerous. I shall restrict the discussion to some commonly used groups:

a) Those following the pattern *dispela man/meri i olsem N this person is like N*:

This type of metaphor is used in giving a vivid description of certain kinds of people, for instance:

Tok Pisin	literal translation	metaphorical meaning
draibasket	<i>dry biscuit</i>	<i>a woman past her prime, an unattractive woman</i>
switbasket	<i>sweet biscuit</i>	<i>a sexually attractive girl</i>
stik masis	<i>match stick</i>	<i>skinny person</i>
wailis	<i>wireless, radio</i>	<i>a talkative person</i>
pasindia	<i>passenger</i>	<i>a freeloader, sponger</i>
misinari	<i>missionary</i>	<i>celibate, kind of person requiring special consideration</i>
sak	<i>shark</i>	<i>sharp customer</i>
pislama	<i>beche de mer, seaslug</i>	<i>sluggish person</i>
hul wara	<i>water hole</i>	<i>prostitute</i>

b) Cases following the pattern *sampela samting i olsem N something is like N*:

The semantic field in which this kind of metaphor is most frequently used is that of parts of the body, in particular sexual organs:

Tok Pisin	literal translation	metaphorical meaning
pam	<i>pump</i>	<i>penis</i>
stik	<i>stick</i>	<i>penis</i>
piksa	<i>picture</i>	<i>vagina</i>
baret	<i>ditch</i>	<i>vagina</i>
pensil	<i>pencil</i>	<i>penis</i>
dram kerosin	<i>kerosine drum</i>	<i>big belly, paunch</i>
stik kopi	<i>coffee stick</i>	<i>truncheon</i>
kolwara	<i>cold water</i>	<i>beer</i>
spesel mailo	<i>special Milo</i>	<i>beer</i>

c) common metaphorical properties of adjectives:

A number of Tok Pisin adjectives figure prominently in metaphorical language, in particular body-term metaphors (cf. Todd and Mühlhäusler 1978). They are gut *good*, nogut *bad*, hat *hot*, kol *cold*, hevi *heavy* and malumalu *soft*.

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

ndai gut	<i>to die well = die of old age or natural causes</i>
stap gut	<i>to be well, get along well</i>

nogut: nogut *bad* reflects the opposite of gut, thus conflict, unhappiness, unnaturalness and sadness.

ndai nogut	<i>to die as a result of sorcery</i>
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hat and kol: the semantics of the items hat *hot* and kol *cold* can be explained in terms of human body temperature. Thus Aufenanger and Höltker (1940:138-139) propose:

Here we have chosen, following Father Joseph Schebesta, S.V.D.'s proposal, the expression 'body temperature', because the natives choose the terms 'to become warm' or 'to become cold' in their own languages, when one is dealing with phenomena such as have been referred to as

'body temperature' here. As a consequence of this conception, the New Guinea people also say, in their now usual language of wider communication, Pidgin English: *katres i kold/finish the bullet is a dud* (it is 'cold'), or *posin i kold finish the magic potion has lost its effect* (it has become 'cold'). (author's translation)

Other examples illustrating the semantics of *hat* and *kol* are:

hatpela man *an irascible man*
kok i kol *the penis is cold = to be impotent*
mekim bel i kol *to make the belly cold = to pacify someone*

hevi: *hevi* is associated with lack of ability, clumsiness and irresponsibility, no *hevi* *light* with the opposite ideas. Examples of its use include:

bun bilong mi hevi *my bones are heavy = I can't walk any further, I am tired*

ol i autim hevi *they expressed their dissatisfaction*
bilong ol

malumalu: *malumalu* *soft* often expresses weakness and tenderness as in:

as malumalu *soft arse = decrepit old person*

skin bilong pikinini *the skin of this child is very*
i malumalu *sensitive*

pas: finally *pas* *to be fastened, obstructed* is associated with disability and uselessness, particularly of sensory organs. Note that *pas* can refer to either an ongoing process or a state:

man ya i aipas *this man does not see well = this man is blind*

het i pas *to be unable to think*

d) metaphors denoting verbal actions:

The examples listed here include mainly verbal phrases consisting of a transitive verb and a noun object, though some simple verb stems are also found in metaphorical meaning.

Tok Pisin	literal translation	metaphorical meaning
<i>pamim</i>	<i>to pump</i>	<i>to urinate</i>
<i>likim</i>	<i>to leak</i>	<i>to urinate</i>
<i>katim kona</i>	<i>to take a shortcut</i>	<i>to have premarital sex</i>
<i>kaikai buai</i>	<i>to eat betelnut</i>	<i>to bleed out of the mouth</i>
<i>kapsaitim mauswara</i>	<i>to spill saliva</i>	<i>to talk nonsense</i>
<i>putim gris na suga</i>	<i>to put grease and sugar</i>	<i>to entice</i>
<i>bihainim rot bilong baksait</i>	<i>to follow the road of the back</i>	<i>to have anal intercourse</i>
<i>troimwe anka</i>	<i>to cast an anchor</i>	<i>to go steady with</i>
<i>luslain</i>	<i>to untie a ship</i>	<i>to leave a place</i>

The above lists could be expanded considerably. However, it would seem more profitable to turn our attention to the creation of new metaphors in natural conversation, a style referred to as *tok pilai playtalk*. It is particularly common in sexual joking, as in:

O sori susa, mi gat ki. Bai
mi painim lok bilongen we?

Mi nap long baim glas bilong
yu o nogat.

Sapos yu gat inap mani yu ken
baim.

Bateri bilong mi i kol. Bai
mi hatim we?

*Oh sister, I have got a key.
Where can I find a lock for it?*

*Can I buy your glass? (said to a
woman holding a glass)*

*If you have got enough money,
you can.*

*My battery is cold. Where can
I charge it?*

However, the topic of tok pilai is by no means restricted to talking about sex and can also be found in other light-hearted conversations such as the following, quoted from Brash 1971:16:

A: Yu wok we?

B: Mi wok long Masta Raun.

A: Gutpela wok long en?

B: Wok i orait tasol pei i
no gut.

A: Where do you work?

B: I'm working for Mr Stroll Around.

A: Is it interesting work?

*B: The work's OK but the wages are
poor.*

Occasionally, the original metaphor is extended over a prolonged verbal interchange as in the following example recorded by myself in 1976 at the University of Papua New Guinea. The tok pilai is triggered off by a girl wearing a T-shirt with the letters PDF, and her remark mi bagarap *I'm buggered*. In the ensuing conversation one can observe the attempt by one of the male students to build up a tok pilai around the workshop motive (M1) and the attempt by another (M3) to do the same with the medicine/hospital motive. Eventually the workshop motive takes over: (M1, M2, M3 = men students, G = girl student)

M1: Dispela meri i toktok, lukim
em i lap

*This girl that is talking, see
how she is laughing*

M2: Pi Di Ef, Pi Di Ef!

PDF, PDF!

G: A, mi bagarap.

I'm buggered.

M1: A, dispela kain bai fiksime
long woksap.

*This sort of thing can be fixed
in the workshop.*

M2: Bagarap long wanem ya?

How come buggered?

M3: Ating marasin i stap.

Perhaps there is a medicine for it.

M1: Gutpela long wokim long
woksap.

*It's O.K. to do it in the work-
shop.*

M2: PDF woksap i gutpela.

The PDF workshop is fine.

M1: PDF woksap ya, man!

The PDF workshop, yeah man!

M2: Ol i fiksime gut.

They fix it properly.

M1: Ol i laik grisime gut.

They can grease it up well.

M2: Ol i save holime gut.

They can get a grip on it.

M3: Wanem?

What?

M1: Samting ya.

You know what.

3.2.5.4 The linguistic properties of Tok Bokis and Tok Hait

In contrast to tok piksa, which is derived from ordinary Tok Pisin by means of certain general conventions concerning the metaphorical use of lexical items, the semantic properties of tok bokis items are much less susceptible to a description in terms of such conventions. Instead, semantic information from one lexical item is paired with the phonological information of another in an unpredictable way, or else new phonological information is substituted. Tok bokis is used either for taboo reasons (in which case knowledge about the lexical substitution involved is shared by most members of the Tok Pisin-speaking community) or in secret varieties, known to small groups of initiated people only.

The taboo register is used principally in speaking about death and certain bodily functions,⁹ as in:

Tok Pisin	literal translation	gloss
samting	<i>something</i>	<i>genitals</i>
mi go si/solwara	<i>I go to the sea</i>	<i>I go for a pee</i>
mi go rausim pipia	<i>I'll throw out the rubbish</i>	<i>I'll defecate</i>
saman wantaim kanu i no orait	<i>the canoe and the outrigger don't match</i>	<i>they are unhappily married</i>
paia bilong hauskuk indai pinis	<i>the fire in the kitchen has been extinguished</i>	<i>my wife has died</i>
pos bilong haus i bruk pinis	<i>the post of the house is broken</i>	<i>my husband has died</i>
longpela kokonas i pundaun pinis	<i>the tall coconut tree fell down</i>	<i>the chief of the village has died</i>
muruk i kilim em	<i>a cassowary hit him</i>	<i>he had an epileptic attack</i>

A number of additional examples are given by Aufinger (1949:117ff), including:

kiap, masta, maski	<i>never mind the patrol officer or European</i>	<i>I have to go to the toilet presently</i>
wanpela diwai i stap klostu long haus bilong yu i pundaun long graun	<i>a tree near your house has fallen and is lying on the ground</i>	<i>someone near or dear to you has died</i>

By far the most extensive use of secret Tok Pisin was made in the various cargo movements. Two factors, the widespread belief that the missionaries lied about the 'true meaning' of many of their lexical innovations and the fact that "the natives actually, and quite frequently, impute secret meanings to pidgin words and sentences in the same, or a similar way, as they are accustomed to do with their own vernacular languages" (Aufinger 1949:117), are instrumental in the development of secret vocabularies. Thus Schwartz (1957:156ff) discusses the development of new secret meanings for certain doctrinal terms in the Paliu movement of Manus Island, referring to the widespread belief that:

The mission lied too about what is called Imperno and Purgatorio. The mission explained these in Neo-Melanesian as fire belong marsalai. Outside of the Neo-Melanesian literature of the missions, the word marsalai denotes malevolent spirits of the bush. The folklore of the old culture is peopled with these demons. They could cause

the death of human beings. Missionaries had told their converts not to believe in marsalai, but they had also borrowed the word to translate the devils and the demons of Christianity. Paliau called this talk about fire belong marsalai a lie. Imperno was simply the ground in which one was buried when one dies. Christ was buried in the ground, then His think-think ascended to Heaven after three days. It is this way with all men. Your body went into the ground and your mind-soul went back to God. As for Purgatorio, another "fire" in which men were supposed to pay for their minor sins after death, this was also a lie of the missionary. This Purgatorio is the house calaboose into which the government put people who had done some wrong. It was not a fire, it was not in Heaven, and it had nothing to do with marsalai. This was the mission's way of avoiding talking about the coercive power of the government.

Far-reaching reinterpretation was not restricted to doctrinal terms, however, and the list of expressions collected by Schwartz includes a number of other interesting examples:

Tok Bokis expression	ordinary meaning	special meaning in Paliau movement
orait	<i>all right, healthy</i>	<i>to be equal to the white man in terms of knowledge, goods, etc.</i>
kastem haus	<i>customs house</i>	<i>shed for receiving and handling goods in trade with other villages</i>
King Berra	<i>Canberra</i>	<i>mythical king of the land of cargo</i>
mep	<i>map</i>	<i>graveyard</i>
prais	<i>price, prize</i>	<i>reward, cargo</i>
star	<i>star</i>	<i>turnstile in the village gate, having reference to heaven</i>

The development of special vocabularies for varieties used by various cargo movements was and still is quite widespread. There are regional differences and rapid replacement of old secret terms with new ones within individual cargo movements, perhaps in order to prevent outsiders from getting to know about the cult language, perhaps because experimenting with word magic is involved. What is involved in most cases is a more or less drastic change in the meaning of certain lexical items, changes which may go unnoticed by the outsider who only understands the literal 'innocent' meaning.

Tok bokis lexical items most typically are normal items with a different meaning, but innovations, which do not form a part of the standard Tok Pisin vocabulary, can also be found. Compare the items in the following list collected by the author from members of the Pele Association in the Yangoru-Dreikikir area:

Tok Bokis expression	ordinary meaning (if any)	special meaning in Pele movement
pele	-	<i>eagle, hawk</i>
gaten memore	<i>(memory garden)</i>	<i>cemetery</i>
paitim dis	<i>to hit the dish</i>	<i>to put money on a plate and shake it so that the amount is multiplied</i>

Tok Bokis expression	ordinary meaning (if any)	special meaning in Pele movement
dis i klos	<i>the dish is closed</i>	<i>it is Sunday, there are no cargo activities</i>
kandare	<i>maternal uncle</i>	<i>someone who has died and will give money to the living</i>
wok	<i>work</i>	<i>the Pele Association</i>
wokas	<i>(workers)</i>	<i>male member of P.A.</i>
plauas	<i>(flowers)</i>	<i>female member of P.A.</i>
man bilong wok	<i>worker, hard worker</i>	<i>member of P.A.</i>
rot bilong kandare i pas	<i>the uncle's road is obstructed</i>	<i>the dead body fails to provide money</i>

Elicitation of such items and verification of their exact meaning is very difficult and the reliability of the above list cannot be guaranteed.

As has been the case with metaphorical language, secret language is also used through prolonged conversations, a practice referred to as tok hait. Aufinger (1949:118) quotes the following account of a fight between three Papua New Guineans:

"Mi stop long bush, nau mi laik kaikai bilinat. Mi lukautim wanfelo, mi faindim, mi faitim, faitim, faitim, mi kaikaim tasol i no swit long mi, na spet belong mi i no red. Mi lukautim kambang wantaim daka. Mi kaikai wantaim bilinat, nau bilinat i swit long mi, na spet i red elgeder, i kamdaun plenti tumas." In English translation: *"while I was in the bush, I wanted to chew a betelnut. I searched for one and found it, I kept beating it (in the betel-mortar), finally I started to chew it, but it was not sweet to my taste and my saliva did not turn red. I then searched for lime and betel-pepper. When I chewed all those together it became very sweet to me and red saliva was flowing down abundantly."* Quite in contrast with the peaceful appearance of this story the actual meaning of it was: *"I wanted to have a fight with a certain man in the bush. I found him there and we had a long fight between the two of us, but it was not to my satisfaction. So I called for two of my friends and when they joined in the brawl my enemy was beaten to my satisfaction and he lost a lot of blood."*

3.2.5.5 Backslang

A description of this variety and its social setting on some small islands in the Madang area was made by Aufinger (1949:47-49). Aufinger believes that the practice of backslang developed as a result of the teaching of writing to Papua New Guineans which led to the discovery that words could be written and subsequently spoken backwards. This makes the language impossible to follow for an uninitiated outsider.

Backslang operates at a number of size levels. Most speakers use individual words spoken backwards such as *kepkep* for *pekpek* to *defecate* and *supsup* for *puspus* to *have sexual intercourse*. Longer utterances spoken backwards have also been observed, for instance, by Aufinger (1949:91):

1. *Asit i kotkot aromut tagon lukus*. Reading this sentence word by word but reflected face we find: *tisa i toktok tumora nogatukul*, or in the more modernized spelling: *ticher i toktok tumoro nogat skul*, i.e. *the teacher says, tomorrow is no class*.
2. "*Alapui wok, atsam i mak!*" i.e. *lupala wok, masta i kam!*" In assimilated spelling: *yufelo work, master i kam*. - A warning signal which everyone understands, except perhaps "the Master."
3. "*Im milik tumum,*" i.e. *mi kilim mumut*. In English: *I have killed an opossum*; but he means probably a pig, using the word for opossum in a metaphorical sense.

The principal social functions of backslang are linguistic play, taboo and the exclusion of certain groups of outsiders, in particular Europeans, supervisors, women and children, from secret activities.

3.2.5.6 Narrative style

The study of the higher levels of Tok Pisin grammar has only just begun. Laycock's characterisation (1977a:615-616) is a neat summary of our present knowledge:

An oral tradition in Pidgin narrative has not yet established itself. Comparatively few Pidgin texts by indigenous speakers have been published in any 'undocored' way; some of the major collections to date are to be found in the Pidgin manuals of Laycock (1970c), Dutton (1973) and Wurm (1971a). It should be noted, however, that most of these texts are in fact translations of vernacular stories, and are told in Pidgin only for the benefit of the European recorder; situations rarely arise (or, at least, have rarely been observed) where narratives are told in Pidgin to a predominantly indigenous audience. even in these examples a Pidgin narrative style is discernible, a style whose major elements are taken from vernacular story-telling styles. Most notable of these elements is the linking of sentences by repetition of the previous verb, often introduced by *orait*, as in the following example from Laycock 1970c - repetitions italicised:

Orait, i go long raunwara, pukpuk i ken kisim em, na bikpela snek i stap long wara, em i ken kisim em. Orait, ol i kisim i kam, smokim pinis, ol i putim gen, ol i go bek. Ol i go bek, ol i kisim, ol i kisim torosel na wonem samting, pukpuk, ol i siutim long supia. Ol i siutim long supia, orait, sapos dewel i kamap long wara, baimbai masalai long maunten i go daun kisim nau ...

Well, they go to the pond, they can get crocodiles, and the big snakes that live by the water. They get them, smoke them, put them aside, and go back. They go back, catch some more, catch tortoises and all kinds of things, crocodiles,

they spear them. They spear them; but if the spirit comes up in the water, the demon of the mountain will go down and get them now.

This sentence-linking, which derives from the 'sentence-medial' verbs of non-Austronesian languages of Papua New Guinea, is also a major feature of Pidgin rhetoric - another field of indigenous literary creation which many visitors to Papua New Guinea have observed (especially at the meetings of Local Government Councils), but which has not been documented in any satisfactory way.

3.2.5.7 Code-mixing and code-switching

One of the most fertile areas of stylistic expansion involves transfer of English vocabulary or utterances. Many speakers in the urban areas are bilingual Tok Pisin and English speakers (about 200,000 according to the latest available census figures). In addition to moving along the restructuring continuum developing between Tok Pisin and English (i.e. speaking different mesolectal varieties), some speakers also resort to straight borrowing from English for stylistic purposes. Because of the close lexical affiliation between the two languages the distinction between mixing and borrowing is difficult to draw.

In some areas at least, and certainly on campuses such as the University of Papua New Guinea, one is dealing with a transitional stage between a clear diglossic situation and the development of a complex linguistic continuum. The following examples illustrate the use of English borrowings in the discussion of non-traditional topics. Whilst all of these borrowings could have easily been expressed in more traditional Tok Pisin, many speakers feel that modern concepts are best expressed by modern language. Note that it is not always possible to determine which code is represented by which parts of an utterance, as the close proximity of Urban Tok Pisin and English leads to a great deal of overlap. I recorded the following examples in 1976 at the University of Papua New Guinea (_____ = English; _____ = both Tok Pisin and English):

Example 1: A political debate:

Nesonelis olsem, olgeta man i mas save longen ya. Wampela samting tu ya, sam pipel ol i politically minded na mipela sampela olsem yupela i bin manipulated by others ...

A nationalist like this, everyone should know about him. And something else, some people who are politically minded and some people like you and me have been manipulated by others ...

Ol i ken do whatever they want to. Em nau, mi save. O, I don't like them. So what, laki tru na mi kam

They can do whatever they want. Now I know. Oh, I don't like them. So what, just as well I came

Ol Morobe i autim tiket bilongen long wanem on the grounds that em i no under-standim. Em i ignorant bikos em i no ritim dispela pepa.

The people in the Morobe district voted his party out on the grounds that he didn't understand [the situation]. He didn't know what was going on because he hadn't read this paper.

Example 2: Conversation about the movie *Planet of the Apes*

Na wampela narapela man i tok:
 'What did you say?', na em i
 tok, dispela ape i toktok, na
 em i tok: 'No, no, it's me. I
said it. What did he say, the
bastard?' Em all the other
apes, they don't talk, but this
one can talk na he got himself
into trouble, dispela ape ya.

*And another man said: 'What did
 you say?', and he said, this ape
 who was talking, he said: 'No, no,
 it's me. I said it. What did
 he say, the bastard?' All the
 other apes, they don't talk, but
 this one can talk and he got him-
 self into trouble, this ape.*

3.2.6 CONCLUSIONS

A survey of present-day variants of Tok Pisin clearly demonstrates that this language has moved a long way from the monostylistic jargon and early stabilised pidgin found at the turn of the century. Variation characterises even those stages. However, it is only at the very beginning of a pidgin's development that variation is free, in the sense of arbitrary and non-significant. At later stages existing variation is reinterpreted and used in a number of ways. It can be merely indexical as was found in regional, social and sex-related variation where variants of the language signal the group membership of a speaker or, as has been the case with its various stylistic registers, variation can be employed for a number of communicative purposes. The boundary between these two functions is fluent and we have seen that linguistic variants can be given different functions at different times in the history of Tok Pisin.

In this chapter I have concentrated on variation among second-language speakers, creolisation and its linguistic consequences having been dealt with elsewhere. It would seem important to stress that Tok Pisin has been developed into an extraordinarily flexible and systematically variable language by adult second-language speakers. This is clearly yet another counterexample to the widespread claim that rule-changing creativity virtually ceases after puberty. Rather one is inclined to assume that, given the right communicative pressure, adults can change and elaborate second languages in more than just superficial ways.

It is too early to say what will happen to linguistic variation in Tok Pisin. It must be remembered that many of the phenomena discussed in this chapter are dysfunctional from the point of view of Tok Pisin's original main function as a nationwide lingua franca. Should its role in future be increasingly that of a regional and local language, then its variability will remain or even increase. But this would mean that Tok Pisin will change from a culture-neutral to a culture-dependent language.

NOTES

1. In connection with the term 'rule of grammar' it should be pointed out that a descriptive rule (such as found in structuralist grammars for instance) should not be confused with the various types of knowledge actual speakers apply in using their language. It should also be kept in mind that rules of grammar include natural laws, social conventions as well as statistical probabilities. Most grammars do not distinguish between these types (cf. Harris 1981).
2. The terms basilect, mesolect and acrolect refer to linguistic distance between a pidgin or creole and its superimposed lexifier language (acrolect). A typical case is:

basilectal	→	mesolectal	→	acrolect
pidgin		pidgin		(English)
		(influenced by English)		
3. For general remarks on the influence of the mode of transmission on language learning see Hockett 1950.
4. I am well aware of the problems of defining a 'speech community', particularly for pidgins and creoles (cf. Labov 1980).
5. My data do not fully support Bickerton's categorical statement (1980:113) that: "In spontaneous change, an already existing form and structure acquires a new meaning, function and distribution. In decreolisation, an already existing function or meaning acquires a new form or structure."
6. It is interesting to speculate at what point the addition of more and more lexical exceptions leads to a structural breakdown. This question needs to be dealt with within a catastrophe model of language change.
7. Healey (n.d.:213), on the other hand, reports that "kalambo is the word for *mosquito net* in the Islands, but the mainland people prefer taunam." This appears to be an error, however. Klambu is not listed in the dictionaries representing Islands Pidgin (Borchardt 1926 and Dahmen 1957). Taunam on the other hand, is documented for Islands Pidgin from the mid 1920s. Since klambu is of Malay origin, its status as a mainland item is beyond doubt.
8. The item galip is known in the Papua New Guinea Lowlands. However, there it refers to a specific variety of nut growing on a tree, not unlike a brazil nut.
9. The examples listed here were collected in the East Sepik and Madang Provinces, but appear to be of much wider currency (cf. Aufinger 1949:117-119).

3.3 GOOD AND BAD PIDGIN: NOGUT YU TOKTOK KRANKI

P. Mühlhäusler

3.3.1 INTRODUCTION

For a long time linguists have not only been very reluctant to make value judgements about language but have also denied that such judgements could be made in principle. From the point of view of the ordinary speaker this seems strange indeed. But there is a gradual realisation among linguists today that the assumption that all languages and all linguistic forms are equal is by no means a sign of objectivity and scholarship. Instead, the refusal to comment on qualitative matters has made linguistics a less useful source of information to those who need it most, the language planners. The insistence of many linguists that their job was to describe some abstract linguistic system underlying the actual utterances of everyday speakers has also led to a neglect of external factors such as attitude studies.

In this chapter I will try to propose ways in which the lack of information in this area could be lessened. I will concentrate on two main tasks:

- a) the discussion of general principles of language evaluation;
- b) a history of judgements about varieties and individual constructions found in Tok Pisin.

3.3.2 EVALUATING LINGUISTIC SYSTEMS

Among the criteria proposed by the experts on language planning, the following are the most important:

- a) Referential adequacy, i.e. "the capacity of the language to meet the needs of its users as an instrument of referential meaning" (Haugen 1966:62).
- b) Systematic adequacy, i.e. a language should be structured in such a way that its rules are maximally general and natural.
- c) Acceptability, i.e. a form must be adopted or adoptable by the majority of whatever society or subsociety is involved.

Subordinate to these considerations are others, such as euphony, brevity, and symmetry between expression and content, which are listed and discussed by Tauli (1968:38f).

(a) With regard to Tok Pisin, referential adequacy would not have to be the same for all of its users. Whilst a small minority who speak this language as a first language have to express all ideas and feelings in Tok Pisin, for the majority of speakers Tok Pisin is used in a limited number of functions and domains. Thus, referential adequacy has to be judged against the background of the communicative needs of a specific group of speakers.

S.A. Wurm and P. Mühlhäusler, eds *Handbook of Tok Pisin (New Guinea Pidgin)*, 275-291. *Pacific Linguistics*, C-70, 1984.

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There are indications that Tok Pisin is not an adequate means of communication in a number of areas of discourse relating to recent technological and sociological change, but this can be said of virtually any language, including English. Because of Tok Pisin's productive word-formation component and its relatively high syntactic capacity, most referential inadequacies can be repaired quite easily in principle.

Whilst the notion of referential adequacy is most often used to refer to deficiencies in the lexical area, it is also found on other levels of grammar. Wurm (1977c) stresses that syntactic differentiation is not equally developed in all varieties of Tok Pisin. Thus, in some of the older second-language varieties:

- a) grammatical categories such as tense, aspect or number are either absent or underrepresented;
- b) the system of prepositions is rather rudimentary;
- c) discourse-structuring grammatical elements are rare, making it difficult to express the difference between important and less-important information.

However, since most of these deficiencies have been repaired in creolised and newer second-language varieties of Tok Pisin, language planners could easily resort to internal borrowing if it was felt that such distinctions were needed in the language.

A lot of claims have been made about the referential adequacy or inadequacy of Tok Pisin and such claims have often formed the basis of value judgements. It must be remembered, however, that very little empirical research has been done in this area and that the question needs to be treated with great care. To claim that either Tok Pisin or one of its varieties is good or bad because of its referential potential ignores the fact that the potential of all varieties is continuously changing.

(b) The systematic adequacy of a language is concerned primarily with its internal consistency and regularity. Ideally, grammatical rules should be maximally general. Contrary to certain claims that pidgins are extremely simple, it can be shown that this statement has little meaning unless seen against the background of the continuous grammatical development of these languages.

As a general rule it can be stated that, in its initial stages, a pidgin grammar is full of exceptions and relatively minor or unproductive grammatical rules, and that greater regularity is only reached in its more developed varieties, if it develops without external interference. If, on the other hand, contact with its original lexifier language (English in the case of Tok Pisin) is renewed, then language mixing can lead to a substantial increase in grammatical irregularity. I wish to illustrate these two points with an actual example, the signalling of plural in Tok Pisin (full details in Mühlhäusler 1981a).

In the early part of this century, speakers of Tok Pisin used the pluraliser *ol* only variably, with nouns referring to living beings and preferably in grammatical subject or direct object position. Today, in a number of creolised varieties, the pluraliser *ol* is used before any noun which is semantically plural. This means that the rule to account for pluralisation around 1910 is much more complex than the rule needed to state pluralisation in the creolised Tok Pisin of 1980. The latter variety is therefore systematically more adequate.

Contact with English in some varieties of Urban Tok Pisin has led to the introduction of pluralisation by means of the formative *-s* as in *mans* for Rural Tok Pisin *ol man men*. This new rule is not applied in all instances, however. Instead, one finds combinations such as *ol gels, gels, ol gel girls*, often used

by the same speaker. It is extremely difficult to state the conditions under which one or the other form is chosen. This means that the systematic adequacy of the grammar has been reduced considerably under the influence of language contact.

Systematic adequacy also refers to the notion of linguistic naturalness. In second-language Tok Pisin, because it is a second language, linguistic strategies which optimise perception are more favoured than those promoting production. As a result, natural phonological processes (e.g. processes reducing sounds or converting sound segments into more readily pronounceable sounds) are suppressed, and natural morphological processes, i.e. processes favouring the optimisation of perception, are favoured. This means that there is a strong tendency in Tok Pisin for one form to have one meaning and for the same meaning to be expressed by the same form. An example of morphological naturalness would be in the formation of derived words. Compare the irregular English examples with the regular ones of Tok Pisin:

Tok Pisin		English	
taun	bilong taun	<i>town</i>	<i>urban</i>
kantri	bilong kantri	<i>country</i>	<i>rural</i>
pisop	bilong pisop	<i>bishop</i>	<i>episcopal</i>
meme	bilong meme	<i>goat</i>	<i>hirsute</i>
plisman		<i>policeman</i>	
draivman		<i>driver</i>	
paniman		<i>joker</i>	
woksaveman		<i>specialist</i>	
hos man	hos meri	<i>stallion</i>	<i>mare</i>
sipsip man	sipsip meri	<i>ram</i>	<i>ewe</i>
kakaruk man	kakaruk meri	<i>cock</i>	<i>hen</i>
pikinini man	pikinini meri	<i>son</i>	<i>daughter</i>
pik man	pik meri	<i>boar</i>	<i>sow</i>

Tok Pisin's high degree of morphological naturalness makes it an easy language to learn as a second language. It is for this reason that borrowing from both internal and external sources may have to be carefully controlled if this advantage of the language is not to be lost.

The case of morphological naturalness illustrates that the terms good or bad pidgin cannot be discussed outside a social context. To have a maximum of morphological naturalness makes the language good from a learner's point of view. On the other hand, it reduces its stylistic flexibility and can make it rather monotonous, as has been illustrated by Mead (1931:149).

(c) Whilst linguistically naive speakers may make reference to the referential and systematic adequacy of Tok Pisin in discussing its merits, this is typically done in a haphazard way. Their main concern, and this goes particularly for New Guinean speakers of the language, is its social acceptability. This factor depends to a large extent on external circumstances and may change considerably over time. Some of these changes will be discussed below.

To begin with I want to discuss a more context-independent principle of social acceptability, namely whether expressions in a language are iconically encoded or not. There seem to be language-independent reasons for saying, for instance, that:

- a) Reduplicated lexical stems should stand for concepts centring around childhood experiences and lighthearted personal emotions. Applying this criterion, the Tok Pisin items tingting *to think*

toktok to *talk* and lukluk to *look* would be badly encoded. In fact, educated speakers of the language tend to replace them with unreduplicated forms.

- b) Concepts which are central to a culture should be expressed by means of short lexical bases whilst marginal concepts can be expressed by longer compounds or circumlocutions. The difference in the relative importance of concepts can be seen from the following examples:

Tok Pisin	English
laplap	<i>length of cloth worn around the waist like a kilt</i>
kain laplap ol Skots i save pasim	<i>kilt</i>
lala	<i>tailor fish</i>
man bilong samapim klos	<i>tailor</i>

- c) There are limits to the degree of homophony in a language. Laycock (1969:8) observes that Tok Pisin already has a relatively large number of words where different English words have fallen together. "To add to this number incautiously could well overload the language with forms that sound the same but have different meanings." Thus, the proposal to translate English *peace* as Tok Pisin *pis* is ill founded, as *pis* can already mean *piece*, *piss*, *fish*, *fees* and (in some varieties) *peas*.

In addition to such external or mechanical factors underlying social acceptability there are a number of sociopsychological factors. Among them the following are of particular importance:

- a) Expressions are regarded as socially harmful because they create divisions, e.g. insults, group labels or elite language.
- b) Expressions are regarded as taboo. In this connection it is interesting to observe that conventions for a taboo register in Tok Pisin emerged very early in its development, e.g. the use of longpela pik *long pig* for a human being eaten during a cannibal meal.
- c) A number of expressions are regarded as difficult to understand or confusing. Such expressions are particularly undesirable in the case of Tok Pisin, since its main function is that of a nationwide lingua franca.

Tok Pisin is spoken by people of a wide range of social and cultural backgrounds and it is for this reason that one can expect significant differences in the social acceptability of linguistic forms. Let me illustrate this with an example from the lowest linguistic level, that of pronunciation. A group of Tok Pisin speakers objected to the proposal to call Papua New Guinea Pagini on the grounds that this would sound like pakim mi *fuck me*. Had they had a distinction between (p) and (f) in their variety this objection would hardly have arisen. At present, we do not even understand such relatively mechanical processes, and as a result unfortunate and socially damaging new expressions continue to enter Tok Pisin. Thus, the recently introduced expression selek komiti *select committee* is often interpreted as slek komiti *a slack or inefficient village committee member* and investim mani *to invest money* is frequently interpreted as westim mani *to waste money*.

Extensive language attitude studies need to be carried out to test this and other aspects of social acceptability. Without the results of such research no proper language planning can be carried out, since it is the social acceptability of an expression which in the last instance determines whether a proposed new expression will be fully adopted or not.

3.3.3 HISTORICAL NOTES ON LINGUISTIC VALUE JUDGEMENTS ABOUT TOK PISIN

Judgements about good and bad varieties of Tok Pisin are dependent on the metalinguistic abilities, i.e. the ability to speak about linguistic matters, of those who make them. This means that, in the early days of development of this language, statements about good and bad pidgin can only be found in expatriate sources, for it is only fairly recently that Tok Pisin has also become an instrument for talking about language. Thus, expressions such as *tok brukbruk incoherent talk or stuttering* are of very recent origin. This, incidentally, poses a considerable problem for fieldworkers who want to elicit linguistic judgements from people living in remote areas or from older speakers of Tok Pisin.

In discussing European pronouncements I am not concerned with attitudes towards the language as a whole since this question will be dealt with in a different chapter. I will only deal with pronouncements as to the relative merit of two or more recognised varieties of the language.

Whilst most writers in Tok Pisin's formative years dismiss all varieties of the language as a garbled, grammarless and debased form of English, Friederici (1911) takes a more balanced view. Here follow two extracts from McDonald's translation of his article on Tok Pisin (1977:22):

The jargon is capable of a limited flexibility and of strongly-expressed statements when it is spoken by someone who has really mastered it. Being left entirely with natives for many months, I learnt to make speeches of the kind that a company commander really does make to his company. I thought that moderately impressive until hearing the profound speeches that were (sic!) between *kiap Boluminski* of Kavieng and the chiefs at their official meetings and in legal proceedings. I heard him and Herr Rodatz, master of the Aitape station, speaking the best Pidgin English in the colony.

Friederici (1977:24 of translation) contrasts this kind of Tok Pisin with the kind spoken by a newly arrived judge:

I shall not forget the summing-up of a judge which demonstrated exactly the opposite of real ability such as that of Herr Boluminski, praised above, and was officially recorded during legal proceedings I can only say that it produced a miserable situation.

An interesting set of comments on good and bad pidgin can be found in the *Rabaul Times* in the years between the two wars. Most writers appear to be concerned with the fact that the stable Tok Pisin which had developed during German times was gradually being eroded by the continuous introduction of English vocabulary and grammar. The resulting new variety was considered both less stable and less efficient for interracial and cross-territorial communication. I have selected two articles making this point:

a) *Rabaul Times*, editorial March 13, 1931:

Our own pidgin-English ... is becoming less "pidgin" than what one might term a 'corrupted' English or Australianese. For, with the general inrush of Australians and Englishmen since the war who were ignorant of pidgin English as it should be spoken, little attention has been paid to the preservation of the purity of pidgin English as it was methodically learned by the new arrivals from Germany in pre-war days

It is a pity if our picturesque pidgin-English is to be lost entirely and replaced by a corrupted and distorted English

b) *Rabaul Times*, editorial February 15, 1935:

Before the 1914 holocaust pidgin-English retained an individualism of its own.

... at the present time, throughout the territory there is a garbled corruption of English spoken without any rules or limitations of vocabulary interspersed with mispronounced pidgin and native idioms

Whilst for most secular writers the loss of communicative efficiency in the anglicised varieties of the language is the main target of their criticism, the missions are concerned with different issues. Their main criticism against Tok Pisin, it appears, is that it is full of crudities and obscenities. One expression in particular annoyed the missions, *goddam*, which according to a number of sources was a very frequent vocabulary item before 1930. Thus, Friederici reports:

If a Melanesian exclaims: "God dam! He savee too much!" when he refers to another Melanesian who is magnificently decorated as to look like a negro from Washington or Virginia, he will always create amusement. But it made me really sad when I heard a man from Lamassa, while he was building a mon (Boat), muttering: "God dam, work belong kanaka he no good!"

(quoted from McDonald 1977:22)

Mead (1931:151) comments on the initial effort of the missions to remove crude expressions from the language:

When the missionaries preach and translate the Bible into pidgin, they make some effort to smooth out the crudities of the language, but in the hands of the boys these all crop up again. Pidgin without continual "goddams" and "bloodys" is inconceivable to the boys.

As will be discussed in more detail in the chapter on language planning (6.8), mission bodies were set up in the 1930s with the expressed aim of

removing the crude or obscene expressions from approved language use and replacing them with others taken from the existing inventory of expressions

(Höltker 1945:58, author's translation)

The attempts of the missions to purify the language in this way are interesting in that they introduce a new, and it would appear quite non-New Guinean, dimension into the discussion of what is good and what is bad language.

Mission publications around 1930 are also concerned with a second 'non-New Guinean' question, namely that of establishing standards for the correctness of

pronunciation and spelling. In this context, it is interesting that their writers appear to be guided not by local pronunciation, which is described as 'vulgar', but by the real or presumed English etymon. Examples include:

bernim /*burn*/, (vulg. boinim)
 boks /*box*/, (vulg. bokis)
 drift /*drift*/, (vulg. drip)
 foldaun /*fall down*/, (vulg. pundaun)

All examples were taken from the *Wörterbuch mit Redewendungen*, published by the Alexishafen Missionaries around 1935. Note that the so-called vulgar forms were the only ones used by the vast majority of Tok Pisin speakers at the time.

Whilst language attitudes within Papua New Guinea appeared to change little in the years after World War II, and whilst both missions and government continued in their efforts to create a standard Tok Pisin, there was a growing opinion among outside observers, and in particular linguists, that the language should be left alone. One of the best known proponents of this direction in the 1950s and early 1960s is Robert A. Hall. He argues:

You can't create a language by fiat, or by deliberate introduction of terms. People will inevitably use words in accordance, not with someone's notion of what is 'correct', but with their own pattern of behaviour and outlook on life These considerations have a direct bearing on the proposals that are occasionally made to 'purify' Pidgin by altering the vocabulary. Well-meaning observers are often shocked by one Pidgin word or another, not only terms with erotic or scatological implications, but words which by now have acquired unpleasant connotations of racial discrimination in English

(Hall 1955a:98)

Hall's refusal to be anything other than purely descriptive is symptomatic of a kind of linguistics which tried to be purely 'scientific' and which strictly separated between the structure and the use of language. The doctrine of the day was that all languages can express adequately whatever their speakers want them to express and that therefore no planning or interference was called for. Hall's remarks are also symptomatic of the view that language planning is concerned mainly with purifying a language from erotic connotations. It has been shown elsewhere in this chapter that most Papua New Guineans are not concerned with this aspect of language and that planning in this area is not needed. The view that all languages are equal as to their referential potential is not supported by empirical evidence. On the contrary, Scott's (1977) study of agricultural vocabulary in Tok Pisin bears out a principle known to language planners, namely that in times of rapid social and technological change linguistic development lags behind external development. Thus, a more realistic view would be one which takes into consideration the linguistic needs of Tok Pisin speakers in the years immediately before and subsequent to independence.

From the late 1960s onward one can observe a gradual convergence between the attitudes of the linguistically naive users of the language and those concerned with laying down its rules. An important step is the official campaign against socially harmful outdated colonialist and racist expressions. In 1969 the Australian Administrator of Papua New Guinea directed administration staff not to use offensive Tok Pisin words:

I believe it is time the Administration initiated some changes to a few words which are tending to be regarded as offensive by some of the educated Papua and New Guineans. For this

reason the Administration should officially discourage their use, and encourage the use of suitable alternatives.

The words concerned are discussed in some detail by Healey (n.d.:10ff). They include:

previous socially loaded words	suggested new word	gloss
boi	man	<i>indigene in European employment</i>
meri	wuman, gel	<i>indigenous woman or girl</i>
misis	wuman, gel	<i>white woman or girl</i>
masta	man	<i>European man</i>
mankimasta	domestik	<i>house servant</i>
kanaka	pipol, manmeri	<i>indigenes</i>

Common to all judgements about good and bad varieties of Tok Pisin discussed so far is that they are limited to very small subparts of the language as a whole, mainly lexical items. The reason for this is no doubt that lexical items (words) are most readily associated by the layman with good and bad language. Thus, whilst it is possible to have an obscene word, it is hardly possible to have an obscene syntactic structure.

Language judgements about words are thus concerned primarily with the connotative aspects of Tok Pisin and only to a limited extent with its communicative aspects. However, it would seem that the main function of Tok Pisin is that of providing an easy means of intertribal and cross-language communication and that judgements about good or bad pidgin should be concerned primarily with this aspect. Serious attempts to deal with this aspect only began to appear in the mid-1970s.

Apart from the literature concerned with language planning (which will be discussed elsewhere in this volume) there are two articles dealing specifically with the communicative efficiency of Tok Pisin. The first one is a study by Franklin (1975), which illustrates that a large proportion of newly introduced Tok Pisin terms in a leaflet on coffee growing are misunderstood by a significant number of readers, and that the same is true, to a more limited extent, for the understanding of allegedly firmly established Tok Pisin items.

Franklin appears to suggest that Tok Pisin alone is not capable of handling the communicative requirements of Papua New Guinea society and that it should be supplemented by both the vernacular and English. Attempts to make Tok Pisin carry all information result in communication breakdown. It seems to follow that Tok Pisin is good only for a limited number of domains and functions. One could argue on the basis of this article that a distinction could be made between 'good' Tok Pisin, i.e. the language used in its proper setting and 'bad' ad hoc Tok Pisin, i.e. Tok Pisin used in inappropriate contexts. However, such a view fails to consider the rapid functional and structural expansion of the language for the majority of its speakers.

Franklin does not stand alone with this claim however, and Chatterton in the *Pacific Islands Monthly* (November 1975) remarks on Tok Pisin as used in the House of Assembly:

I have suffered too much during long hours spent in listening to Pidgin speeches in the House of Assembly. I am convinced that Pidgin is not a suitable medium for the discussion of political or economic problems.

Chatterton fails to see that the use of a language in a new domain or a new medium will involve certain initial difficulties. The political terminology

developed by Hull (1968) for parliamentary procedures and the growing pressure for more efficient communication in Tok Pisin will no doubt increase the value of this language in the parliamentary setting.

A much more serious matter than temporary lack of referential power is the problem of large-scale disintegration of Tok Pisin as a result of continued borrowing from English. This disintegration is due to two main linguistic principles:

- a) In times of rapid upward social mobility speakers from a lower social class tend to unsystematically borrow forms from socially superior language varieties or languages.
- b) Whereas normal language development results in more natural and more regular forms of speech, language contact leads to irregularity and unnaturalness. The greater the distance between the linguistic systems or subsystems in contact, the more severe are the structural consequences.

In a programmatic statement Wurm (1976:1) draws attention to these developments in Tok Pisin:

It is because of this structural difference between pidgin and English that straight borrowing from English can lead to the disintegration of the pidgin structure and the pidgin lexical system and can cause serious misunderstandings in communication. The disintegration process has already assumed fairly serious proportions in a variety of pidgin spoken in the big urban centres

Among those expatriates who are aware of this problem there are three basic schools of opinion:

- a) Those who maintain that the language should be left alone and that any form of Tok Pisin is as good as any other form. Thus, Chatterton (1973:24) maintains:

This (i.e. language engineering) is not the way that languages have grown in the past. Usage - the usage of ordinary people, not of academics - has decided what is, or is not 'correct' ... 'correct' New Guinea Pidgin is what New Guineans actually say when they talk to one another, not what the experts think they ought to say.

- b) Those who would like to see Tok Pisin preserved in the form of a conservative Rural Pidgin. In a letter to the *Post Courier* (19 July 1973) M.C. Plummer comments on this view, allegedly held by A. Balint:

With a wave of his linguistic wand he would freeze the Pidgin tongue in that wondrous, golden age, when J.J. Murphy was a mere budling, in that era when (to the delight of the initiates) baim meant *pay*, peim meant *sell*, selim meant *send*, barata often possessed mammalia and sista wore phallocrypt, and siubim meant *push*

To suggest that at any given stage in this process, a language is somehow qualitatively more pure or perfect than at others, plausible though it seems, is a piece of spurious linguistic nonsense.

There are probably only few writers who adhere to such an extreme view, but it is easy to find isolated examples of prescriptive

statements about Tok Pisin. A course which abounds in examples is *Untangled New Guinea Pidgin* by W. Sadler (1973b). Sadler (p.98) rejects the use of *taim* to mean *when* remarking that it is "the least desirable" of a number of given alternatives. The justification for his judgements appears to be the fact that to use *taim* in this construction is un-Melanesian. However, it has been in use in Tok Pisin for a very long time and there is no reason for assuming that Tok Pisin syntax is more Melanesian than English. Instead, as I have tried to show elsewhere, it is by-and-large the result of independent development rather than borrowing.

- c) Those who aim to reconcile the requirement that Tok Pisin must remain an efficient means of communication with the inevitability of linguistic change. Proponents of this view, for instance Wurm and the present author, would distinguish between 'good' or natural development which is in agreement with the general developmental tendencies of the language, and 'bad' or unnatural growth resulting from excessive borrowing of incompatible material. Such a view would imply that borrowing is legitimate as long as the borrowed items can be readily integrated into the existing system. The best chance for linguistic development, as seen by Wurm (1977c) is that of internal borrowing, borrowing of syntax and lexicon from more advanced (e.g. creolised) varieties of the language. Such borrowing would strengthen the coherence of Tok Pisin. Instead of splitting up into two separate systems, the traditional and the heavily anglicised, there would be a single system where the less developed subsystems would be genuine sub-parts of the more developed variety. It has been argued elsewhere that it is perfectly possible to anticipate much of Tok Pisin's future natural development, whereas it is much less clear what linguistic consequences would result from 'unnatural' borrowing.

Expatriates have been attacked, particularly in recent years, for meddling with a language which does not belong to them but to the Papua New Guineans (e.g. Chatterton 1973:24-25). It would therefore seem interesting to contrast European pronouncements about good and bad pidgin with those made by Papua New Guineans.

3.3.4 INDIGENOUS ATTITUDES TO GOOD AND BAD PIDGIN

3.3.4.1 General attitudes

The most remarkable difference between expatriate and indigenous views on good and bad pidgin is the absence of statements on correctness and, until very recently, words with obscene etymologies. Instead, the bulk of expressed attitudes towards aspects of Tok Pisin are directed towards a) the communicative efficiency and b) the social desirability of certain expressions. The situation thus is comparable to that found among the Gbeya by Samarin (1969:323): "There is bad speech and good speech, but bad speech is what causes trouble between people."

This is quite different from many European societies where good and bad speech is determined with reference to some abstract system of socially approved norms of linguistic usage. Papua New Guineans, on the whole, tend to be very tolerant in language matters and, whilst it is often assumed that one's own variety of Tok Pisin is the best or purest, other varieties are not looked down upon or called bad, unless they are bordering on the unintelligible.

In recent years, under the impact of rapidly increasing literacy in Tok Pisin, there is a tendency towards recognising the written Tok Pisin, as found in the *Nupela Testamen* or *Wantok*, as a kind of standard. The influence of written Tok Pisin is also enhanced by the numerous Tok Pisin Skuls (cf. Zinkel 1977:691-701) in all parts of Papua New Guinea. Again, it appears that the positive feelings towards the conservative written form are due to the fact that this lect of the language is most widely understood.

With the arrival of self-government and independence there has been a marked trend away from European or Australian values and this has also been felt in the area of linguistic attitudes. Most pronounced is the growing reluctance to recognise Tok Masta, the reduced 'kitchen' variety of Tok Pisin (cf. Mühlhäusler 1981b), as a model on which to improve one's performance in Tok Pisin.

As no systematic studies on indigenous attitudes towards different types of Tok Pisin are available, I shall present a preliminary classification of observations made on this point.

The attitude of speakers of the more advanced varieties of Tok Pisin towards Bush Pidgin, is, as far as I could observe, one of tolerance, but it is generally understood that speakers who 'toktok brukbruk nabaut to *speak in incoherent bits*' or whose 'maus bilong en i paul *pronunciation is unclear*' are in a transitional state.

There are, however, some differences in attitudes towards less developed varieties of Tok Pisin, in particular attitudes towards the Tok Pisin spoken by Papuans. In this case, the lack of proficiency in Tok Pisin is often seen by New Guineans as an indication of deficiencies of character. Rew remarks:

'Papua' versus 'New Guinea' is a recurrent theme in Port Moresby social life. It derives largely from contrasted histories of administrative and economic development and political status. For most migrants from the Trust Territory, the opposition finds its most readily understood expression in beliefs about language differences and differences in economic ethos. It is almost an axiom of daily parlance that Papuans are people who speak Motu and no Pidgin, or at best a highly bastardized form of it, while New Guineans all speak Pidgin fluently and with a flair for idiom. Furthermore, almost every New Guinean I discussed the issue with believed (and was sure that other New Guineans agreed) that Papuans were lazy. (Rew 1974:79)

Unfortunately, these observations have not been supported by more formal methods of research. A statistical comparison of changing attitudes about language and character in a situation such as Port Moresby should be of considerable interest to language planners. They should also take into account that language attitudes can change considerably over a relatively short period of time. This is illustrated by the change in attitudes towards Tok Masta.

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

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

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

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

However, it is a long way from the realisation that one is speaking an independent language to the development of metalinguistic abilities. Among the functions in which Tok Pisin is used, the metalinguistic function developed very late and made itself felt only after World War II, when the first reports of indigenes making a distinction between Tok Pisin as spoken by themselves and that spoken by Europeans are found. In 1956 (p.276) Mead refers to "... men who have been away at work for a long time and are able to make fine distinctions between Neomelanesian [= Tok Pisin] as the European speaks it and Neomelanesian as spoken among themselves." The same author remarks about an interviewee (Mead 1956:225): "He could answer slowly, with experience of the ways in which Europeans spoke Pidgin English." The first mention that indigenes actually disapprove of the expatriate variety of Tok Pisin is found in Wurm 1969:37: "Indigenes ... are becoming increasingly critical of the mistakes made by Europeans speaking the language and of the incorrect Pidgin of many Europeans in general."

The name 'Tok Masta' appears to be of quite recent origin. It reflects the growing self-awareness of the Papua New Guineans in the years preceding independence and a more critical attitude towards the ways of the expatriate population. The following statement by S. Piniâu (1975b:96) stands representative for the views of many educated Papua New Guineans:

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

It is generally realised that the present-day speakers of Bush Pidgin (i.e. the broken Tok Pisin used by the inhabitants of recently 'opened-up' outlying areas) will eventually become part of the larger Tok Pisin-speaking community. Feelings regarding Tok Masta are different. Thus, it is 'bad' because it is only marginally intelligible to the average speaker of Tok Pisin, and because it has come to be a symbol of those Europeans who do not wish to integrate with the Papua New Guinean society:

I cannot help but see the many evidences of bad Pidgin as used by some expatriates as a symptom of their condescending attitude towards people in this country.

(letter by L. Brouwer in the *Post Courier* of 9 July 1973)

The attitudes towards Urban Pidgin are much more ambiguous than those towards Tok Masta. On the one hand Urban Pidgin represents a prestige variety, spoken by those who hold desirable jobs and who live in desirable places. On the other hand, Urban Pidgin is 'bad' because there is decreasing intelligibility between this and other varieties of the language and consequently the danger of developing social division. The following extract from a letter to *Wantok* (10 July 1976) summarises this:

Planti taim mi save lukim Wantok Niuspepa na sampela man na meri i save tok inglis, taim ol i raitim pas. I no min olsem ol i laik tru long raitim pas, tasol ol i laik soim ol i save inglis moa long tok pisin

Sampela taim, as bilong tok i no kamap gut taim yu putim tok inglis insait Yu no ken putim hap inglis insait. Em i kranki. Orait, Tok Pisin em i pisin na tok Inglis em i inglis. Tupela i no ken abusim wantaim. Tupela i mas wanwan stret. No ken paulim nabaut ol wantok.

I often observe in Wantok Newspaper that some men and women use English expressions when they are writing letters. They don't really want to write a letter, they just want to show that they know English better than Pidgin.

Sometimes, the meaning of an expression is not clear when you use English words in it You must not put in English words. It is stupid. Well, Tok Pisin is Tok Pisin an English is English. The two must not mix. Each must remain separate. You must not confuse your fellow speakers.

The same complaint is found in many other letters and has often been expressed by my informants. The consequences of unrestricted borrowing from English have been outlined very clearly by Mr Yaliali in a letter to *Wantok* (3 May 1972):

Sapos yumi mekim dispela pasin nogut, bai bihain tok pisin bilong bus na tok pisin bilong taun tupela i kamap narakain tru Nogut yumi hambak nabaut na bagarapim tok ples bilong yumi olosem.

If we indulge in this bad habit then Rural Pidgin and Urban Pidgin will become quite different languages. Thus, Pidgin will really become fragmented. Let's not mess about and thus ruin our common language.

Good and bad talk for most users of Tok Pisin is closely associated with intelligibility and communicative efficiency. In discussing this problem many of my informants have referred to an earlier period in which Tok Pisin was less clear and less efficient. I want to illustrate this with two quotations:

(1) Raka of Tumam Village, East Sepik Province near Dreikikir, comments on the variable proficiency in Tok Pisin in earlier days and in the present (1973):

Brata bilong mipela ol i go long stesin, ol i kisim save long stesin, ol i kam bek, marit, ol i tok pisin. Na mipela save samting i klia long en, mipela i save. Tasol samting i no klia long en, i hat liklik, mipela mas askim ol tok, dispela samting kolim olsem wanem? Orait, ol i tok: Dispela samting em Tok Pisin ol i kolim olsem. Orait, i go i go i go i go, woa i kamap, orait, mipela i klia gut long Tok Pisin.

My brothers went to the Government station. They acquired knowledge on the station, they returned, got married, they spoke Pidgin. And the meaning of some expressions was clear to us, we knew it. But some expressions were unintelligible, they were difficult, and we asked our brothers: Hey, what do you call this, and they would answer: This is how it is called in Tok Pisin. Well, this went on for some time, then the war came and we knew Tok Pisin pretty well.

(2) Joseph K. from Lorengau, Manus Province makes the following remarks about Tok Pisin as spoken in German times:

Nambawan toktok long taim Jeman i kam ol i bin iusim, ol i bin iusim taim ples i tudak yet, i no gat man bilong mi i save pren gut long ol waitman... Sampela ol i bin iusim tasol mipela tete laik traiim lainim i hat tumas i olsem planti i no krai gut. Orait, ol i bin lusim dispela toktok bilong bipo tasol, i no gutpela toktok tumas.

The first variety of speech was used in German times, they used it when our village was still uncivilised, when there was none of us who made friends with the white man. Some men used this variety but when we today try to learn it it is very difficult and it is as if many things are not expressed properly. Well, they have now given up this speech of the old days, it was not a very good language.

An important consideration in assessing the potential for language planning for Tok Pisin is the acceptability of linguistic change. Attitudes of older speakers towards the rapidly developing creolised varieties of Tok Pisin would provide an interesting test case. At present we only have very limited anecdotal evidence of these. Sankoff (1975b:107) reports that second-language speakers of Tok Pisin in urban areas tend to comment favourably on the linguistic performance of their children who are native speakers. However, I have observed cases of disapproval and active discouragement of innovations by adults in conservative rural areas. The unwritten norms of second-language Tok Pisin appear to exercise considerable pressure. On Manus Island, adult second-generation native speakers of Tok Pisin did not speak very differently from adult second-language speakers, whilst their children spoke a much faster and more complex variety. Thus, the linguistic progress accompanying the nativisation of a pidgin is constrained by outside factors, in particular its usefulness as a means of communication with a speech community.

3.3.4.2 Attitudes towards individual expressions

Whereas in the past reactions against individual words or expressions were typically those of Europeans who objected against the use of words related to English four-letter words, in more recent times one can observe a dramatic increase

in indigenous comments on the appropriateness of Tok Pisin words. Again, the principal criteria of whether a word is good or bad are a) whether it contributes to social harmony and b) whether it is understood by a reasonable proportion of the speech community. The following quotations illustrate this:

(a) remarks concerned with socially damaging words:

(1) the use of kuk *cook* instead of meri *wife*, to signal the inferior status of women:

Sampela man em ol i save kolim ol meri bilong ol olsem kuk bilong ol. Ating plenti long yufela i save harim dispela kain tok tu? Sori brata, yu husat man yu save kolim meri bilong yu olsem kuk bilong yu, orait ating yu mas baiim em long olgeta potnait long mani

Some men call their wives 'cook'. A lot of you have perhaps heard this expression. My dear brother, if you call your wife your cook you better pay her fortnightly wages.

(unpublished letter to *Wantok* newspaper, 1974)

(2) the insults *graslain grasscutter*, *hillbilly* and *smelbek someone who fills copra in bags*, *a smelly person*, *hillbilly*:

Graslain, smelbek. Planti taim mi save harim hap tok hia: Kolim ol man i no bin i gat gutpela edukesen o ol man i save wok long ol plantesen o ol man i save stap long ples (o) ol man i save sakim kopra long smel bek na gras lain Dispela kain tok olsem i no pasin bilong bung. Em inap kirapim trabel, laka.

Grasscutter and smelly person. I have heard these expressions many times. This is now they call people with little education or the workers on a plantation or the villagers in their home villages or the people who fill copra in bags, smelly people and grasscutters. These expressions do not promote unity, they mean trouble, you see.

(letter to *Wantok*, 15 November 1972)

(3) the word *stupid* used as an insult for uneducated Papua New Guineans:

Mi harim sampela skul pikinini i save tok stupid long ol man na meri i no save go skul bipo. Dispela pasin i no gutpela long yumi olgeta skul pikinini.

I hear some schoolchildren refer to people with no school education as 'stupid'. This is not a good thing to say for us schoolchildren.

(unpublished letter to *Wantok*, 1974)

(b) remarks on words which are misleading or unintelligible:

(4) There are significant differences in the various names for motor vehicles. Thus a saloon car may be referred to as *kar*, *sip* (from *Jeep*), or *teksi* in different parts of the country. Many speakers do not distinguish between *trak truck* and *trakta tractor*. The following unpublished letter to *Wantok*, written in 1971, deplores the use of *trakta tractor* instead of *taksi small car*, *taxi*:

Mi bin halim planti man na meri ol i save kolim taksi long trakta, tasol mi ting dispela pasin i no stret long tingting bilong mi.

I hear many people call taxis 'tractors', but this is not right to my way of thinking. A taxi does not produce wealth for us,

Taksi i no save givim mani long
yumi, yumi save spenim mani long
taksi Na trakta i save givim
mani long yumi taim em i brukin
graun

*we spend our money on taxis ...
but a tractor gives us money
when it is used for ploughing.*

(5) The expression givim bel in the meaning *spiritual love or devotion* has caused considerable controversy as for most speakers givim bel means *to impregnate, cause to be pregnant*. This ambiguity could have been avoided if givim bel bilong mi *to surrender my soul* had been chosen for spiritual love. One of the many writers dealing with this unfortunate expression is Mr E. Sarugum in a letter to *Wantok* dated 6 November 1974:

Mi save harim wampela hap tok long
Baibel na i no save stret long
tingting bilong mi.
Hap tok hia Givim Bel na tingting
bilong mi, i min olsem yu givim
bel long meri na bai meri i karim
pikinini
Mi ting ol bikman bilong sios i
mas traaim na senisim. Ol i mas
senisim na tok Laikim.

*I often hear an expression in the
Bible which is not correct accord-
ing to my way of thinking. This
expression is 'givim bel' and to me
this means to make a woman pregnant
so that she will give birth to a
child.
I feel the 'big men' of the church
must try to replace this expression
with 'laikim' (= to like, be fond
of).*

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

Ya, man ya, i tok wanem?
Husat?
Nogat, em i tok anaunsemen tasol,
em i tok a-naun-se-men. Mi laik
tokim liklik anaunsemen - i no laik
tok-save (general laughter). Kain
bilong ol bikman ya dey been
hearing it from somewhere, na nau
ol i laik yusim it - a, toksave, a!
Toksave is good, it explains every-
thing, toksave! Toksave, he laik
yusim hat wot ya, anaunsemen,
anaunsemen. (Laughter) I tell
you, he doesn't know what it
meant.

*And what did this man say?
Who?
You know who I mean, he said
'anaunsemen', he said 'a-naun-se-
men'. I want to make a little
'anaunsemen', not a toksave (general
laughter). It's typical of these
prominent villagers - they been
hearing it from somewhere, and now
they all want to use it - you know,
toksave! Toksave is good, it ex-
plains everything, toksave; he
wanted to use a difficult word,
'anaunsemen, anaunsemen'. (Laughter)
I tell you, he doesn't know what
it meant.*

Other lexical items which have been frequently commented upon by my informants include *harim smel to notice a smell* instead of the more widely accepted *smelim smel*, the use of *popi Catholic* instead of the more acceptable *katolik* and the use of *pusim* to mean *to push* rather than *to have intercourse with*. Some of my educated informants also objected to reduplicated forms such as *toktok to talk* or *tinting to think*. On the whole, however, the number of lexical items of Tok Pisin whose status is in debate remains very low.

I have found that the only reliable statements about good or bad language can be obtained in the area of the lexicon. Testing the grammaticality or acceptability of pronunciations or syntactic constructions is extremely difficult. I

personally decided to give up working with test sentences and questionnaires as it was virtually impossible to get judgements about decontextualised sentences. I found it equally difficult to get consistent judgements on taped texts which I played to a number of test persons. It would seem that the metalinguistic capacity and/or interest of Papua New Guinean Tok Pisin speakers differs considerably from that of an average educated European. However, more detailed and more systematic research in this area is badly needed.

3.3.5 CONCLUSIONS

I have maintained that:

- a) it is possible in principle to lay down a set of linguistic criteria for the evaluation of language; and
- b) value judgements made by different users of the language at different times are not necessarily identical.

There appears to be a significant difference between the judgements made by professional linguists (in particular language planners) and laymen and there is an even greater discrepancy between the criteria for a value judgement used by the Papua New Guineans and expatriates.

The present study is only preliminary and should be supplemented with more systematic research in this area. Value judgements and language attitudes need to be known to language planners if they want to successfully implement their recommendations.

4. THE GRAMMAR AND PHONOLOGY OF TOK PISIN

4.1 PHONOLOGY: SUBSTRATUM ELEMENTS IN TOK PISIN PHONOLOGY

Don Laycock

4.1.1 INTRODUCTION

A substratum implies a superstrate. Since the bulk of the lexicon of Tok Pisin has come from English, the superstrate phonology also derives from English. The phonology of individual speakers of Tok Pisin varies from heavily anglicised (in the sense of making most of the vowel and consonant distinctions of English) to what may be called a 'core' phonology (in the sense that it is shared by virtually all speakers of Tok Pisin). It is this core phonology which is taken as the basis for discussing the further modifications made by Tok Pisin speakers who are still influenced by their own languages.¹

4.1.2 TOK PISIN CORE PHONOLOGY

Laycock (1970c:xiv-xvi) discusses Tok Pisin phonology in relation to English orthography. A better idea of the relationship between the two systems can be seen in Table 1, which lists the principal developments of English phonemes in Tok Pisin in more detail than was possible in the earlier work. Voiced consonants subject to final devoicing are given for both initial and final positions; medial correspondences are the same as the initial ones. Where there is variation, it is usually conditioned - thus English j is more likely to be found as Tok Pisin si before /a/ and /o/ than before other vowels (but note sas *judge*). No account is taken of historical development, although there are some obvious examples; the equivalence of Tok Pisin b to English f in bilas *decoration* is clearly archaic, while the modern equivalent of English f is more likely to be spelt f (in words like faiv *five*, Februeri *February*), even though many speakers of Tok Pisin will still pronounce [p]. The vowels show considerably more variation, and consequently less predictability; but most possibilities are set out in the chart. No allowance is made, however, for words occurring in written Tok Pisin which simply copy the English orthography.

CONSONANTS:					
E	TP	Examples	E	TP	Examples
p	p	<i>pig</i> - pik	b	b p	<i>boat</i> - bot ?
t	t	<i>tongue</i> - tang	d	d t	<i>dog</i> - dok <i>done</i> - tan <i>road</i> - rot
ʃ	s si	<i>chain</i> - sen <i>church</i> - sios	ʃ	s si	<i>judge</i> - sas <i>Japan</i> - Siapan
k	k	<i>keel</i> - kil	g	g k	<i>go</i> - go <i>bag</i> - bek
f	p b	<i>friend</i> - pren <i>flash</i> - bilas	v	b p	<i>veranda</i> - veranda <i>five</i> - faiv
ʒ	s si	<i>shame</i> - sem <i>shirt</i> - siot	z	s	?
θ	t	<i>think</i> - tingim	ð	t r	<i>brother</i> - barata <i>other</i> - narapela
s	s	<i>sun</i> - san	z	s	<i>razor</i> - resa
m	m	<i>mouth</i> - maus	n	n	<i>no</i> - no
ŋ	ŋ	<i>wrong</i> - rong	w	w	<i>one</i> - wan
y	y	<i>young</i> - yangpela	l	l	<i>louse</i> - laus
r	r	<i>rope</i> - rop	h	h	<i>house</i> - haus
∅	∅ h	<i>open</i> - opim <i>eye</i> - hai			
CLUSTERS (NOT PERMITTING EPENTHETIC VOWELS)					
mp	mp m	<i>company</i> - kampani <i>lamp</i> - lam	mb	mb	<i>number</i> - namba
nt	nt n	<i>mountain</i> - maunten <i>cent</i> - sen	nd	nd n	<i>window</i> - windua <i>hand</i> - han
nʃ	nis ns	<i>winch</i> - winis ?	nʃ	nis ns	<i>change</i> - senis <i>engine</i> - ensin
ŋk	ŋk	<i>monkey</i> - manki <i>bank</i> - beng	ŋg	ŋg	<i>finger</i> - pinga
VOWELS AND VOCALIC NUCLEI					
i	i	<i>beads</i> - bis	ɪ	i	<i>fish</i> - pis
ɪə	ia	<i>beer</i> - bia	ɛ	e	<i>bed</i> - bet
ɛə	ea	<i>prayer</i> - prea <i>where</i> - we	ei	ei e	<i>day</i> - dei <i>wait</i> - wet
æ	a e	<i>fat</i> - pat <i>can</i> - ken	æu	au	<i>house</i> - haus
a	a	<i>must</i> - mas	a:	a	<i>heart</i> - hat
ai	ai	<i>fight</i> - pait	ɒ	o a	<i>dog</i> - dok <i>hot</i> - hat
ə	e	<i>potato</i> - peteita	ə:	o	<i>dirty</i> - doti
ɔ:	o oa ua	<i>law</i> - lo <i>more</i> - moa <i>store</i> - stua	ɔi	oi	<i>boy</i> - boi
ou	o	<i>boat</i> - bot	ʊ	u	<i>cook</i> - kuk
u	u	<i>room</i> - rum			

Table 1: Tok Pisin phonology, with English sources

This yields a 'core phonology' of Tok Pisin which consists of five vowels /a e i o u/, and the following consonants:

I stops	p	t	k
II stops	b	d	g
III clusters	mp	nt	ŋk
IV clusters	mb	nd	ŋg
V nasals	m	n	ŋ
VI continuants	w	l	y
VII continuants	-	s	h
VIII flaps	-	ʔ ʋ	-
(IX fricatives	f	ʒ	-)
(X fricatives	v	ʝ	-)

Table 2: Tok Pisin core phonology

The lines are numbered for easier reference. However, the fricatives of lines IX and X appear as contrastive phonemes only in anglicised varieties of Tok Pisin. Speakers whose own languages contain bilabial fricative phonemes /ɸ/ and /β/ (frequently symbolised as f and v) commonly use these in place of /f/ and /v/, when these are used at all. The phoneme /s/ seems rare in languages of Papua New Guinea, and speakers of most languages attempting it will produce [s], [ts], [tʰ], or, occasionally, [ç]. The phoneme /ʃ/ is normally realised as /s/, but speakers of many Sepik-Ramu Phylum languages have a prenasalised phoneme which is phonetically [ñʃ], and this is sometimes heard (especially in the word Jisas *Jesus*). These phonemes are not further discussed, as being marginal to the core phonology of Tok Pisin. The remaining series of the consonant table are now discussed in turn.

4.1.2.1 Series I stops

Most languages in Papua New Guinea have the series /p t k/, and the phonemes are subject to only minor variation in Tok Pisin. There is some variation in aspiration, but mostly the stops are unaspirated. Voiceless stops may also be heard glottalised in many Highlands areas. However, one widespread substratum feature (particularly among speakers of Trans-New Guinea Phylum languages, but not confined to them) is the converting of the stops in medial position to their fricative allophones [ɸ r x]. As [ɸ] (/f/) and [x] do not occur in the core phonology of Tok Pisin, this does not lead to confusion. However, the collapsing of /t/ and /r/ as [r] does create homonyms, such as *katim cut* and *karim carry* (Chowning 1983:195).

The conversion of initial voiceless stops into fricatives is rare, but does occur among speakers of Kwoma (Sepik-Ramu Phylum), where /p/ and /k/ are fricatives initially and stops medially (Kooyers, Kooyers and Bee 1971). It is however unlikely that younger Kwoma-speakers continue to show this substratum feature.

In final position the stops of Series I are usually unchanged. In some dialects of Iatmul and Boiken (Sepik-Ramu Phylum; see Laycock 1965, Staalsen 1966) final stops are nasally released, as [pm tn kŋ]; in other dialects of these languages they are unreleased in final position, and the contrast between them is

often neutralised by some speakers. I have heard Iatmul speakers pronounce *nait* 'right' as [naip^ɿ], [nait^ɿ] and [naik^ɿ]; this causes homophony with *naip* 'knife' (also realised as [naip^ɿ], [nait^ɿ] or [naik^ɿ]), and potentially affects a large number of words ending in stops; but context will usually supply the correct meaning, and this feature, too, like all substratum features, is found less and less among younger speakers of Tok Pisin.

A few languages do not permit final stops of any kind. In Buin (East Papuan Phylum), for instance, final stops occur with an echo vowel: *piki* for *pik* 'pig'.² Since this feature now makes the stop intervocalic, it is conceivable that there may be a language with both echo-vowels and intervocalic fricativisation, yielding [pixi] - but I have not yet encountered this.

Another widespread feature is the affrication of /t/ to [ts] or [s] - usually before /i/, sometimes before /u/, and (rarely) before /a/. This causes overlap between the phonemes /t/ and /s/ - especially in areas where /s/ is realised as [t] (see below). This substratum feature is common in many Highlands areas, and throughout central and southern Bougainville; it is also one of the few substratum phonological features which is frequently encountered in the island provinces. Where this feature overlaps with the echo-vowel feature, there is confusion not only between words like *singsing* 'singfest' and *tingting* 'think', but also between *pati* 'party' and *pas* 'letter' (both realised as [patsi]). Younger Bougainvilleans however do not show these features.³

4.1.2.2 Series II stops

In virtually all varieties of Tok Pisin there is a second series of stops contrasting with the first series. However, the second series are not always the plain stops /b d g/; various substratum rules can produce different realisations. The commonest rules are intervocalic fricativisation, prenasalisation, and devoicing.

Intervocalic fricativisation (which converts /b d g/ to [b ɣ ɣ]) is common in Highlands areas and some parts of Sepik, Madang, and Morobe Provinces, but does not appear to overlap anywhere with the rule of intervocalic fricativisation of Series I stops discussed above. Again, the only possible area of confusion involves d/r - but /d/ is relatively uncommon intervocalically in Tok Pisin. Possible examples include *saiden* 'sergeant' and *haiden* 'pagan' - when the latter is realised as [hairen] it could be confused with *hailan* 'Highland' by Tok Pisin speakers who merge /r/ and /l/ (see below). A realisation of [ɣ] can normally only be interpreted as /g/ (although /k/ is a possibility, where fricativisation and voicing take place simultaneously - see above); [b] can usually be interpreted only as /b/, since Tok Pisin speakers who have the phoneme /v/ (see below) have it only by virtue of a contrast with /b/.

Far more common is prenasalisation of the voiced series, so that /b d g/ are realised as [mb nd ŋg]. This feature is common in Sepik and Madang Provinces, and in some dialects of Kuanua; it probably occurs in some areas in all provinces. Prenasalisation in initial position may be weak or absent, but is always present in intervocalic position. However, Tok Pisin has relatively few instances of Series II stops in intervocalic position, so that, although prenasalisation of voiced stops makes Series II stops fall together with Series III stops, little confusion is caused.

A Sepik who says [nongut yu indai loŋ wanpela mbikpela ndok i ngo mbek loŋ haus mbilong yu] for *nogut yu (i) dai long wanpela bikpela dok i go bek long haus*

bilong yu *don't get killed by the big dog who has gone back to your house* runs into no danger of misinterpretation. Some words with optional prenasalisation have become almost standard; (i) dai *dies* is pronounced as [(i)ndai] in almost all areas.⁴

Devoicing of Series II stops could conceivably lead to misunderstandings if there were many contrasts with Series I stops; however, such contrasts are very few in number. A feature of core Tok Pisin phonology is that the contrast between Series I and Series II stops is neutralised in final position - or, rather, that voiced stops do not occur finally at all. The so-called 'neutralisation' is seen only in the fact that English words with final stops (*dog, pig, hard*), exist in Tok Pisin only with final voiceless stops (*dok, pik, hat*). In intervocalic position, Series II stops are extremely rare; the preference is clearly for Series III (prenasalised) stops in this position.

A list of common words follows, with their realisations in Buin and south Bougainville (which has the devoicing rule for /b/, and sometimes also for /g/; /d/ is usually realised as [r], but sometimes as [t]).

Tok Pisin	English	Buin
b		
abus	(game) animal	aapusi
baibel	Bible	paipera
bebi	baby	peepi
kabis	cabbage	kaapisi
trabel	trouble	taraaporo
tabak	tobacco	tapako
mobeta	better	mopeta
nabaut	around	napautu
wokabaut	stroll	wokapautu
d		
oda	order	oora
redi	ready	rere
saiden	sergeant	taiteni
bruder	(ecclesiastical) brother	paruutere
haiden	heathen	aireni\aiteni
paradais, paradiso	paradise	pararito
g		
sigaret	cigar(ette)	sikaara\sikaresi
suga	sugar	siuga
nogut	bad	nokusi
Ogas	August	Ogasi
bagarap	ruin	pagaraapa\pakaraapa

4.1.2.3 Series III stops

Series III stops are in fact clusters of nasal plus homorganic voiceless stop. They occur in only a handful of words in Tok Pisin, but are included here as a series because, as clusters, they are not susceptible to the rules for clusters (vowel epenthesis or reduction), and because they are only marginally distinguishable from the stops of Series IV (prenasalised voiced stops), and, by extension, from Series II stops. A list of almost all words with Series III stops is given below. It will be noticed that there are very few with /mp/ and /nt/; /ŋk/ is somewhat more common.

mp		ŋk	
kampani	<i>company</i>	anka	<i>anchor</i>
sampela	<i>some</i>	blanket	<i>blanket</i>
trampet	<i>trumpet</i>	donki	<i>donkey</i>
kampas	<i>compass</i>	manki	<i>boy</i>
nt		monki	<i>monkey</i>
kantri	<i>country</i>	kranki	<i>odd</i>
maunten	<i>mountain</i>	tenkyu	<i>thank you</i>
Pentekos	<i>Pentecost</i>	benkim	<i>bank (money)</i>

The variations that occur with this series are reduction of the cluster, either to nasal or stop, or voicing of the stop element (producing Series IV). Cluster reduction in medial position is rare in new words taken into Tok Pisin, except in final position: pam *pump*, lam *lamp*; kan *cut*, pen *paint*, win *wind*, han *hand*; dring *drink*, ting *think*, ing *ink*, beng *bank*. The last two of these have common alternative pronunciations and spellings, with final stop: ink, benk. When the transitive suffix is added, restoration of the stop is not uncommon with these two words: inkim *to ink*, benkim *to bank* - but ingim and bengim are also heard and written. Older and well-established words like dring and ting are not usually affected by this tendency, nor are the words with non-velar nasal elements (pamim *to pump*, penim *to paint*, winim *to fan*), although speakers of anglicised varieties of Tok Pisin will sometimes restore the stop in such words.

Coalescence with the Series IV stops is shown by fairly frequent variant spellings, especially with the velar series; we often find tanget/tanket *cordyline*, krangi/kranki *odd*, pinka/pinga *finger*, kantire/kandere *mother's brother*, maunden/maunten *mountain*. (Note also the reverse process: nampa/namba *number*.) The spelling mangi for manki is rarely found, but is a common alternative pronunciation; and, in fact, all examples cited above can be heard with Series IV stops, particularly (but not exclusively) in Sepik and Madang areas. Variation between [ŋg] and [k] seems to be confined to mangas/makas *hibiscus*.

Not all orthographic mp/nt/nk necessarily reflect the above series; compounds like sankamap *dawn* and wankain may be pronounced with alveolar as well as velar nasals, and I have not heard the compound wantok *friend* as [wandok], suggesting that the morpheme boundary preserves a cluster of two separate phonemes. On the other hand, hangamap *hang* is pronounced as [haŋamap], [haŋkamap] or [haŋgamap]; the orthography reflects English, but it is hard to be sure what is the underlying form. Compounds with wan- (wanpela *one*, wanpis *loner*) frequently have the nasal assimilated to the following stop, and can then follow the rule of coalescence with Series IV; I have heard [wambela] and [wambis] for these words.

4.1.2.4 Series IV stops

The prenasalised stops of Series IV are unaffected in most varieties of Tok Pisin. Theoretically, they could be affected by a denasalisation rule (producing Series II stops), a destopping rule (producing nasals), or a devoicing rule (producing Series III stops); however, only the first of these rules is encountered, and that only in those New Britain/New Ireland languages that have plain (Series II) stops in their own languages, rather than the prenasalised series. Words most affected are those words from Kuanua and other New Ireland/New Britain languages which have prenasalised stops in one dialect or language, and plain stops in another - especially bembe/bebe *butterfly*, ndaka/daka *betel pepper*, tambu/tabu *forbidden*, kambang/kabang *lime*, tambaran/tabaran *ancestral spirit*, tarangau/taragau *hawk*. Words derived from English may also fluctuate where the English

etymon does not have the nasal: nambis/nabis *beach*, sindaun/sidaun *sit*, Tunde/Tude *Tuesday*, Trinde/Tride *Wednesday*. In all these words, however, the pronunciation with the prenasalised stop is more common than that without (except perhaps for ndaka, where the initial prenasalised stop does not occur in the substratum languages of many speakers).

4.1.2.5 Series V nasals

There is little variation in the nasals within Tok Pisin. Some speakers nasalise vowels preceding nasal consonants, and may omit the articulation of the nasal consonant altogether (as [sǎpəla] *sampela some*, [blǒ] *bilong of*); but it is uncertain whether this is a substratum feature, or a rapid speech development within Tok Pisin itself (see also Laycock 1977b).

In Buin, and most if not all of the East Papuan languages of South Bougainville, a syllabic nasal occurs as a phoneme. This syllabic nasal assimilates to the position of a following consonant, and in final position is usually realised as [ŋ]; this accounts for common Bougainvillean pronunciations of tingting *think* as [tsintsɪŋ], or [iŋ] for the common Tok Pisin verbal ending -im: [ritsɪŋ] *ritim read* rhymes with [mitsɪŋ] *miting meeting*. This substratum feature is the subject of some amusement among other Papua New Guineans, and so more and more Bougainvilleans are learning to adjust their pronunciation.

The Rotokas language on Bougainville has no nasals; its consonant phonemes are only /p t k b r g/ (Firchow and Firchow 1969). However, nasal allophones of /b r g/ are common, and Rotokas speakers often make substitutions when speaking Tok Pisin. In my experience they are more likely to replace voiced stops by nasals than the other way round, saying [mi ŋo long moku] for *mi go long Boku I go to Boku* - which perhaps suggests that it is not the nasals which are missing in Rotokas, but the voiced stops.

4.1.2.6 Series VI continuants

The three voiced continuants of Tok Pisin do not really form a natural set, but are grouped here for convenience. Little substratum influence is evident with /w/ and /y/, although for many speakers they may be interpreted as vowels (see below, under vowels). With regard to /l/, there are two substratum features worth noting:

- a) the /l/ is palatalised (as [lʲ]) by speakers of some languages of the Sepik-Ramu Phylum (especially the Ndu Family)
- b) the /l/ is flapped - often an upward flap if it contrasts with /r/ (a downward flap)
- c) the /l/ is not distinguished from /r/.

The first two features largely pass unnoticed, and cause no difficulty in communication. The collapsing of /l/ and /r/ affects a few minimal pairs (*raitim write/laitim light*, *laus louse/raus out!*, *lip leaf/rip reef*) but few words in Tok Pisin depend on making a contrast between /l/ and /r/ - fortunately so, as this particular substratum feature is very common, and found in every province of Papua New Guinea.

4.1.2.7 Series VII continuants

In many languages in Papua New Guinea, the continuant [s] is lacking entirely, or is a member of the /t/ phoneme (as we have seen in the discussion of Series I stops). It is often pronounced as an affricate [ts], or as a lamino-palatal [sʷ]. All these features are reflected in Tok Pisin - the most disturbing for communication being the replacement of /s/ by /t/ (common in many Highlands areas, in South Bougainville, and also in New Ireland and New Britain).⁵ The replacement is even more likely to occur in st clusters; *mata i tap for masta i stap is the European here?* used to be a common question in the Highlands, but such pronunciations are now confined to older speakers. (Further examples are given by Bee 1972.)

In Tok Pisin, /h/ is found only in word-initial position, and rarely, if ever, contrasts with its absence. Some speakers of Tok Pisin, accordingly, begin all words written with /h/ with a vowel; others pronounce all words written with initial vowel with an aspirate. For other speakers again, the choice of initial /h/ in common words such as *ai/hai eye*, *as/has arse* seems subject to a great deal of variation, and not reducible to rule. Nevertheless, the majority of Tok Pisin speakers achieve considerable consistency in their use of /h/, even though it is not a very common phoneme in the substratum languages.

4.1.2.8 Series VIII flap

For most speakers of Tok Pisin the phoneme /r/ is a flap, usually but not always a downward flap. It may contrast with /l/ as flap vs. continuant, or as downward vs. upward flap. In emphatic speech it may be trilled, but this does not seem a common feature. More important is the inclusion of /r/ with the /t/ phoneme (many Highlands areas), or with the /d/ phoneme (south Bougainville), as discussed above under the stops.

4.1.2.9 Vowels

4.1.2.9.1 Five-vowel system

The core phonology of Tok Pisin is taken as having five vowels, as discussed in Laycock 1975; but other analyses (such as that of Laycock 1970c) suggest 10, 11 (Litteral 1970), or even 12 vowels. The maximum number of vowels encountered in the speech of Tok Pisin speakers whose phonology is not totally anglicised seems to be 12, as exemplified by the following contrasts:

a:	[a]	pat	<i>fat</i>	[a:]	hat	<i>hard</i>
e:	[e]	wet	<i>wait</i>	[ɛ]	let	<i>belt</i>
i:	[i]	nil	<i>nail</i>	[ɪ]	pik	<i>pig</i>
o:	[o]	kol	<i>cold</i>	[ɒ]	dok	<i>dog</i>
	[ɔ]	kot	<i>court</i>	[ɜ]	wok	<i>work</i>
u:	[u]	susu	<i>breast</i>	[ʊ]	puspus	<i>copulate</i>

Nevertheless, minimal pairs are few, so that the pronunciation of speakers who are using more vowels than the basic five usually goes unnoticed - whether the extra vowels come from the superstrate English, or from substratum languages.

It is only when the language has less than five vowels (as is the case with many languages of the Sepik-Ramu Phylum (Laycock 1965, 1984d)) that substratum influence might become apparent - but, as pointed out by Laycock (1966), the allophonic ranges of systems with less than five vowels tend to overlap with those

of five or more vowels, so that the required vocalic *target* is produced without difficulty, though the phonemic interpretation of the system may differ.⁶ Thus, for instance, the Tok Pisin vowels /e/ and /o/, when occurring in loanwords in Sepik-Ramu Phylum languages, are often interpreted as the diphthongs /ʌy/ and /ʌw/ - but there is little possibility of confusion, as the diphthongs /ei/ and /ou/ probably do not occur in core Tok Pisin phonology.⁷

4.1.2.9.2 Diphthongs and vowel sequences

In many languages (especially, once more, Sepik-Ramu Phylum languages) no vowel sequences occur, so that the Tok Pisin falling diphthongs /áí áú éá ía óí úa/ are interpreted as /ay aw eya iya oy uwa/, and the rising diphthongs /iá ió iú/ as /ya yo yu/.

The sequence /yi/ is rare in Tok Pisin, perhaps occurring only in *yis yeast*, and /wu/ does not occur at all; but both sequences are not uncommon in place-names (Yil, Wutung). In some languages in the East Sepik at least, such sequences are more frequent than high-vowel onsets (if these occur at all), and so one also hears [yis] for *is east*, and [wumben] for *umben net*.

4.1.2.9.3 Epenthetic vowels

The question of epenthetic vowels in Tok Pisin has been treated at length by Pawley (1975). He concludes that Tok Pisin has consonant clusters that may be pronounced as clusters in 'tight' execution, and separated by a vowel in 'loose' execution. This analysis, which I believe to be correct, allows for different occurrences of clusters in the substratum languages; speakers will execute as clusters those clusters which afford them no difficulty, and will insert epenthetic vowels to break up unfamiliar clusters. Languages which permit few or no clusters (such as Buin, where the only clusters permitted have a syllabic nasal as first element) will produce some very expanded Tok Pisin words: [tsikuru] *skru joint*, [taraipa] *draiva driver* (further examples may be found in the list on page 299). However, Pawley concedes the 'possibility' that "for some speakers vowels which are not historically epenthetic are now present in underlying forms". That this possibility is a certainty is shown by the fact that alongside such forms as *spia spear*, one finds *supia* (with initial-syllable stress), which has yielded the reduplicated form *supsup fish spear*. In general, I would say that words in which an originally epenthetic vowel has become stressed, to conform with the almost unbroken rule of initial-syllable stress in Tok Pisin, can be taken as having the 'epenthetic' vowel present in the underlying representation; the commonest such words are *bílas decoration* (the derivation from *flash* being totally forgotten), *bárata brother*, *péles village*,⁹ and *pólis police*.¹⁰ I have also commonly heard *kílin clean*, *síkin skin*, *túru true*, *gíraun ground*, and *bílong of* - but more common today are *klin, skin, tru, graun, blong* (with or without discernible non-phonemic epenthetic vowel).

4.1.3 SPORADIC SUBSTRATUM INFLUENCE

Occasionally the substratum influence on Tok Pisin produces results that are not reducible to rule. Thus, in Nakanai, the lack of the phoneme /n/ in the Lakalai dialect produces the predictable form *mali* for *maní money*; but it does not

account for the aberrant form *lamen* for *name* *middle*, where the attempt at an /n/ has produced it in the wrong place (Chowning 1983:195). Similarly, the form *mismis*, although recorded in Mihalic 1971, is probably nothing other than a sporadic re-working of *bisnis* (in the sense of lineage).¹¹

The unusual phonology of South Bougainville languages has many consequences for the shape of Tok Pisin words borrowed into the languages, if not in the pronunciation of Tok Pisin itself. For instance, in Buin, there is a contrast between short (single) and long (geminate) vowels; Tok Pisin words are almost always borrowed with the stressed vowel geminate; thus Buin *kaara car*, *niiri nail*, *rookita doctor* (from Tok Pisin *kar*, *nil*, *dokta*). The reason for this may not be that Tok Pisin stressed vowels appear long to Buin speakers; it may only be that words of similar shape with short vowels already have a meaning in Buin, so that homonyms are avoided.¹² In any case, this does not have a discernible effect on the Buin pronunciation of Tok Pisin.

Sometimes confusion between similar words produces hybrid forms. The Kuanua words *kavavar* and *gorogoro*, both referring to members of the ginger family of plants, occur in Tok Pisin as *kawawar* and *gorgor*, but some Tok Pisin speakers confuse them; I have heard forms like [ŋgawawar], [ŋgoruar], [ŋgawaw] in rural areas of the Sepik Provinces. (A common Sepik pronunciation of *gorgor* is [ŋgwotŋgwot], but this simply represents common substratum phonology; similarly, the word in South Bougainville is often [korokoro] or [ŋkoronkororo].)

Subject to similar confusion, but this time from semantic influence of substrata, is *pulpul* (Kuanua *purpur*; but the form with *l* is, *pace* Mihalic, standard Tok Pisin). The basic meaning in Kuanua is *decorative leaves* - especially those of *Codiaeum variegatum*, or sweet-smelling plants. From the use of such plants to make decorative skirts comes the use of the term in Tok Pisin to mean *woman's skirt*; from the general idea of decoration comes the secondary Tok Pisin meaning of *flower*. However, it is by cross-fertilisation with the unrelated Motu word *puripuri sorcery* that the word also may come to mean *love magic* (association between *magic* and *women's skirt*!), and in this meaning hybrid forms like *purupuru*, *pupuru*, *pupulu* are heard (and then distinguished by some speakers, and some lexicographers, from *pulpul*).¹³ This is one way the lexicon of Tok Pisin expands.

4.1.4 SUBSTRATUM PHONOLOGY AND REGIONAL DIALECTS

Although some substratum features have been identified loosely in this paper as being associated with certain regions ('Sepik', 'Highlands', 'South Bougainville'),¹⁴ and a speaker from these regions can often be placed by his 'accent', I share the opinion of Mühlhäusler (1977e) that regional *dialects* are not observable - at least on the phonological level.¹⁵ The reason for this is not only the multiplicity of languages in any given area, so that, in spite of widespread phonological features throughout linguistic *families*, speakers from the same region may have very different substratum linguistic input, and share no 'dialect' features in common. A better explanation, I think, is that the more aberrant substratum features are confined to older speakers who have imperfectly learned Tok Pisin; younger speakers, who have learned the language at an earlier age, and who have often travelled more widely, have usually eliminated the more striking 'regionalisms' from their speech (often as a result of teasing by Tok Pisin speakers from other areas). Such speakers often denigrate the pronunciation of older speakers, and pride themselves on their superior pronunciation. The 'regional accent', therefore, does not serve as a unifying regional feature, and so does not acquire the status of a dialect.

4.1.5 SUBSTRATUM AND ORTHOGRAPHY

The current semi-official Tok Pisin orthography still shows a great deal of variation even between mission publications, government publications, and *Wantok* newspaper; private spellings of Tok Pisin vary even more widely - see for example instances given by Siegel (chapter 6.3 in this volume), Rubinstein and Gajdusek (1970), Pence (1975), and Carrington (1983). If we assume that the core phonology of Tok Pisin is a constant, and is a target aimed at by all Tok Pisin speakers,¹⁶ then it is possible to use widespread substratum features to determine doubtful points. For instance, the official spelling of the principal Tok Pisin demonstrative is *dispela*; but if the initial phoneme is really a /d/, then it should be prenasalised by many Sepik speakers, and should be realised as an /r/, at least following a vowel, by many South Bougainvillean and Highlands speakers. However, these substratum features are not found; on the other hand, *dispela* is frequently pronounced as *tsitsipera* by South Bougainvilleans - confirming that the initial consonant is a /t/. (Contrast *dinau debit*, which is *ndinau* for Sepiks, and is borrowed into Buin as *riinaua*.) Similar reasoning should also show that *doti dirty* and *dring drink* also begin with /t/, since I do not recall these being prenasalised in the Sepik. The medial consonants of *aibika Hibiscus manihot*, *gaden garden*, *kabis cabbage*, and *kago*¹⁷ *cargo* are also not prenasalised, in my experience, which suggests that they are *aipika*, *gaten*, *kapis* and *kako*. The phonemes of the English etyma are not infallible guides.¹⁸

A careful study of substratally influenced pronunciations should also establish the best spellings of words which commonly vary, such as *tanget/tanket Cordyline terminalis*, *karuka/karuga Pandanus sp.*, *kandere/kantire mother's brother*, *taun/ton/towan Pometia pinnata*, and many others. Here I am not quite sure of the result.

4.1.6 CONCLUSION

A pidgin language, at its outset, does not have a single phonology, but it may acquire one at a later stage - with or without creolisation. If Tok Pisin has not now acquired a core phonology, then the substratum features mentioned in this article are evidence of differing phonemic systems, and perhaps of regional dialects. But I believe that they are rather simply realisations, with varying degrees of efficiency, of a single target, and that they can provide good evidence of what that target is. If a different phonological system for Tok Pisin exists, it is not in the substrate, but in the superstrate, in the anglicised variety known as Tok Masta - and perhaps in some varieties of Urban Pidgin. Substratum features in Tok Pisin can be expected to assume less importance as more and more speakers conform to a loose 'standard'.

NOTES

1. The fullest treatment of Tok Pisin phonology as a system is in an unpublished paper by Litteral (1970). However, in this paper I have stayed closer to orthographic representations, except where these are wildly at variance with the phonetic/phonemic facts.

2. Many examples can be found in the poem by Leo Laita (a Buin speaker) in *Love Poems of Papua and New Guinea* (1971):

Taim mi skul meri
mi laik mariti
mariti finisi
mi hatu waka tumasi

Hatu waka tumasi
mi go kukim kaikai
manki i karai
mino save silipi

In this poem, *mariti* would be pronounced [maritsi].

3. Younger Buin speakers also reduce final Buin /-ti/ [tsi] to [ts] or [s]. See also Laycock 1984a for further details on Buin phonology.
4. Prenasalisation in Tok Pisin is discussed by Tetaga (1971), in a paper which I have not seen. Mühlhäusler (1983b) cites Tetaga as saying that prenasalisation is declining among the younger generations, which accords with my experience.
5. It is mentioned by many writers, including Chowning (1983). Mühlhäusler (1983b) cites a writer mentioning it in the *Rabaul Times* as early as 1925. This is one of the few substratum phonological features that is widespread in the 'Islands'.
6. I am not entirely sure to what extent speakers of the same language, speaking it with the same surface phonology, can actually be said to be speaking it with different phonemic systems - but I am prepared to concede that it might be so. Even more difficult conceptually is the idea of two persons speaking the same language with different 'grammars'. In both cases the problem is establishing how these facts could be determined.
7. One meets with *ei* orthographically at times (*dei day*, *weit wait*), but more usual are *de*, *wet*; *ou* is rarely encountered at all.
8. A case can be made for adopting this solution for Tok Pisin in general, so that /ai au oi/ would be /ay aw oy/, and /ia ie io iu ua uo/ would be /ya ye yo yu wa wo/. The case, however, would probably have to depend on substratum phonology, and there may well be differences; in many (but not all) Austro-nesian languages, such sequences are VV, while VV is not permitted as a sequence at all in most Sepik-Ramu languages.
- The standard orthography is inconsistent; *y* is never written following a vowel, but is usually written preceding, unless another consonant precedes; thus *yu you*, *yod iodine*, but *nius news*, *pius fuse*, *siot shirt*; *w* is written in most environments: *wik week*, *swet sweat*, *swit sweet* - but note *goap (kwap) ascend*.
9. The word derives from *place*, but the form with stressed epenthetic vowel is influenced by, and often conflated with, the word *víles*, from *village*.
10. The current spelling is *plis*, which is a homograph of *plis please*, and causes some confusion in articles in the newspaper *Wantok*; I once read a heading *Plis Kilim Man I Dai*. My impression is that *plis* still has wide currency in Rural Pidgin, but is rare in Urban Pidgin.
11. The word occurs in Text IX in Laycock 1970c. Other sporadic forms encountered from time to time are the common Sepik nonem *certainly* (contraction of *na wonem*; see Laycock 1977b), and the form I once heard in Buin, *en satong* for *em tasol that is all*.

12. In the same way, English loanwords in Hindi appear with retroflex alveolar stops, and in Arabic and Hebrew with emphatic consonants - the less exploited elements of the system. For further Buin examples, see page 299.
13. Phonological confusion of a different kind is found in another word for love-magic, *marila*, which reverses the *r* and *l* of the Kuanua etymon *malira*. In practice, Tok Pisin speakers may say *marila*, *malira*, *marira*, or *malila*.
14. These are the main areas of substratum influence on phonology. It is not to be expected that the areas of the former Papua, where Tok Pisin is a late import, would have much influence; while, on the other hand, the 'Islands' (including North Bougainville) are populated predominantly by speakers of Austronesian languages, whose phonology is for the most part very close to that of Tok Pisin. In the provinces of Madang and Morobe are found, in varying proportions, the features that have been labelled 'Sepik' and 'Highlands' - together with any identifiable 'Islands' features. This coming together of many linguistic strains means that regional features are less easy to specify, even loosely, than in Sepik and Highlands areas.
15. A commitment to the idea of regional dialects may seem to be implied by the fact that S.A. Wurm and myself have written books about 'Highlands Pidgin' and 'Sepik Pidgin' respectively (Wurm 1971a, Laycock 1970c). However, the difference between the two is described in terms of 'varieties' rather than dialects; and the ad hoc genesis of the two books produced differences that are more apparent than real. Certainly the longer tradition of speaking Tok Pisin in Sepik and north coastal areas produced a number of lexical differences from Highlands areas, where Tok Pisin was learned only after the war, and often from whites; and some such regional differences in vocabulary remain, as well as the phonological features discussed in the paper. Such differences, which were probably never great enough to justify the use of the term 'dialect', are now decreasing rather than increasing.
16. This is only an assumption, and it certainly has not been demonstrated in this paper - but see also note 6, and Mühlhäusler 1983b.
17. The word always contrasts with *kango* [kango] *watercress*.
18. English influence is seen also in spellings such as *wanem what* for *wonem*, and *troimwe throw away* for *tromoi*. Note that data on the influence of substrata on English can be found in Holzknecht and Smithies 1980.

4.2 PHONOLOGY: INTONATION IN TOK PISIN

S.A. Wurm

(N.B. Cross-references within this chapter do not include the first three digits (4.2.3) for the sake of brevity.)

4.2.1 INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

Intonation in different types of Tok Pisin shows considerable variation in detail, as is the case with Tok Pisin segmental phonology, but there is a good deal of common ground behind these variations.

The variations are determined by the following:

(a) Sociolinguistic factors, i.e. the presence of two main, i.e. rural and urban, sociolects, and varying degrees of proficiency in English, or absence of such proficiency, on the part of a speaker. In general, however, direct influence of English on the intonation in Tok Pisin is much less pronounced than such influence on other phonological features. At the same time, the strong influence of English on stress patterns in Tok Pisin exercises a powerful indirect influence on the nature and form of some Tok Pisin intonation contours which are heavily based on stress patterns.

(b) Substratum features, i.e. the influence of local languages. Their increasing strength is in direct proportion to decreasing sophistication and decreasing mastery of Tok Pisin on the part of the speaker, but they are in evidence in all forms of Tok Pisin (see Intonation (4.2.3)).

In this chapter, a discussion will be presented on the main features of the intonation patterns in a variety of Tok Pisin which was used by fluent and, to a minor extent, sophisticated speakers in the Eastern Highlands Province of Papua New Guinea towards the end of the 1950s and in the early 1960s. It comes broadly under the heading of the standard rural sociolect, but the stress patterns show some English influence. Wherever Tok Pisin is referred to in general in this chapter, reference to this particular variety is intended, unless it is stated otherwise.

The standard Tok Pisin orthography has been mostly employed, unless special stress phenomena and other features in the lect discussed make the use of a non-standard orthographic representation necessary. Phonetic renderings of words and sentences have been added when needed.

Much of the features of the intonation in Tok Pisin are determined by the patterns of stress. A brief discussion of stress in Tok Pisin will therefore be given first.

4.2.2 STRESS IN TOK PISIN

In general, the difference in emphasis between stressed and unstressed syllables in Tok Pisin is much less than in English. Unstressed syllables are not much less prominent than stressed ones, and the rise in the pitch of the voice in stressed syllables is only comparatively slight.

This even stressing is a very characteristic feature of Tok Pisin and together with the absence of long vowels (except for some vowel lengthening for emphasis and in conjunction with certain intonation patterns - see intonation 3.2.2 and 3.4.2.3), and the extreme shortness of the vowels in closed syllables in relation to the length of the consonants contributes greatly to the characteristic acoustic impression of Tok Pisin.

Only heavily anglicised varieties of the urban sociolect tend to deviate from this to some extent in showing greater difference in prominence between stressed and unstressed syllables and stronger rise of pitch in stressed syllables. They also tend to have long vowels on the pattern of English words, and the length of vowels in closed syllables in relation to the length of consonants is greater than in Rural Tok Pisin in general.

The only instances of considerable differences in emphasis between stressed and unstressed syllables in the Tok Pisin variety discussed here (and in Rural Tok Pisin in general to a considerable extent) can be observed in connection with the epenthetic vowel inserted in certain consonant clusters such as syllable-initial *s* + a voiceless stop or *m*, *n*, *r*, *w*; syllable-initial stop or *f* and a following *r*; syllable-initial *p*, *k*, *b*, *f*, and a following *l*. The same epenthetic vowel also appears after syllable-final *l* or *r* before a syllable-initial consonant or a pause, e.g. *stik* [sə'tik] = *stick*, *snek* [sə'nek] = *snake*, *tru* [tə'ru] = *true*, *real*, *ples* [pə'Yes] = *village*, *ol* ['oYə] = *they*, *skru* [səkə'rŭ] = *joint*, *purpur* ['purəpurə] = *grass-skirt*, *tultul* ['tuYətuYə] = *assistant village chief*. This vowel is mostly considerably less prominent than the other vowels in the same word. However in the Tok Pisin variety discussed, some speakers tend to replace epenthetic vowels by ordinary vowels which can carry stress.

It is in the positioning of the stress in individual words (word: basic lexeme and affixes) that the differences between the sociolects and between the absence and the presence of the influence of English (and between varying degrees of the extent of such influence) are most pronounced.

In Rural Tok Pisin, the main stress has a very strong tendency to be on the first syllable of words. However, epenthetic vowels tend to be generally unstressed and, if the first syllable of a word contains such a vowel, the main stress usually shifts to the first non-epenthetic vowel in the word. Only a few words tend to have the main stress on other syllables than the first, even if the first syllable does not contain an epenthetic vowel.

In Urban Tok Pisin, many words are stressed as in English, and the more familiar a Tok Pisin speaker is with English, the more his Tok Pisin may tend to be influenced by English stress patterns.

The following summarises the stress patterns of Tok Pisin in general (the main stress will be marked by ' , and secondary stress by ` , e.g. *bágaràp* = *damaged*, *out of order*):

(1) With words of more than one syllable, the main stress is generally on the first syllable, unless this contains an epenthetic vowel in which case the stress is placed on the first non-epenthetic vowel of the word, e.g. *bíkpela* = *big*, *káikai* = *food*, but *stik* [sə'tik] = *stick*, *skru* [səkə'ru] = *joint*. In the variety

of Tok Pisin discussed here, some words which have epenthetic vowels in other varieties of Rural Tok Pisin in their first syllable usually appear with ordinary vowels in that syllable, e.g. *súpia* = *spear* (instead of *spía* [sə'pia]), *bárata* = *sibling of the same sex* (instead of *bráta* [bə'rata]), etc. With some speakers, first-syllable epenthetic vowels tend to be commonly replaced by stressed ordinary vowels, e.g. *sítik* = *stick* (instead of *stík* [sə'tik]).

(2) Most words of more than two syllables which end in -an, -ap, -aut, -daun and -(e)we carry a secondary stress on this ending. With some speakers who have been exposed to English or anglicised Tok Pisin (and in Urban Tok Pisin more generally), the main stress tends to fall on these endings in words of two or more syllables, and a secondary stress appears on the first syllable in words of more than two syllables, as shown in parentheses in the following examples:

bàgaràp [bàgaráp] = *damaged, out of order*
tékewè [tèkewé] = *to remove*
síngaut [singáut] = *to call out*
sékan [sekán] = *to shake hands*
sánap [sanáp] = *to stand up*
púndaun [pundáun] = *to fall down*

The position of the stress remains unchanged if a suffix such as -im is added to the words, e.g.

sánapim [sanápim] = *to erect*
síngautim [singáutim] = *to call somebody*
bàgaràpim [bàgarápim] or *bàgarimàpim* [bàgarimápim] = *to ruin something*, etc.

(3) Diphthongs in non-initial syllables show some tendency to attract the main stress to the syllable which contains them. This is observable in both Rural and Urban Tok Pisin. Examples:

kíau (less commonly *kiáu*) = *egg*
díwai (less commonly *diwái*) = *tree*
pálai (commonly *palái*) = *lizard*
órait (more commonly *oráit*) = *alright; well ...* which reflects the influence of stress pattern of English
sámbai (less commonly *sambái*) = *to await* which reflects the stress pattern of English *stand by*
tàrangàu (less commonly *tàrangáu*) = *hawk*, etc.

(4) A number of additional words show a tendency to have the main stress on a syllable other than the first. Such words are either of two kinds:

(a) WORDS OF ENGLISH ORIGIN which tend to display their English stress pattern in Urban Tok Pisin and in the Tok Pisin of speakers with familiarity of English, but in some instances also in Rural Tok Pisin in general. In the examples given, the form usually encountered in the Rural Tok Pisin variety discussed here is given first, and less common forms added in parentheses with explanations (R = Rural Tok Pisin, U = Urban Tok Pisin).

Words of two syllables:

átíng (rare; commonly *atíng* in R and U) = *I suppose*
bíhain (rare; commonly *biháin* in R and U) = *later*
bílong (common form in R and U; rarely *bílong* in R) = *of*
bípo (commonly in R, *bipó* commonly in U) = *formerly*
húsat (*husát* is more common in U) = *who*
ináp (common form in both R and U) = *enough; to be able; until*
nogát (common form in R and U; less commonly *nógat* in R) = *no*

nógut (often nogút in U) = *bad*
 sálat (uncommon; usually salát in R and U) = *nettle*
 semén (common form in R and U, rarely sémen in R) = *cement*
 sámbai (less commonly in R, but commonly in U: sambái see above (3)) = *wait*
 tasól (common form in R and U; less commonly tásol in R) = *but; only*
 túdak (often tudák in U) = *night, darkness*
 túlait (often tuláit in U) = *day time, daylight*
 To these examples oráit (common form in R and U; less commonly órait in R) = *alright; well*, as mentioned in (3) above, can be added.
 súrik (uncommon; commonly surík in R and U) = *to move back* (intr.), which is derived from German *zurück*, may also be added here.

Words of three syllables in which the main stress may fall on the last syllable:

ánanìt or áninit (common form in R; in U ànanít or àninit is commonly found) = *underneath*
 búlmakàu (bùlmakáu less commonly in R, but commonly in U) = *cattle* (The word has four syllables in varieties of R including the one discussed here: ['buʎəma,kau] or also ['buʎuma,kau].)
 nàmbatù (uncommon; commonly nàmbatú in R and U) = *second-rate*
 nàmbawàn (uncommon; commonly nàmbawán in R and U) = *excellent*
 ólabòì (also often in R and commonly in U: òlabóì) = *my goodness*
 ólamàn (also often in R and commonly in U: òlamán) = *good heavens!*

Words of three syllables in which the main stress may fall on the second syllable:

ambréla (common form in R and U; also mbréla [mbə'rela] in R) = *umbrella*
 bárata (common form in some varieties of R; others and U have bráta [bə'rata]) = *sibling of the same sex*
 biháinim (common form in R and U; rarely bíhainim in R) = *to follow*
 giáman (common form in R and U; less commonly also gíaman in R) = *to tell a lie*
 mánmeri (in R and U also manméri) = *people*
 síáman (common form in R and U) = *German* (but síaman = *chairman*)
 tántanim (uncommon; commonly tantánim in R and U) = *to roll*
 trómoim (often tromóim in U, and sometimes also in R) = *to throw*
 túmara (commonly in R; in U the forms tumára and tumóra are commonly found) = *tomorrow*

Words of four syllables in which the main stress may fall on the third syllable:

píkinìní (commonly in R; the form pìkiníni is also often found in R, and is common in U) = *baby* (from Portuguese pequeninho = *little*)
 pápamàma (commonly in both R and U; in U, the form pàpamáma is also often found) = *parents*

Words of four syllables in which the main stress may fall on the second syllable:

Amérika (common form in R and U, sometimes Mérika in R) = *America*
 Austrélia or Astrélia (common form in R and U, sometimes Strélia [sətə'relia] in R) = *Australia*
 bíkdaunbilo or bíktambilo (uncommon form in R and U are bikdáunbilo or biktámbilo) = *hold of a ship*
 bíksólwara (uncommon; common form in R and U is biksólwara) = *high sea*
 malária (common form in R and U) = *malaria*
 mítripela (commonly in R, also mitrípela commonly in R and U) = *we three* (excl.)
 mítupela (commonly in R, also mitúpela commonly in R and U) = *we two* (excl.)

(b) WORDS OF INDIGENOUS LANGUAGE (OR OBSCURELY ENGLISH) ORIGIN

Words of two syllables:

abrús = *to avoid*
 bílum (more commonly bilúm) = *woman's netbag*
 múruk (less commonly murúk) = *cassowary*

Words of three syllables in which the main stress may fall on the last syllable:

tárangàu (less commonly tàrangáu) = *hawk*

Words of three syllables in which the main stress may fall on the second syllable:

abrúsim = *to avoid*
 baláisim = *to split*
 kánaka (less commonly kanáka) = *village native*
 káruka (also karúka) = *pandanus*
 kilíva (less commonly kíliwa) = *jib sail*
 límlimbur (less commonly limlímbur) = *to stroll*
 melísa (less commonly méliisa) = *barracuda*
 mórota (less commonly moróta) = *thatch*
 pípia (less commonly pipía) = *refuse, rubbish*
 táleo (less commonly taléo) = *north-west monsoon*
 tárangu (also tarángu) = *unfortunate*

Words of four syllables in which the main stress may fall on the third syllable:

málumàlu (less commonly màlumálu) = *soft*
 màrimàri (less commonly màrimári) = *to pity*

4.2.3 INTONATION IN TOK PISIN

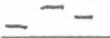
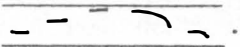
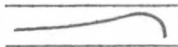
4.2.3.1 Introductory remarks

Intonational features are, like other features of the Tok Pisin phonology, subject to substratum influences from the speaker's local language, especially in the case of the Bush Tok Pisin fringe sociolect (Mühlhäusler 1979e), and in spite of the far-reaching neutralisation of local dialects on other levels of language structure, especially grammar and lexicon, the intonation of Tok Pisin in various parts of Papua New Guinea tends to show differences reflecting the underlying local languages. This statement even applies to creolised Tok Pisin, which, in its varied locations, contains differing carry-over intonational features representing local languages originally imparting their intonational characteristics to Tok Pisin during its creolisation stage. Children learn Tok Pisin as their first language in situations in which their parents are from different local language backgrounds and communicate with each other exclusively in Tok Pisin. Such children acquire in their Tok Pisin intonational characteristics from their parents whose Tok Pisin is, in this respect, influenced by intonational features of their local languages. Linguistic contacts between such children speaking intonationally differing forms of creolised Tok Pisin reflecting their varied family backgrounds, lead to a levelling out of such intonational differences. However, in the light of the varied original intonation patterns which constitute the background to such situations in different parts of Papua New Guinea, the resulting neutralised intonation patterns may show differences from place to place. No systematic or detailed studies of these phenomena have been undertaken to date, and the statements made above are based on cursory studies and impressions.

In spite of what has been said above, Rural Tok Pisin as a whole shows considerable homogeneity in the majority of its intonational contours in various parts of Papua New Guinea. Many of these contours are also present in Urban Tok Pisin, though there is considerable variety and fluidity in this respect with different speakers.

In what follows, the author has attempted to present a discussion of the main intonational characteristics of Rural Tok Pisin spoken in the Eastern Highlands Province of Papua New Guinea in the late 1950s and early 1960s, this being the area with which he is most familiar (Wurm 1971a). In the following, this variety of Tok Pisin will simply be referred to as 'Tok Pisin'.

4.2.3.2 Notation used to depict intonation

In order to make the discussion of Tok Pisin intonation readily intelligible to all readers of this book, including those who may have had no linguistic training, a visual method will be used in this chapter, i.e. short lines denoting the pitch of individual syllables will be placed between two lines marking the upper and lower limits of the ordinary pitch range of speaking, e.g. . The absolute pitch levels are irrelevant because they vary with each speaker, but the relative pitch levels - i.e. the pitch level of one particular syllable in relation to those of neighbouring syllables, whether higher or lower - are of importance, and so is the contrast between relatively level and rising or falling pitch. The former will be shown by horizontal strokes, and the latter by tilted or curving strokes, e.g. English *administration* has the pitch configuration . In some cases the intonational sequence or contour of a sentence will be indicated by a single long modulated line between the upper and lower lines, e.g. *What are you doing?* . In addition, a number of letter symbols will be introduced and used in the various sections to mark individual intonation sequences.

The intonational range of Tok Pisin is much narrower than that of English, i.e. the usual upper and lower limits of the pitch changes in speaking are much closer together than in English. However, within this narrow range, the intonational changes are quite strong.

For ease of reference, the following terms will be used in the discussion:

- | | |
|-------------------|---|
| <i>high</i> | indicating a pitch close to the upper limit of the ordinary Tok Pisin intonation range; |
| <i>low</i> | a pitch close to the lower limit of the ordinary range of intonation in Tok Pisin; |
| <i>mid</i> | around the middle of the intonation range; |
| <i>higher mid</i> | between <i>high</i> and <i>mid</i> ; |
| <i>lower mid</i> | between <i>mid</i> and <i>low</i> . |
| <i>very high</i> | at the upper limit of the intonation range; |
| <i>very low</i> | at the lower limit of the intonation range; |
| <i>high-mid</i> | a <i>falling</i> pitch falling from <i>high</i> to <i>mid</i> . |
| <i>low-mid</i> | a <i>rising</i> pitch rising from <i>low</i> to <i>mid</i> . |

Comparable combinations involving any of the terms listed are possible, e.g. *high-low, mid-low, higher mid-lower mid, lower mid-high*, etc.

4.2.3.3 Tok Pisin intonation patterns

Twenty main intonation patterns or types can be distinguished in Tok Pisin, plus a few special cases (for which see 3.6). To make the discussion more readily understandable for linguistically untrained readers and to avoid confusion on their part, it has been decided to arrange the description of the intonation types by syntactic categories rather than by the intonation types themselves. The same intonation types can accompany different syntactic categories - e.g. the same intonation type co-occurs with short declarative statements, polite orders, and answers to questions spoken with ordinary interrogative intonation or with one indicating that an affirmative answer is expected (see 3.7). Using the intonation types themselves as the basis of discussion may be more difficult to follow than arranging them by syntactic categories familiar to the linguistically untrained reader.

The following syntactic categories will be referred to as the bases for the various intonation types:

(a) ORDINARY INTONATION IN DECLARATIVE STATEMENTS (3.1)

- 1) In short statements (3.1.1)
- 2) In the final part of long declarative statements (3.1.2)
- 3) In long declarative statements consisting of a single clause or several clauses connected by *na = and* (3.1.3)
- 4) In non-final parts or clauses of a declarative statement which are followed by a pause (3.1.4)

(b) EMPHATIC-EMOTIONAL INTONATION IN DECLARATIVE STATEMENTS (3.2)

- 1) Self-assuring and persuasive emotional intonation (3.2.1)
- 2) Reassuring emotional intonation (3.2.2)

(c) INTONATION IN QUESTIONS (3.3)

- 1) In questions containing an interrogative word (3.3.1)
- 2) In questions not containing an interrogative word (3.3.2)
 - a) Ordinary intonation in questions not containing an interrogative word (3.3.2.1)
 - b) Intonation in questions to which an affirmative reply is expected (3.3.2.2)
 - c) Emphatic intonation in questions not containing an interrogative word (3.3.2.3)

(d) INTONATION IN ANSWERS (3.4)

- 1) In answers to questions containing an interrogative word (3.4.1)
- 2) In answers to questions not containing an interrogative word (3.4.2)
 - a) In answers to questions spoken with ordinary intonation (or an intonation indicating that an affirmative reply is expected) (3.4.2.1)
 - b) In answers to questions spoken with emphatic interrogative intonation (3.4.2.2)
 - c) In unfriendly, irritated and uninterested answers (3.4.2.3)

(e) INTONATION IN ORDERS AND COMMANDS (3.5)


(f) SPECIAL CASES (3.6)

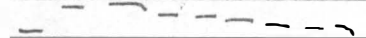
4.2.3.3.1 Ordinary intonation in declarative statements

4.2.3.3.1.1 Intonation in short declarative statements (3.7,1.)

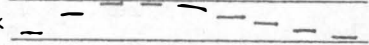
A declarative statement can consist of a short sequence of words which are accompanied by a single intonational sequence, e.g. in English *I am coming*. Alternatively, it can consist of two or several parts or clauses each of which is accompanied by a separate intonational sequence, e.g. in English *When you come back, see me in my office, or When you come back, take your papers and come and see me in my office*. The first of these two statements consists of two intonational sequences which are usually separated by a very short pause, whereas the second one consists of four intonational sequences of which the first and second are usually separated by a very short pause, whereas the other three may or may not have a short pause between them. The term 'intonational sequence' will be used here to refer to a single intonational sequence often relating to one clause, as described above.

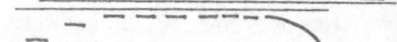
In short declarative statements accompanied by a single intonational sequence, the intonation in Tok Pisin begins usually at *lower mid*, rises quickly to *higher mid* and *high*, stays on that high level (except that unstressed syllables are lower than stressed ones which will not be shown in the somewhat schematic representation of intonation in the first examples given below so as not to complicate the picture too much at the initial stage of the discussion), and *drops* very slightly, *high-higher mid* or *higher mid-mid* in the stressed syllable(s) of the most important word of the statement, and then gradually *drops* off to *low*. Stress will be marked by an accent ' over the vowel of stressed syllables, including the stressed syllable in words which have only one ordinary vowel and one or several epenthetic vowels, and monosyllabic words which are preceded by the particle *i* which determines them (e.g. *kílim*, *s-táp*,¹ *i gó*), secondary stress by ` , and the stressed syllable of the most important word will be in capitals in the examples - it can be said to carry the *sentence stress*. Examples: *i gat TÚpela tasól*

 = *there are only two* (*tasól* counts as three syllables for intonational purposes, because the flapped *l* [ɾ] is followed by a brief central vowel making it a separate syllable, i.e. [ta-'sɔ-ɾə]¹); *ol i Kílim díspela s-nék*

 = *they KILLED this snake* (*s-nek* counts as two syllables for intonational purposes: [sə-'nek].¹)

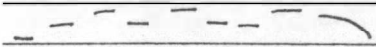
The position of the sentence stress depends on the will of the speaker - e.g.


the last example could be heard as *ol i kílim DÍSpela s-nék* 


= *they killed THIS snake*, or as *ol i kílim díspela s-NÉK* 

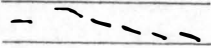
= *they killed this SNAKE*.

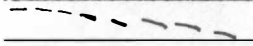
The last example illustrates what happens if the sentence stress falls on the last syllable of a declarative statement. In such a case, the intonation follows the usual *rise* from *lower mid* in the first syllable of the statement to *higher mid* and *high*, stays on *high level* and *drops* sharply *high-lower mid* or even *high-low* in the last syllable which carries the sentence stress. If the differences in pitch between stressed and unstressed syllables in the individual words are indicated in the visual representation of the intonation, it is as follows:


ol i kílím tíspela s-NÉK  = *they killed this SNAKE.*

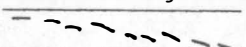
The important points in this are a) that the last syllable before the *drop* in the sentence-stress syllable always has a pitch which is as high as that of a stressed syllable, irrespective of whether it is stressed or not, and b) that two or more unstressed syllables following a stressed one become lower step by step (compare díspela ).

If the sentence stress is on the penultimate - i.e. last-but-one - syllable of a statement, the intonational *drop* in the syllable carrying the sentence-stress is *high-mid*, and the *drop* continues to *low* in the unstressed syllable following it, e.g. (from this point onwards, the visual representations of the intonation - called 'graphs' for the sake of brevity) will indicate the pitch differences between stressed and unstressed syllables) mípela i SÁve  = *we* (excluding person addressed) *KNOW.*


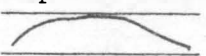
The ordinary intonation in declarative statements differs somewhat from the pattern discussed above if the syllable carrying the sentence-stress is the second or the first syllable of the statement. If it is the second, the intonation in the first syllable of the statement is *mid*, and it *drops higher mid-mid* in the second syllable, which carries the sentence-stress, and gradually *drops off* to *low* or *very low* in the subsequent syllables, e.g. mi LÚKluk i s-táp  = *I am LOOKing.*

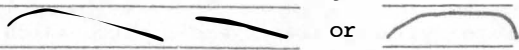


If the sentence-stress is on the first syllable, the intonation in that syllable is *higher mid* and *level*, *mid* or *higher mid* and slightly falling in the second syllable, and *drops gradually to low* or *very low* in the subsequent syllables, i.e. TÚL-tul i kamáp pínis  = *the tultul* (government-appointed assistant village chief and Tok Pisin interpreter) *has come.*

In words which have a main and a secondary stress on non-adjacent syllables such as bágaràp = *out of order*, búl-makàu = *cattle* (see 4.2.2, Stress) and which carry the sentence-stress on their first syllable, the intonational *drop* which is typical of syllables carrying sentence-stress, is split between the two stressed syllables, and in the second stressed syllable reaches *mid* to *lower mid*, e.g. mótoka i BÁgaràp pínis  = *the car has broken down.*

If such a word with two stresses on non-adjacent syllables is the first word of a statement, the intonation in the first, main stress, syllable is *higher mid* and *level* as usual, and *drops gradually off to low* in the subsequent syllables, with the pitch of the secondary stress syllable being somewhat higher than a usual stressed syllable, e.g. BÚL-makàu i kamáp pínis  = *the cow has come.*

Instead of having only one sentence-stress, even short declarative statements can have one main sentence-stress and one or several secondary ones. This depends on the will of the speaker and on the emphasis he wishes to place on the various parts of the statement.


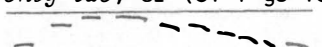
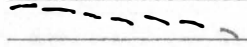
In summary, the ordinary intonation in short declarative statements is as follows: comparatively *low* beginning (*low-mid* or *mid*), then a sharp *rise*, then staying comparatively *high* followed by a gradual step by step *fall* from the sentence-stress syllable onwards, i.e.  or . If the

sentence-stress syllable is at, or close to, the beginning or the end of a statement, the *rising* part of the intonation contour is missing or shortened, or the *drop* at the end steepened, e.g.  or . Within the intonation contour, unstressed syllables are lower than stressed ones, giving an overall picture somewhat as follows: .

In a notation using letter symbols, this information can be indicated by a subscript _S (for 'statement') at the end of the intonational sequence, e.g. *i gat Túpela tasól_S* (see above). The subscript is used to indicate that the end of this intonational sequence is low.

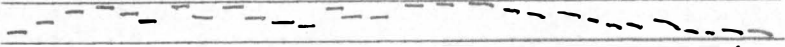
4.2.3.3.1.2 Intonation in the final part of long declarative statements (3.7,2.)

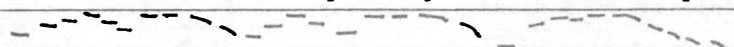
If the last part of a declarative statement consists of one clause covered by a single intonational sequence and is preceded by one or several non-final parts characterised by the intonation described in 3.1.4 below, the ordinary intonation is exactly the same as in short utterances which are covered by one intonational sequence. So, for instance, the examples given above could well constitute the final parts of longer statements, i.e. (in the graphs following, the pitch contrast between stressed and unstressed syllables will be indicated, in contrast to the first examples given above in 3.1.1) (*em i lúkim,*) ... *i gát*

Túpela tasól-  = (*he looked at them, (and)*) ... *there were only two;* or (*ol i gó long bus*) ... *na ol i Kílim díspela s-nék*  = (*they went into the bush*) ... *and they killed this snake;* (*mi sáve*) ... *TÚL-tul i kamáp pínis*  = (*I know that*) *the TULTUL has come,* etc. If it is desirable to distinguish, in notations, the intonation in the final part of a long statement from the formally identical intonations in short statements (see 3.1.3), the subscript _F (for 'final') can be used in notations using letter symbols, e.g. ... *i gát Túpela tasól_F* (see above).

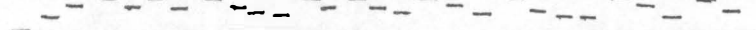
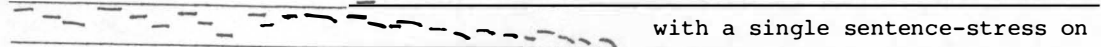
4.2.3.3.1.3 Intonation in long declarative statements consisting of a simple clause or several clauses connected by *na* = *and* (3.7,3.)

In long declarative statements consisting of a single clause, several secondary sentence-stresses may be employed in addition to the main sentence-stress. The following declarative statement is a good example: *díspela túpela lápun méri i kamáutim p-lánti káukau long gáden bilóng pápa bilóng mi* = *these two old women pull out many sweet potatoes in my father's garden.* This statement can be spoken with a single sentence stress which is likely to be placed on *KÁUKAU*, i.e.

. However, it may well be heard spoken with two secondary sentence-stresses on *MÉri* and *PÁpa*. When main and secondary sentence-stresses are present, the intonation drops in those syllables which follow a sentence-stress syllable within the same word. With the next word, the intonation resumes the pattern which is typical of the beginning of a statement covered by a single intonational sequence (see 3.1.1), i.e.

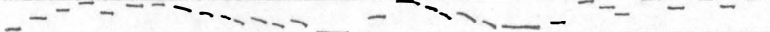
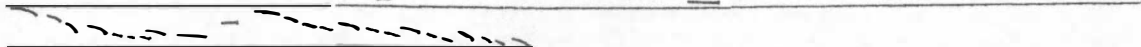


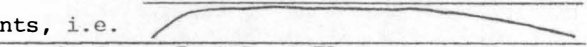
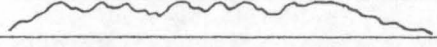
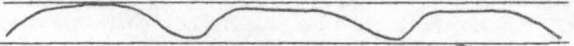
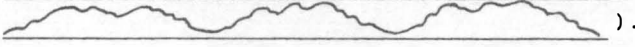
A number of successive declarative statements linked by *na = and* or the particle *i* can be united intonationally into a single long statement containing one or several sentence-stresses, e.g. *díspela mán i kísim bíkpela s-tón i kám na i kúkim long páia na i ráusim i gó long díspela bíkpela hul- long g-ráun na i dáunim ol-géta long bel- bilóngen i gó = this man brought a big stone and heated it in the fire (and)² took it out [and carried it] to that big hole in the ground and threw it all the way down into it.* This sentence could be given the following

intonation by a narrator: 
 with a single sentence-stress on

DÁUnim. To understand the intonation of this sentence fully, it must be kept in mind that one-syllable words which are not auxiliary words such as *na = and*, the particle *i*, etc., but for instance verbs or nouns, have the same stress as the stressed syllables in words of several syllables. The marking of the stress in the examples has only been inserted to indicate on which syllable the stress is placed in words of more than one syllable, except for monosyllabic words preceded by the particle *i*, e.g. *i gó* (see above towards the beginning of 3.1.1).

The long statement given above could well be spoken with secondary sentence-stresses on *BÍKpela s-tón*, *KÚkim* and *BÍKpela hul-* for instance, in addition to the main sentence-stress on *DÁUnim*. In statements containing *na = and* linking several statements into one, the intonational drop after a sentence stress continues up to *na* which it usually *includes*, with a new intonational sequence starting with the next word. In the narrative style used in story-telling, such a connection *na* is often lengthened and drawn out, with a *lower-mid* or *low, level* intonation,

i.e. in the above sentence: 



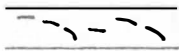
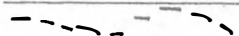
In summary, the intonation in long declarative statements consisting of a single long clause or of several clauses linked by *na = and* is either the same as in short declarative statements, i.e.  (or more exactly somewhat like ) , or it can optionally have several sentence-stresses, and in consequence, several *rise-fall* intonation sequences, i.e.  (or more exactly somewhat like ).


It may be mentioned that in addition to these types of intonation, longish declarative statements may (especially in slow, deliberate speech) be broken up into a number of separate intonational sequences of which each is followed by a pause and of which the final one will show the intonational patterns as described in 3.1.1 (and 3.1.2), and the others those discussed below in 3.1.4.


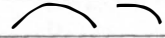
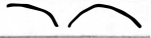
Even short declarative statements consisting of a single clause can optionally have two or several sentence-stresses. This would indicate an attempt on the part of a Tok Pisin speaker that he was trying to bring home a point to the person addressed without implying or displaying any emotional attitude (for this see 3.2 below).

In such cases, the intonational *drop* after a sentence-stress only goes as far as the end of the word containing the sentence-stress, and a new intonational sequence begins with the subsequent word.

This can be illustrated by increasing the number of the sentence-stresses appearing in some of the examples given in 3.1.1, e.g. *i gát Túpela taSÓL-*



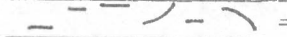

 = *there are ONLY TWO*; Mípele i Sáve  = *WE KNOW*;
 BÚL-maKÁU i-kamÁP pínis  = *the COW HAS come*; etc.

This type of intonation is also used if the last word of a statement is added as an afterthought, usually with a pause preceding it. This is a quite common feature of Tok Pisin, e.g. ol- man i-kamÁP; Pínis  = *all men have come: they have*.

The summary given in reference to long declarative statements containing several sentence-stresses is, in view of what has been said above, also applicable to short statements containing several sentence-stresses, i.e. ,  or , etc.


When using letter symbols, this intonation would be indicated by a subscript S (for 'statement') or LS (for 'long statement'). If a long statement is broken up into separate intonational sequences separated by pauses, the notation B_S or $B..._S$ seems appropriate (for B see 3.1.4).

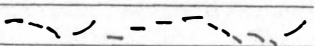
4.2.3.3.1.4 Intonation in non-final parts or clauses of a declarative statement which are followed by a pause (3.7.4.)

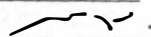
In parts of declarative statements which are not their final section, and which constitute separate clauses often not connected by *na* = *and* and are each followed by a pause, the intonation is the same as in short declarative statements or the final part of long declarative statements (see 3.1.1-2) up to the syllable preceding the one which carries the sentence-stress. In that syllable, the level pitch is a little lower than that of the syllable carrying the sentence-stress, and in the latter syllable, the intonation is *high level, not falling*, and it drops step by step after it, up to the first stressed syllable of the last word of that part. In that syllable it starts *rising* from *lower mid* or *mid*, with the last syllable of the last word *rising* to *high*. If the last word has the stress on its last syllable, or consists of one syllable, this syllable is the only one with a rising tone. Examples (the pause is indicated by a comma): em i ÁS-kim túl-tul-pínis, tasól ÉM i no sáve  = *he asked the tultul, but he did not know [it]*; long taim ÉM i-kamáp, dok i RÓnewÈ pínis  = *when he arrived, the dog had RUN AWAY*; em i KÁM yet, mi GÓ  = *he is still coming, [but] I go away*; etc. If the sentence-stress is to be placed on the last syllable of the non-final part of a sentence, because that syllable belongs to the most important word of the whole sentence, with that word having a stressed final syllable, the intonation shows such a pattern as if the stressed word preceding this important word were the sentence-stress carrier, e.g. yu kamÁP, báimbai i túdak long yu  = *[when] you arrive it will be night on you (= you will get there after dark)*: the yu ['yu] preceding kamÁP shows an intonation as if it carried the sentence-stress.

As has been pointed out in 3.1.3, this type of intonation can optionally be used in longish declarative statements in all parts except the last. This is

especially the case in slow, deliberate speech, with the pause which is a prerequisite of this intonation following each of the intonational sequences, e.g.

díspela TÚpela lápun méri, i kamáutim káukau long gáden  = *these two old women, pull out sweet potatoes in the garden*; díspela

MÁn, i kísim Bíkpele s-tón i kám, na i KÚkim long páia  = *this man, brought a big stone, and heated it in the fire*. As can be seen from the last example that with this intonation type, the *na* = *and* which connects the statements constitutes the *beginning* of an intonational sequence, not the *end* of one as is the case with the intonation type mentioned in 3.1.3.

To sum up: the intonation in non-final parts of a long declarative statement which are followed by a pause is similar to that described in 3.1.3, but it is *level*, not *falling*, in the syllable carrying the sentence-stress, and the last word has a *rising* intonation which begins in its stressed syllable, i.e. .

Pitch differences between stressed and unstressed syllables are present.



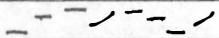
When using letter symbols, this intonational type can be indicated by a superscript ^B (for 'beginning' - the superscript is used to show that the end of this intonational sequence is *high*) at the end of the intonational sequence, e.g. long taim EM i kamáp^B dok i RÓneWE pínis_F (see above).

4.2.3.3.2 Emphatic-emotional intonation in declarative statements (3.7,5.-6.)

A very characteristic feature of Tok Pisin is the frequent occurrence of emphatic-emotional intonation sequences. They are generally limited to short statements and the final part of longer ones. Their use indicates that the speaker wishes to imply, and to impart to the hearer, that he is emotionally involved in, or affected by, what he is saying, i.e. that he is apprehensive, or worried, or annoyed, or sorry, or happy, etc.

There are two different types of this intonation: the more commonly used one denotes an attitude of self-assurance on the part of the speaker, and one of persuasion directed towards the hearer. The other one is indicative of a reassuring attitude taken by the speaker towards the hearer.

4.2.3.3.2.1 Self-assuring and persuasive emotional intonation (3.7,5.)

The first syllable of this intonational sequence is *high level*, and the intonation becomes step by step *lower* with each subsequent syllable being more or less *level* in each, until the syllable carrying the sentence-stress is reached. In that it is *low* or *very low level*, and then slowly goes up step by step, again being approximately *level* in each syllable until it rises *mid-higher mid* in the last syllable. The usual intonation rule according to which stressed syllables are higher than unstressed ones, is *absent* from *this type*. Examples: mi no HÁrim gut  = *I did not understand properly (and I am sorry or worried because of this)*; díspela tok p-LÉS,^B mi no HÁrim  = *(this language, I do not understand it)* = *I do not understand this language (which worries me)*; em i kám yet,^B na mi GÓ nau  = *he is still coming*,

and I'll go away now (because I am afraid of him); mi wókim pínis Ákis bílong yu
 _____ / = I have finished making an axe for you (and I am happy).

If the last syllable of such a statement carries the sentence-stress, it is the penultimate syllable that is *low level*, e.g. em i-KÁM _____ / = he will come (I am annoyed with you for doubting it). If the first syllable of the statement has the sentence-stress, the stressed syllable of the last stressed word in the statement has *low level* pitch, e.g. ÉM i-no paus bilóng mi _____ / = THIS is not my suitcase! The commonly heard intonation of ÉM tasól- = that's it! is unusual in being _____ instead of _____ / which may be expected in the light of what has just been said, but which is the emotional intonation of Ém tasól in the meaning of *that's all!* - a contrast between two intonational sequences correlated with a contrast in meaning.

No iNÁP = *unable to* is emotionally intoned _____ / which corresponds to the usual emotional intonation in statements in which the last syllable carries the sentence-stress. However, if it constitutes a part of a longer statement spoken with emotional intonation, the first syllable of ináp often has *mid level* pitch which is a special case, e.g. mi no iNÁP i kám _____ / = I CANnot come, though _____ / has also been observed.

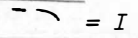
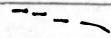
In some cases (especially in somewhat longish declarative statements consisting of one clause) only a section, usually the one referring to the essential core of the statement, shows emotional intonation, whereas the remainder has the ordinary declarative statement intonation G or F (see 3.1.1-3). This indicates that the speaker is only mildly emotional about the matter referred to, and does not really care much, e.g. mi nógat BÉNsín long JIP bilóng mi
 _____ / = I have no petrol in my jeep (it's a nuisance, but it does not really matter, e.g. there is a trade store over there, and I can buy some); mi no iNÁP i tóktok long GÁDsup _____ / = I cannot speak GADsup³ (it is a pity, but so what?). The same statement can be uttered with a full emphatic-emotional intonation, with a different shade of meaning, i.e. mi nógat BÉNsín long jip bilóng mi _____ / = I have no petrol in my jeep (this is terrible, now I am stuck!); mi no iNÁP i tóktok long Gádsup _____ / = I cannot speak Gadsup (this is terrible, now we are in real trouble with these Gadsup people!); etc.

To sum up: the intonation in emphatic-emotional statements begins at *high level*, goes down step by step to the sentence-stress syllable which is *low level*, goes up slowly step by step again, and rises *mid-higher mid* in the last syllable. In all syllables except the last, the intonation is *level* and the usual differences in the pitch between stressed and unstressed syllables are absent, i.e.

When using a letter symbol, this emotional (and self-assuring and persuasive) intonational type can be indicated by a superscript ^E (for 'emotional') at the end of the intonational sequence, e.g. mi no hárim gut^E (see above). When the intonation applies only to a section of a statement, it can be enclosed by ^E E, e.g. mi ^Enógat BÉNsín^E long JIP bilóng mi (see above).

4.2.3.3.2 Reassuring emotional intonation (3.7,6.)

The first syllable of this intonational sequence is *very high level*, and the intonation *drops* very slowly in the following syllables until the last syllable drops to *mid*. The last syllable of the utterance is usually lengthened considerably. Pitch differences between stressed and unstressed syllables are largely absent.



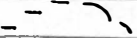
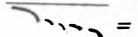

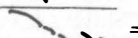
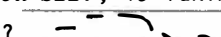

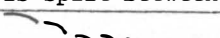
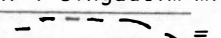


This intonation is mostly found in short reassuring exclamations and brief statements of this nature, e.g. *soree!* ['sore::]  = *I am sorry (for you)!* or *I am so happy (for you)!*; *em i oráit!* [o'ra:i:t]  = *don't worry, everything will be alright!*

With letter symbols, this reassuring emotional intonation can be indicated by a subscript _{ER} (for 'emotional reassuring') at the end of the intonational sequence, e.g. *em i oráit*_{ER}.

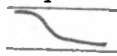
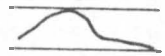

4.2.3.3.3 Intonation in questions

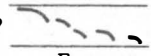
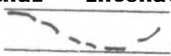
4.2.3.3.3.1 Intonation in questions containing an interrogative word (3.7,7.)

In questions containing an interrogative word such as *húsat?* = *who?*, *háumas?* = *how much?*, *wánem?* *what?*, *which?*, *bílong wánem?* = *why?*, etc., the stressed syllable of this interrogative word is commonly the syllable carrying the sentence-stress, but the intonational drop in it is much more extensive than in declarative statements, and in contrast to the _s type intonation (see 3.1.1), there is an intonational drop in this stressed syllable even if it is the first syllable of the question. The same two features are observable if the sentence-stress in such a question happens to fall on another word than the interrogative word. Examples:

HÁUmas man i kam?  = *how many men have come?*; *bílong WÁnem you no wókim haus?*  = *why do you not build a house?*; *díspela WÁnem?*  = *what is this?*; *DÍspela wánem?*  = *what is THIS?*; *yu LÚkim húsat?*  = *whom do you SEE?*; *YÚ lukim húsat?*  = *whom do YOU see?*; *yu kísim WÁnem bilúm pínis?*  = *which (woman's) netbag have you taken?*; *HÚsat i kámap pínis?*  = *who has some?* When particular emphasis is placed on *húsat?* = *who?*, both syllables of it have strong stress, and the intonational drop is split between these two stressed syllables, e.g. *HÚSÁT i síngautim mi pínis?*  = *WHO called me?*; *díspela méri HÚSÁT?*  = *WHO is this woman?*, etc. Combinations between this intonation and the _E *emphatic* intonation (see 3.2.1) are quite common, e.g. *HÁUmas MÁN i kam?*  = *HOW MANY men have come (I am shocked to hear that it should be so many)*; *HÚSÁT i síngautim mi pínis?*  = *WHO called me? (I am anxious to know because it worries me that somebody should be calling me).*

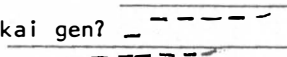
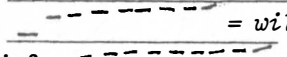
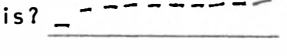
In summary, in questions containing an interrogative word, the stressed syllable of that word often carries the sentence-stress. In that syllable, or in any other syllable which may carry the sentence-stress, the intonational drop is extensive. In contrast to the type _s intonation (see 3.1.1), the drop in the


intonation is also present in the first syllable of a question if it carries the sentence-stress. This results in outlines such as  or  or . Pitch differences between stressed and unstressed syllables are present. Combinations between this intonational type and the emotional ^E intonation (see 3.2.1) are quite common.

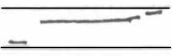
Using letter symbols, this intonational type can be indicated by a subscript _{IW} (for 'interrogative word intonation') at the end of the intonational sequence, e.g. HÚsat i sáve_{IW}?  = *who knows [it]?* Combinations of this intonation type with the emotional ^E intonation can be indicated by a superscript ^{IWE}, e.g. HÚSÁT i b-rúkim^{IWE}?  = *WHO broke it? (I am wondering and I am worried that I do not know).*

4.2.3.3.3.2 Intonation in questions not containing an interrogative word (3.7,8-10.)

4.2.3.3.3.2.1 Ordinary intonation in questions not containing an interrogative word (3.7,8.)

In questions not containing an interrogative word, the intonational sequence begins with the first syllable at *lower mid* as in the _s type intonation (see 3.1.1), jumps to *higher mid* in the second syllable, stays on that level or rises slowly in the subsequent syllables, and jumps to *high* or *very high* and slightly rising in the last syllable. Pitch differences between stressed and unstressed syllables are absent or only very slight: e.g. *yu laik i káikai gen?*  = *are you about to eat again?*; *yu b-ringim i kam bánara?*  = *will you bring the bow (to me)?*; *dok bilong yu i rónewè pínis?*  = *has your dog run away?*; etc.

Combinations of this intonation and the emphatic ^E intonation (see 3.2.1) are also found, e.g. *yu laik i-KÁIkai gen?*  = *are you about to eat again? (I am astonished, you have just finished eating a short while ago!).*


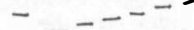
To sum up, the outline of this intonation is  and as has been pointed out, pitch differences between stressed and unstressed syllables are either very slight or absent. Combined with the ^E, intonation the outline is:

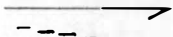


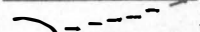
Using letter symbols, it can be indicated by a superscript ^I (for 'interrogative') at the end of the intonational sequence, e.g. *yu laik i káikai gen^I?* (see above), and by ^{IE} for the combination of ^I and ^E with ^E placed at the beginning of the emotional intonational sequence, e.g. *yu laik^E i káikai gen^{IE}?*

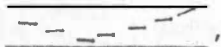
4.2.3.3.2.2 Intonation in questions to which an affirmative reply is expected (3.7,9.)

In questions to which the speaker expects 'yes' as an answer, the intonational sequence begins with the first syllable at *mid* and goes down step by step to the sentence-stress syllable which is *low level*, then jumps to *lower mid* in the next syllable and rises slowly in the subsequent syllables, to jump to *high* or *very high* and slightly *rising* in the last syllable. Pitch differences between stressed and unstressed syllables are absent or only very slight, e.g. *yu laik i KÁikai gen?*

 = *you are about to eat again, aren't you?*; *yu SÁve díspela man?*
 = *you know this man, don't you?*

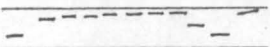
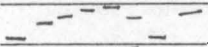
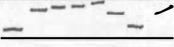
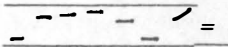
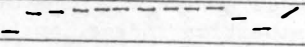
If in such questions, the syllable of the last word carries the sentence-stress, the penultimate syllable has *low level* pitch, as if it carried the sentence-stress, e.g. *díspela man i KÁM?*  = *that man will come, won't he?*


If the first syllable of the question carries the sentence-stress, the intonation in it drops *mid-lower mid* or *low*, with the subsequent syllable on *lower mid*, e.g. *DÍspela i lús pínis?*  = *that has been lost, hasn't it?*

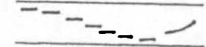
In summary, the outline of this intonational sequence is , with little or no pitch differences between stressed and unstressed syllables. When using letter symbols for notation, it can be indicated by a superscript ^{IY} (for 'interrogative - yes') at the end of the intonational sequence, i.e. *yu laik i káikai gen^{IY}?* (see above).

4.2.3.3.2.3 Emphatic intonation in questions not containing an interrogative word (3.7,10.)

To put emphasis, but no emotion, into a question, an intonation type is used which begins like the ^I intonation described above in 3.3.2.1, but the last three syllables of the intonational sequence are *mid* or *higher mid*, *lower mid* and *high level* or *high-very high rising*. This is usually used in repeated questions when no answer has been received for the first time, and the expected answer is 'yes'. Questions ending in *o nogát* = *or not* show this intonation frequently, e.g. *yu wókim bánara bilóng mi pínis?*


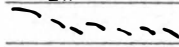

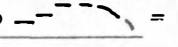

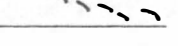
 = *have you finished making the bow for me (i.e. I did not get a reply when I asked you before - it IS finished, isn't it); yu wókim pínis o nogát?*  = *DID you finish it (you did, didn't you)?; yu sútím túpela múruk?*  = *did you shoot two cassowaries? (i.e. I did not hear you reply when I asked before; expected answer: yes); yu hárim tok bilóng mi?*  = *do you hear me? (why do you not answer?); pápa bilóng yu i kámap pínis o nogát?*  = *has your father arrived or not (expected answer: he has arrived).*

The outline of this intonation type is , with little or no pitch differences between stressed and unstressed syllables. When using letter symbols it can be indicated by a superscript ^{IM} (for 'interrogative, eMphatic'), e.g. *yu sútím túpela múruk^{IM}?* (see above).

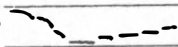
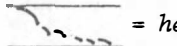
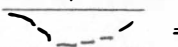
In some cases, the emotional intonation type ^E (see 3.2.1) has been observed to imply an astonished question, e.g. *yu sútím túpela múruk^E?*  = *you shot two cassowaries?! (I am astonished and worried, you know you ought not to have done that).*

4.2.3.3.4 Intonation in answers (3.7,11-14.)

4.2.3.3.4.1 Answers to questions containing an interrogative word (3.7,11.)

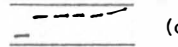


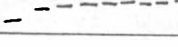
When answering a question which contains an interrogative word, the intonation is usually the same as in such a question (see 3.3.1), with the intonation drop in the sentence-stress syllable very pronounced, and present even if the sentence-stress syllable is the first syllable of the reply, e.g. *HÁUmas man i kám_{IW}?*  = *how many men have come?* Answer: *TÚpela man i kámap*  = *TWO men have come*; *díspela WÁnem_{IW}?*  = *what is this?* Answer: *díspela i KÁlop*  = *this is a wooden headrest*; *bílong WÁnem yu no wókim haus_{IW}?*  = *why do you not build a house?* Answer: *mi no SÁve wókim haus*  = *I do not know [how] to build a house*; etc.

This intonation type which is like the _{IW} intonation type (see 3.3.1) can be indicated by a subscript _{IWR} (for 'interrogative word - reply') when using letter symbols, i.e. *díspela WÁnem_{IWR}?* Answer: *díspela i KÁlop_{IWR}* (see above).

In the reply to an ^{IWE} type question (see 3.3.1), the intonation is also usually _{IWR}, unless the speaker feels some reason to display emotion. Example: *HÚSÁT i-SÍNgautim mi pínis^{IWE}?*  = *WHO called me? (I am worried that someone should be calling me)* Answer: *ÉM i-síngautim yu_{IWR}*  = *he called you*. If the person giving the answer wishes to imply emotion, his reply will be a combination of the _{IWR} intonation and the ^E intonation, and thus mirror the intonation of the question, i.e. *EM i-SÍNgautim yu*  = *HE called you (and I am worried too)*. This can be indicated by a superscript ^{IWER} (for 'interrogative word emotional reply').

4.2.3.3.4.2 Answers to questions not containing an interrogative word (3.7,12-14.)

4.2.3.3.4.2.1 Answers to questions spoken with ordinary interrogative intonation (see 3.3.2.1) or with one indicating that an affirmative answer is expected (see 3.3.2.2) (3.7,12.)

The usual intonation of the reply to a question which does not contain an interrogative word and is spoken with the ordinary interrogative intonation (see 3.3.2.1), or the ^{IY} intonation indicating that the expected answer is 'yes' (see 3.3.2.2), is of the intonation type _S, i.e. the same as in a declarative statement (see 3.1.1); e.g. *yu laik i-káikai gen^I?*  (or  if 'yes' is expected as an answer) = *are you about to eat again?* Answer: *mi LAIK_S*  = *I am (about to)*; *yu b-ríngim i kám bánara^I?*  = *will you bring*

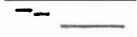
the bow (to me)? Answer: mi b-ríngim i kám_S ----- = I will bring it here; etc. No notation symbol beyond _S would be needed for such cases.

4.2.3.3.4.2.2 Answers to questions spoken with emphatic interrogative intonation (3.7,13-13a.)


The reply to a question which does not contain an interrogative word and is spoken with the emphatic interrogative intonation ^{IM} (see 3.3.2.3) is usually given in the emphatic emotional intonation ^E (see 3.2.1), e.g. yu wókim bánara bilóng mi pínis^{IM?} ----- = have you finished making the bow for me? Answer: mi wókim pínis^E ----- = I have finished making it (and I am happy about it). The same type of intonation often characterises the answer to a question spoken with the ^{IE} interrogative intonation type (see 3.3.2.1), e.g. yu laik ^E i káikai gen^{IE?} ----- = are you about to eat again? (I am astonished). Answer: mi laik^E ----- = I will (and I am quite querulous about my right to do it), but the ordinary _S intonation (see 3.1.1) is also not uncommon in such a case, i.e. mi LAIK ----- = I will.

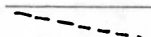
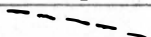

4.2.3.3.4.2.3 Unfriendly, irritated and uninterested intonation in answers (3.7,14.)


Short answers to all types of questions which do not contain an interrogative word can be given in an intonation which indicates that the person replying is bored with, irritated by, or not interested in the question, or wishes to 'brush off' the person asking it, or to make known his unfriendly attitude towards him. This intonation is characterised by beginning on high level in the first syllable, with the intonation going down a little, step by step, in the subsequent syllables, and staying level in them, and being mid or lower mid level in all syllables of the last word. The pitch differences between stressed and unstressed syllables are generally absent. The (last) stressed syllable of the last word of the answer is usually very much lengthened. Examples: p-les i gát man^{I?} ----- = are there any people in the village? (lit. has the village got men?) Answer: i gááát [i 'ga::t] ----- = there are (i.e. can't you see, you fool? don't bore me); túl-tul i kén kam^{I?} ----- = can the tultul come? Answer: i kééén [i 'kE::n] ----- = of course he can (i.e. what a silly question to ask); yu ináp i kárim díspela kágo o nogát^{IM?} ----- = are you able to carry this load? (I expect you are) Answer: mi no ináaap [mi no i'na::p] ----- = I am not (can't you see it's too heavy, you fool?); yu b-ríngim jip i kám^{I?} ----- = did you bring the jeep? Answer: i-bágaráaap [i 'baga'ʔa::p] ----- = it is broken down (you ought to know, you fool); em i kíap^{I?} ----- = is he the government officer? Answer: i kíiiaap ----- = (he) is the government officer (don't you know, you fool?); etc.

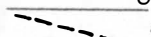

To sum up, the outline of this intonation is , with the pitch differences between stressed and unstressed syllables absent. When using letter symbols, it can be marked by subscript _U (for 'unfriendly'), e.g. i-gát_U (see above). The lengthening of the final vowel need not be indicated separately.

4.2.3.3.5 Intonation in orders and commands (3.7,15-17.)

In polite or mild orders, the ordinary statement intonation _S (see 3.1.1) is used. In such orders, the pronoun referring to the person or persons must be employed, e.g. yu b-ríngim WÁra i-kám_S  = *please bring me water.*

The intonation denoting a straight order or command begins with a *high*, slightly *falling* pitch on the first syllable, and quite evenly drops in the subsequent syllables, with the last syllable *lower mid* and slightly *falling*. Pitch differences between the stressed and unstressed syllables are absent. Examples: kísim díspela kágo!  = *take this load!*; kámutim káukau!  = *pull out sweet potatoes!*; b-rúkim díspela páia!  = *chop this firewood!*; etc.


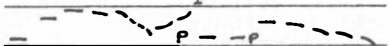
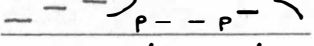
The outline of this intonation is . With a letter symbol, it can be marked with a subscript _O (for 'order'), e.g. kámutim káukau_O! (see above).

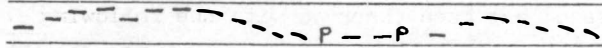
Prohibitions beginning with nógut = *do not* can be spoken with this _O intonation if they are straight commands, e.g. nógut yu kam ínsait_O!  = *don't come inside!* In more polite prohibitions, the emotional intonation ^E (see 3.2.1) is used in them, e.g. nógut yu kam Ínsait^E!  = *don't come in, please!*



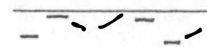
4.2.3.3.6 Special cases (3.7,18-23.)


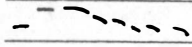
A few instances have been observed in which the intonation in Tok Pisin deviates from what has been discussed above in 3.1-5 and which therefore are to be regarded as special cases.

4.2.3.3.6.1 Oráit in some of its uses (3.7,18.)


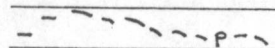
In one of its uses, oráit functions as a connecting particle between separate sentences in narrative style or in a speech, and also as a connector between separate clauses of one sentence, usually replacing na = *and* or other conjunctions in such cases. In these functions, its intonation is , with the pitch of both syllables low level, and it is usually preceded and followed by short pauses (indicated by _P), e.g. em i ÁSkim túl-túl- pínis^B, _P oráit _P, ÉM i no sáve_F  = *he asked the tultul - [but] he did not know [it];*
em i KÁM yet^B, _P oráit _P, mi gó_F  = *he is still coming - I go away;* díspela man i kísim bíkpela s-tón_S _P oráit _P, em i kúkim long páia_S


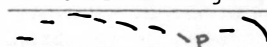

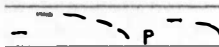
$\underset{p}{\text{oráit}} \underset{p}{\text{em i RÁUsim i gó long hul}}_S$  = *this man took a big stone - he heated it in the fire - (and) he took it out [and carried it] to the hole; etc.*

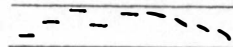
A characteristic feature of the conversational style of spoken Tok Pisin is the frequent use of *i oráit*  or *em i oráit*  = *that's alright with me; it's O.K.!* spoken with the emotional ^E intonation (see 3.2.1). It is usually preceded by a pause (p). Example: *sapós i KÁm* (p) *i oráit*_E  = *if he comes, that's alright with me.*


In other contexts, *oráit* is spoken with ordinary intonation patterns, for instance in *oráit na*_S . This is an idiom often used when one job is finished and the speaker wishes to indicate that the next one should be started. It is also used to encourage oneself and/or the listeners to get started on something, somewhat like *Let's ...*. Another example of *oráit* spoken with ordinary intonation would be *mi oráit long tok bilóng yu*_S  = *I agree with you* (lit. *I am alright at your talk*).

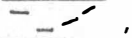
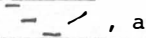
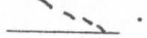

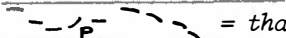

4.2.3.3.6.2 *t-rú* in some of its uses (3.7,19-21.)

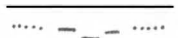
t-rú is used much like English *I see!* in reply to a statement, and in this function is spoken with the intonation , i.e. starting lower mid and falling to low, e.g. *em i Kísim móni pínis*_S $\underset{p}{\text{t-rú}}$  = *he has taken the money. I see.*






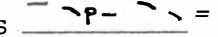
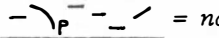

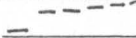
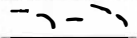
t-rú is also used to indicate an astonished reaction to a statement, somewhat like English *really?* In this function, it is spoken with the intonation , i.e. starting mid with the second syllable falling high-lower mid, and the vowel -u is often lengthened, e.g. *em i RÓnewé pínis*_S $\underset{p}{\text{t-rúú!}}$ [t^ə'ru:::]  = *he has run away. Really?* To express that the person addressed is very sorry to hear and deplores what he has just been told, the intonation  is used often found with *t-rú* in which the -u is considerably lengthened, i.e. it begins with higher mid level, and falls mid-low in the second syllable, e.g. *em i NDÁl pínis*_S $\underset{p}{\text{t-rúúú}}$ [t^ə'ru:::]  = *he has died. Really? Oh, what a pity!*

In other usages, *t-rú* is spoken with ordinary intonation patterns, e.g. *em i pápa t-RÚ bilóng mi*_S  = *he is my real* (i.e. not just classificatory) *father.*

4.2.3.3.6.3 The special intonation of *ÉM tasól-*  = *that's it!* has already been mentioned in 3.2.1. In three distinct idiomatic usages, the combination *em*

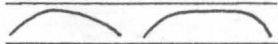



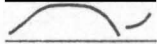
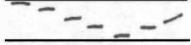
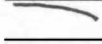
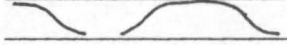
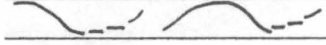

tasól has been observed with the following intonations of which only the first constitutes a special case: a) *that's it!* , b) *that's all!* , and c) constituting a reply to a question containing an interrogative word . Examples: a) ÉM tasól-,_p MÉkim gen_S  = *that's it! Do it again;* b) ÉM tasól-,_p mi NÓ gat móas_S  = *that's all, I have no more;* c) HÚSÁT i-mékim_{IW?} ÉM tasól_{IWR}  = *Who did it? He did.*

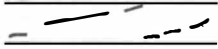


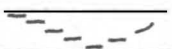

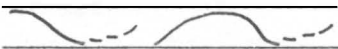



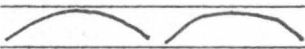
4.2.3.3.6.4 The special intonation of no inÁP  = *unable to* in long statements has already been mentioned in 3.2.1.

4.2.3.3.6.5 The words yésa  = *yes*, nogÁt  = *no*, wántok  = *friend, mate; member of the speaker's linguistic community or social group, etc.*, másta  = *Sir (European)*, mÍsis  = *lady (European)*, and personal names are spoken with ordinary intonation by themselves. In sentences, yésa and nogát are usually spoken with separate _S intonational sequences and are always followed by a pause, e.g. Yésa_S,_p mi sáve_S  = *yes, I know;* noGÁt_S,_p mi no sáve_S^E  = *no, I do not know (I'm sorry).* If used in addressing someone in a sentence, wántok, másta and proper names are often spoken with separate _S intonational sequences but are rarely followed by a pause, e.g. MÁsta_S i láik i kámI?  = *would you like to come, sir?* (also ); PÍta_S i sáve_S  = *you know, (it), Peter.*

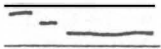

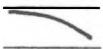
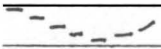






4.2.3.3.7 Summary of intonational sequences in Tok Pisin in tabular form

The contents of the discussion presented in 3.1-6 is given below in tabular form to facilitate reference. Several of the intonational sequences are identical in different situations (e.g. self-assuring and persuasive emotional statements, and answers to questions spoken with emphatic interrogative intonation are both spoken with the intonation type ^E) and could have been placed under single headings. However, it has been decided, for the benefit of linguistically untrained readers, to list them separately and also to repeat the outlines in each instance. Cross-references have been inserted using the letter symbols. The use of = indicates 'is equal to ...'.

INTONATION	LETTER SYMBOL	OUTLINE	PITCH DIFFERENCES BETWEEN STRESSED AND UNSTRESSED SYLLABLES
1. In short declarative statements (3.1.1)	subscript _S		present
2. In the final part of long declarative statements (3.1.2)	subscript _F	same as _S	present
3. In long declarative statements consisting of a single clause or several clauses connected by <i>na = and</i> , also in short declarative statements with several sentence-stresses (3.1.3)	= subscript _S (see 1)		present
	subscript _{LS}	or 	
optionally (3.1.3)	_B _S		present
4. In non-final parts or clauses of a statement followed by a pause (3.1.4)	superscript ^B		present
5. In self-assuring and persuasive emotional statements (3.2.1)	superscript ^E		absent
6. In reassuring emotional statements (3.2.2)	subscript _{RE}		absent
7. In questions containing an interrogative word (3.3.1)	subscript _{IW}		present
	superscript ^{IWE}		
8. In ordinary questions not containing an interrogative word (3.3.2.1)	superscript ^I		absent or slight

INTONATION	LETTER SYMBOL	OUTLINE	PITCH DIFFERENCES BETWEEN STRESSED AND UNSTRESSED SYLLABLES
In conjunction with emotional intonation (3.3.2.1)	superscript ^{IE}		absent (or slight in first part)
9. In questions not containing an interrogative word, with an affirmative reply expected (3.3.2.2)	superscript ^{IY}		absent or slight
10. In emphatic questions not containing an interrogative word (3.3.2.3)	superscript ^{IM}		absent or slight
Implying astonishment (3.3.2.3) optionally	= superscript ^E (see 5)		absent
11. In answers to questions containing an interrogative word (3.4.1)	subscript _{IWR}		present
In conjunction with emotional intonation (3.4.1)	superscript ^{IWER}		present in first part, absent in second
12. In answers to questions spoken with ordinary interrogative intonation or with one indicating that an affirmative answer is expected (3.4.2.1)	= subscript _S (see 1)		present
13. In answers to questions spoken with emphatic interrogative intonation (3.4.2.2)	= superscript ^E (see 5)		absent
13a. In answers to questions not containing an interrogative word and spoken in conjunction with emotional intonation (3.4.2.2)	= superscript ^E (see 5) or = subscript _S (see 1)	 	present present

PITCH DIFFERENCES BETWEEN
STRESSED AND UNSTRESSED
SYLLABLES

INTONATION	LETTER SYMBOL	OUTLINE	PITCH DIFFERENCES BETWEEN STRESSED AND UNSTRESSED SYLLABLES
14. Unfriendly, irritated and uninterested intonation in answers (3.4.2.3)	subscript U		absent
15. Intonation in polite orders and requests (3.5)	= subscript S (see 1)		present
16. Intonation in straight orders and commands, and prohibitions (3.5)	subscript O		absent
17. Intonation in polite prohibitions (3.5)	= superscript E (see 5)		absent
18. oráit as connector in narrative style (3.6.1)			not applicable
19. t-rú = I see! (3.6.2)			not applicable
20. t-rú = really? (3.6.2)			not applicable
21. t-rú = really? Oh, what a pity! (3.6.2)			not applicable
22. ÉM tasól = that's it! (3.2.1)			not applicable
23. no ináp in long statements (3.2.1)			not applicable

NOTES

1. The standard orthography used in Mihalic 1971 has been employed here. In the pronunciation of consonant clusters such as initial s + stop or nasal, medial l + t, etc., a short epenthetic vowel often appears between the consonants. As a result of this, a word such as snek [sə'nek] has two syllables which is of importance for the discussion of intonation. Such instances have been indicated by the insertion of a hyphen between the two (or three) consonants involved, i.e. s-nek, tul-tul-. The epenthetic vowel accompanying a word-final r or l has been indicated by r- or l-, e.g. tasól- [tə-'so-ʔə]. It disappears if the next word begins with a vowel, e.g. tul-tul i kam.
2. In the translations of Tok Pisin sentences, () will be used to indicate words which are present in Tok Pisin, but are not necessary in an idiomatically correct English rendering. Conversely, [] are used to enclose words which are not present in Tok Pisin sentences, but have to be used in an idiomatically correct English translation. This will however only be resorted to sparingly so as not to make the translations look unwieldy. For instance *the* will not usually be given as [*the*] though it has no equivalent in Tok Pisin.
3. A Highlands language.

4.3 INFLECTIONAL MORPHOLOGY OF TOK PISIN

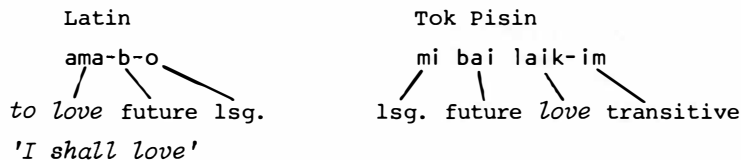
P. Mühlhäusler

4.3.1 INTRODUCTION

Morphology is the study of the internal structure of words, as opposed to syntax, which deals with the arrangements of words in larger constructions. The morphological component of a grammar is further subdivided into derivational (lexical) morphology, which describes the formation of new lexical items, and inflectional morphology, which deals with the morphological representation of grammatical categories such as aspect, tense and number of grammatical word-class membership.

The central unit of morphological analysis is the morpheme (or, in a process-oriented approach, the formative). Morphemes or formatives are minimal meaning-bearing stretches of utterance. Thus, the Tok Pisin form *woksaveman specialist* can be analysed into the morphemes *wok work*, *save to know* or *knowledge* and *man person*, *man*.

Pidgin languages, and Tok Pisin is no exception, tend to be deficient in the area of morphology. Tok Pisin has acquired over the years a moderately complex derivational morphology (discussed in the chapter on the lexical system: 6.8), but has begun to exhibit inflectional morphology only very recently. As a rule, secondary semantic information, such as grammatical meanings, is not expressed by means of bound affixes but represented by free forms. Compare an example from a highly inflected language (Latin) with Tok Pisin:



The preference for free forms in analytic languages such as Tok Pisin accounts for their regularity and the ease with which they can be learned. Their principal drawbacks are:

- a) Central and peripheral information are of the same phonological prominence.
- b) Word-order rules tend to get complicated.

Lack of affixation characterises languages which are shaped by the optimisation of perception (they approach the perceptual maxim of 'one form-one meaning') rather than the optimisation of production (i.e. the application of natural phonological processes). Optimisation of perception is closely associated with second-language learning and is therefore likely to diminish once a pidgin acquires a sizable community of first-language speakers.

As is the case with other areas of grammar, Tok Pisin is changing rapidly. It remains to be seen which of the more traditional inflectional processes survive and which new ones are added in the future.

4.3.2 INFLECTIONAL MORPHOLOGY IN TRADITIONAL TOK PISIN

Most available grammars list the following three inflectional features:

- im indicator of transitivity in verbs;
- pela adjective ending;
- pela used as a plural marker in pronouns.

Writers such as Hall (1955a:73ff) further suggest that the above morphological affixes can be used as the basis for establishing syntactic word classes in the language. Such a suggestion is not supported by the available data, however.

Discrepancies between morphological and syntactic behaviour are found in:

- a) Lexical derivation can shift morphological affixes from one grammatical category to another, as in:

longPELA bilong dispela bris	<i>the length of this bridge is 50</i>
i fifti yat	<i>yards</i>
em i singaut bikPELA	<i>he shouted loudly</i>
yu no ken askim dispela askIM	<i>you should not ask this question</i>
kainkain ples i gat narapela	<i>every other place has a different</i>
kollIM bilong dispela samting	<i>term for this thing</i>

- b) The ending -pela is found with a subset of monosyllabic adjectives only and is furthermore frequently restricted to attributive position.
- c) -pela with adjectives in predicative position tends to be used to distinguish lexical meaning rather than grammatical category, as in:

em i drai	<i>it is dry</i>
em i draipela	<i>it is huge</i>

- d) -im is not attached to all transitive verbs and, in addition to transitivity, also signals causativity, reflexivity and reciprocity.

Criticisms a-d can be condensed to the statement that there simply is no neat one-to-one correspondence between the traditional morphological affixes and grammatical class membership.

The use of -pela to signal plurals of pronouns would seem to be a rather restricted use of a morphological affix.

As a matter of fact, -pela can only be added to the first and second person singular pronouns to yield corresponding plural pronouns:

	mi <i>I</i>	miPELA <i>we (excl.)</i>
	yu <i>you</i>	yuPELA <i>you</i>
but	em <i>he</i>	(em)ol <i>they</i>
	mi <i>I</i>	yumi <i>we (incl.)</i>

A synchronic statement that the ending -pela serves to form plural pronouns raises a number of questions, the most pertinent one being why mipela and not

yumi should be regarded as the 'plural' of mi. From a diachronic point of view, however, this statement is interesting since the present-day plural pronoun forms reflect two systems which were both in use when plural pronouns were introduced for the first time, one being the addition of -pela to singular pronouns (yielding mipela, yupela and himpela), the other one the addition of ol after the singular pronouns, yielding mi ol, yu ol and him ol, of which present-day em ol is still a reflection.

4.3.3 RECENT DEVELOPMENTS

The rapid increase in the number of speakers for whom Tok Pisin is either the first or the primary language in recent years has led to some significant new developments. Some of these have been summarised by Lynch (1979). The changes can be divided into the following categories:

- a) cases of morphological reanalysis;
- b) free forms becoming bound forms;
- c) borrowing of affixes;
- d) independent developments.

(a) The reanalysis of surface strings is a common cause for language change in the transmission of languages from one generation to the next. It is favoured by the absence of strict social norms and by imperfect adult language learning. For Tok Pisin, only one case has been reported to date.

Lynch (1979) observes that the pronominal plural marker -pela has been subject to reanalysis, following changes in the phonological rules of the language. An area where reanalysis is common is that of the non-singular pronouns:

(9)	DUAL	PLURAL
1 inc.	/yumitla/ yumitupela	/yumi/ yumi
1 exc.	/mitla/ mitupela	/mipla/ mipela
2nd.	/yutla/ yutupela	/yupla/ yupela
3rd.	/tupla/ tupela	/ol/ ol

The forms /tupla/, /mipla/, and /yupla/ show one kind of phonological reduction - loss of the unstressed vowel - but this is not of great interest here. Of special interest are the forms for the dual pronouns in all persons except the third person. Comparing these with the plural forms, in a truly *synchronic* morphological analysis we would have to analyse the first exclusive and second person pronouns as follows:

(10)	PRONOUN ROOT	+ NUMBER SUFFIX	+ NONSINGULAR SUFFIX (??)
	(mi '1 exc')	(-t 'dual')	-la
	()	()	
	(yu '2nd')	(-p 'plural')	

This gives quite a different picture from the traditional analysis of pronoun root + optional numeral (tu) + nonsingular suffix (-pela).

It remains to be seen whether this analysis reflects what speakers of Tok Pisin know about their language, or whether existing spelling conventions will dominate.

(b) Cases involving the attachment of free forms with grammatical meaning to free forms with lexical meaning have been reported by a number of authors. Perhaps the

most famous case is the reduction of the time adverbial *baimbai* 'future' to the forms *bai* and *ba* and the prefix *ba-* or *bə-*. A detailed case study is given by Sankoff and Laberge (1973) with some additional remarks being found in Stentzel 1978. Lynch summarises the most recent developments as follows (1979:7-8):

However, one point which needs mentioning here is that *bai* itself is undergoing further reduction, and appears to have now reached the stage of a prefix to verb phrases. Among L1-speakers, the most common phonological form of *bai* is /ba/ (phonetically [ba] or [bə]):

(16) /em bakam/ EM bai ikam
'He will come'

(17) /bami siŋaut o/ Bai mi siŋaut o?
'Will I call out?'

Before vowels, *bai* may further optionally reduce to /b/ (often phonetically [b:]):

(18) /bol ikam/ Bai ol i kam
'They'll come'

A second example of the attachment of free forms is the cliticisation of anaphoric pronouns discussed by Sankoff (1977b). In the course of the history of Tok Pisin both the original third person singular pronoun *i* and the later third person singular pronoun *em* became attached to the following verb and subsequently lost their pronominal force.

Most recently, with fluent second-language speakers or first-language speakers, in sentences such as:

wanpela meri em i go nau *so this woman went*
na narapela em i putim blakpela *and the other guy wore a black one*

the *em* is used as an emphatic topic-changing marker rather than an anaphoric pronoun. For many speakers *em* is no longer restricted to co-occurrence with singular nouns but can also appear with plural and dual subjects. In addition to the weakening of the role of *em* as an agreement marker, one can also observe its phonological reduction to *-m* and its attachment to the predicate. The two changes are illustrated in the transition from:

ol masta ol i kam	} <i>the European arrived</i>
to ol masta em i kam	
and ol masta mikam	

Further documentation is needed in this area of Tok Pisin grammar to establish how widespread this phenomenon is.

A last instance of developing verb morphology is the phonological weakening and cliticisation of a number of aspect markers including *save* 'habitual action' and *laik* 'imminent action'. According to Lynch (1979:8):

In L1-speech, phonological reduction has taken place in these verbs when they are used preverbally to mark aspect (though not in their regular verbal use, as in *Mi save long yu I know you* and *Mi laikim wanpela moa I want one more*). As aspect markers, *save* reduces to /sa/ and *laik* to /la/. Examples (19a) through (23a) below show the phonological realisation of (19) through (23) above:

(19) *Mi save kaikai banana. I eat banana(s)*
(20) *Mi save wokim dispela. I know how to do this*

- (21) Em i save pani tru. *He is very funny*
 (22) Mi laik go long Mosbi. *I want to go to Moresby*
 (23) Haus ia i laik pundaun. *The house is likely to fall down*
- (19a) /mi sakaikai banana/
 (20a) /mi sawokim desla/
 (21a) /em sapani tru/
 (22a) /mi lago lomosbi/
 (23a) /hausya lapundaun/

Whilst the development of affixation is most prominent with verbs, there are also signs of the development of nominal inflections. One such development is that of case prefixes out of the former prepositions long *in*, *at*, 'locative in general' and bilong *of*, 'possessive'. Lynch (1979:2) points out that:

There is considerable evidence that, due to phonological reduction, these two prepositions have become, if not prefixes, then at least proclitics to noun phrases.

Among L1-speakers, phonological reduction of these prepositions has taken place such that the final consonant /ŋ/ is rarely, if ever, pronounced; in addition, the first vowel of bilong is rarely, if ever, sounded. The proclitics are thus realised as /lo/ and /blo/ before consonant-initial noun phrases, and are generally unstressed in this position (which is why they should probably be seen as proclitics rather than prefixes). Examples:

- (1) /putim lotebol/ Putim long tebol
'Put it on the table'
- (2) /givim lotupla man/ Givim long tupela man
'Give it to the two men'
- (3) /dok blomi/ Dok bilong mi
'My dog'
- (4) /pik blolapun manya/ Pik bilong lapun man ia
'The old man's pig'

(c) Borrowing of inflectional morphology

1) plural -s

As early as 1956 Hall observed that educated speakers of Tok Pisin frequently borrowed the English plural suffix -s. His data suggest that -s becomes attached to both traditional and recently borrowed lexical items. An increase in this phenomenon has been observed by Lynch (1979) and myself (Mühlhäusler 1981a). Lynch speculates that pluralisation by means of -s is an interference phenomenon rather than a feature of Tok Pisin grammar proper, since (p.6): "plural suffixes are added to words derived from English but not (as far as I can see) to words derived from other languages."

My own observations do not support this statement and it appears that, in urban varieties of Tok Pisin at least, -s has become an integral part of grammar.

2) progressive -ing

The use of -ing as a verb ending by some speakers of Urban Tok Pisin in both spoken and written language appears to be a combination of borrowing and reanalysis. This means that initially English -ing is borrowed as a form only and reinterpreted as serving the function of the Tok Pisin transitivity marker -im. Only for a small group of speakers it is also used in the English function. The steps involved here can be illustrated as follows:

Stage 1:	mi ritim dispela buk	<i>I am reading this book. I read this book</i>
Stage 2:	mi riding dispela buk	<i>I am reading this book. I read this book</i>
Stage 3:	mi riding dispela buk mi bin rit dispela buk	<i>I am reading this book I read this book</i>

(d) Independent developments

Totally new grammatical or morphological mechanisms only seldom develop in natural languages, though in pidgins such developments are somewhat more frequent. A possible example to be mentioned here is the development, in the speech of some first-language speakers of the language, of number agreement between nouns and verbs. In the creolised Tok Pisin of Malabang village on Manus, verbs are frequently reduplicated (with no change of meaning) when the nominal subject appears in the plural. Examples include:

Bris i bruk. Tupela bris i bruk. Tupela i brukbruk.	<i>The bridge was broken. Two bridges were broken. Both were broken.</i>
planti pikinini i plaipalai ausait	<i>lots of children were playing outside</i>

As can be seen from the first example, we are dealing with an optional rule here. However, as I could confirm with my informants, since reduplication frequently does not involve semantic change in this variety it may well be developing into an obligatory grammatical feature.

4.3.4 CONCLUSIONS

The above remarks on inflectional morphology together with the observations made in the chapter on the lexical system (6.8) should be taken as a warning against a simplistic view of pidgins as languages without morphology.

Absence of affixation is characteristic only of the initial developmental stages of pidgins. Once the development approaches the creole end of the scale, morphological processes can become important. It would not surprise me if, in 25 years from now, Tok Pisin had changed from an isolating to an agglutinative or even fusional language.

4.4 SYNTAX OF TOK PISIN

P. Mühlhäusler

4.4.0 INTRODUCTION

The writer on the syntax of any language is faced with a number of problems, including the fact that:

- a) It is not feasible to describe all the rules and regularities underlying the formation of grammatical strings of a language.
- b) Existing descriptive models regard syntax as an autonomous abstract object rather than one which depends on a speaker's cultural background, psychological strategies and situational context. Fixed abstract rules such as non-linguists have come to expect in a grammar tend to be the endpoint of a long tradition of grammar writing and grammar teaching. In new languages or those with no written tradition the degree of grammaticalisation encountered is much less. Variability and gradient grammaticalness are to be expected in such languages.

The description of pidgin languages, which are second languages for most of their users, poses some additional problems:

- c) Such languages are developing and changing to such a degree that a purely synchronic description (i.e. one where language is regarded as frozen at a particular point in time) would seem to make little sense. It is for this reason that frequent reference will be made to the grammar of speakers of different age groups and social backgrounds.
- d) Because pidgins are second languages their speakers' first languages can influence their grammar. This means, among other things, that different speakers may interpret identical syntactic structures in different ways. In any case, the discrepancy between a production grammar and a perception grammar can be considerable in a pidgin. There can be no doubt that the present analysis is biased towards a European interpretation, though attempts have been made to take into account indigenous intuitions wherever this was possible.

As pointed out in the chapter on the history of research (2.1), there have been a number of syntactic descriptions of Tok Pisin in the past. The present description differs from them in the following ways:

- a) It is based on a very large corpus of materials produced by indigenous speakers of the language. All but a few trivial examples used were taken from this corpus. I have attempted throughout to be maximally descriptive and minimally prescriptive or normative.

S.A. Wurm and P. Mühlhäusler, eds *Handbook of Tok Pisin (New Guinea Pidgin)*, 341-421. *Pacific Linguistics*, C-70, 1984.

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341

- b) The present description is more comprehensive than previous ones, partly because it accounts for many recent developments in the grammaticalisation process of Tok Pisin.
- c) Development and variation are given a prominent place. I have refrained, however, from using complex models of description to account for such variation. The main aim has been observational adequacy rather than descriptive consistency.

It should be obvious from the above remarks that this syntax is in many ways more in the nature of an approximation to a description than a definite grammar. My main concern was to cater for those who have to speak and write the language rather than the professional linguist. However, wherever possible, the reader is referred to scientific treatments of the points of grammar discussed here.

4.4.1 WORD CLASSES IN TOK PISIN

4.4.1.1 Introduction

A number of attempts to establish word classes in Tok Pisin have been made, the most important being those of Hall (1943b and 1955a) and Wurm (1971a). Hall states that the classification of words is one of the main aims of linguistic description and that it should precede all syntactic analysis. He also insists that morphological criteria should be at the base of any such classification. A further discussion of the theoretical principles underlying Hall's work is found in Hall 1962. Wurm (1971a), on the other hand, does not aim at a scientific categorisation of Tok Pisin words but at providing classes useful in teaching the language.

My own approach is that classification for its own sake is only of marginal interest in linguistic description and that different classificatory approaches may be needed in different parts of grammar. Word classifications can be based on a number of criteria, i.e. phonological, morphological, syntactic and semantic, and those arrived at by applying one set of criteria are not necessarily co-extensive with those based on another. Morphological criteria, for instance, are not always relevant to the establishment of syntactically relevant classes.

I will attempt here to establish classes of words relevant to the operation of the syntactic rules of the language. No complete syntax of Tok Pisin is yet available and is unlikely to be so in the near future. To present a syntax which could claim to be exhaustive and to list all the syntactic features relevant for the classification of Tok Pisin words would clearly be beyond the aims of the present handbook. Nevertheless it is hoped that the classifications presented here will be a step in the direction which a more detailed scientific analysis of Tok Pisin syntax should take and that the following discussion will provide a clearer picture of the major syntactic processes of Tok Pisin than has been available hitherto.

4.4.1.2 Nouns and noun phrases

Nouns can be syntactically defined as essential members of noun phrases (NP) and prepositional phrases (PP). They are optionally accompanied by certain determiners and specifiers which will also be discussed in this section. The first

subclassification of nouns is one which distinguishes between pronouns and all other kinds of nouns.

4.4.1.2.1 Pronouns (PN)

(a) Personal pronouns

Tok Pisin distinguishes essentially seven pronouns, i.e. three for the singular and four for the plural; to this dual and trial forms must be added. The basic paradigm is as follows:

	1st	2nd	3rd
sg.	mi <i>I</i>	yu <i>you (one)</i>	em <i>he, she, it</i>
du.	yumitupela <i>we two (incl.)</i> mitupela <i>we two (excl.)</i>	yutupela <i>you two</i>	(em) tupela <i>they two</i>
tr.	yumitripela <i>we three (incl.)</i> mitripela <i>we three (excl.)</i>	yutripela <i>you three</i>	(em) tripela <i>they three</i>
pl.	yumi <i>we (all) (incl.)</i> mipela <i>we (all) (excl.)</i>	yupela <i>you (all)</i>	(em) ol <i>they</i>

Table of personal pronouns

The distinction between the inclusive and the exclusive form of the first person plural pronoun is an important feature of Tok Pisin grammar:

The distinction of 'inclusive' and 'exclusive' is a feature taken over from Melanesian languages in New Guinea. One must always distinguish in Pidgin whether 'we' includes the person or persons spoken to or not. If the addressee is not included, one says mipela; if he is, one says yumi. Failure to observe the distinction can lead to misunderstandings; thus, a missionary must say Jisas i-dai long yumi *Jesus died for us* - that is, for Europeans and natives alike; if he said Jisas i-dai long mipela it would mean *Jesus died for us (missionaries)* (and not for the congregation). (Laycock 1970c:xviii)

However, a confusion of inclusive and exclusive pronouns is often found in speakers for whom this distinction is not made in their first language. In recent years a form yumipela has become more common. For some of its users this form corresponds to English *we*.

The form with em in the third person plural may either reflect emphasis (cf. below) or, especially with older speakers, be related to the now obsolete system of plural pronouns with the forms mi ol *we*, yu ol *you* (pl.) and em ol *they*.

The basic set of personal pronouns is the same in subject and object position: mi lukim yu *I see you*, yu lukim mi *you see me*. However, it must be noted that the third person singular pronoun em is often omitted after transitive verbs ending in -im, as in mi lukim em or mi lukim *I see him* (cf. Lattey 1979).

A second convention affecting the use of em is its behaviour after the preposition bilong. For some varieties of Tok Pisin there is a distinction between bilong em and bilong en (spelled bilongen): Dutton (1973:39) mentions that

bilongen translates as *his, hers, its* whereas bilong em corresponds to English *that person's* or *that thing's*.

(b) Conventions for the choice of pronouns

Though the third person singular pronoun em has been glossed as *he, she, it* in the previous paragraph and though ol has been translated as *they*, the conventions underlying the choice of singular and plural pronouns in Tok Pisin differ from those of English. I shall give a short summary of this feature of Tok Pisin grammar:

- a) For some speakers the distinction between singular and plural in third person pronouns is not obligatory; the singular pronoun em is chosen to refer to both singular and plural NPs, e.g. ol wasman em i stap *the watchmen were there*.
- b) The tendency to neglect the distinction between singular and plural in pronouns is more pronounced if the PN stands for inanimate nouns: Mi lukim planti sip. Em i stap longwe tru. *I saw many ships. They were far away.*
- c) The pronoun chosen for referring to dual NP's can be tupela or either of the less marked forms ol and em: Asde mi lukim papamama bilong mi. Em/Tupela/Ol i laik lapun nau. *Yesterday I went to see my parents. The two of them are getting old now.*
- d) The pronoun tupela is not chosen to refer to inanimates.

(c) Emphatic pronouns

Emphatic pronouns are formed from the personal pronoun followed by yet, ya or tasol and, in singular only, wampela:

Mi yet i wokim haus	<i>I myself built the house</i>
Mi laikim yu tasol	<i>I love just you</i>
Yu tokim em yet	<i>Tell it to him personally</i>
Em ya i bagarapim meri bilong mi	<i>It is he who assaulted my wife</i>

The choice between these emphasisers is guided mainly by the need to avoid ambiguity with the reflexive form em yet *himself* and em tasol *that's all*.

(d) Interrogative pronouns

These have been dealt with in a number of places, and little can be added to Laycock's analysis (1970c:xxix):

The four basic interrogative words - haumas *how much*, how many, husat *who*, we *where*, and wonem *what* - are used just like any other words in Pidgin, and no special question intonation is used: haumas bai yu gipim mi? *how much will you give me?* husat i kamap *who is coming?* wonem i kam? *what is coming?* yu lukim wonem? *what do you see?* ol bai ol i go we? *where will they go?*

All these interrogatives, except we, may be used as adjectives: haumas pe yu bin gipim longen? *how much pay did you give him?* husat man i sanap i stap wantaim yu? *who is the man standing beside you?* wonem samting yu lukim? *what is it*

you see? wonem meri i kukim kaukau? which woman cooked the sweet potato? wonem kain pasin bilong yu? what sort of behaviour is that? The interrogative does not necessarily come first in the sentence, especially if it is the object (direct or indirect) of a verb: *yu lukim wonem samting? what is it you see? yu gipim sol long haumas man? how many men did you give salt to?* Where the interrogative is the subject of the sentence, the sentence can be broken into two phrases, especially where the item being questioned is a long phrase: *man i kamap, em husat? the man coming, who is he? dispela samting mi lukim long ples bilong yu, i olosem bikpela anka, em wonem samting? this thing I saw in your house, like a big anchor, what is it?*

Note: *wanem nem bilong yu? or husat nem bilong yu?* both translate *what is your name?*

(e) Indefinite pronouns

The following forms are found in Tok Pisin:

sampela man	<i>someone</i>
sampela (man)	<i>some (pl.)</i>
(sampela) samting	<i>something</i>
ol samting	<i>something (pl.)</i>

The use of these forms can be best illustrated with a few examples:

I gat planti man i wok long tesin. Sampela i retskin na sampela blakskin.	<i>There are many workers on the station. Some are 'redskins' and some are 'blackskins'.</i>
Mi lukim ol samting ol ples i wok long redim.	<i>I saw something (pl.) that the villagers were preparing.</i>
Yu laikim kaikai? Yes, mi laikim sampela.	<i>Do you want food? Yes, I want some.</i>

(f) Reflexive pronouns

Reflexive pronouns in Tok Pisin are formed by the addition of yet after the personal pronoun appearing as object, e.g.:

Em i hangapim em yet.	<i>He hanged himself.</i>
Yu laikim yu yet tasol a?	<i>You are fond of yourself, aren't you?</i>

Reflexivity in Tok Pisin has not yet been well studied. It must be mentioned that not all reflexives in English are translated by constructions containing a reflexive pronoun in Tok Pisin.

My data suggest that often the reflexive pronoun does not appear overtly, transitive verbs without overt object often being used to translate reflexive concepts, as in:

man bilong kano tu i bilasim	<i>the crew of the canoe decorated themselves</i>
yu no ken pulimapim olsem bulmakau	<i>you can't fill yourself like a cow</i>
tel bilong kapul i hukim long diwai	<i>the possum's tail hooked itself on a branch</i>

(g) Reciprocal pronouns

Apart from other mechanisms to express reciprocity, such as the repetition of verb stems, the following forms are commonly found: *wanpela wanpela one another*, *tupela tupela one another*, *each*, *narapela narapela one another*, as in:

tupela i paitim wanpela wanpela	<i>they hit one another</i>
narapela i kikim narapela,	<i>they kicked each other</i>
narapela i kikim narapela, orait	
ol i kikim narapela narapela	

Again, transitive verb forms with deleted object can be used to signal reciprocal actions, as in:

tupela i paitim	<i>they hit one another</i>
-----------------	-----------------------------

(h) Possessive pronouns

Possessive pronouns are formed by *bilong* plus the set of personal pronouns. A more detailed discussion of these will be found below. It must be pointed out that, if one has to do with a reciprocal relationship of possession, possessive pronouns normally occur twice, as in:

wanpela moning papa bilongen i	<i>one morning the father left his</i>
lusim pikinini bilongen	<i>child</i>
liklik bilongen i paitim bikpela	<i>the little brother hit his older</i>
bilongen	<i>brother</i>

4.4.1.2.2 Nouns

No complete discussion of the subclassification of Tok Pisin nouns can be given here, but some of the most obvious semantic features which are relevant to their syntactic behaviour will be discussed. In Tok Pisin there is considerable freedom for nouns to appear in more than one syntactically relevant subclass.

(a) Animate vs. inanimate nouns

The distinction between nouns such as *dokta doctor*, *manki boy* and *sunam Manus islander* on the one hand, and *diwai tree*, *gras hair*, *feather* on the other is relevant, as has been pointed out already, to the choice of pronouns and certain pronominal modifiers such as the pluraliser *ol*.

(b) Proper vs. common nouns

Proper nouns with regard to animates are names such as *Pita*, *Sioba*, *John*. They typically occur in the singular only and are always definite. Proper nouns for inanimates include the names of towns, rivers and other localities, as in *Sepik the Sepik*, *Goroka*, *Mosbi Port Moresby*, etc. The relevance of this class of proper nouns for syntactic behaviour lies in the restrictions in connection with pronominal determiners.

(c) Countable vs. non-countable nouns

This distinction, which is important for the classification of English nouns, is relatively unimportant in Tok Pisin since there are a number of lexical conventions which allow virtually any noncount noun to become a count noun. At present there is a good deal of fluctuation, but it seems likely that more stable

conventions will develop, particularly in Urban Tok Pisin under the influence of English.

In those cases where a distinction between count and mass nouns is maintained, the choice of prenominal determiners and pronouns is affected. This will be discussed below.

(d) Abstract vs. concrete nouns

Though formally there is little difference between these two groups with regard to their ability to take prenominal modifiers, the conditions under which, for instance, the plural marker may appear with nouns of these two subclasses, are different. The appearance of *ol* with abstract nouns in Tok Pisin depends on the presence of a plural subject in sentences in which these abstract nouns are objects. Compare *mi gat fan I had fun* with *ol i gat(ol)fan they had fun*, or *sindaun bilongen his behaviour* with *(ol) sindaun bilong ol their behaviour*.

The four features just discussed can be used to divide Tok Pisin nouns into main classes. However, there are a number of other features applying to only a few nouns, which are also relevant to syntactic processes. An isolation of all such features would be a very large task and would require considerably more research in the area of Tok Pisin syntax. The following cases illustrate such minor class features:

(e) Nouns referring to containers or units of measurement

This group includes items such as *mekpas bundle*, *karamap packet*, *tin tin*, *pius roll of 100 coins*, *kes case*, which appear in noun phrases involving two nouns. Examples are:

pikinini i baiim wanpela botol muliwara	<i>the child bought a bottle of lemonade</i>
ol i antapim pe bilong wanpela pepa rais i go inap 25 sens	<i>they increased the price of a paper bag of rice to 25 cents</i>
lapun meri i holim wanpela han buai	<i>the old woman held a 'hand' of betelnuts</i>

(f) Nouns introducing proper nouns

Nouns such as *mista Mr*, *masta European*, *wara river*, *ailan island*, *ples village*, are typically followed by proper nouns, as in:

wara Sepik	<i>the Sepik river</i>
kiap Taunsen	<i>the government officer Townsend</i>
masta pobrus	<i>the European referred to as pobrus (smoker of native tobacco)</i>
ailan Walis	<i>Walis island</i>
maunten Turu	<i>Turu mountain</i>

Note: in more anglicised versions one finds *Walis ailan Walis island* and *Sepik riva Sepik river*.

(g) Units for measuring time or money

This group includes terms such as *mun month*, *siling shilling*, *mak mark*, *shilling*, *kina kina*, *aua hour*. Numerals appearing before such terms normally drop *-pela*. Compare:

wanpela man	<i>one man</i>
wan aua	<i>one hour</i>
wan siling	<i>one shilling</i>

4.4.1.3 Nominal modifiers

Noun phrases in Tok Pisin may consist either of a head noun alone or a head noun preceded and/or followed by a number of modifiers. At this point there is a great deal of variation in both the order of elements which can appear with nouns and the restrictions on their co-occurrence.

In this discussion of nominal modifiers I will first deal with number marking, a feature which has become obligatory for many varieties of Tok Pisin, then with prenominal and post-nominal modifiers.

4.4.1.3.1 Number in Tok Pisin nouns

Three classes of syntactic nouns are relevant to the determination of regularities underlying the use of number markers in Tok Pisin. They are animate nouns, inanimate count nouns and inanimate mass nouns. The distinction between the latter two classes, however, is not made in some varieties of Tok Pisin and is less important than the distinction between animates and inanimates.

Tok Pisin typically distinguishes between singular, plural and dual. It has been said that "Pidgin nouns have no articles and show no number. The third person pronouns (singular and plural) are sometimes used in a manner which corresponds to the English definite article" (Laycock 1970c:xix).

This and similar statements suggest that the indication of number is optional in Tok Pisin. This is still true for certain less developed varieties of Tok Pisin, but two studies carried out by the present author (Mühlhäusler 1976 and 1981a) suggest that there has been a drastic change among younger and more sophisticated speakers of this language.

The number system currently most commonly used can be represented as follows:

(a) Animate nouns:

	singular	dual	plural
unmarked.	∅ man <i>a man</i>		ol man <i>men</i>
marked indefinite	wanpela man <i>a certain man</i>	tupela man <i>two men</i>	sampela (ol) man <i>some men</i>
definite	em man (ya) man ya <i>the man</i>	em tupela man (ya) tupela man ya <i>the two men</i>	em ol man (ya) ol man ya <i>the men</i>

The distinction between unmarked and marked indefinite forms (man as against wanpela man) is that between English *a man* and *a certain man* or *men* and *some (or certain) men*. European speakers of Tok Pisin tend to translate both unmarked and marked indefinite forms by wanpela, though there is a distinction in Tok Pisin between, for example, mi laik kisim meri *I want to marry* and mi laikim wanpela meri na mi laik kisim em *I like a certain girl and I want to marry her*.

The use of the term 'unmarked' for the forms *man* and *ol man* means that these forms are unmarked for definiteness, though *man* on its own can also be unmarked for number under certain conditions.

(b) Inanimate nouns: count nouns

As in the case of animate nouns, the categories of number and definiteness are independent of one another; what distinguishes inanimate nouns from animates are the conditions applying to the use of number marking. The convention for animates was that number must be indicated with nouns either by using number markers directly preceding the noun or in the possessive, and there also was a strong tendency towards redundancy in number marking. Number marking with inanimates is not compulsory. However, there is a strong tendency among fluent second-language Tok Pisin speakers and those for whom it is the first language, to follow mark number distinctions in most occurrences of non-animate nouns.

The distinction between dual and plural is not made for inanimates. The conventions for the use of the markers *em* and *ya* are the same as for animate nouns.

Note: what counts as an animate or inanimate noun semantically can differ with the speaker's background language/culture.

The main difference between older speakers of Tok Pisin and speakers belonging to the younger generation, in particular those for whom Tok Pisin is the first language, lies in the amount of redundancy found with number marking. For very old speakers the plural marker *ol* tends to be used only when a plural noun is introduced paragraph initially with all further occurrences unmarked for number. For speakers of creolised Tok Pisin all occurrences of the same plural noun would be preceded by *ol*, often redundantly as in *ol sampela man* or *ol planti man* *some men* or *plenty of men* (cf. Mühlhäusler 1981a).

Under certain conditions, the plural marker *ol* can be deleted:

- a) If the noun is preceded by *olgeta* *all*. Noun phrases of the form *olgeta ol man* *all men*, are very rare.
- b) If the head noun is followed by plural possessives as in *pikinini bilong ol i save go long skul* *their children go to school*.
- c) If the head noun is preceded by *sampela* *some*, *haumas* *how many*, or numerals: *(ol) sampela man*, *(ol) haumas meri*, *em i bin kilim (ol) paippela pik*.
- d) Before additive nominal compounds such as *manmeri* *people* or *meripikinini* *women and children*.
- e) For some speakers there is a group of nouns which are semantically plural but are treated as singulars in English. This group includes *(ol) laina* *(labour) group*, *(ol) famili* *family*, *(ol) misin* *the mission*, and similar items.
- e) The plural marker *ol* does not appear, as a rule, to the right of *i kamap* or *tanim* in equative clauses: *ol dispela meri i sumatin* *these girls are students*.

(c) Mass nouns

The distinction between mass and count nouns in Tok Pisin is made primarily on semantic grounds. The former include objects which cannot be subdivided or merged, while the latter refer to separate countable entities. In English this

distinction is reflected in the distinction between milk, flour, gas on the one hand and the tree, the box or the book on the other. In Tok Pisin there is almost total overlap in the class membership of these two groups of nouns. Countability (or at least potential countability) is signalled syntactically by the use of *ol* or numerals such as *wanpela one*, *tupela two*, etc. There is a small class of lexical items which are countable but not normally preceded by such quantifiers.

Mihalic (1971:12) mentions that "a few nouns ..., may have implied plural signification; for example: *banana banana(s)*, *bin bean(s)*, *morata thatch*"

As a rule all inanimate nouns, including abstract nouns, are potentially countable. For example:

mi go katim wanpela paiawut	<i>I went to chop one quantity of firewood</i>
em i pulimapim wanpela graun long wanpela bilum	<i>she filled a quantity of soil (corresponding to the size of the stringbag) into a stringbag</i>

This can also explain the tendency among many fluent speakers of Tok Pisin to treat inanimate nouns which can be thought of as the aggregate of potentially countable entities as plurals:

ol rais <i>rice</i>	ol smok <i>tobacco</i>
ol brus <i>native tobacco</i>	ol suga <i>sugar</i>
ol kopi <i>coffee</i>	ol dring <i>drink, liquor</i>

Plural forms of abstract nouns such as *ol lokalaisesen localisation* and *ol prensip wantaim Papua friendship with Papua*, to mention but two of the numerous examples, can be thought of as having the plural marker since a number of people in a number of places are involved. But, as inanimate nouns are involved, the plural marker remains optional.

4.4.1.3.2 Distribution

A feature which is frequently signalled syntactically is that of distribution, i.e. the occurrence of entities in several localities. The most common way of expressing distribution is by reduplicating the noun. Nouns can also be optionally preceded by *ol* and followed by *nabaut*, as in:

ol kanakakanaka nabaut long bus	<i>the groups of less developed natives in the various parts of the bush</i>
pikinini bilong diwai i gat konakona	<i>the fruit of the tree (carambola) has many corners</i>
ol i go painim talingatalinga nabaut	<i>they went to look for mushrooms in various places</i>
ol wantokwantok nabaut long ol taun	<i>his wantoks in the various towns</i>

Number, definiteness and distribution are the main grammatical categories associated with nouns in Tok Pisin. No grammatical gender or case distinctions are shown in nouns. Sex distinctions can be made by adding *man male* or *meri female* to a noun as in *pukpuk man a male crocodile*, *meme meri a nanny-goat*, *hos man stallion* or *wido man widower*.

The semantic distinctions carried by case endings in other languages are made by purely syntactic means in Tok Pisin and will be discussed below.

A special instance of the plural marker *ol* must be mentioned here, not because this construction is of much significance in present-day Tok Pisin, but because of the fact that parallel constructions are found in a number of other pidgins and languages of alleged pidgin ancestry such as Jamaican Creole, Negro Dutch of the Virgin Islands and Afrikaans. *Ol* following nouns referring to humans, either proper or common, can indicate 'the person referred to and other persons closely associated with him' as, for instance, *pater ol the Father and his flock*, *Pita ol Peter and his friends*.

4.4.1.3.3 Other pronominal modifiers

(a) Definite quantifiers

The most important members of this group are the cardinal numbers. Two sets of cardinal numbers are used in present-day Tok Pisin, the original set, which is still in wide currency in rural areas, and English cardinal numbers, which are used mainly among speakers of Urban Tok Pisin. The numbers in conservative Rural Tok Pisin are:

1	wan	wanpela	17	wanpela ten seven
2	tu	tupela	18	wanpela ten et
3	tri	tripela	19	wanpela ten nain
4	foa	fopela	20	tupela ten
5	faiv	faipela	21	tupela ten wan
6	sikis	sikispela	22	tupela ten tu
7	seven	sevenpela	23	tupela ten tri
8	et	etpela	30	tripela ten
9	nain	nainpela	40	fopela ten
10	ten	tenpela	50	faipela ten
11	wanpela	ten wan	60	sikispela ten
12	wanpela	ten tu	70	sevenpela ten
13	wanpela	ten tri	80	etpela ten
14	wanpela	ten foa	90	nainpela ten
15	wanpela	ten faiv	100	wan handet
16	wanpela	ten sikis		

Those without *-pela* attached correspond to the names of the numbers in English. This set is used in the formation of numbers beyond 10, for mathematical operations like addition, subtraction, multiplication and division, and for counting money and telling the time. For numbers above 10, English numerals are also used; the conventions for adding *-pela* to these numerals are occasionally maintained as, for instance, in *elevenpela meme 11 goats*, but the use of the stem alone appears to be more commonly found, as in *tartin masalai 13 spirits*.

Ordinal numbers in Tok Pisin take the following form:

<i>first</i>	nambawan	<i>sixth</i>	nambasikis
<i>second</i>	nambatu	<i>seventh</i>	nambasewen
<i>third</i>	nambatri	<i>eighth</i>	nambahaet
<i>fourth</i>	nambafuwa	<i>ninth</i>	nambanain
<i>fifth</i>	nambafaip	<i>tenth</i>	nambaten

Extensive use is made of ordinal numbers of folk taxonomies, particularly in the classification of plants and animals, e.g. *nambawan kwila white ironwood* as against *nambatu kwila red ironwood*.

Distributive numerals are formed by repeating the stem of ordinal numerals, as in:

givim wan dola long wanwan man	<i>give each man a dollar</i>
ol bikman i save maritim tutu meri	<i>the chiefs usually marry two girls each</i>

Repetition of numerals ending in -pela is also used, as in:

givim wanpela blanket long	<i>give one blanket to each two</i>
tupela tupela man	<i>men</i>

The interrogative numeral in Tok Pisin is *hamas* *how much, how many*.

(b) Indefinite quantifiers

Four indefinite quantifiers of Tok Pisin are *olgeta* *all, a very significant part of*, *sampela* *some*, *planti* *much, many* and *liklik* *little, few*:

olgeta mani bilong papa i lus pinis	<i>father has lost all his money</i>
i no planti taim long mipela bai kisim independens	<i>it won't be long before we get independence</i>
ol liklik lain man tasol i pait i stap	<i>only few men continued fighting</i>
sampela sumatin i guthet na sampela i slipihet	<i>some of the pupils are keen and some are sleepyheads</i>
sampela bia i kam!	<i>give me some beer!</i>

(c) Demonstratives

The basic demonstrative modifier in Tok Pisin is *dispela* *this, that*. For greater accuracy *hia* *here* and *lohap* *there* can be placed after the noun preceded by *dispela*.

(d) Prenominal emphasisers

Tok Pisin makes use of a number of mechanisms to express emphasis on nouns and noun phrases. There is only one prenominal emphasiser, *em*, which can precede all nouns, including pronouns, as in:

em mipela i bin kirapim dispela wok	<i>it is us who started this work</i>
mi no laikim em wara mi laikim em bia	<i>I don't want water, I want beer</i>
em ol man tasol i nap long go insait long haus tambaran	<i>only the men can go into the spirit house</i>

(e) Attributive adjectives

The number of adjectives which may precede nouns in Tok Pisin is relatively small, though in Urban Tok Pisin an increasing number of adjectives borrowed from English can be found in attributive position.

At present, adjectives in Tok Pisin show some very irregular behaviour and a number of subclasses has to be distinguished. I have used Wurm's (1971a:53ff) classification as the basis of my list supplementing it with examples from my own more recent data.

Subclass 1

Adjectives which in attributive function precede the noun (which carries the phrase stress) and have the suffix *-pela* both in attributive and predicative function. Here is a list of the more common ones:

bikpela	<i>big</i>	nupela	<i>new</i>
blakpela	<i>black; dark blue</i>	olpela	<i>old (of things)</i>
blupela	<i>blue</i>	raunpela	<i>round</i>
braunpela	<i>brown</i>	retpela	<i>red</i>
draipela (or traipela)	<i>large</i>	siotpela	<i>short</i>
grinpela	<i>green, light blue</i>	strongpela	<i>strong</i>
gutpela	<i>good</i>	switpela	<i>sweet, delicious</i>
hatpela	<i>hard</i>	wetpela	<i>white</i>
longpela	<i>long</i>	yangpela	<i>young</i>
naispela	<i>nice</i>		

Also to this subclass belong all numerals, the demonstrative *tispela* *this, that*, as well as *narapela* *another* (in the plural, more commonly *arapela*); *diskain* (or *tiskain*) *this kind of*, and *sampela* *some*.

Though the members of the above list generally appear with *-pela* in attributive position, there is a tendency, particularly in Urban Tok Pisin, for the respective predicative forms to occur without *-pela*.

Subclass 2

Adjectives which in attributive function precede the noun and have *-pela* in this position, but lose it in predicative position. They include:

draipela	<i>dry</i>	sappela	<i>sharp</i>
hatpela	<i>hot</i>	stretpela	<i>correct</i>
hevipela	<i>heavy</i>	strongpela	<i>insistent</i>
kolpela	<i>cold</i>	taitpela	<i>tight</i>
maupela	<i>ripe</i>	trupela	<i>true</i>
raunpela	<i>giddy</i>	yelopela	<i>yellow</i>

Examples:

stretpela pos	<i>a straight post</i>
pos i stret	<i>the post is straight</i>
kolpela win	<i>a cold wind</i>
win i kol	<i>the wind is cold</i>
maupela banana	<i>a ripe banana</i>
banana i mau	<i>the banana is ripe</i>
dispela i trupela tok i tru	<i>this is absolutely correct</i>

Subclass 3

Adjectives which in attributive function precede the noun, and do not take *-pela*. The more common ones are:

kranki	<i>stupid, wrong</i>	nambaten	<i>very bad</i>
lapun	<i>old (of people)</i>	narakain	<i>different</i>
liklik	<i>small</i>	ologeta	<i>all</i>
longlong	<i>crazy</i>	planti	<i>many</i>
longwe	<i>distant</i>	rabis	<i>poor</i>
nambawan	<i>first, excellent</i>	wail	<i>wild</i>
nambatu	<i>second, second rate</i>	wankain	<i>same</i>

The forms *liklikpela*, *plantipela*, *rabispela*, *wailpela* and *hamaspela* *how many* have been recorded though they are frowned upon by proficient speakers of Tok Pisin. Examples:

yu wangepela kranki man	<i>you are a stupid bloke</i>
em i mekim narakain tok nau	<i>he is telling a different story now</i>
ol muruk i save stap long longwe ples tasol	<i>cassowaries are found in remote areas only</i>

Attributive adjectives in Tok Pisin are not accompanied by adjectival modifiers, i.e. adverbs. Instead, these modifiers appear after the noun, as in *kaikai i gutpela tru* *the food is very good*, as against *gutpela kaikai tru* *very good food*.

4.4.1.3.4 The sequence of prenominal modifiers

Having discussed individually the most important prenominal modifiers, I shall now turn to a brief discussion of the position which these elements occupy in the surface structure of Tok Pisin noun phrases. The following diagram illustrates the most common sequence of prenominal modifiers:

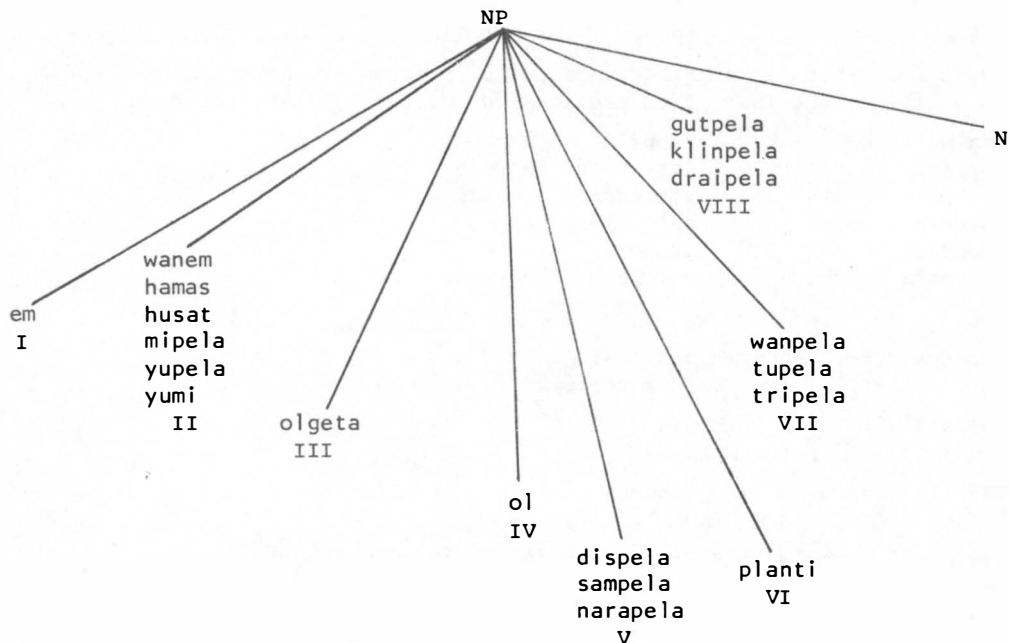


Table: Position classes of prenominal modifiers

The sequence of elements in prenominal position is relatively fixed with the exception of the position of *ol*. The plural marker can appear in a number of slots and the slot allocated to it only represents its statistically most frequent occurrence. The following sentences illustrate this:

ol husat meri i bin kam?	<i>which women came?</i>
dispela ol birua i bung	<i>those enemies assembled</i>
sampela ol yangpela ol man	<i>some young men</i>
ol wanem kain ol pipel?	<i>what sorts of people?</i>
ol liklik ol pisin	<i>the little birds</i>
ol sampela ol bisnisman	<i>some businessmen</i>
ol sampela arapela ol buk	<i>some other books</i>

Such examples show the fluctuation in, and uncertainty about, the position of *ol*. As a general rule, fluent speakers tend to shift it closer to the noun.

As a rule members of position classes only occur once, though members of classes (v) and (viii) are occasionally found in pairs. The occurrence of more than one attributive adjective is not common, a construction in which one of them appears as a predicative adjective after the noun being preferred. Thus *wanpela longpela grinpela snek a long green snake* would normally become *wanpela grinpela snek i longpela*.

4.4.1.3.5 Postnominal modifiers

(a) Postnominal attributive adjectives

A number of adjectives in attributive function follow the noun, and do not take *-pela*. The following is a list of the more common ones:

belhat	<i>hot tempered</i>	nogut	<i>bad</i>
bruk	<i>broken</i>	pas	<i>stuck</i>
daun	<i>low</i>	pret	<i>afraid</i>
giaman	<i>false</i>	siut	<i>right (side)</i>
hait	<i>hidden</i>	slek	<i>loose</i>
hambak	<i>vain, proud</i>	tambu	<i>forbidden</i>
kais	<i>left (side)</i>	tan	<i>done (of food)</i>
kela	<i>bald</i>	tarangu	<i>unfortunate</i>
klia	<i>clear(ed)</i>	tru	<i>genuine, real</i>
kros	<i>angry</i>	tulait	<i>bright</i>
malomalo	<i>soft</i>	yarpas }	<i>deaf</i>
marit	<i>married</i>	yaupas }	
nating	<i>empty, useless, worthless</i>		

Adjectives indicating nationality, language and religious affiliation also belong to this subclass, e.g.:

Inglis	<i>English</i>	popi	<i>Catholic</i>
Siaman	<i>German</i>	talatala	<i>Protestant</i>
Siapan	<i>Japanese</i>	sewende	<i>Seventh-Day Adventist</i>
Pisin	<i>Pidgin</i>	witnes	<i>Jehova's Witness</i>
katolik	<i>Catholic</i>		

Examples:

graun klia	<i>clear ground</i>
graun i klia	<i>the ground is cleared</i>
botol bruk	<i>broken bottle</i>

tok giaman	<i>false talk, lie</i>
tok i giaman	<i>the talk is false, the talk is a lie</i>
man kros or man i kros	<i>angry (indigenous) man, the man is angry</i>
tok Inggris	<i>English language</i>

Of the adjectives just listed one item, *nating*, deserves special attention. *Nating* can be found in a number of collocations. Its meaning is difficult to recover and some contextual information is usually needed. Depending on the context, *pusi nating* can mean (inter alia) *a desexed cat, a stray cat, a very weak cat, or a cat without a pedigree*. Other examples:

bun nating	<i>very thin, skinny</i>
kaikai nating	<i>vegetarian food (no meat)</i>
sik nating	<i>a minor disease</i>

(b) Phrases involving *bilong* following nouns

Tok Pisin nouns are often followed by phrases introduced by the preposition *bilong*. Depending on the categorial status and semantic properties of the items appearing after *bilong*, this construction can have a number of different meanings, sometimes concurrently:

i) N *bilong* N: possession

In contrast to the jargons preceding it, as well as other varieties of Pidgin English, Tok Pisin has no set of possessive pronouns, but relies on a synthetic way of expressing these:

<i>bilong mi</i>	<i>mine</i>	<i>bilong mipela</i>	<i>our (excl.)</i>
<i>bilong yu</i>	<i>your</i>	<i>bilong yumi</i>	<i>our (incl.)</i>
<i>bilongen</i>	<i>his, her, its</i>	<i>bilong yupela</i>	<i>your</i>
		<i>bilong ol</i>	<i>their</i>

Examples:

<i>papa bilong mi</i>	<i>my father</i>
<i>kas bilong yu</i>	<i>your luck</i>
<i>samting bilong ol</i>	<i>their business</i>

The possessive relation with full nouns again takes the form N *bilong* N, as in:

<i>ples balus bilong misin katolik</i>	<i>the Catholic mission's airstrip</i>
<i>tel bilong rat</i>	<i>the rat's tail</i>
<i>buk bilong tisa</i>	<i>the teacher's book</i>

ii) Purpose

Bilong followed by either noun phrases or verb phrases can express the purpose of an action, person or thing as in:

<i>naip bilong kopra</i>	<i>a knife for cutting copra</i>
<i>paura bilong pikinini</i>	<i>powder for a baby</i>
<i>plang bilong rat</i>	<i>a trap for rats</i>

for nouns, and:

<i>rot bilong wokabout</i>	<i>a path for walking</i>	
<i>ples bilong singsing</i>	<i>a place for dancing</i>	
<i>rop bilong hukim pis</i>	<i>fishing line</i>	for verbs.

iii) Locality and time

Bilong followed by nouns or adverbs referring to space or time indicates that the noun preceding bilong is closely associated with the point in space or time in question. Examples are:

pik bilong ples	<i>a village pig</i>
man bilong Rabaul	<i>someone from Rabaul</i>
maleo bilong solwara	<i>an eel living in the sea</i>
kaikai bilong asde	<i>yesterday's food</i>
stori bilong bipo	<i>a story from before</i>

iv) Quality and occupation

Bilong followed by verbs and verb phrases can indicate that the noun preceding bilong has the quality of or usually does what is referred to by the verb phrase:

binatang bilong kaikai man	<i>a biting insect</i>
man bilong mekim trabel	<i>a trouble-maker</i>
pis bilong kaikai pekpek	<i>a faeces-eating fish</i>

The above constructions form a very important part of Tok Pisin grammar since they provide a method of compensating for its lack of descriptive adjectives.

v) Nabaut expressing distribution, indeterminacy and disapproval

Just as with the item nating discussed above, the exact meaning of nabaut after nouns and noun phrases depends on its context. When expressing distribution it most typically follows reduplicated nouns and can thus be said to reinforce and disambiguate the function of nominal reduplication. Examples are:

ol kanaka kanaka nabaut long bikbus	<i>all the less educated indigenes in the bush</i>
ol kainkain mani nabaut	<i>all sorts of different money</i>

Without reduplication, nabaut often expresses a vague notion of indeterminacy and sometimes disapproval:

meri i save puspup wantaim ol man nabaut long taun	<i>the girl has intercourse with all sorts of men in the town</i>
ol memba tasol i ken kam ol man nabaut nogat	<i>members only and not just anyone are admitted</i>

vi) Emphasiser/deictic marker ya

Etymologically this item is derived from English *here* and in some contexts it retains this meaning in Tok Pisin. However, its function as an adverb of place has become secondary to its main use, in unstressed form, as an emphasiser or an element of generalised deictic function. As such it not only follows noun phrases but can occur after verb phrases too. Examples of its use are:

em gutpela man ya	<i>he is a good bloke</i>
em santing bilong mipela ya	<i>that is strictly our affair</i>
mi laikim retpela laplap ya	<i>I want the red cloth</i>

4.4.1.3.6 The sequence of postnominal modifiers

Postnominal modifiers most commonly appear in the following order:

N + (N) + (adj.att.) + (bilong + phrase) + (nabaut) + (ya)

Examples illustrating this are:

man bilong kilim pik ya	<i>a man who kills pigs</i>
ol man nabaut ya	<i>the outsiders</i>
pusi nating ya	<i>just an ordinary cat</i>

There are, however, many as yet insufficiently understood restrictions on their combination.

4.4.1.4 Verbs and verb phrases

4.4.1.4.1 Introduction

Most descriptions of Tok Pisin distinguish between two main classes of verbs, transitive and intransitive. However, this distinction is not a very satisfactory one for Tok Pisin. First, the group classified as transitive must be further subdivided into causative and non-causative transitive verbs, in order to account for a number of restrictions on the functioning of members of these classes in certain syntactic constructions. Further, intransitive verbs have never been satisfactorily distinguished from predicative adjectives in Tok Pisin. Moreover, an exhaustive grammar of Tok Pisin must also mention a number of smaller classes, such as equative and locative verbs. As no detailed study of the rules underlying the behaviour of Tok Pisin verbs is at hand, one can expect that future revisions of this grammar will contain more delicate subclasses and more explicit statements about their syntactic behaviour.

4.4.1.4.2 Transitive verbs

Transitive verbs are basically those verbs which require a nominal object. However, this concept has recently come under severe criticism, and the above can only be seen as a rough working definition. Causative verbs, which will be discussed below, though also requiring a formal nominal object, are not included within this description.

The following subclasses are based on a number of criteria which strictly speaking are irrelevant to the syntactic behaviour of their members, but which will be needed for the purpose of morphological and lexical description.

Subclass I

Transitive verbs which never appear without the suffix -im. A distinction can be made between transitive verb bases and transitive verbs derived from other lexical bases.

(a) Transitive verb bases:

bihainim	<i>to follow</i>	harim	<i>to hear, listen</i>
bingim	<i>to squeeze, push</i>	haskim	<i>to ask</i>
dringim	<i>to suck</i>	holim	<i>to hold</i>
duim	<i>to entice, seduce, force</i>	kaikaiim	<i>to bite</i>
givim	<i>to give</i>	karim	<i>to carry, give birth to</i>

kuapim	<i>to have sexual intercourse with</i>	putim	<i>to put</i>
kisim	<i>to catch, get</i>	sakim	<i>to disobey</i>
kolim	<i>to call</i>	subim	<i>to push, shove</i>
larim	<i>to let</i>	soim	<i>to show</i>
lukim	<i>to see, look at</i>	tanim	<i>to turn, translate</i>
mekim	<i>to do</i>	traim	<i>to try</i>
pakim	<i>to fuck</i>	wasim	<i>to wash</i>
pilim	<i>to feel</i>	winim	<i>to win over</i>
planim	<i>to bury</i>	wokim	<i>to make</i>

(b) Transitive verbs derived from nouns referring to instruments

The following examples come from Mühlhäusler 1978a, where a more detailed discussion can be found:

ainim	<i>to iron</i>	pamim	<i>to pump</i>
bairaim	<i>to hoe</i>	pinim	<i>to pin</i>
blokim	<i>to raise with pulley</i>	rolaim	<i>to move with rollers</i>
bombomim	<i>to catch fish with torch</i>	saripim	<i>to cut with grassknife</i>
brosim	<i>to brush</i>	savolim	<i>to dig with shovel</i>
bulitim	<i>to glue</i>	sibim	<i>to sieve</i>
drilim	<i>to drill</i>	skelim	<i>to weigh</i>
glasim	<i>to take a temperature</i>	skruim	<i>to join with screw</i>
gluim	<i>to glue</i>	slingim	<i>to lift up in a sling</i>
hamarim	<i>to hammer</i>	sopim	<i>to wash with soap</i>
komim	<i>to comb</i>	sodaim	<i>to solder</i>
laimim	<i>to glue</i>	spatenim	<i>to dig with a spade</i>
lokim	<i>to lock</i>	spunim	<i>to spoon</i>
lumim	<i>to weave</i>	susuim	<i>to move with a punting pole</i>
maisilim	<i>to chisel</i>	switim	<i>to switch on or off</i>
metaim	<i>to measure</i>	vaisim	<i>to hold in a vice</i>
natim	<i>to secure with a nut</i>	waraim	<i>to clean with water</i>
nilim	<i>to nail</i>		

These derived transitive verbs are often preceded by mekim *to do*, as in:

doktaboi i mekim glasim sikman *the medical orderly took the patient's temperature*

(c) Transitive verbs derived from nouns referring to containers

banisim	<i>to fence in, bandage</i>
bekim	<i>to put into bags</i>
bilumim	<i>to put into a stringbag</i>
busim	<i>to send to the bush, chase off</i>
graunim	<i>to bury</i>
kalabusim	<i>to jail</i>
kompaunim	<i>to settle in a compound</i>
matmatim	<i>to bury</i>
umbenim	<i>to gather</i>

Subclass II

A number of transitive verbs do not normally take -im even though they are followed by a direct object:

dring (or tiring)	<i>to drink</i>	pekpek	<i>to excrete</i>
gat	<i>to have</i>	pilai	<i>to play</i>
kaikai	<i>to eat</i>	pispis	<i>to urinate</i>
kuap	<i>to climb</i>	save	<i>to know</i>
lindaun	<i>to bend</i>	tekewe	<i>to clear (table); to remove</i>

In addition the forms pispisim and pekpekim *to deliberately urinate or defecate on* are found in some varieties of Tok Pisin. Some speakers make a distinction between kuap, as in kuap diwai *to climb a tree* and kuapim, as in kuapim meri *to have intercourse with a woman*.

Subclass III

Transitive verbs where transitivity can be expressed by either -im or long. Here a distinction must be made between those cases (the majority) where the choice of either -im or long has no semantic consequences and others in which the distinction is accompanied by semantic differentiation. There are, however, regional variants of Tok Pisin, e.g. Highlands Pidgin as described by Wurm (1971a: 29-31), where semantic differentiation is more common.

(a) Choice of -im vs. long is of no semantic consequence:

bikmaus long	bikmausim	<i>to shout at</i>
gris long	grisim	<i>to flatter</i>
aigris long	aigrisim	<i>to make eyes at</i>
lukaut long	lukautim	<i>to look after</i>
poto long	potoim	<i>to take a picture of</i>
puspus long	puspusim	<i>to have sexual intercourse with</i>
was long	wasim	<i>to watch</i>
wet long	wetim	<i>to wait for</i>
win long	winim	<i>to surpass, win</i>

(b) The choice between -im and long has semantic consequences:

bilip long	<i>to believe in</i>	bilipim	<i>to believe something</i>
smok long	<i>to smoke (a pipe)</i>	smokim	<i>to smoke (fish)</i>
wok long	<i>to work at</i>	wokim	<i>to construct</i>

The above lists are by no means exhaustive, and additional examples are given by Wurm (1971a) and Dutton (1973:114-115).

4.4.1.4.3 Causative verbs

Verbs and adjectives can become causative verbs either by a derivational process which adds -im after the intransitive verb or adjective stem or by means of an analytic construction of the form mekim + V/adj. + long. Thus les *lazy*, *tired* is realised in its causative form as either lesim or mekim les long *to make tired*. The two methods are often combined, such as in mekim lesim *to make tired*, mekim being capable of preceding any causative verb if disambiguation is needed or to reinforce the idea of causation. Another method of achieving the latter is to repeat the verb or adjective base after the object as in ol i bagarapim gaden i bagarap *they ruined the garden*.

Different lexical stems can also appear in this type of causative construction, as in:

kilim man i dai	<i>to kill someone</i>
sutim i dai pik	<i>to mortally wound a pig</i>
rausim tupela i kam ausait	<i>to chuck the two fellows out</i>
kukim haus tambaran i paia	<i>to set fire to the spirit house</i>

Derived causative verbs can be subdivided into two subclasses:

(a) Causative verbs derived from adjectives which can occur attributively:

bikim	<i>to make big</i>
hatim	<i>to make hot</i>
klinim	<i>to clean, cleanse</i>
kolim	<i>to cool</i>
stretim	<i>to straighten</i>
truim	<i>to make true, fulfil</i>

(b) Causative verbs derived from predicative adjectives or intransitive verbs:

Intransitive verbs undergoing this change belong mainly to verbs of movement, the derived causative verb having the meaning of *to make somebody or something perform a certain movement*. For example:

sindaunim	<i>to make sit down, to settle</i>
pundaunim	<i>to make fall down</i>
daunim	<i>to make go down, to swallow</i>
kirapim	<i>to make get up, arouse</i>
sanapim	<i>to make stand up, erect</i>
surikim	<i>to make go back, shove back</i>

Examples of expressions using the derived causative verb are the following:

win i pilaiim plak	<i>the wind makes the flag fly</i>
yumi mas gohetim kantri bilong yumi	<i>we must make our country advance</i>
win i solapim sel	<i>the wind makes the sail swell</i>
bia i pairapim nek bilong mi	<i>the beer makes me belch</i>

4.4.1.4.4 Intransitive verbs and predicative adjectives

The distinction between these two classes in Tok Pisin is much less obvious than, for instance, in English, where the semantic distinction between stative and non-stative verb-adjectives is reflected in two formally distinct classes. In Tok Pisin, however, only the use of different sets of aspect markers indicates a difference between bases with stative and those with non-stative meaning. The English translations of the following examples are also an indication of the economy in the Tok Pisin lexicon. A small set of aspect markers and a similar number of conventions for their interpretation contrasts with a large number of lexicalisations in English.

rere pinis	<i>ready</i>	kela pinis	<i>bald</i>
laik rere	<i>to prepare oneself</i>	laik kela	<i>getting bald</i>
hat pinis	<i>hot</i>	bruk pinis	<i>broken</i>
laik hat	<i>heating up</i>	laik bruk	<i>disintegrating</i>
bik pinis	<i>big</i>	hepi pinis	<i>satisfied</i>
laik bik	<i>growing up</i>	laik hepi	<i>getting pleased</i>

lus pinis *lost*
 laik lus *to loosen (intr.)*

Other lexical items which translate both English adjectives and intransitive verbs include:

amamas *happy, to rejoice*
 dai *unconscious, to swoon*
 giaman *mistaken, to lie*
 kros *angry, to rage*
 krungut *bent, to bend down*

4.4.1.4.5 Smaller classes of verbs

(a) The equative

Tok Pisin does not possess any verb corresponding to English *to be* in its equative function. Instead the nominals appearing in the equative construction are directly juxtaposed or connected by the predicate marker *i*. Examples:

mi man bilong Niugini	<i>I am a New Guinean</i>
masta Sak i bos bilong mipela	<i>master Jack is our boss</i>
yu wanpela lesbaga	<i>you are a loafer</i>

The presence vs. absence of the predicate marker in such equative constructions is reported to have semantic consequences in some varieties of Tok Pisin. Dutton (1973:27) remarks:

The distinction here can perhaps best be explained by the following example. Suppose one were walking along the road and suddenly saw something strange wriggling on the ground - one would probably jump and utter an appeal for help in recognizing this thing with *Em wanem?* and not *Em i wanem?* *What is it?* Supposing, however, that the strange object was identified as a harmless worm then one would enquire further about its nature with *Em i wanem?* *Em i samting nogut o wanem?* *What is it? Is it something bad or what?* Answers to such questions follow the same structure. Consider, for example, the following pairs:

Q: Em wanem?	<i>What's that?</i>
A: Em wanpela snek.	<i>That's a snake.</i>
Q: Em i wanem?	<i>What is it?</i>
A: Em i samting nogut.	<i>It's a bad thing.</i>

(b) The locative verb *stap to be located*

The locative verb *stap* is usually followed by a locative complement or modifier, as in:

pik i stap long banis bilong mipela	<i>the pigs are in our enclosure</i>
wanpela niuspepa i stap long tebol	<i>a newspaper is on the table</i>

(c) The existential verb *gat to exist*

The nearest English translation of the Tok Pisin construction *i gat* followed by a noun or noun phrase is *there is* or *there are*. Examples of this are:

<i>I gat pukpuk long dispela wara?</i>	<i>Are there crocodiles in this river?</i>
<i>I gat.</i>	<i>Yes, there are.</i>
<i>I no gat skul long ples bilong mipela.</i>	<i>There is no school in our village.</i>

(d) *Mekim to do something*

Apart from functioning as an ordinary transitive verb, *mekim to do* also functions as a kind of pro-verb. Its relation to antecedent verb phrases is similar to that between pronouns and antecedent noun phrases. This is best illustrated with a number of examples:

<i>Ol i kisim dok raun long bus, mekim mekim, ol i lukim lek bilong pik.</i>	<i>They took their dogs and wandered around in the bush, keeping going until they eventually saw a pig's trail.</i>
<i>Tumbuna i save kaikai man orait mekim mekim waitman i kamap nau.</i>	<i>Our ancestors used to eat human flesh and they did it until the white man came.</i>

(e) Verbs of becoming

This class includes *go*, *kamap* and *tanim* in the meaning *to become*, *turn into* and *sindaun to behave like*. Examples are:

<i>em i kamap bikpela meri nau</i>	<i>she turned into a grown-up girl</i>
<i>nogut yumi sindaun kanaka ya</i>	<i>let us not live like uncivilised bushdwellers</i>
<i>em nau, masalai i tanim snek</i>	<i>and then the spirit turned into a snake</i>

(f) 'Three-place' verbs

A few Tok Pisin verbs can appear with both direct and indirect object, though such 'three-place' verbs are not very common; instead verbal concatenation is used to express the complex concepts referred to by three-place verbs in languages such as English.

For both the verbs *soim to show* and *givim to give* different lects of Tok Pisin vary in their treatment of direct and indirect object. Generally speaking the mainland varieties of Tok Pisin prefer the form *givim buk long mi give me the book* and *soim buk long mi show me the book*, whereas in the New Guinea Islands the forms *givim mi long buk* and *soim mi long buk* are more common.

4.4.1.5 The verbal paradigm

The following tables show the basic paradigm of the verb *kaikai to eat*. These forms are unmarked for tense and aspect but are generally interpreted as either general past or general present according to whether they are taken to be statives or non-statives. The marker *i* is introduced without comment. It will be discussed in detail below.

Affirmative

sg.1	mi	kaikai
2	yu	kaikai
3	em	i kaikai
du.1(incl.)	yumitupela	(i) kaikai
1(excl.)	mitupela	(i) kaikai
2	yutupela	kaikai
3	(em)	tupela i kaikai
tr.1(incl.)	yumitripela	(i) kaikai
1(excl.)	mitripela	(i) kaikai
2	yutripela	(i) kaikai
3	(em)	tripela i kaikai
pl.1(incl.)	yumi	(i) kaikai
1(excl.)	mipela	(i) kaikai
2	yupela	(i) kaikai
3	(em)	ol i kaikai

Negative

sg.1	mi	no kaikai
2	yu	no kaikai
3	em	i no kaikai
du.1(incl.)	yumitupela	(i) no kaikai
1(excl.)	mitupela	(i) no kaikai
2	yutupela	(i) no kaikai
3	(em)	tupela i no kaikai
tr.1(incl.)	yumitripela	(i) no kaikai
1(excl.)	mitripela	(i) no kaikai
2	yutripela	(i) no kaikai
3	(em)	tripela i no kaikai
pl.1(incl.)	yumi	(i) no kaikai
1(excl.)	mipela	(i) no kaikai
2	yupela	(i) no kaikai
3	(em)	ol i no kaikai

Interrogative forms differ from declarative forms in intonation only:

Whereas the statement forms have an intonation which slowly rises to reach its peak in the syllable carrying the clause stress, and then falls step by step, ordinary questions (i.e. questions anticipating the answer yes or no) have an intonation which slowly rises all the way, with the last syllable of the question jumping high. (Wurm 1971a:19)

Imperative forms (commands):

Commands and requests in Tok Pisin can be expressed in several ways. The most common method for expressing positive imperatives is to use the positive basic forms with slowly falling intonation.

yu kam	<i>come!</i>
em i kam	<i>let him come!</i>
mipela i kam	} <i>let us come!</i>
yumi i kam	
yupela i kam	<i>come (pl.)!</i>
ol i kam	<i>let them come!</i>

Examples:

Orait, yumi i go nau!	<i>O.K. let's go!</i>
kaikai i kam!	<i>bring the food! (lit. the food comes!)</i>
yu sanap long ai bilong ol!	<i>stand in front of the class!</i>

Imperatives without pronouns are rare in Tok Pisin, but are occasionally found in Urban Tok Pisin and in harsh commands. A number of other conventions in connection with positive imperatives are given by Wurm (1971a:21).

Negative commands in Tok Pisin can be expressed in a number of ways, the most basic one being the use of simple negative forms with imperative intonation as in:

yu no kaikai!	<i>don't eat!</i>
em i no kam!	<i>don't let him come!</i>

Another method is to signal negative permissive sentences just introduced by placing no between the subject and ken+V (permission), e.g.:

Ol i no ken sutim pik.

{*They're not allowed to shoot the pig.*
Don't let them shoot the pig.}

A third option is to prefix sentences with nogut *bad*. Compare:

Yu sindaun!

Sit down!

Nogut yu sindaun!

{*You shouldn't sit down!*
It wouldn't be wise for you to sit down!}

A fourth option is to indicate the negative imperative by maski *never mind*. A fair amount of variation is found with this construction, for example, the most commonly used forms for *don't fool around!* are:

maski hambak!

maski long hambak!

maski yu hambak!

maski long yu hambak!

maski yu no ken hambak!

Whereas the forms without the pronoun are generalised wishes or commands, those with the pronoun are directed towards one or more persons. I have found that most speakers favour expressions containing the preposition long.

Further details on negative commands are given by Dutton (1973:137) and Wurm (1971a:21).

4.4.1.6 Verbal modifiers (aspect, tense and modality)

Pidgin verbs do not in themselves indicate aspect and tense distinctions and the basic verb form, as has been pointed out above, is neutral in this regard. However, Tok Pisin possesses a number of auxiliaries, particles and adverbs which are used to introduce such distinctions wherever desired. Traditionally these modifiers have been treated under the section on verbs. I feel, however, that this decision obfuscates the important fact of Tok Pisin grammar that word classes other than verbs can equally well appear with these modifiers in predicative position. For this reason, aspect, tense and modality will be treated below in the section on the structure of simple sentences.

4.4.1.7 Adjectives

Remarks on the classification of Tok Pisin adjectives can be found in the sections on nominal modifiers (attributive adjectives) and intransitive verbs.

In this section we are concerned with comparison and intensification of adjectives. Because Tok Pisin treats these quite differently from English, comparison and intensification of adjectives have been relatively well studied.

(a) For comparison, the following remarks by Laycock (1970c:xxvii) can be taken as representative:

In Pidgin, there are no comparative and superlative forms of adjectives, though the usages with mo approximate to them; varying degrees of a quality are usually expressed by the use of adverbs with the verb. The following sentence shows the approximate relationship of the different degrees of size

expressible, though it must be remembered that differences of emphasis can change order shown somewhat:

dispela i bikpela; orait, na	<i>this one is big; now this one</i>
dispela i bikpela liklik, na	<i>is fairly big, and this one</i>
dispela i bikpela pinis; dis-	<i>is quite big; this one is very</i>
pela i bikpela ologeta, dis-	<i>big, this one is bigger, and</i>
pela i bikpela mo, na dispela	<i>this one is bigger still; this</i>
i bikpela mo yet; dispela i	<i>one is pretty big, this one is</i>
bikpela stret, dispela i bik-	<i>extremely big, this one is</i>
pela tumas, dispela i bikpela	<i>really big, this one is really</i>
tru, dispela i bikpela tumas	<i>very big, and this one is</i>
tru, na dispela i bikpela	<i>really enormous; and this one</i>
tumas tru ologeta; na dispela	<i>is the biggest of all.</i>
i bikpela bilong winim ol.	

Comparison may also be expressed by mo ... long, mo ... olosem, by juxtaposition of two statements, or by the use of win(im): dispela haus i mo strongpela long (or: olosem) narapela *this house is stronger than the other one*; dispela haus i strong, na narapela i no strong *this house is strong, but the other is not*; dispela haus i winim narapela long strong *this house surpasses the other in strength*. For the *strongest of all*, one says strongpela bilong ol, or strongpela bilong winim ol.

The English system of comparison (as in em i mo kleva long mi *she is more clever than I*) is occasionally found in Urban Tok Pisin, but has not as yet gained wide acceptance.

(b) Intensification of the meaning of an adjective can be achieved either by repetition or reduplication, as in:

blakpela blakpela klaut	<i>a very dark sky</i>
naispela naispela kaikai	<i>excellent food</i>
em i no lapun em i lapunpun	<i>he is not old, he is ancient</i>

or by means of certain adverbial modifiers, as in:

blakpela klaut tru	<i>a very dark sky</i>
paul olgeta	<i>totally confused</i>

Very strong negation or disapproval is expressed by means of the construction no + adjective + liklik as, for instance, in:

em i no sem liklik	<i>he is not ashamed at all</i>
dispela pasin i no stret liklik	<i>this behaviour is quite unheard of</i>

4.4.1.8 Prepositions

The number of words which can be regarded as true prepositions is very small, the only ones of wide currency being long, bilong and wantaim. Some very old speakers only use one preposition, namely bilong.

Long denotes essentially spatial relationships and loose relationships between objects. A large number of English prepositions can be translated by long, as can be seen from the following list provided by Mihalic (1971:38-39):

in, e.g., stap long haus *to be in the house*
on, e.g., rait long pepa *to write on paper*
at, e.g., long faiv klok *at five o'clock*
to, e.g., go long gaden *to go to the garden*
from, e.g., kaikai long plet *to eat from a plate*
with, e.g., paitim long stik *to hit with a stick*
by, e.g., kam long kanu *to come by canoe*
about, e.g., save long planti samting *to know about many things*
because, e.g., Em i win long strong bilong em. *He won because of his strength.*
for, e.g., Mi sori long yu. *I am sorry for you.*
during, e.g., Long nait em i kam. *He came during the night.*

Bilong is used to indicate a closer relationship and is used, for instance, in the following cases:

- a) to denote possession;
- b) to denote purpose;
- c) to denote origin;
- d) to denote a characteristic trait or quality.

If a relationship more precise than that expressed by the prepositions long and bilong is to be indicated, it is done by adding nouns or adverbs of time and place in constructions such as long + N + (bi)long or adv. + long. The following list of examples was taken from Wurm 1971a:61-62:

ananit long *under, underneath something*
 antap long
 long antap bilong } *on top of something*
 arare long
 long arare bilong } *beside, alongside something*
 bihain long *behind something*
 bipo long *in front of (a thing)*
 daunbilo long *below something (i.e. at a lower level)*
 i go long *towards something*
 inap long *up to (a place)*
 inap long + a time indication *until*
 insait long
 long insait bilong } *inside something*
 klostu long *near to something*
 longwe long *far away from something*
 namel long
 long namel bilong } *between, amongst something*
 nabaut long } *around something*
 raun long }
 wantaim long *along with somebody (who tags along)*
 long hai bilong *in front of (a person)*
 taim bilong *during*
 long tispela hap } *on this side*
 long hap i kam }
 long hapsait }
 long narapela hap } *on the other side, on that side*
 long hap i go }

Wantaim, originally an adverb meaning *at the same time*, is frequently used as a preposition translating the concepts of *with*, *together with* and *with the use of*. Examples of its use are:

brata bilong mi i save slip wantaim gelpren bilongen	<i>my brother sleeps with his girlfriend</i>
ol Nambole i bin singsing wantaim ol Tumam	<i>the people from Nambole celebrated together with the people of Tumam</i>
mi stap wantaim ol famili bilong mi	<i>I stayed with my family</i>
yu miksim wara wantaim dispela paura	<i>mix water with this powder</i>
ol nes i ken samapim maus bilong yu wantaim string	<i>the nurses can sew up your mouth with string</i>
Inap long <i>until</i> is also increasingly found without long:	
ol i bin bungim inap 100 dola	<i>they collected (up to) one hundred dollars</i>
ol i bin stap inap tripela de	<i>they stayed for three days</i>
ol i bin singsing nabaut inap tulait	<i>they were dancing around till dawn</i>

4.4.1.9 Adverbs

4.4.1.9.1 Adverbs of time, place, manner and degree

The list of adverb bases in Tok Pisin is relatively small. However, most English adverbs can be translated readily by means of adverbial phrases or adverbs derived from other word classes. Here follows a list of such adverbial expressions quoted from Mihalic 1971:35-36:

Adverbs of time:

<i>after dark</i> tudak pinis	<i>in the future</i> bihain, bambai
<i>afternoon</i> belo bek	<i>in the morning</i> moningtaim
<i>again</i> gen	<i>late</i> bihaintaim
<i>ago</i> i lus pinis	<i>later</i> bambai, bihain
<i>a little later</i> bihain liklik	<i>monthly</i> long mun
<i>a long time</i> longtaim	<i>never</i> i no yet wanpela taim; i no gat wanpela taim
<i>a long time ago</i> bipo tru, longtaim bipo, bipo yet	<i>noon</i> belo kaikai
<i>already</i> pinis	<i>now</i> nau
<i>always</i> oltaim	<i>now and then</i> samtaim, sampela taim
<i>annually</i> long yia	<i>often</i> planti taim
<i>a short while</i> liklik taim	<i>once</i> wantaim, wanpela taim
<i>at high tide</i> long haiwara	<i>quickly</i> kwik, kwiktaim
<i>at low tide</i> long draiwara	<i>right at the time</i> stret planti taim
<i>at night</i> long nait	<i>seldom</i> i no planti taim
<i>dawn</i> tulait	<i>shortly</i> i no longtaim
<i>day after tomorrow</i> haptumora	<i>soon</i> i no longtaim; liklik taim
<i>daytime</i> long san	<i>sunrise</i> sankamap
<i>early</i> bipotaim	<i>today</i> tude
<i>evening</i> apinun, ivining	<i>tomorrow</i> tumora
<i>forever</i> bilong oltaim oltaim	<i>until</i> inap
<i>formerly</i> pastaim, bipo	<i>yesterday</i> asde
<i>immediately</i> nau tasol	<i>yet</i> yet

Adverbs of place:

<i>above</i> antap	<i>inside</i> insait
<i>ahead</i> i go pas	<i>midst</i> namel
<i>alongside</i> arere	<i>nearby</i> klostu
<i>at long</i>	<i>nowhere</i> i no gat sampela ples
<i>away</i> i go	<i>on long</i>
<i>back</i> bek	<i>on the opposite side</i> long hap i go
<i>below</i> daunbilo	<i>on the side</i> long hap
<i>distant</i> longwe	<i>out</i> ausait
<i>down</i> daun	<i>outside</i> ausait
<i>downwards</i> i go daunbilo	<i>roundabout</i> nabaut
<i>far</i> longwe	<i>there</i> long hap i go
<i>faraway</i> longwe	<i>underneath</i> aninit
<i>here</i> hia	<i>up</i> antap
<i>in long</i>	<i>upwards</i> i go antap
<i>in front of</i> paslain long	<i>within</i> insait long

Adverbs of manner:

<i>almost</i> klosap, klostu	<i>softly</i> isi
<i>badly</i> nogut	<i>swiftly</i> hariap
<i>differently</i> arawe	<i>thoroughly</i> olgeta
<i>easily</i> isi	<i>thus</i> olsem
<i>in vain</i> nating	<i>together</i> wantaim
<i>possibly</i> nating, i ken	<i>truly, really</i> tru
<i>same</i> wankain	<i>unusually</i> arakain
<i>slipshod</i> hap hap	<i>very</i> tumas
<i>slowly</i> isi isi	<i>well</i> gut

Adverbs of degree:

<i>almost</i> klosap, klostu	<i>only</i> tasol
<i>completely</i> olgeta	<i>partly</i> hap hap
<i>little</i> liklik	<i>sufficiently</i> inap
<i>more</i> moa	<i>too</i> tumas
<i>much</i> planti	<i>very</i> tumas

The label 'adverb' in traditional linguistics has come to cover a number of syntactically and semantically diverse elements and I am aware of the shortcomings of the classification offered here. Tok Pisin adverbs have been poorly studied and many aspects of their behaviour are still not well understood. Thus, I shall discuss under the label adverb, particles used in affirmation and negation, keeping in mind that future research may come up with quite different classifications.

4.4.1.9.2 Adverbs of affirmation

These include *yes*, *yesa*, *nogat yes*, *nonem certainly* and *tru indeed*. The inclusion of *nogat* among affirmative adverbs comes about because answers to negative questions differ from those in English, cf. Laycock 1970c:xx:

To the question *masta i no stap? is the master not at home?*
 The answer *yes* means *yes, it is true, he is not at home*,
 and *no* means *no, what you say is false, he is at home*. This
 feature of Pidgin gives rise to many misunderstandings among
 beginners in the language.

By using nonem as an answer the speaker confirms that what has been asked is indeed true, as in:

Yu go long piksa tete? Nonem. *Are you going to the pictures today? Yes certainly.*

By using tru as an answer speakers express non-committal agreement, as in:

Spak em i nap long bagarapim man. Tru tasol taim mi wok pinis mi testi nogut ya. *Drink can ruin a man. True enough, but I am terribly thirsty after work.*

4.4.1.9.3 Adverbs of negation

These include yes, yesa, no, nogat. Again, the choice of yes vs. nogat depends on whether an antecedent question was negative or positive. No is normally used in predicates occupying a position between predicate marker and the centre, as in:

em i no man *he is not a man*
dispela tok i no tru *this story is not true*

Nogat is used as the negative answer to a question, or at the end of statements indicating that what has been referred to did not materialise or was done in vain:

Ol i pulim pulim pulim, nogat. *They pulled and pulled but all in vain.*
Asde mi laik kisim gutpela meri tasol nogat. *Yesterday I wanted to get a nice girl, but no such luck.*

4.4.1.9.4 Adverbs of indeterminacy

If a speaker does not know the answer to a question or is not certain about the validity of a statement, he uses ating *perhaps, I don't know*. For example:

Inap yu kam helpim mi tumora? *Will you be able to help me tomorrow? I don't know.*
Ating.
Ating bai i gat ren long nait. *Maybe it will rain during the night.*

4.4.1.9.5 Interrogative adverbs

The following instances are found in Tok Pisin:

wataim *when?* olsem wanem *how?*
we *where?* bilong wanem *why?*
westap *where the hell?* watpo *why the hell?*

More will be said about these below in the section on interrogative sentences.

4.4.1.10 Tags

Three tags are used in Tok Pisin, namely *a*, *o nogat* and *laka*. The first two are used for real questions, such as:

Yu lukim em a? *You see him, don't you?*
 Yu lukim em o nogat? *Do you see him or don't you?*

Laka, on the other hand, is mainly a rhetorical device used in a way similar to French *n'est-ce pas?* Some examples are:

Mi ting yu save pinis, laka? *You know already, don't you?*
 John, mi ting yu wanpela *You are a fool John, aren't*
 longlong man, laka? *you?*

4.4.1.11 Conjunctions

There is only a small number of conjunctions in Tok Pisin; their function in syntax will be dealt with in the section on complex sentences. A distinction can be made between co-ordinating conjunctions which include:

na *and* *bat* *but*
(n)o *or* *tasol* *but*

and subordinating conjunctions, such as:

taim *when* *bilong wanem* *because*
sapos *if* *bikos* *because*
maski *although*

4.4.1.12 Residual classes

These include exclamations and greetings. These can be subclassified according to their semantic functions.

(a) Attention getters

nansei used to attract the attention of a potential sexual partner
maiau often used for the same purpose, sometimes only meaning *what about me?*
he, e more neutral expression used in drawing attention
aoa, oao (abbreviation for *kan kok kan*) used to attract the attention of a potential sexual partner

(b) Greetings

gutde *good day*
gut nait *goodnight*
apinun *good evening* (often used only to address people whose day's work is finished)
gutbai *goodbye*

(c) Curses

bladisit *bloody shit*
 pakimsit *fucking shit*
 demit *damn it*
 sit *shit*

(d) Exclamations of astonishment

yakabor *gee, gosh!*
 olaboi, olaman, olapukpuk *gosh!*
 manman *gosh!*

(e) Exclamations of sympathy

kalapa *what a pity*
 sori *sorry*

(f) Exclamations of encouragement

asawe *that's it*
 em nau *that's it*
 gibim *used to encourage fighters: give it to him!*
 goan *go on*
 kaman *come on*

(g) Others

ensa op *heave ho*
 kas bilong yu *your luck*
 maski *never mind*
 oke *O.K.*
 orait *well*
 selo *sail ho*
 we ya *no way*

4.4.2 SENTENCE STRUCTURES IN TOK PISIN

4.4.2.1 Introduction

Linguists working in the areas of language development and discourse analysis are becoming increasingly aware of the artificiality of the concept of a sentence in the context of the analysis of spontaneous speech. It would seem that the sentence as a unit of linguistic analysis is most useful in relation to written or highly conventionalised texts in old established heavily grammaticalised languages. In the case of pidgin languages it is often difficult, even in written texts, to isolate stretches of speech corresponding to syntactic sentences. Most speakers instead operate in terms of sense groups (semantic units) or intonation groups. For pedagogical reasons I have decided to introduce the amount of abstraction necessary for speaking of sentences in Tok Pisin, and a relatively conventional terminology will be used throughout this subchapter.

The analysis will be subdivided into two main parts, that of kernel sentences and the syntactic processes relevant to their generation and, secondly, double-based sentences, i.e. those arising out of the combination - either by conjoining or embedding - of kernel sentences.

4.4.2.2 Basic structure of simple sentences

With the exception of certain minor sentence types, such as interjection, most sentences in Tok Pisin can be derived from the following small number of basic patterns:

- a) NP + i + Adj./Vint. intransitive sentence
 ren i pundaun *the rain is falling*
 pik i bikpela *the pig is big*
- b) NP + i + Vtr. + NP transitive sentence
 pik i bagarapim gaten *the pig ruined the garden*
- c) NP + i + NP equative sentence
 em i saveman *he is an expert*
- d) NP + i + stap + PP locational sentence
 ol gol i stap long graun *the gold is in the ground*
- e) i gat + NP existential sentence
 i gat moni long poket *there is money in the pocket*

4.4.2.3 The 'predicate marker' i

One element which appears in all of the basic sentence structures is the element *i*. Before discussing rules for the extension and rearrangement of these structures, I shall attempt to lay down a number of suggestions for the use of *i*.

Discussion about the status of *i* in Tok Pisin has flared up in the last few years without as yet yielding a solution: "*i* stands out, in the sea of polysy which is Tok Pisin, as an element to which no functional status has been assigned with any success" (Smeall 1975:1).

The analysis of *i* is hampered by a number of factors, the most important being regional variation in its use. Many of the regularities discussed by Wurm (1971a:13ff and 1975) are typically found only in certain varieties of Highlands Pidgin, and Franklin (1980) has gone so far as to claim that only a knowledge of the speaker's vernacular language allows the precise function of *i* to be identified.

Both Smeall (1975) and Woolford (1979c) have tried to develop the idea that *i* is categorically present in certain environments and categorically absent in others, whereas its other occurrences are variable. Whilst Smeall examines the hypothesis that its occurrence vs. non-occurrence can be predicted partly from its phonological environment, Woolford attempts to account for both categorical and variable presence of *i* in terms of certain grammatical environments. However, none of the descriptions to date is based on sufficiently heterogeneous and numerous data. What will be said about *i* in the following section must therefore be regarded as a rough assessment of a very complicated part of Tok Pisin grammar.

The following regularities affecting the use of *i* are commonly found in Rural Tok Pisin as spoken in the New Guinea Lowlands and Islands:

- (a) *i* appears before verbal or non-verbal predicates:

ol draiwa i smat mo *the drivers are very smart*
 kakaruk i singaut *the rooster is crowing*
 masta i singautim hausuk *the European calls for the cook*

(b) *i* often becomes deleted in declarative and interrogative, but not imperative, sentences where the SUBJECT is a first or second person singular pronoun directly preceding the predicate. This rule accounts for the deletion of *i* in sentences such as:

mi wokabout long rot *I am walking on the road*
 yu rausim meri a? *you chased your wife away didn't you?*

At the same time it accounts for the presence of *i* in:

papa bilong mi i gat sik *my father is ill*
 yu tasol i no laik kam *you're the only one who doesn't want to come*
 yu i lus! *get lost!*
 mi yet i tok olsem *I said so myself*

(c) *i* is often omitted after pronoun *em* in equative sentences:

em tasol *that's the lot*
 em papa bilong mi *that's my father*

but

Pisin i Pisin na Inglis em i *Pidgin is Pidgin and English is*
 Inglis *English*

(d) There are certain phonological reasons, first noted by Hall (1943a:2), for the deletion of *i*. Thus *i* is often deleted if the subject noun ends in a high vowel, as in:

meri gat bel *the woman is pregnant*
 tarangu no gat kaikai *the poor bloke had no food*

The same factor may also account for the frequent disappearance of *i* after the future marker *bai*, as in:

em bai (i) kam *he will come*
 mani bai (i) lus *the money will be lost*

(e) Though conjoined sentences will be dealt with later, the behaviour of the predicate marker in such sentences will be briefly mentioned here for the sake of completeness.

The first convention applies to subjects containing more than one noun. For such cases the predicate marker *i* generally appears even if the last element of the conjoined subjects is *yu* or *mi*:

brata bilong mi na mi i go *my brother and I went*
 Pita na yu i kamap las *Peter and you arrived last*

For other cases of conjoining a large set of fairly involved regularities can be demonstrated. A discussion of these can be found in Dutton 1973:233ff and Wurm 1971a:17 and 65ff.

(f) The behaviour of *i* after modals (*ken*, *mas*, *laik*, etc.) No full analysis of these cases is available at present, though a number of useful remarks can be found in Wurm 1971a:16ff. A convention applying in most varieties of Tok Pisin is that verbs following modals are always introduced with *i*. These are *go to*, *kam to come*, *stap 'locational verb'* and *nap to be able*, e.g.:

mi laik i kam *I want to come*
 em i mas i go *he must go*

The negation of object NPs is achieved by means of extraposition of the NP to be negated:

I no gat wanpela meri mi laikim *I don't like any of the girls*

4.4.2.4.2 Time and place and manner adverbs and adverbials as sentence complements

(a) Time adverbials

It appears that the majority of Tok Pisin time adverbials should be considered as being on a par with the two other main constituents of a sentence rather than being expansions of the VP. However, there are strong indications (cf. Sankoff and Laberge 1973, Lynch 1979) that some time adverbials are developing into tense markers and are becoming more closely associated with the verb.

The position most commonly occupied by time adverbials, however, remains sentence initial, as in:

liklik taim nau mi mas go	<i>I shall have to go soon</i>
bipo ol i no mekim olosem	<i>formerly they did not behave like this</i>
baimbai mani i kamap	<i>money will appear eventually</i>

Note that many varieties of Tok Pisin now distinguish between a time adverb, baimbai *eventually*, and a future marker bai which is more closely associated with the verb.

Time adverbs can also be found sentence finally as in:

em i giaman oltaim	<i>he is always lying</i>
ol i kam baimbai	<i>they'll come eventually</i>

Time adverbs are also found directly following a subject NP as in:

em oltaim i hambak	<i>he is always humbugging</i>
man klostu i dai nau	<i>the man is about to die</i>

The regularities underlying the occurrence of time adverbs in these different positions are not well understood at present.

(b) Place adverbials

Place adverbs usually appear sentence finally, though for the purpose of emphasis they can also be found sentence initially:

mankimasta i baim tomato long maket	<i>the servant bought tomatoes in the market</i>
long Ostrelia i gat planti misis, long Niugini nogat	<i>there are many European women in Australia but not in New Guinea</i>

Adverbs of place referring to the direction rather than the locality of an action are usually introduced by the direction markers i go and i kam, unless go or kam are the main verbs. A number of detailed studies have been made into these direction markers. Dutton's account (1973:35) can serve as a brief introduction:

In Pidgin *i kam* and *i go* are used to denote movement away from or towards the speaker respectively. Not only that but it is the conceived locus of the speaker relative to the action that is important and not his actual position. Thus if one asks someone else in Pidgin to take something from a position near the speaker outside a house, say, to a position inside the house he will begin by using the direction marker *i go* but will change to *i kam* in describing what happens inside the house, just as though he had also moved inside. The following sentence will illustrate: Yu kisim kago *i go long haus na bringim i kam putim long tebol* *Take the goods into the house and put them on the table.*

The direction markers *i go* and *i kam* are also used to refer to temporal phenomena as in:

tulait *i bruk i kam nau* *daylight was breaking*

More detailed remarks can be found in Wurm 1971a:45. It should be noted that direction marking is an area of syntax where substratum influence is felt a great deal, and that fixed norms have yet to develop.

(c) Manner adverbials

A distinction must be made between those adverbials which modify a whole sentence, such as *ating perhaps*, and others which only modify individual constituents.

Ating appears at the beginning of sentences, whereas the other adverbials appear after the constituents they modify:

ating mi ken kisim yu	<i>perhaps I can fetch you</i>
em i man tru	<i>he is a real man</i>
em i tok tru antap	<i>he is telling the holy truth</i>
ol i wokabaut isi	<i>they walked slowly</i>
dok i singaut bikpela	<i>the dog was barking loud</i>

4.4.2.4.3 Aspect and tense markers

4.4.2.4.3.1 General remarks

The indication of aspect (the nature of the action referred to) and tense (the time at which such an action is performed), though an optional expansion of basic sentences, is nevertheless a very important characteristic of Tok Pisin grammar.

Traditionally aspect and tense have been dealt with under the heading of the verb. However, as has been pointed out above, a truer account of their role in Tok Pisin grammar would be given by treating them as part of the predicate. The following examples, from Mühlhäusler 1978, illustrate that any predicate, whether it contains verbs or not, can be modified by aspect and tense markers:

(a) Noun bases

em i tisa	<i>he is a teacher</i>
em i tisa pinis	{ <i>he has completed becoming a teacher</i> <i>he has finished his teacher training</i>

em i laik tisa	<i>he is about to become a teacher</i>
em i tisa i stap	<i>he continues being a teacher</i>
em i tisa nau	<i>he has just become a teacher</i>
em i save tisa	<i>he is customarily a teacher</i>
em i bin tisa	<i>he was a teacher</i>
em i tisa nating	<i>he is just a teacher</i>

(b) Verb bases

em i wokabaut	<i>he is walking</i>
em i wokabaut pinis	<i>he finished walking</i>
em i laik wokabaut	<i>he is about to walk</i>
em i wokabaut i stap	<i>he continued walking</i>
em i wokabaut nau	<i>he has just started walking</i>
em i save wokabaut	<i>he is in the habit of walking</i>
em i bin wokabaut	<i>he walked</i>
em i wokabaut nating	<i>he is just walking (aimlessly)</i>

(c) Adjective bases

em i strong	<i>he is strong</i>
em i strong pinis	<i>he has finished becoming strong = he has grown up</i>
em i laik strong	<i>he is about to become strong</i>
em i strong nau	<i>he has become strong = is strong now</i>
(bipo) em i save strong	<i>he used to be strong</i>
em i bin strong	<i>he was strong</i>
em i strong nating	<i>he is just strong (but has no other virtues)</i>

Of the two, aspect marking is of much greater importance in conservative rural Tok Pisin, though the marking of tense is increasing in importance under the impact of the English model. The past marker *bin*, for instance, which was virtually unknown in most areas 20 years ago, is vigorously present in the speech of most younger speakers and is found with many second-language speakers of the language today. There are signs, however, that its use among first-language speakers is on the decline (cf. Sankoff 1979).

Whereas tense marking is restricted to the future marker *bai* and the past marker *bin*, the number of items functioning as aspect markers in Tok Pisin is large. The members of this category fall into a number of groups and there is considerable overlapping between what have been traditionally called aspect markers and other word classes, such as adverbs and verbs.

4.4.2.4.3.2 Types of aspect marking

The most commonly used aspect markers include:

marker	function of marker
<i>i stap</i>	progressive
<i>pinis</i>	completion
<i>save</i>	habitual
<i>kirap</i>	inchoative
<i>nating</i>	frustrative
<i>traim</i>	attemptative
'repetition'	durative and iterative

In addition, certain verbs, some adverbs of time and some modals are also used. The most important aspect markers will now be discussed individually.

(a) No overt aspect marking

Verb forms without overt aspect marking usually refer to actions which are either in progress at the time of speaking or which were in progress at the point in time to which a narrative pattern refers. It is also found in the context of instructions and timeless descriptions of actions. Examples:

O sori mi hangre nogut tru	<i>Oh, I am really very hungry.</i>
mi tisa bilong ol	<i>I am their teacher</i>
Em sia bilong man ya. Orait, nogat man long dispela ples.	<i>This was a chair for people. Well, there were no people in this place.</i>
Olgeta man long dispela ples em i stap wantaim ol liklik man ya.	<i>All the people of this place stayed with those little men.</i>
Yu putim liklik wara i go long tipot, hatim liklik, kapsaitim wara long tipot i go, orait, putim lipti i go. Bihain hat- wara i kisim ti, i go i blak liklik, olsem sampela masta ol i laikim ti blak.	<i>You put a little water in the teapot and heat it up a little. Then tip out this hot water from the teapot and then put in the tea leaves. After that you pour in the hot water and leave it. The hot water brings out the tea, it blackens a little. Some Europeans like their tea black.</i>

Verb forms without overt aspect and tense marking are particularly frequent in story telling, where aspect and tense is often only signalled paragraph initially and followed by utterances without aspect or tense marking.

(b) Stap, i stap - progressive

Predicates are either followed by *i stap* or preceded by *(i) stap* to indicate actions or states which are continuous, translating English progressive forms involving a form of *to be* and a verbal form ending in *-ing*. In the case of predicates containing transitive verbs, *i stap* may follow directly after the verb:

mitupela i sindaun gris i stap	<i>we were sitting and talking</i>
meri i wokim bilum i stap	<i>the women are making stringbags</i>
dok i singaut i stap	<i>the dog is barking</i>
ol i stap toktok	<i>they are talking</i>

The use of *stap* or *i stap* implies no judgement about the length of time for which an action or state continues. If the speaker wants to indicate that an action continues for a long time, he/she can repeat either the main verb or *i stap* in postpredicative position:

ol i kaikai kaikai i stap, ol i kaikai i stap i stap	<i>they kept on eating for a long time</i>
---	--

Note that for some varieties of Tok Pisin there is a semantic difference between predicate + *i stap* and *i stap* + predicate:

... with the latter, the focus is on the action denoted by the verb, whereas with the former, the focus is on the continuous nature of the action, e.g. *em i stap toktok = he is talking, i.e. talking is what he is*

doing, em i toktok i stap = *he is talking*, i.e. *his action of talking is continuous*. (Wurm 1971a:39)

Alternative ways of expressing the progressive aspect are the use of the adverb *nau* sentence finally and the use of *wok long* followed by the predicate; *wok long* has gained considerable popularity in recent years through its use in radio broadcasts:

mi rit nau	<i>I am reading, I was reading</i>
yupela wok long harim Redio Wewak	<i>you are listening to Radio Wewak</i>
ol pipel i wok long amamas	<i>the people were rejoicing</i>

(c) *Pinis* - completion

The completion of an action is usually expressed by *pinis* following either the predicate or the main verb; it can also be expressed by *olgeta* or *olgeta pinis* following the predicate.

Typically the use of *pinis* implies that an action is irreversible and that its result is felt for some time.

ol kaunsil i kamap pinis	<i>the councillors have arrived</i>
mi laikim yu pinis	<i>I have fallen in love with you</i>
em i tok pinis	<i>he has spoken</i>
em i karamapim hul pinis	<i>he has covered up the hole</i>
kaunsil i rausim meri pinis	<i>the councillor has chased away his wife</i>
mi save pinis tok pisin	<i>I have learnt Tok Pisin/I know Tok Pisin</i>
em i go pinis long ples bilongen na em i stap olgeta	<i>he has gone back to his village for good</i>
em i tulet pinis na em i meri bilong yu nau	<i>it is too late for her to become your wife</i>

Examples of the use of *pinis* with non-verbal predicates are often translated by using certain adverbs or adjectives indicating completion:

ol nambis ol i kristen pinis	<i>the coastal dwellers are true Christians</i>
tupela i pren pinis	<i>the two are real friends</i>

Often English uses two different lexical items to translate a Tok Pisin adjective or verb with or without the completion marker. Compare:

rere pinis	<i>ready</i>	bruk pinis	<i>broken</i>
(laik) rere	<i>prepare oneself</i>	(laik) bruk	<i>disintegrating</i>
hat pinis	<i>hot</i>	hepi pinis	<i>satisfied</i>
(laik) hat	<i>heating up</i>	(laik) hepi	<i>getting pleased</i>
bik pinis	<i>big</i>	lus pinis	<i>lost</i>
(laik) bik	<i>growing big</i>	(laik) lus	<i>loosen (v.intr.)</i>
kela pinis	<i>bald</i>		
(laik) kela	<i>getting bald</i>		

The use of intransitive verbs + pinis can often be translated by a passive construction in English. However, this does not mean that Tok Pisin possesses anything like a formal passive construction, since the agent cannot be expressed overtly.

A case illustrating this is what has been referred to by B.A. Hooley (1962: 118) as the passive transformation in Tok Pisin. Hooley wants to derive sentences such as *glas i bruk the thermometer is broken* from *em i brukim glas he breaks the thermometer*. He also points out that in Tok Pisin sentences of the structure N i V can have both 'middle' and 'passive' meaning and are therefore ambiguous.

It appears, however, that sentences such as *glas i bruk* are not the result of any passive transformation. Instead the presence of certain aspect markers stresses certain aspects of the meaning of the verbs involved. A better translation of *the thermometer is broken* would be *glas i bruk pinis*. Compare:

kaikai i redi pinis	<i>the dinner is prepared</i>
mani i lus pinis	<i>the money is lost</i>
wara i hat pinis	<i>the water is heated up</i>

with

em i rediim kaikai i stap	<i>he is preparing the dinner</i>
em i bin lusim mani	<i>he lost the money</i>
em i wok long hatim wara	<i>he is heating water</i>

and

kaikai i laik redi	<i>the dinner is almost ready</i>
mani i laik lus	<i>the money is about to be lost</i>
wara i wok long hat	<i>the water is heating</i>

A more detailed linguistic argument against the passive transformation in Tok Pisin is given by Woolford (1979a:97-106).

(d) Save - habitual action

Predicates preceded by *save* denote actions which are performed habitually as in:

ol tumbuna bilong mipela i save kaikai man	<i>our ancestors used to eat humans</i>
long taim bilong malolo mipela i save raun long taun	<i>we often stroll in the town in our leisure time</i>
dispela man i save draiwa bilong mipela	<i>this man usually does the driving for us</i>
dispela pikinini bilong diwai skin bilongen i save braun	<i>this fruit whose skin is usually brown</i>
mi no save kaikai buai	<i>I am not in the habit of chewing betelnut</i>
dispela bokis i save gat rais insait longen	<i>this container usually has rice inside it</i>
planti saveman i save seksek long meri i no gat save	<i>many educated men fall in love with uneducated women</i>

(e) Kirap, kirap na - inchoative

In opposition to the aspect markers treated so far, kirap shares all the properties of real verbs, and its occurrence as an aspect marker can be regarded, syntactically, as an instance of verbal concatenation. Kirap directly preceding other verbs indicates actions which are being at the time referred to in the sentence in which it occurs, e.g.:

kiap i kirap wokabaut	<i>the patrol officer began to walk = set out on his journey</i>
tupela wokman i kirap wokim baret	<i>the two workers began to dig a trench</i>
narapela i kirap na tok	<i>another one began to talk</i>

In Urban Tok Pisin *stat to start* is frequently used in the place of kirap, as in:

ol i stat singsing nau	<i>they started to celebrate</i>
------------------------	----------------------------------

(f) Nating - frustrative mood (purposeless action)

In the discussion of nating as a postnominal modifier the contextual nature of this particular element was illustrated. The same context dependency can also be observed in those cases where nating appears after verbs or verb phrases. Its most common meaning is *for no obvious purpose* or *in vain*, as in:

Mi no bin kam painim meri long pati. Mi kam nating tasol.	<i>I haven't come to find a girl at the party. I just dropped in.</i>
Mi no laik wok nating. Mi laikim mani ya.	<i>I don't want to work for nothing. I want money.</i>
Em i les nating.	<i>He is just lazy.</i>
Ol i no bin kisim pik. Ol i bihainim lek bilongen nating.	<i>They didn't catch a pig. They just followed its trail without any result.</i>

(g) Traim - attemptative

Traim (often spelled traaim) is used in a way which allows its syntactic interpretation as either a full verb appearing in verbal concatenation or as a verbal marker. This double status can be seen from its position in utterances. It is found either directly preceding the main verb or at the end of a predicate, sometimes even directly after the main verb. This is brought out clearly in Dutton's treatment (1973:220f):

... depending on circumstances traaim may alternatively be placed after the verb or the object but this is less acceptable if the objects of the sentences are pronouns or long phrases, e.g.,

Yu bautim traaim dispela longpela kanu.	<i>Try to turn this long canoe around.</i>
Yu bautim dispela longpela kanu i traaim.	<i>Try to turn this long canoe around.</i>
*Yu bautim dispela long- pela kanu i stap long hap i traaim.	<i>Try to turn that long canoe around that is up there.</i>

*Yu bautim traim em. *Try to turn it around.*

Yu traim bautim em. *Try to turn it around.*

Apart from the uses listed by Dutton the constructions traim long + V and traim na + V are also found:

Ol Pele i traim long wokim mani. *The members of the Pele Association are trying to make money.*

Yu traim na wokim olosem. *Try and do it like this.*

Yupela papamama plis traim na larim em i ken i stap long skul. *You parents must please try and let her stay at school.*

Yupela ol tisa i mas traim na i no ken mekim dispela pasin. *You teachers must try not to behave in this way.*

(h) Repetition of verb or predicate - durative

The idea of duration is often implicit in the use of the progressive marker i stap. However, the idea of duration can be reinforced by repetition of:

a) either the durative marker i stap (occasionally i go):

em i sindaun i stap i stap *he lived there for a long time*

ol i pait i go i go i go *{they fought for a long time
they were fighting a long time*

b) the main verb:

ol i tingting tingting *they kept thinking*
ol i sutim sutim pik *they kept shooting pigs*

c) the main verb plus predicate marker:

dispela meri i tok i tok *this woman talks and talks*

d) the whole predicate, often including the predicate marker:

em ol kanaka sutim ol sutim *these indigenes kept shooting at them*

ol i singsing nabaut i singsing nabaut *they kept celebrating*

4.4.2.4.3.3 Adverbs gen and nau used as aspect markers

(a) Gen - action repeated

Verbs or predicates followed by gen express that an action is repeated once "usually after the elapse of some time" (Wurm 1971a:42):

Mi wok wan yia. Mi go bek long ples. Mi go gen long Rabaul. *I worked for a year, then I went to my village and afterwards I returned to Rabaul.*

The various positions in which gen may occur, as well as some uncertainty as to its correct position, can be seen in the following extract from a story by a speaker from Manus:

Mi wok pinis, mi kalap gen
 long sip. Mi boskru long sip.
 Mi wok raun, mi go, kam bek,
 mi stap gen. Mi kalap gen
 long sua gen. Mi wok gen long
 haus lemonet gen.

*Having finished my contract I
 boarded a ship again and became a
 member of the crew. I went to work
 in various places and returned. I
 stayed again. I disembarked again.
 I worked in the lemonade factory
 again.*

(b) Nau - actions just started

Although nau can correspond to English *now* in certain contexts, it typically refers to the nature of an action rather than to the time at which it takes place, and is therefore often found in narratives referring to the past. Note the following remarks by Wurm (1971a:41):

It may be mentioned at this point that in Pidgin, the aspects of the verb are a primary feature, and the tenses a secondary one. In other words, the tense markers (or adverbs of time, or the context), place a verb whose exact nature has been determined by aspect markers accompanying it, into a point of time which bears some definite relation (i.e. earlier, later, a short time later, etc.) to the time level which is central in a narration or situation. Because of the differences of the basic structures of English and Pidgin, this functional supremacy of the aspects over the tenses in Pidgin is often not clearly evident from the English translations of Pidgin sentences. The reason for mentioning this here instead of at the beginning of the section on Aspect and Tense is the fact that the aspect indicated by Verb + nau bears particularly clear evidence of this hierarchy, and of the difficulty of rendering it clearly in idiomatic English translations. This may therefore be the best moment for introducing the linguistically unsophisticated reader to this problem. An example will make the problem clear: mi laik go nau which is best rendered in idiomatic English by *I have just decided to go away soon*. In actual fact, the Pidgin sentence can be analysed semantically as follows:

go nau indicates an action of going away which has just started; putting laik before this places this action into the near future; in consequence, mi laik go nau means literally: *soon the situation will prevail in which I have just started going away*.

It remains to be seen just how far such finer points of grammar are universally found in Tok Pisin and to what extent they just reflect substratum influence from languages spoken in a certain area.

4.4.2.4.3.4 Modal verbs

Modal verbs serve to indicate certain modalities of verbal actions. They typically precede the main verb or the central element of a non-verbal predicate. The following modal verbs are found in Tok Pisin:

ken	<i>can</i>
laik	<i>to want</i>
mas	<i>must</i>
nap, inap	<i>to be able</i>
no ken	} <i>must not</i>
mas no ken	
save	<i>to be able</i>

(a) Ken - permission

Ken preceding predicates indicates permission, and sometimes a weaker notion of possibility:

yu ken i kam	{ <i>you can come (permission)</i> <i>it is possible for you to come</i>
yu ken raitim olsem wanem?	<i>how do you spell it?</i>
mi bikpela man mi ken maritim popela meri	<i>I am an important person, I can marry four women</i>

Most varieties of the language do not have a separate construction of the form ken + i + verb to signal definite future, reported for some Highlands varieties by Wurm (1971a:48). In most cases, the distinction between possibility, permission and futurity is difficult to maintain, as demonstrated by the following examples:

Wok bilong mi i kamap gutpela tumas, orait ol i ken makim mi long kaunsil.	<i>If my business turns out really well the people can (will, are likely to) appoint me as a councillor.</i>
Sapos i trupela, orait kaunsil i ken harim, sapos i giaman, mi ken pinisim.	<i>If it is true, the councillor will (can) hear it, if it is untrue, I shall (can) put an end to it.</i>

Negation of ken in the form of no ken is also used as in the case of mas *must*. However, in many contexts the negation of ken does not imply prohibition by a person but rather by circumstances, as in the following examples:

ren i pasim ol long ol i no ken kam	<i>the rain made it impossible for them to come</i>
dispela bris i no nap long man i ken wokabout longen	<i>this bridge is not suitable for people to walk on</i>

(b) Laik - *to desire, wish*

A number of variants of this form are used in Tok Pisin. The form most commonly used is laik + V without an intervening predicate marker. Predicate marker i follows, however, if laik is followed by go *to go*, kam *to come*, stap *to stay* and nap *to be able*. For example:

mi laik wokabout	<i>I want to walk</i>
mi laik i go	<i>I want to go</i>

For some varieties of Tok Pisin a distinction is made between laik + V and laik + i + V, the first form indicating near future, the latter desire (cf. Wurm 1971a:51-52). For instance:

dispela meri i laik karim pikinini	<i>this woman is about to give birth to a child</i>
---------------------------------------	---

mi laik i karim pikinini *I want to carry your child*
 bilong yu

Laikim instead of laik is occasionally found:

mi laikim dring bia *I want to drink beer*

Constructions of the form laik + long + V have also been recorded by the present author:

em i laik long kisim em *he wants to get hold of it*

(c) Mas - *must* (obligation)

Mas is followed by a predicate marker if it introduces the verbs i go *go*, i kam *come*, i stap *stay* and i nap *able*. In all other cases it is followed directly by the verb stem. For example:

yu yet mas mekim gutpela *you must behave well*
 sindaun

ol i mas stap wet long mun i *they must wait until the moon*
 lait *shines*

mipela mas i go nau *we have to go now*

maski long boi i no laik, papa- *whether the boy likes it or not,*
 mama i mas strong *the parents must insist*

mama i mas i go nau *mother has to go now*

ol i mas bihainim tok bilong *they must obey the orders of the*
 ol gavman tasol *government*

yupela i mas traim lusim *you must try to get rid of this*
 dispela pasin *custom*

The negation of mas can be performed in a number of ways, and considerable variation is found here. Although mas can be negated by a preceding no, this construction is relatively uncommon, and often expresses that someone is not under a direct obligation to do something, rather than a complete prohibition (cf. Wurm 1971a:51 and Dutton 1973:187). For example:

Mipela i no mas i gat kainkain *We should not have such thoughts.*
 tingting olosem.

Usually prohibition is expressed by no ken or mas no ken:

yu no ken wari tumas long ol *don't think too much about*
 meri *girls*

ol meri i mas noken putim sot- *girls must not wear short skirts*
 pela siket

It appears that the form mas no ken is preferred for expressing a strong prohibition, whereas simple no ken refers to a weaker prohibition.

(d) Nap, inap - physical ability

Ability to carry out a physical action can be expressed by placing inap or nap before predicates. Sometimes i or long is found between the modal verb and the main verb.

powil i nap long ron long dis- *a four-wheel drive vehicle can*
 pela hanrot *negotiate this side track*

i no gat ren olsem ol i no inap *there has been no rain and they*
waswas gut *are unable to have a proper bath*

In the past the distinction between inap on the one hand and save and ken on the other has often been compared to the distinction between *savoir* and *pouvoir* in French. However, this would seem to be a gross oversimplification of what is actually found in Tok Pisin. So far, the exact conditions underlying the choice of either of these three verbs has not been fully understood and an explanation may well involve a speaker's first language. Thus, the use of inap in the following example clearly does not contain any reference to physical ability:

mipela i no inap long sanapim *it is not proper for us to propose*
pasindiaman long vot *a 'gatecrasher' as a candidate*

(e) Save - ability

Save followed by a verb may express competence in the sense of knowing how to do something. This construction is closely related to the case in which save indicates an habitual action:

In fact the two constructions are closely related in that one gains one's competence to perform an action from having performed it regularly or habitually. In some sentences both senses are one and the same, e.g.:

Yu save wokim haus. *{ Do you regularly build houses?*
 Do you know how to build houses?
(Dutton 1973:75)

Because of its ambiguity this construction is little used. Instead, preference is given to analytic constructions such as:

mi gat save long ritrait *I know how to read and write*
mi save pinis long wok tisa *I know how to teach*
mi save pasin bilong raitim pas *I know how to write a letter*

4.4.2.4.3.5 Tense markers

Tense indication in Tok Pisin was traditionally achieved by introducing sentences or even paragraphs by certain time adverbs such as *baimbai* *by-and-by* or *bipo* *before*. Such adverbials tended to govern the tense of larger stretches of utterance.

In recent years, however, some drastic changes have taken place, and Tok Pisin is at present developing a compulsory tense system. Not only has tense become obligatory for many younger speakers but, at the same time, the grammatical status of tense indicators has shifted from free adverbials to preverbal particles.

A detailed study of the behaviour of the future-tense marker *bai* has been made by Sankoff and Laberge (1973:32-47), whilst Sankoff (1979) presents some information on the past marker *bin*.

(a) Futurity

A number of adverbs and auxiliary verbs are sometimes used to express the idea of futurity, including:

ken + i + v	for definite future
laik + v	for near future
klosap	for very near future
nau	for immediate future

A fuller discussion of these four items is found in Wurm 1971a:48. This set can be supplemented by some additional adverbs of time implying the idea of futurity, including:

baimbai	<i>probable future event</i>
tumora	<i>tomorrow or the next day</i>
bihain	<i>afterwards</i>

From this long list of items, bai, the shortened form of baimbai, has come to fulfil the function of a future marker for most present-day Tok Pisin speakers, though the diachronic development which has led to the change in status of baimbai can still be observed synchronically. These changes have been described by Sankoff and Laberge (1973:36) as follows:

1. its reduction from baimbai to bai (a change which has almost gone to completion, baimbai being rare in current usage);
2. its loss of obligatory stress;
3. its occurrence with adverbs having a future meaning, e.g.
 - (3) klostu bai i dai *soon he will die*;
 - (4) bihain bai i kambek gen *later it will come back again*;
4. its apparent tendency to be placed next to the main verb, after the subject, rather than at the beginning of the sentence or in pre-subject position.

It must be pointed out that these changes do not necessarily take place in the above order and that coexistence of earlier and later patterns is often found in the same speech event. This is particularly true of the position which bai occupies in the sentence. For instance:

bai kantri bilong yumi bai bagarap	<i>our country will be ruined</i>
sapos yupela i tok olosem bai husat tru bai mekim ol wok ol meri i save mekim?	<i>if you argue like that, who will do the job which women are doing now?</i>

It appears that, whereas bai directly preceding the verb has become a future marker, bai at the beginning of sentences often refers to the notion of 'event taking place after another event'. In this meaning bai can assume the status of a conjunction.

(b) Past

Past in Tok Pisin can be expressed by means of a number of sentence-initial adverbials such as bipo *in earlier times*, long taim bilong tumbuna *when our ancestors lived*, and asde *yesterday, the previous day*.

Such time adverbials are often supplemented by bin, immediately preceding the verb. Though bin is derived from English *been*, its semantic function is that of indicating a general past. The idea of completion may or may not be implied and a combination of bin and pinis can be used to indicate both past tense and completion. The use of time adverbials together with bin in the same utterance indicates that bin is frequently redundant. This redundancy in the use of bin can be compared with that found by Sankoff and Laberge (1973) for the future marker bai.

I shall conclude this section with some examples of the use of the past marker:

mipela i bin gat tupela eleksen pinis	<i>we have had two elections already</i>
mi yet mi bin harim dispela tok	<i>I myself have heard this story</i>
long Septemba 1970 i bin gat wanpela bikpela pati	<i>there was a big party in September 1970</i>
long las mun mi bin winim pom tu bilong mi	<i>last month I successfully completed form II</i>
mi bin ritim dispela pas bilong yu na mi gat sori long yu ya	<i>I read your letter and I felt sorry for you</i>

(c) Present

Present tense in Tok Pisin is expressed by using the unmarked forms of the verb. A number of aspect markers, such as the progressive marker, typically accompany such verb forms.

The idea of present can also be reinforced by certain adverbs of time such as *tete today*.

4.4.2.4.3.6 Combination of tense markers, aspect markers and modals

Predicates in Tok Pisin can often be modified with a number of different modals, tense and aspect markers. Some remarks on possible combinations can be found in Wurm 1971a:49,46-47, though a complete analysis of all possible combinations and their semantic implications is not available at present. Such an analysis is outside the scope of the present handbook and I shall restrict myself to listing a few examples, some of which are very complex:

i gat wanpela olupela toktok i stap i kam i nap nau tu i stap yet	<i>there is an old saying which has been handed down to the present day and still exists</i>
i bin save i gat planti pait i stap long dispela hap	<i>there used to be many fights in this area</i>
ol man i spak long hotel na kirap laik pait	<i>the men got drunk at the hotel and began to prepare themselves for a fight</i>

Whilst such complex examples are occasionally found, many of them reflect the advanced grammars of individuals rather than a shared social grammar of the language.

4.4.2.5 Multiple verb sentences

A common sentence construction in Tok Pisin is one in which two or more verbs occur in succession. This phenomenon is referred to as verbal chaining, verbal concatenation or verbal serialisation. The same phenomenon is documented

for a number of other pidgins and creoles as well as many languages with no obvious pidgin history.

A useful distinction is that between verb serialisation proper and other types of verbal chaining (cf. Woolford 1979a:91). In the former case we are dealing with two verbs and an intermediate noun such that the noun is the object of the first and the subject of the second verb, as in:

em i katim diwai pundaun *he cut the tree and it fell down*

In the latter case the subject of both the first and the second verb is identical, as in:

em i stil lukluk long ol meri *he hid and observed the bathing*
i waswas *women*

Such cases can be regarded as reduced conjoined sentences, as has been done by Wurm (1971a:65) and Dutton (1973:233).

Sentences containing more than one verb are crucial to the grammar of Tok Pisin. They provide yet another way to make up for the scarcity of lexical bases in the lexicon of this language. The remark made by Wickware in 1943 (p.116) is still very valid today: "It frequently requires two verbs in pidgin to do the job of one in English. Thus *pull it down* becomes pull im he come down and stop *the machine* is makeim die machine."

No full analysis of verbal chaining in Tok Pisin has been made, partly because it is a fairly recent phenomenon and further data collecting is called for. The classification presented here is strictly preliminary to a scientific analysis of the phenomenon.

VC program 1: N_1 i mekim N_2 i V = N_1 causes N_2 to do V

The causative construction would seem to deserve special mention. It is widely found even among older speakers. Its linguistic status is discussed by Edmondson and Mühlhäusler (forthcoming). Examples include:

yu mekim indai lait *extinguish the light!*
wok i mekim les skin bilong mi *the work tires my body*

If the intermediate noun is pronominalised it appears in a position between the two verbs of the chain as in:

wok i mekim mi i les *the work tires me*

VC program 2: causatives with verbs other than mekim

We are dealing here with a more recent development, with the exception of verbs followed by the direction markers i kam 'direction towards speaker' and i go 'direction away from speaker'. Examples are:

kaunsil i toksave long ol man *the councillor informed the men*
brata bilongen i kilim indai *he killed his brother*
brata bilongen
ol i brukim pundaun dispela bet *they broke the shelf and it fell*
down
yu kikim raus dispela dok *kick out the dog!*
yu tanim i go long pes gia *put it into first gear*

yu bringim hatwara i kam *bring the soup*
 kisim baket pipia i go *take away the dustbin*

Whereas verb serialisation is limited to two verbs, the looser types of verbal chains often contain three or more verbs, as in:

dispela wara i kalap i kam i go *this water went to and fro*
 dispela pik i ran i kam ran i *this pig went to and fro*
 go stret
 mipela i laik kisim pilai i go *we wanted to get the moon, play*
 putim mun long dispela diwai *with it and put it near this tree*

The following subclasses can be distinguished:

VC program 3: $(V_{\text{lint}} + V_{2\text{int}}) V_{\text{int}} \rightarrow V_{\text{lint}} \text{ na } V_{2\text{int}}$
to carry out an action V_1/V_2 whilst being in a state V_2/V_1

This type of verbal chaining involves a relatively small number of intransitive verb bases including *stil* 'to be hidden', *tok* 'to speak', *wok* 'to be busy', as well as those denoting location or movement which are followed by both basic and derived intransitive verbals. The intransitive verb bases *stil*, *tok*, etc. act either as a kind of classifier of verbal actions or correspond to adverbials in English. This construction is extremely productive, and changes in semantic information are rare. Notes on this type of verb serialisation can be found in Wurm 1971a:65-66 and Dutton 1973:233. Examples include:

stil lukluk¹ *to peep, look without being noticed*
stil puspus *to have illicit sexual intercourse*
stil pait *to attack without being seen*
lap indai *to die of laughter*
spak indai *to be dead drunk*
slip indai *to sleep like a log*
tok sori *to talk sadly, express sympathy*
tok singsing *to recite in a singing voice*
tok kros *to express one's anger in words*
toktok resis *to dispute, have an argument*
wok bung *to be cooperative*
wok raun *to be an itinerant worker*
go popaia *to miss the target*
ron spit *to run speedily*

mipela i ronewe i daun *we ran away in a downward direction*
soldia i sambai redi *the soldier stood to attention*

VC program 4: $(V_{\text{lint}} + V_{2\{\text{tr}\}_{\text{caus}}}) V_{\text{tr}} \rightarrow V_{\text{lint}} \text{ na } V_{2\{\text{tr}\}_{\text{caus}}}$ wantaim
to carry out two actions (simultaneously)

This program differs from the previous one in that the second verbal in the chain is transitive or causative; the interpretation of the verb series is 'doing s.th. whilst being engaged in $V_{2\text{tr}}$ ', as in:

tok hapim *to abbreviate, cut a speech short*
tok hamarim *to attack with words*
tok nogutim *to insult verbally*

hariap givim	<i>to give speedily</i>
giaman wokim	<i>to pretend to make</i>
giaman paitim	<i>to pretend to hit</i>
stil harim	<i>to eavesdrop</i>
stil lukim	<i>to spy on</i>

Examples are:

dipatmen i no hariap givim pe long ol	<i>the department doesn't hurry to pay them</i>
em i sindaun wok long sapim ston	<i>he sat down and sharpened a stone</i>

In a number of cases the second verb is most readily translated as a preposition in English, as in:

Tok Pisin	literal meaning	gloss
pisin i plai raunim diwai	<i>the bird flew went around the tree</i>	<i>the bird flew around the tree</i>
Bougainville i laik bruk lusim Papua New Guinea	<i>Bougainville is about to break leave Papua New Guinea</i>	<i>Bougainville is about to secede from Papua New Guinea</i>
em i winim ol arapela man long wokabaut brukim bus	<i>he surpasses the other men at walking breaking the bush</i>	<i>he surpasses the other men at walking through the bush</i>

VC program 5: $(V_{1tr} + V_{2tr}) V_{tr} \rightarrow V_{1tr} na V_{2tr}$ sampela man/samting (wantaim)
to V_{1tr} and V_{2tr} s.o. or s.th. (simultaneously)

This program applies in those instances where the subject and the object of both transitive verbals are identical. Most of these verbal chains are phrase-level lexical items, though some word-level items including *luksave to see and know = to recognise*,² *smelsave to smell and know = to recognise by smell* and *bilipsave to believe and know = to know by belief*, were found. Other examples include:

lainim soim	<i>to explain by demonstration</i>
holim pasim	<i>to hold and obstruct, arrest</i>
kotim pasim	<i>to arrest by court order</i>
holim kalabusim	<i>to arrest and imprison</i>
tokim bekim	<i>to reply to</i>
harim save	<i>to recognise from hearing</i>
smelim save	<i>to recognise from smelling</i>
senisim givim	<i>to trade, barter with</i>

Again, some of the verbal chains correspond to verb and preposition constructions in English. An example is the expression of the benefactive preposition *with* by means of the verb *givim*³ *to give*, as in:

yu yet i mas helpim givim mani	<i>you must support the catechists with</i>
long ol katekis long ronim wok	<i>money to enable them to do the work</i>
bilang ol lotu	<i>of the churches</i>

A group of chained verbs, which in earlier accounts of Tok Pisin has not been recognised as such but has been treated as either simple lexical bases or verbal compounds of the type $(V + \text{adv}) V$, is that which includes *holim apim*⁴ *to*

hold up, *haisim apim to hoist*, *bringim apim to bring up*, *invent*, *painim autim to find out*, *reveal*, *skelim autim to deal out*, *digim autim to dig up* and similar ones. This group contrasts with superficially similar but structurally different verbals such as *bagarapim to bugger up*, *ruin*, *hariapim to speed up*, and *poinimautim to point out*.

Instances of genuine verbal chaining can be identified by the fact that the second verb in the chain can be repeated after the object in its intransitive base form, as in:

liptim apim bokis i ap	<i>lift the box</i>
holim apim pepa i ap	<i>hold up the poster</i>
husat i telim autim tok i aut?	<i>who spilled the secret?</i>
ol i skelim autim kas i aut	<i>they dealt the cards</i>

The ungrammaticality of the examples containing lexical items of the second group confirms that one is dealing with simple lexical items and not with verbal chaining. Compare:

*em i poinimautim asua i aut	<i>he pointed out the mistake</i>
*em i pilimapim meri i ap	<i>he fondled the girl</i>
*em i karamapim bodi i ap	<i>they covered the body</i>
*ol i goapim diwai i ap	<i>they climbed the tree</i>

It is hoped that more work on verb serialisation in Tok Pisin will be done soon, for this phenomenon not only provides a challenging area for the descriptive linguist but is also valuable for the practical purpose of language planning. Verb serialisation must be regarded as one of the main mechanisms by which a small lexicon, particularly a small list of verb stems, can be made to go a long way.

4.4.2.6 Variations in the structure of basic sentences

4.4.2.6.1 Introduction

The discussion of basic sentences has so far been concerned with optional additions to minimal structures. In the following section we shall be concerned mainly with the rearrangement of the elements featured in basic sentences. However, no strict division between rearrangement and addition can be made in practice, since syntactic operations often make use of both mechanisms for certain semantic or stylistic purposes.

4.4.2.6.2 Relationship between attributive and predicative adjectives

Tok Pisin, like many other pidgins, possesses only a very small number of attributive adjectives. Most of them can be shifted to a predicative position without change in meaning, as in:

mi lukim bikpela man	<i>I saw a fat man</i>
becoming	
mi lukim man i bikpela	<i>I saw a fat man</i>

When a noun is preceded by more than one adjective it is customary to shift one to the predicative position. Thus:

ol i lukim longpela grinpela *they saw a long green python*
 moran
 can become
 ol i lukim grinpela moran i longpela
 or ol i lukim longpela moran i grin

Alternatively, the use of more than one prenominal adjective at a time is avoided by repeating the noun, as in:

em i lukim wangepa gutpela meri, *he saw a good, young and beautiful*
 yangpela meri, naispela meri, *girl with very brown skin*
 skin bilongen ret mo

Another factor favouring the shift of adjectives to a predicative position is when they are modified by an adverb. Thus:

mi lukim gutpela tru meri *I saw a nice woman*
 is less common than
 mi lukim meri i gutpela tru
 or mi lukim gutpela meri tru

Consider also the following cases involving two attributive adjectives plus an adverbial modifier:

*mi laikim gutpela strongpela tru bia
 *mi laikim gutpela strongpela bia tru
 mi laikim gutpela bia i strongpela tru
I like good really strong beer.

4.4.2.6.3 Periphrastic forms involving nominalisation of adjectives or verbs

A common operation in Tok Pisin syntax is one in which adjectives and verbs are replaced by periphrastic constructions consisting of an auxiliary verb and an abstract noun derived from the original adjective/verb. This process is governed by the following conventions:

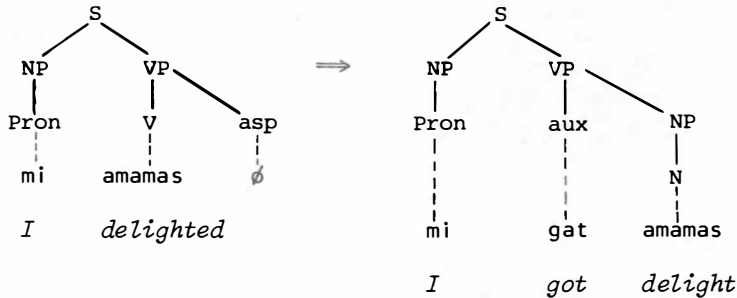
(a) Transitive verb bases which can occur without the transitivity marker -im (subclass 3 above) yield abstract nouns not ending in -im. Transitivity is expressed by means of the preposition long. Compare:

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

(b) Transitive verb bases which never occur without the transitivity marker -im (subclass 1) retain the -im in the derived abstract noun. If transitivity is to be expressed in the periphrastic form, long has to be used. Compare:

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

Using a tree diagram the structural change can be symbolised as follows:



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

The following correspondences can be established:

aspect marker used with adjective or verb base	auxiliary selected in syntactic derivation	function
wok long + adj/V	mekim + N	performative
laik + adj/V	painim + N	inchoative
∅ + adj/V	gat + N	neutral

Consider the following examples:

(a) mekim *to make*

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

(b) painim *to experience*

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

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

(c) gat *to get, become*

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

mi kros	mi gat kros	<i>I am angry</i>
mi les	mi gat les	<i>I am tired</i>
klos i doti	klos i gat doti	<i>the garment is dirty</i>

(d) Notes on other auxiliaries

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

mi tenkyu long yu	mi givim tenkyu long yu	<i>I thanked you</i>
mi stiaim yu	mi givim stia long yu	<i>I give guidance to you</i>
mi blesim yu	mi givim blesim long yu	<i>I blessed you</i>
mi helpim yu	mi givim helpim long yu	<i>I helped you</i>

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

em i <i>kisim</i> stia long mi	<i>he received guidance from me</i>
em i <i>kisim</i> blesim long Pater	<i>he received a blessing from the priest</i>

If the benefactor is identical with the recipient *kisim* is used, as in:

mi <i>kisim</i> waswas	<i>I wash myself</i>
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Periphrastic constructions can be regarded as stylistic variants in some cases and as determined by certain structural properties of sentences in others. Generally speaking, the periphrastic forms are preferred if the predicative adjectives or verbs are to be modified by adverbial complements, as in the following:

- (a) olgeta manmeri i amamas
 olgeta manmeri i gat amamas *the people are happy*
 olgeta manmeri i gat bikipela amamas
 *olgeta manmeri i amamas bik *the people are very happy*
- (b) ol i kivung
 ol i mekim kivung *they came together*
 ol i mekim draipela kivung
 *ol i kivung drai *they came together in large numbers*
- (c) em bai i sori
 em bai i gat sori *he will be sorry*
 em bai i gat bikipela sori
 *em bai i sori bik *he will be very sorry*

4.4.2.6.4 Focalising by extraposition

For the purpose of stressing certain constituents of a sentence a number of mechanisms can be used, the addition of emphasis markers such as *em* and *ya* being the most common one. Extra emphasis can be placed on the objects of transitive sentences by shifting them to sentence-initial position, as in the following examples:

tok yu harim?	<i>can you hear what I have to say?</i>
save na longlong nambisman i gat na hailans i gat	<i>as regards intelligence and stupidity, they are found both among coastal people and Highlanders</i>
wanpela samting mi kros bai yupela i nap prinim?	<i>will you print something that makes me really angry?</i>
wanem samting yu laikim?	<i>what do you want?</i>
skin bilongen bai yumi sori longen	<i>we shall be sorry for him</i>

4.4.2.6.5 Questions

Some remarks on questions have already been made in the sections on the verbal paradigm and interrogative adverbs.

Yes/no questions are different from statements only with regard to their intonation. Wh-questions are marked by the use of interrogative pronouns or interrogative adverbs; the preferred word order is that of statements:

Husat i wantok bilong yu?	<i>Who is your mate?</i>
Yu laikim wanem samting?	<i>What do you want?</i>

Interrogative pronouns and adverbs can be shifted to sentence-initial position for emphasis. If interrogative adverbials appear in this position they are joined to the rest of the sentence by means of *na*.

Wanem samting yu laikim?	<i>What do you want?</i>
Olsem wanem na ol man i hambak nabaut?	<i>How come the men are playing up?</i>

The introducers of impatient questions - *watpo?* *why the hell?* and *westap?* *where the hell?* - appear sentence initially only.

Westap pikinini bilong mi?	<i>Where the hell is my child?</i>
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4.4.2.6.6 Reflexive pronominalisation

Reflexivisation is required in those cases where the subject and object of simple sentences are coreferential. If this condition is met, the object noun is replaced by a reflexive pronoun. For example:

Man ya i paitim man ya	<i>This man hit himself</i>
becomes	
Man ya i paitim em yet	
*Yu laikim yu	<i>You're fond of yourself</i>
becomes	
Yu laikim yu yet	

Among fluent younger speakers of Tok Pisin the use of the simple transitive verbs to signal reflexivity is becoming common. Examples are:

kapul i hangamapim long tel	<i>the tree kangaroo hangs itself up</i>
bilong em yet	<i>by means of its own tail</i>
man ya i wasim	<i>the man washed himself</i>

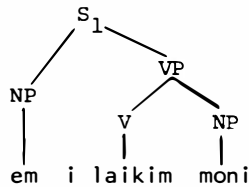
4.4.3 MULTIPLE-BASED SENTENCES

4.4.3.1 Introduction

In this section I shall discuss sentences which can be described as the combination of two or more simple sentences. Though multiple conjoining and embedding is found in Tok Pisin, its occurrence is rare and the discussion will therefore centre around double-based sentences, i.e. those containing two sentences.

A major distinction can be made between conjoined and embedded sentences, the main difference being that, in embedding, one sentence becomes part of another, i.e. it functions as a constituent of another sentence, whereas with conjoining both sentences retain their independence. Let me illustrate this with some examples:

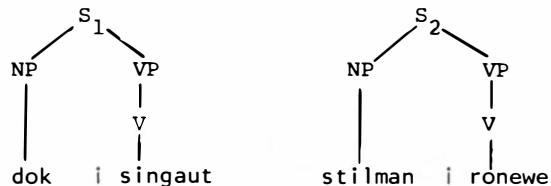
(a)



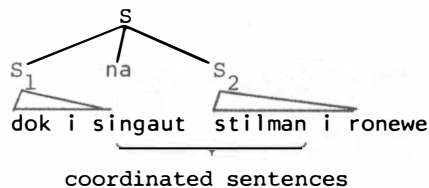
(b)



(c)



(d)



It can be seen easily that, when comparing (a) with (b), the sentence *ol meri i mas pasim sotpela siket* *the girls must wear mini skirts* in (b) has taken the place of the object noun *moni* *money* in (a). The sentences in (d) on the other hand each maintain their independent status.

4.4.3.2 Conjoining

Tok Pisin sentences are conjoined by means of the coordinating conjunctions *na* *and*, *o* *or* and *tasol* *but*. In some varieties of Tok Pisin, particularly among older speakers, there is only a single coordinating conjunction *nau* *and*, *or*.

4.4.3.2.1 na and

The most elementary case is that of two sentences in sequence being joined by na without any structural change:

Tupela kar i bam na wanpela *Two cars collided and one woman
meri i kisim bagarap. was seriously hurt.*

However, under certain conditions structural changes may occur. First, we find pronominalisation if there is coreferentiality between either the subjects or the objects of the conjoined sentences:

Man i kam na man i sindaun.
becomes
Man i kam na em i sindaun. *The man came and he sat down.*

Lapun i lukim pik na lapun i
kisim bunara bilongen.
becomes
Lapun i lukim pik na em i kisim *The old man saw the pig and he got
bunara bilongen. his bow and arrows.*

Papa i krosim pikinini na mama
i paitim pikinini.
becomes
Papa i krosim pikinini na mama *The father is angry with the child
i paitim em. and the mother hits him.*

Ol man i baim buai na ol man i
kaikai buai.
becomes
Ol man i baim buai na ol i *The men bought betelnuts and
kaikai em. chewed them.*

Apart from pronominalisation, coreferentiality can trigger off a number of structural reduction processes, resulting in structures resembling simple sentences:

(a) Identity of subjects

A conjoined sentence can be reduced to a number of shorter ones:

man i kam na i sindaun *the man came and the man sat down*
man i kam na sindaun *the man came and sat down*
man i kam sindaun *the man came (and) sat down*

A comprehensive account of the subtle semantic differences which typically result from such reduction can be found in Wurm 1971a:65-66.

(b) Identity of predicate

If the predicates of two sentences are identical, a simple sentence containing a conjoined subject results:

Ol Ostrelia i gat mani na ol
Amerika i gat mani.
becomes
Ol Ostrelia na ol Amerika i *The Australians and Americans have
gat mani. money.*

Ol snek i save kaikai man na
ol dok i save kaikai man.

becomes

Ol snek na ol dok i save
kaikai man.

Snakes and dogs bite people.

Identity of predicates can also result in another structure containing the adverb *tu too* either sentence finally or after the subject:

Mi hangri na meri bilong mi i
hangri.

becomes

Mi hangri na meri bilong mi tu.
or Mi na meri bilong mi tu
(mitupela) i hangri.

I and my wife are hungry.

Pikinini i lukim snek na brata
bilongen i lukim snek.

becomes

Pikinini i lukim snek na brata
bilongen tu.
or Pikinini na brata bilongen tu
i lukim snek.

*The child and his/her brother/sister
saw the snake.*

(c) Identity of object

Identity of object alone does not normally result in contraction in Tok Pisin. Compare the following sentence and its English translation:

Man i paitim birua na poroman
bilongen i taimapim.

*The man punched and his companion
tied up the victim.*

(d) Identity of both verb and subject

In this case neither the verb nor the nominal subject has to be repeated in the surface structure. Thus:

Em i kisim ti. Em i kisim
rais. Em i kisim suga samting.

*He bought tea. He bought rice.
He bought sugar and other things.*

can be contracted to yield:

Em i kisim ti, rais, suga
samting.

*He bought tea, rice, sugar and
other things.*

(e) Identity of the object of the first and subject of the second sentence

The possibility of contraction in this case is an indication that for some speakers at least, Tok Pisin is an ergative or semi-ergative language (cf. also Heringer 1966). An example is:

Ol man i katim diwai na diwai
i pundaun.

can become

Ol man i katim diwai na i
pundaun.
or Ol man i katim diwai i pundaun.

*The man cut the tree and it fell
down.*

Further examples are discussed in the section on verb serialisation.

4.4.3.2.2 o or

The rules for pronominalisation and contraction for sentences conjoined by o or do not differ from those conjoined by na and.

Occasionally, for the sake of emphasis, speakers choose not to contract, as in:

Meri i blakskin o meri i wait- skin mi no kea.	<i>I don't care whether the girl is black or white.</i>
Em i kam o em i go, mi no ken save.	<i>I do not know whether he is coming or going.</i>

4.4.3.2.3 tasol but

The third conjunction used for conjoining sentences is tasol but. For example:

Sampela boi i gat haimak tasol tisa i no amamas.	<i>Some boys had high marks but the teacher was not pleased.</i>
---	--

The conventions for the deletion of parts of the second sentence are the same as for na and o, though obviously there can be no cases in which the sentence introduced by tasol is identical with its predecessor. Some examples of contraction are:

Sampela boi i gat haimak tasol
sampela boi i no go long
haiskul.

becomes

Sampela boi i gat haimak tasol ol i no go long haiskul.	<i>Some boys have high marks but don't go to highschool.</i>
or Sampela boi i gat haimak tasol i no go long haiskul.	

A way of reinforcing the negative content of tasol is to add weya no way immediately after it:

Mi laik go long Sidni tasol weya balus i pulap pinis.	<i>I wanted to go to Sydney, but the plane was completely booked out.</i>
--	---

4.4.3.2.4 negat: conjoining opposites

If the second sentence of a conjoined pair is the negation of the first, it can be compressed by using negat *it is not the case*. Examples are:

Brata bilong mi i save go long
lotu na mi no save go long lotu.

can become

Brata bilong mi i save go long lotu na mi negat.	<i>My sibling (of the same sex) goes to church but I don't.</i>
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Yu laik kam o yu no laik kam?

can become

Yu laik kam o negat?	<i>Do you want to come or don't you?</i>
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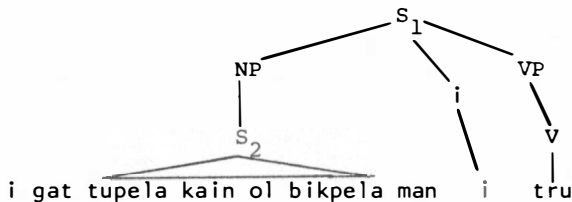
I gat ren o i no gat ren, yu
 mas kam.
 can become
 I gat ren o nogat, yu mas kam.

*Whether there is rain or not, you
 have to come.*

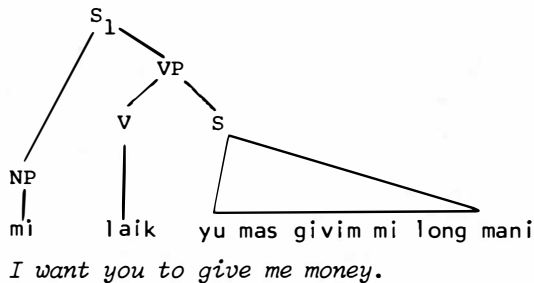
4.4.3.3 Embedding (subordination)

4.4.3.3.1 Introduction

'Embedding' refers to those cases where one sentence functions as the constituent of another. The subordinate status of a sentence is quite obvious when it functions as the subject or object (complements) of another sentence. For example:



which becomes *I tru i gat tupela kain ol bikpela man It is true that there are two kinds of leaders.* Here S_2 functions as the subject of S_1 . In the following example S_2 functions as the object of S_1 :



Other subordinate sentences are relative sentences which function in a similar way to restrictive nominal modifiers, such as attributive adjectives.

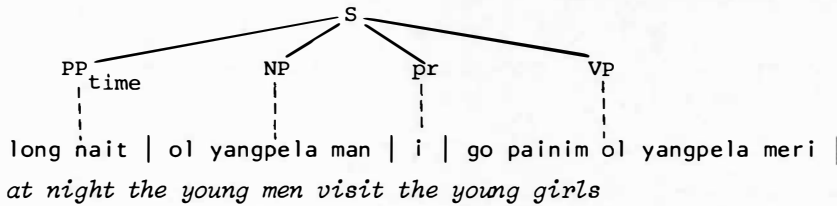
In addition to complement and relative sentences there are a number of other embedded types, such as adverbial sentences of time and location and those specifying reason or intent.

Embedding, in particular multiple embedding, is still not very common in Tok Pisin. However, among younger speakers, a number of subordinating constructions replacing traditional juxtaposition have developed in recent years.

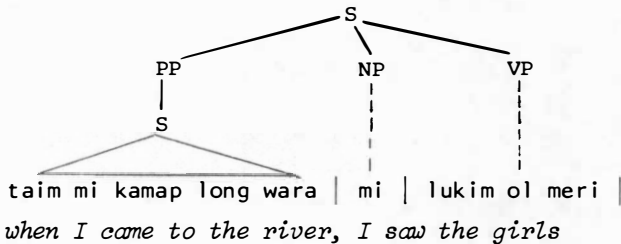
As can be expected, there is still considerable variation, as different speakers adopt different solutions to individual problems.

4.4.3.3.2 Adverbial sentences of time, location and manner

The subordinate sentence in these cases occupies the position of time, place or manner adverbials in simple sentences. Compare the simple sentence:



with the following complex one:



4.4.3.3.2.1 Adverbial sentences of time

(a) When

Embedded sentences introduced by *taim* express the idea of *when* in Tok Pisin. There has been a fair amount of opposition to the use of this subordinating conjunction in purist circles (Sadler 1973b:98), denouncing it as an anglicism. However, this construction is found frequently in Rural Tok Pisin and its use is documented at a fairly early stage (Hall 1943a:39).

The embedding of the *taim* sentence can be thought of as taking place via the following steps:

a) two independent sentences:

Mi stap long Rabaul. Long dispela taim mi kisim bagarap.
I was in Rabaul. At that time I got seriously injured.

b) embedding of the first sentence and deletion of *dispela*:

Long taim mi stap long Rabaul mi kisim bagarap.

c) deletion of *long*:

Taim mi stap long Rabaul mi kisim bagarap.
When I was in Rabaul I got seriously injured.

Here follow some other examples of the use of *taim* as a subordinating conjunction:

Taim woa i pinis misin i kisim planti lori bilong ami. *When the war was over the missions got many lorries from the army.*

Taim mi raun long taun mi save lukim planti man i no gat wok. *When I wander around in the town I see plenty of men who have no work.*

Taim pikinini meri i redi long *Once your daughter is nubile,*
marit yu no ken pasim em. *you can't constrain her.*

(b) Whenever

The conjunction used here is *oltaim*, as in:

Oltaim ol kaunsil i go kivung *Whenever the councillors meet*
ol i save toktok nabaut tasol. *they just waffle.*

(c) Until

Inap or inap long taim introduce subordinated sentences expressing the temporal extent of an action, as in:

Mi kaikai inap (long taim) mi *I ate until I was full to*
pulap nogut tru. *bursting.*

Ol papamama i save pasim ol *The parents keep a close watch on*
pikinini meri bilong ol inap *their daughters until their breasts*
susu i pundaun. *begin to sag.*

In more traditional varieties of Tok Pisin juxtaposition or conjoining is used to translate *until* sentences:

Yu larim i stap liklik na i hat *You leave it until it is hot.*
nau.

(d) Before

A subordinating conjunction corresponding to English *before* does not exist in Rural Tok Pisin, though *bipo* is used for this purpose in Urban Tok Pisin:

Ol man i mas tingting gut long *Men must think hard about the church*
lotu bipo ol i brukim marit. *before they commit adultery.*

Normally the idea of one action taking place prior to another is expressed by conjoined sentences, the first of which contains the time adverb *pastaim*:

Yu no laik tingting pastaim na *You don't want to think before*
rait. *you write.*

Yu mas kisim save pastaim na yu *You have to learn before you*
ken mekim dispela wok. *can do this job.*

Ol man i mas wasim han pastaim *The men have to wash their hands*
na ol i ken kaikai. *before they can eat.*

(e) After

To express that one action is taking place after another, *bihain long taim* is used to introduce the subordinate sentence:

Bihain long taim mipela kisim *We will have to work together*
independens, mipela mas wok *after we have got independence.*
bung wantaim.

4.4.3.3.2.2 Adverbial sentences of place

Tok Pisin does not possess a subordinating conjunction corresponding to English *where* in constructions such as *he went where I went before*. Instead:

Place Clauses are expressed in the same way as relative clauses, with long, long hap, or long ples immediately preceding the relative clause (see also Prepositions and Prepositional Phrases); e.g. *yu kam long mi i stap longen* = *come to me* (i.e. *to where I am standing*); *yu kam long ples mi stap longen* = *come to where I am living* (i.e. *to the village where I am staying*); *kam long hap mi stap longen* = *come to the place where I am standing or staying*.

The Pidgin equivalents of *wherever* are long wonem hap or (if a village is involved) long wonem ples, and the relative clause beginning with these usually comes first in the sentence; i.e. *long wonem hap masta i go yu mas behainim em* = *you must follow the European wherever he goes* (i.e. *wherever the European goes, you must follow him*); *long wonem ples kanaka i stap ol i save singsing* = *wherever there are village natives, they habitually have feasts*.

(Wurm 1971a:71)

4.4.3.3.2.3 Adverbial sentences of manner

The concept indicated in English by *as* is expressed by *olsem* in Tok Pisin:

Ol i wokim dispela haus tambaran *They built this spirit house*
olsem ol tumbuna i bin wokim. *as the ancestors used to do.*

There are some special conventions for embedded negative manner sentences which are discussed by Wurm (1971a:73).

4.4.3.3.3 Conditional, causal, consecutive and similar sentences

A valuable discussion of some of the major types of these sentences can be found in Wurm 1971a:73-76. In the following discussion some of Wurm's findings will be recapitulated, but the bulk of the argument will be concerned with constructions which he does not mention and which appear to have emerged only recently in certain varieties of Tok Pisin.

4.4.3.3.3.1 Conditional sentences

Conditional sentences usually precede the sentence in which they are embedded, the latter often being additionally marked by *orait* or *em nau*. The subordinating conjunction is *sapos if*; it can be omitted if the function of the conditional sentence is clear from the context. The variants of Tok Pisin equivalents of English *if you've got money you can come* then would be:

sapos yu gat mani orait yu ken i kam
sapos yu gat mani em nau yu ken i kam
sapos yu gat mani yu ken i kam
yu gat mani orait yu ken i kam
yu gat mani em nau yu ken i kam
yu gat mani yu ken i kam
yu ken i kam sapos yu gat mani

Here are some more examples from my own corpus:

Meri em i dai em nau man i ken marit bek.	<i>If the wife dies the husband can marry again.</i>
Sapos meri i laik orait em nau yu ken kisim em.	<i>If the girl agrees you can have her.</i>
Mipela i laik kamap olsem ol masta orait mipela i mas mari- mari long ol meri bilong mipela.	<i>If we want to become like Europeans we have to treat our wives well.</i>
Em yet i save sapos em i nap long marit.	<i>She will know if she is ready to get married.</i>
Sapos het bilong yu i olsem kokonas i pulap long wara, orait yu ken tok nabaut.	<i>If your head is like a coconut which is full of water, then you can waffle.</i>

The last sentence could also be interpreted as an irrealis meaning *if your head was like a coconut it would be alright for you to waffle*. However, for most varieties of Tok Pisin the distinction between real and unreal conditions in conditional sentences is not formally marked. Consider the following examples of unreal conditional sentences:

Sapos long taim bilong David i gat gita o kundu nating em i lotu long dispela musik tu.	<i>If there had been drums and guitars in David's time, he would have worshipped with this music.</i>
Sapos ol waitman i no kam long Nugini mipela i nap i stap rabisman tasol.	<i>If the whites had not come to New Guinea we would have remained uneducated and poor.</i>

For some varieties of Tok Pisin irrealis can be formally expressed by the use of pinis at the end of the sapos sentence (cf. Wurm 1971a:74):

Sapos em i kam pinis bai mi givim em wanpela akis.	<i>If he came, I would give him an axe.</i>
---	---

4.4.3.3.2 Causal sentences

The concept expressed in English by *because* + sentence is rendered in Tok Pisin by (bi)long wanem + sentence or bikos + sentence, the latter form, though documented as early as the 1940s, being restricted generally to Urban Tok Pisin. The use of (bi)long wanem and bikos can be illustrated with the following examples:

Mi askim yu bikos yu tok ol sikman i save dai taim mi givim ol long marasin.	<i>I am asking you because you claim that my patients die when I give them medicine.</i>
Yu no ken rabisim ol tisa bilong wanem ol i halpim ples bilong yumi Niugini.	<i>You can't 'rubbish' the teachers because they help our country, New Guinea.</i>
Tupela i hatwok tru long wok- about long wanem tupela i no nap baiim trak.	<i>The two have a hard time walking because they are not able to pay the truck fare.</i>

Apart from the use of subordination, a causal relationship is also commonly expressed by conjoining two sentences, as in:

Mi no gat mani orait mi no
kam asde.

*I had no money and therefore I
did not come yesterday.*

4.4.3.3.3 Concession sentences

Subordinated concession sentences in Tok Pisin are introduced by *maski although*. The embedded sentence generally comes first, as in:

Maski ol tisa i laik go bek
long wok ol i mas baim bot;
maski ol i stap long Katolik
skul ol i mas baim.

*Although the teachers are about to
go back to their job, they have to
pay for the boat; although they are
associated with a Catholic school
they have to pay.*

Maski ol i taitim lek ol i no
nap long kisim pik.

*Although they were running fast,
they could not reach the pig.*

4.4.3.3.4 Purpose and result sentences

Embedded purpose sentences usually follow the matrix sentence and are introduced by the subordinating conjunctions *bai, long or bilong so that, in order to*:

Ol i laik rausim ol Katolik
misin long ol i no ken jusim
balus.

*They would like to exclude the
Catholic missionaries from using
their planes.*

Ol i mas mekim bisnis long
mekim wok bilong ol i gohet.

*They must engage in business activ-
ities so that their work can progress.*

Ol i makim mi long komiti
bilong dispela hap bai mi luk-
autim ol.

*They appointed me committee member
for this place so that I can look
after them.*

As is the case with other instances of subordinated sentences, many speakers prefer to express these concepts by simple coordination; in such cases the context has to provide the clues to their interpretation, as for example in:

Diwai bai kisim wara olsem
wanem na lip i stap gut na
mekim plaua na karim kaikai?

*How does the tree get water, so that
there can be good leaves, that it can
have flowers and that it can bear fruit?*

A final way of indicating the purpose or result of an action is the use of *olsem baimbai*, as in:

Yumi mas rausim pasin nogut
olsem baimbai kantri bilong
yumi i ken gohet.

*We have to get rid of undesirable
customs so that our country can
progress.*

Useful additional remarks on the grammar of purpose and result sentences can be found in Wurm 1971a:75-76.

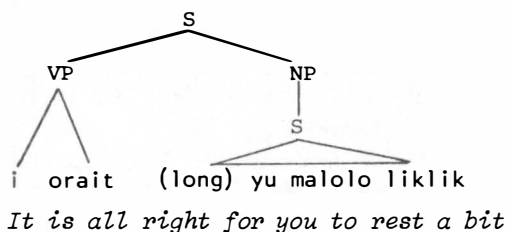
4.4.3.3.4 Complementation

4.4.3.3.4.1 Introduction

Very little has been said about complementation in Tok Pisin in the available grammatical descriptions. This may well reflect a genuine lack of such constructions until very recently, together with the absence of formal devices to indicate the subordinate status of complement sentences. Thus, as late as 1971 Wurm (1971a:76-77) writes: "Noun clauses have no distinguishing characteristics, and precede (as subject) or follow (as object) other clauses without a conjunction." However, in the data collected by myself between 1972 and 1978 formal signalling of complementation in both subject and object sentences is often found, the markers most commonly used being *olsem*, *bilong* and *long*, as well as others such as *we*. At the same time, unmarked complement sentences continue to be found. For a more detailed linguistic discussion see Woolford 1979b.

4.4.3.3.4.2 Subject sentences

In this type of complementation a sentence appears as the subject of another, as in:



Subject complementation can be expressed in the following ways:

- a) By means of simple juxtaposition of sentences, as in:

Yu kolim olgeta nes pamuk.	<i>You call all nurses whores.</i>
Dispela i no stret.	<i>This is not correct.</i>
- b) The first sentence appears as the subject of the second sentence, as in:

Yu kolim olgeta nes pamuk i no stret.	<i>To call all nurses whores is not correct.</i>
---------------------------------------	--
- c) Insertion of the dummy subject *i it*⁵ accompanied by a change in word order, as in:

I no stret yu kolim olgeta nes pamuk.	<i>It is not correct to call all nurses whores.</i>
---------------------------------------	---
- d) Insertion of the complementiser *long* before the embedded sentence, as in:

I no stret long yu kolim olgeta nes pamuk.	<i>It is not correct for you to call all nurses whores.</i>
--	---

e) If the subject of the embedded sentence is indefinite, as in:

l no stret long man i kolim *It is not correct for someone*
 olgeta nes pamuk. *to call all nurses whores.*

the subject noun can be deleted:

l no stret long kolim olgeta *It is not correct to call all*
 nes pamuk. *nurses whores.*

All possibilities from a)-e) can be found in present-day Tok Pisin. Here follow some examples of subject complements:

l tru i gat tupela kain ol bik- *It is true that there are two*
 pela man. *kinds of leaders.*

Wanem samting yu tok em i tru *What you are saying is very true.*
 tumas.

l no gut long paitim lekbruk o *It is bad to hit a cripple or a*
 matakiau. *blind person.*

l rong long misin i wokim *It is wrong for the mission to run*
 plantasin. *plantations.*

Sanapim dispela pos i hatwok *Erecting this post is really hard*
 tru. *work.*

Em i isi long ol manki i ken *It is easy for little boys to buy*
 baim strongpela dring. *strong drink.*

Another syntactic process occurring with complementation is that of subject and object raising, i.e. under certain conditions the subject or object of the embedded sentence can become the subject of the matrix sentence. To provide a full analysis of this phenomenon would be beyond the aims of this handbook. However, a brief illustration of raising will be given.

In the double-based sentence *l no nap long ol pipel i harim Latin. It is not possible for the people to understand Latin*, *ol pipel i harim Latin* acts as the subject of the matrix sentence. However, it is possible in Tok Pisin to rearrange the components of the double-based sentence in such a way that either the subject or the object of the embedded sentence appears as its subject:

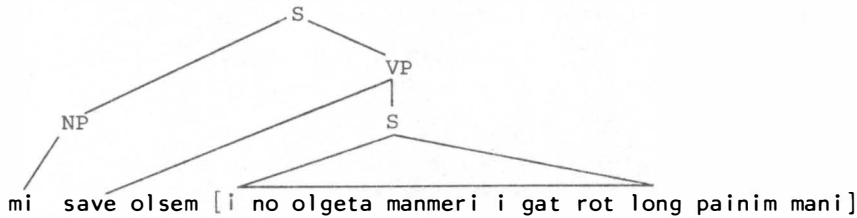
Ol pipel i no nap long harim Latin.
 Latin i no nap long ol pipel i harim.

Note also the transformational processes applied in the following extract from a conversation:

l nap long yu kam? Mi nap. *Is it possible for you to come?*
 Yes, I can.

4.4.3.3.4.3 Object sentences

In this type of complementation the embedded sentence occupies the position of object in the matrix sentence, as in:



Complementisers⁶ *olsem that*, *long that* and *bilong in order to*, or appear directly after the verb phrase of the matrix sentence. Coordination by means of *na and*⁷ is an alternative used mainly by older speakers:

Ol papamama na ol hetman i mas *The parents and elders must tell*
tok na ol i marit. *them to get married.*

The following syntactic operations are found with complementation:

(a) Pronominalisation

If either the subject or the object of the embedded sentence is coreferential with the subject of the matrix, sentence pronominalisation occurs:

Kaunsil i ting olsem em i gat *The councillor thinks that he is*
bikpela paua. *very powerful.*

Em i save olsem ol meri bai *He knows that the girls will*
laikim em. *like him.*

(b) Deletion of identical subjects

After certain verbs in the matrix sentence, such as *laikim* or *laik long*, the subject of the embedded sentence can be deleted if it is coreferential with the subject of its matrix sentence. Compare:

mi laik (long) yu kam *I want you to come*
mi laik (long) kam *I want to come*

The last sentence is interpreted here as a shortened version of *mi laik mi kam* or *mi laik long mi kam* which are also found in Tok Pisin.

Here follow some examples illustrating the use of object sentences in Tok Pisin. It must be stressed that many of the properties of these sentences are not yet well understood. The conditions determining the choice of *olsem* versus *long* as introducers are discussed by Woolford (1979b).

Ol kaunsil i ting olsem ol *The councillors think that the*
misin i gat planti mani. *missions have lots of money.*

Mi laik bai yupela putim hap *I want you to put my story inside*
tok bilong mi insait long pepa *your newspaper.*
bilong yupela.

Mi ting tok bilong yu i winim *I think your talk is sweeter than*
tenpela bek suga. *ten bags of sugar.*

Mi harim long wailis bilong mi *I heard on my wireless that the*
gavman i bin tok olsem. *government said so.*

Mi pilim olsem dispela pasin *I feel that this custom of buying*
bilong baim meri i no stret. *one's bride is not correct.*

Dispela i soim olsem yumi no onerim ol misin. *This shows that we do not honour the missions.*

Having discussed the two main types of complementation I shall now consider two special cases.

4.4.3.3.4.4 Verbs of allowing and forbidding

If the matrix sentence contains verbs or predicates referring to the concepts of allowing, forbidding, possibility or ability, the auxiliary typically contains the modal verb *mas*, *no mas*, *ken* or *no ken*. For most speakers the embedded sentences cannot be reduced by deleting the modal verb.

(a) Subject sentences

When verbs such as *i orait* *it is alright*, *i nap* *it is possible*, *mobeta* and *mogut* *it would be better* and *maski* *never mind* are present in the matrix sentence (= main clause), the modal verbs *ken* or *mas* typically appear in the embedded subject sentence. The choice between *ken* and *mas* does not appear to be determined by grammatical or syntactic factors, though *no ken* appears to be preferred to *no mas*. For example:

Mobeta yupela i no mas rait o tok egens long misin. *It would be better if you(pl.) didn't talk or write against the mission.*

I mogut yupela i no ken tok orait long dispela lo ya. *It would be better if you didn't pass this law.*

I no nap man i ken go insait long haus na rausim samting. *It is not possible for a man to just go inside a house and remove things.*

I gutpela mo long ol misin i no ken go insait long arapela hap i gat arapela misin longen. *It would be good if one mission could not go to a region where another mission was operating.*

Em i orait long ol meri i ken putim sotpela dres. *It is alright for the girls to wear short dresses.*

I no fri long ol misis i ken putim mini siket. *The European women are not free to wear mini skirts.*

Maski long maritman i no ken go long nambis. *It is not good for married men to go to the coastal areas (for work).*

(b) Object sentences

Object sentences containing *ken*, *mas* or their negations follow after transitive verbs of forbidding, such as *tambuim* *to taboo*, *forbid*, *pasim* *to obstruct*, *forbid* and *stapim* *to stop*. The following examples illustrate this construction:

Sapos yumi stopim ol misin long ol i no ken putim stua na bai olsem wanem? *If we prevent the missions from putting up stores, what then?*

Long olgeta de dispela lapun meri i stapim tupela pikinini meri bilongen long no ken bihainim wara. *Every day this old woman prevented her two daughters from following the river.*

Ol plisman i givim oda long ol draiwa bilong kar long ol i no ken putim han long sait bilong dua.

The police ordered all drivers not to put their arm outside the door.

Ol i tok strong long em i mas tekewe laisens bilong salim ol strongpela dring.

They insist that he take away the liquor licence.

Ol pipel i orait long 60 man i mas kisim haphap bilong 393 eka.

The people agreed that 60 men should receive lots of 393 acres.

Yumi mas helpim ol long ol i ken stap hia.

We must help them to stay here.

Kantri bilong ol i gat tambu long ol yangpela meri i no ken pasim sotpela siket.

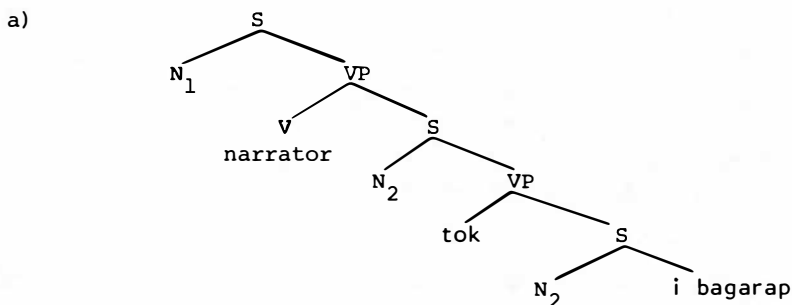
Their country has a regulation which forbids young girls to wear short skirts.

4.4.3.3.4.5 Indirect discourse and reported speech

A distinction can be made between direct reported speech, i.e. quotation of the exact words spoken, and indirect speech. For example:

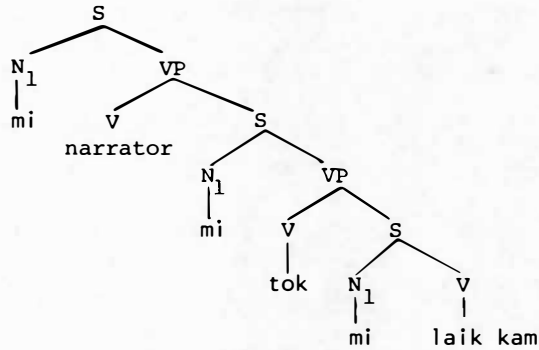
- a) Em i tok: mi bagarap pinis. (direct speech)
He said, "I am really tired."
- b) Em i tok olsem em i bagarap pinis. (indirect speech)
He said that he was tired.

In the above cases the narrator of the event is not identical with the subject of the matrix sentence, though there is identity between the subjects of the matrix and the embedded sentence:



It is easy to see that we can get a number of other possible structures if there are different identity relations between the narrator, the agent of the matrix (tok) sentence and the agent of the embedded sentence:

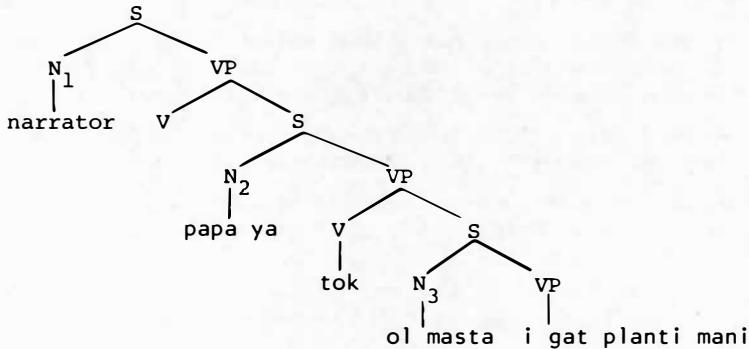
b)



Case b) Mi tok mi laik kam *I said that I wanted to come.* In this case no changes in the pronoun of the embedded sentence will occur whether it is indirect or direct speech:

mi tok: mi laik kam
 mi tok (olsem) mi laik kam

c)



In case c) all Ns are different. Again, there won't be changes in the subject pronoun of the embedded sentence:

Papa ya i tok: ol masta i gat planti mani.
 Papa ya i tok (olsem) ol masta i gat planti mani.
This uncle said that the Europeans had lots of money.

The difference between direct and indirect speech is signalled in Tok Pisin by a number of speech introducers or subordinating conjunctions, as well as by the behaviour of the pronouns of the embedded sentences. Direction markers occurring in indirect speech can also be affected (see Wurm 1971a:77).

Reported speech is usually introduced by i tok or i tok i spik:

Ol tumbuna ol i lukluk i tok: wanem kain man i kamap?	<i>The ancestors looked and said, "What sort of man has arrived?"</i>
Orait, ol i tokim mipela: Harim nau, yupela go antap kisim pater.	<i>Well, they said to us, "Listen, go on top and get the priest."</i>

Em i kisim tanget, givim long
bisop i lukim bisop i tok:
orait bai mitupela go long bus.

*He got the message, gave it to the
bishop, the bishop read it and said,
"O.K. the two of us will go to the
bush."*

Man ya i wet, wet, nogat,
orait em i singaut i tok:
Poroman, yu stap we?

*This man waited and waited and
eventually shouted, "Where are you,
mate?"*

Man i kalap na i tokim mipela
i tok: Yupela i stap we?

*The man jumped and said to us,
"Where are you?"*

Apart from i tok and tok i spik some other introducers of direct speech are found, such as spikim mi i spik and se.

Em i lukim gutpela wok bilong
mi em i se: Orait, nau mi tok,
taim yu i pinis yu kisim wan-
pela masin.

*He saw that my work was satisfactory
and he said: "Well, I'll tell you
that when you are finished you will
get a (sewing) machine."*

Frequently direct reported speech is used without the help of any of the above introducers, as in:

Em i askim mi: Yu kam we?

He asked me, "Where do you come from?"

Indirect speech in Tok Pisin can either follow directly after verbs such as tok, or it can be introduced by olsem, long, or se, the last form typically following ting or tok. Examples of indirect discourse are:

Em i tok se em i laik bilong ol
meri yet long maritim waitskin.

*He said it was the girls' choice
to marry a white man.*

Mi laik tokim ol wantok long
ol i no ken kisim kwik selp
gavman.

*I want to tell my friends that they
cannot get self-government soon.*

Papamana i save tok olsem, piki-
nini i no save harim gut tok
bilong ol.

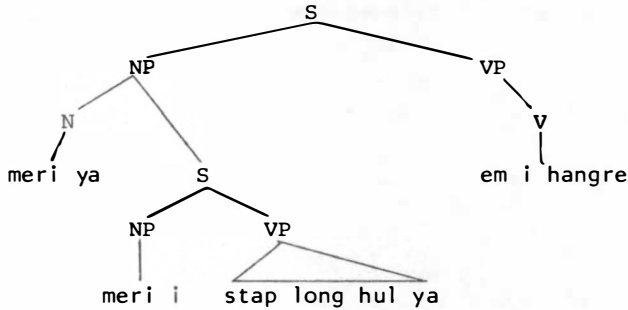
*The parents say that their children
do not obey them well.*

No full study of direct and indirect discourse in Tok Pisin is available at present. The regularities pointed out above must be regarded as tendencies rather than fixed rules.

4.4.3.3.5 Relative sentences

4.4.3.3.5.1 Introduction

In scientific grammatical descriptions, adjectives, adjectival phrases and relative sentences are often grouped together. The reason for this is that all appear under an NP node in a phrase structure marker. The close relationship between adjectives and relative sentences in Tok Pisin is also recognisable from constructions in which nouns are modified by more than one attributive adjective. In this construction one of the attributive adjectives generally appears in a postnominal relative sentence, as in gutpela naispela meri → gutpela meri i naispela a good nice girl = a good girl who is nice. The following phrase marker will serve to illustrate the subordinate status of relative sentences:



Meri ya i stap long hul ya em i hangre.
The woman who stayed in the cave was hungry.

Relative sentences can appear under subject and object NPs and NPs appearing in prepositional phrases.

4.4.3.3.5.2 Restrictive and appositive relative sentences

Relative sentences are often subcategorised in terms of their semantic functions, into restrictive and appositive relative sentences. The former serve to identify or define what is referred to in the antecedent noun, as in:

Dispela haus ya, meri i sanap longen ya, em haus bilong kandare bilong mi.	<i>This house where a girl is standing is my uncle's house. (where a number of houses are in the field of vision)</i>
--	---

Appositive relative sentences simply add information which does not constitute an identification or definition:

Sampela meri we ol i karim bilum ol i wokabout long rot.	<i>Some women (not men) who carried stringbags walked along the road.</i>
---	---

A clear distinction depends on contextual information, as suggested by the examples.

4.4.3.3.5.3 Signalling of relative sentences

The relative construction in Tok Pisin has received a good deal of attention in recent years, largely because of the emergence of a number of new formal devices for signalling its subordinate status. Detailed studies have been made, in particular, of the use of the marker *ya* (Sankoff and Brown 1976) and the intonational signals (Wurm 1971a:68ff). The development of a number of mechanisms for handling the relative construction in Tok Pisin can be regarded as a significant step in its development from a simple pidgin to an extended pidgin and creole.

At present Tok Pisin possesses four ways of forming relative sentences.

(a) Absence of overt relativisers (intonation clues only)

These employ no relative pronoun but rely on word order and intonation clues, as in:

Dispela man i kam asde em i
papa bilong me.

*This man who came yesterday is
my father.*

Wanpela man em i kapten bilong
ol Siapan, nem bilongen Kalau,
orait, em i kisim mipela.

*One man, a captain of the Japanese
army, whose name was Kalau, took
us.*

Mi laik stori long taim mipela
i pilai sokkerbol long stesin.

*I want to tell a story about the
time when we played soccer on the
station.*

Long dispela yia mi kisim
medel i makim mi long komiti.

*During that year I got a medal
which 'marked' me as a member of
the committee.*

Dispela stua mipela i bin
kirapim em stua bilong ol
wasman.

*The store which we started to
construct is the store belonging
to the church elders.*

This type of sentence is often marked by a pause initially and finally; in addition, the last syllable tends to have a high pitch intonation if it precedes the matrix sentence. A number of syntactic operations such as pronominalisation are also operative and these will be discussed below.

(b) Husat and wonem

The use of the interrogative pronoun *husat* as a relative pronoun is restricted to varieties of Tok Pisin in close contact with English. Like *who* it only refers to human beings, as in:

I no gat wanpela man bilong
Papua Nu Gini husat i save dis-
pela tok Melanesia.

*There is not a single man in Papua
New Guinea who knows the expression
Melanesia.*

Pablik seven em i man husat i
gat strong long wok bilongen.

*A public servant is someone who
knows his job.*

Ol i wari bilong wanem sampela
Yuropen opisa husat i gat mo
save long wok bilong ol nau ol
i lusim Papua Nu Gini yet.

*They are worried because some European
officers, who are very experienced,
are leaving Papua New Guinea.*

However the use of *husat* and *wonem* as equivalents of the English *whoever* and *whatever* is much more common. The following examples can be regarded as special instances of restrictive relative sentences:

Yu husat man i ritim dispela
pas i mas tingting gut na skelim
tok bilong mi.

*Whoever reads this letter must
think well and consider my
words.*

Husat ol man i laik kam i ken
i kam.

Whoever wants to can come.

Yu wonem plisman i laik bekim
askim bilong mi i mas rait
tasol.

*Whichever policeman wants to answer
my question has only to write.*

Husat i nap long wokim banis
em yet i mas wokim.

*Whoever is able to make a fence
must be the one to make it.*

(c) We

Although we can function like the relative pronouns *which* or *who*, it is most typically found in relative sentences of time and locality. In some of the following examples both a locative and a non-locative interpretation is possible:

1) we introducing relative clauses of time and place:

Taim we em i stap long dispela *At the time when he was in this bed,*
bet, papa bilongen i tokim ol. *his father said to them.*

Ol i go long wampela ples we i *They went to a place where there*
gat bikipela tais longen. *was a big swamp.*

Mobeta yu wokim wampela faktori *It's better if you build a factory*
we yu samapim klos i go daun. *where you produce long dresses.*

2) we ambiguous as to its status as personal or temporal relative pronoun:

Mi no bin amamas long kaunsil *I was not happy about the council*
long hap bilong Wewak we ol i *in the Wewak area who (where they)*
askim ol lain misinari long *asked the missions to pay tax.*
baim takis.

Em i pilim supia we em i sutim *He felt the spear which (where it)*
han bilongen. *hit his arm.*

3) the primary function of we in the following cases is clearly that of a personal relative pronoun:

Sampela man we i kam klostu ol *Some men who approached did not*
i no save. *know.*

Olgeta Warape i kraik long dis- *All the people from Warape cried*
pela man we em i dai. *because of this man who had died.*

Ol i no laikim pater we i pulim *They do not appreciate priests who*
longpela lotu. *drag out the church service.*

(d) Ya

The fourth mechanism for formally signalling relativisation in Tok Pisin is one which uses *ya* for bracketing off an embedded relative sentence from its matrix sentence.

A full discussion can be found in Sankoff and Brown 1976. This feature of grammar is restricted to younger speakers, not only in the urban areas studied by Sankoff but also in some rural areas studied by myself. This observation is further confirmed by the following comment made by Mr M. Ross (personal communication):

One thing I did check out informally without any prior discussion with students was the use of *ia* in forming relative clauses. When the students examined their own data and compared them, they were distinctly surprised at its own consistency right across the country. The left-hand *ia* was consistently present, the right-hand one sometimes missing when it fell at the end of a sentence.

The following examples illustrate the use of *ya*-bracketing in embedding relative sentences:

Dispela man ya em i stap long
bus ya em i redi na em i kisim
banara.

*This man who lived in the bush was
ready to get his bow and arrows.*

Meri ya i stap long hul ya em
i hangre na em i kaikai dispela
blut bilongen.

*This woman who stayed in the hole
was hungry and ate his blood.*

Ol man ya ol i katim saksak ya
ol i sanap long em ya.

*The men who cut the sago palms
stood near him.*

Yupela lukim meri ya, bipo em
i stap ya?

*Did you see the woman who used
to live here?*

Em i no bikpela olsem ol boi
ya ol i kam long skul ya.

*He was not as big as the boys who
went to school.*

4.4.3.3.5.4 Syntactic operations found with relativisation

(a) Pronominalisation

Noun phrases in the relative sentence which are coreferential with the noun phrases in the matrix sentence they modify, become pronominalised. A number of cases have to be distinguished:

- 1) subject of embedded sentence becomes pronominalised:

matrix sentence
dispela man i wokabout long
rot
*this man is walking down the
road*

embedded sentence
man i kandare bilong mi
the man is my uncle

becomes:

Dispela man EM i kandare bilong
mi i wokabout long rot.

*This man who is my uncle walked
down the road.*

- 2) pronominalisation of nouns following prepositions:

matrix sentence
mi go long ples
I went to the village

embedded sentence
pik i stap long ples
a pig was in the village

becomes:

Mi go long ples pik i stap
LONGEN.

*I went to a place where there was
a pig.*

matrix sentence
yu mas bekim dispela mani
you must return this money

embedded sentence
yu bin dinau long dispela mani
you borrowed this money

becomes:

Yu mas bekim dispela mani yu
bin dinau LONGEN.

*You have to return the money
you borrowed.*

3) object of embedded sentence becomes pronominalised:

matrix sentence	embedded sentence
mi laik bekim wanpela pas	mi bin ritim pas long Wantok
<i>I want to reply to a letter</i>	<i>I read a letter in Wantok</i>

becomes:

Mi laik bekim wanpela pas mi	<i>I want to reply to a letter which</i>
bin ritim EM long Wantok.	<i>I read in Wantok.</i>

So far we have been dealing with ordinary pronominalisation. However, for some speakers, ordinary pronouns can be replaced by the relative pronouns *we* or *husat*.

Husat tends to replace pronominalised subjects of embedded clauses only:

Dispela man em i karim bilum em
i wantok bilong mi.

can become

Dispela man husat i karim bilum	<i>The man who carries a stringbag</i>
em i wantok bilong mi.	<i>is my wantok.</i>

We, on the other hand, is much more flexible and can also replace various other pronouns. If we are dealing with pronominalisation of plural nouns, *we ol* can be chosen. Compare:

Ol muruk i save stap long ples
i gat kunai longen.

Ol muruk i save stap long ples
we i gat kunai.

*Cassowaries are found in places where
there is kunai grass.*

Em nau dispela stori mi bin
harim em long sampela man.

Em nau dispela stori we mi bin
harim long sampela man.

*This is the story which I heard
from some man.*

Mi go lukim sampela man ol i
pren bilong mi.

Mi go lukim sampela man we ol
i pren bilong mi.

*I went to see some men who were
my friends.*

(b) Permutation of pronouns, deletion of pronouns and insertion of anaphoric pronouns

1) Permutation

If the object of relative sentences is pronominalised it may be shifted to the beginning of the embedded sentence; this shift is compulsory if the relative pronoun *we* is chosen. For example:

Mi laikim dispela samting wantok
i holim em long han bilongen.

becomes

Mi laikim dispela samting em
wantok i holim long han
bilongen.

*I want that thing which my friend
holds in his hand.*

Em nau dispela stori we mi bin
harim.

This is the story which I heard.

2) Deletion of pronouns

Subject pronouns in the embedded sentence are often deleted, in which case the sentence status of the embedded sentence is weakened in that both matrix and embedded sentence form a single intonation unit:

- | | |
|---|--|
| Mi laik maritim man we i gat
mani. | |
| can become | <i>I want to marry a man who has
got money.</i> |
| Mi laik maritim man i gat mani. | |
| Mi lukim pikinini ol i pilai
pilai nabaut. | |
| can become | <i>I watched the children who were
playing around.</i> |
| Mi lukim pikinini i pilai pilai
nabaut. | |

This also goes for many instances of deletion of the object pronouns of embedded relative sentences, as in:

- | | |
|--|--|
| Mi laik salim sampela tingting
em mi gat. | |
| can become | <i>I want to send some thoughts I
have.</i> |
| Mi laik salim sampela tingting
mi gat. | |
| Dispela man mi lukim em long
rot i kandare bilong mi. | |
| can become | <i>The man I saw on the road was
my uncle.</i> |
| Dispela man mi lukim long rot
i kandare bilong mi. | |

More information about the deletion of object pronouns can be found in Lattey 1979.

3) Anaphoric pronouns

The regularities underlying anaphoric pronouns following embedded relative sentences are not different from those discussed for nouns. Thus, if an embedded relative sentence modifies the subject noun of the matrix sentence, an anaphoric pronoun can appear directly before the predicate marker, as in:

- | | |
|--|--|
| Meri i wokim dispela bilum em
i susa bilong mi. | <i>The girl who makes this stringbag
is my sister.</i> |
| Dispela dipatmen we ol i kolim
didiman em i save tokim yumi
long rot bilong painim mani. | <i>The department (which is) called
agriculture shows us the road to
wealth.</i> |

Anaphoric pronouns are found after the relative pronouns *husat* and *we* in the embedded sentence, as in:

- | | |
|--|--|
| Mi lukim man we em i kam. | <i>I saw the man who came.</i> |
| Yumi i bin lusim sampela man
husat ol i gat bikpela save. | <i>We have lost some men who had lots
of experience.</i> |

4.4.4 CONCLUSIONS

Given that it is only about one hundred years old, Tok Pisin exhibits an amazing degree of grammatical complexity. The reader may have noted the many instances where competing grammatical devices express the same syntactic relationships. It is impossible to predict which of these devices will eventually take over and/or whether new devices will emerge within certain groups of speakers. The fact that a syntactic description appears to be static and well-defined should not lead the reader to ignore the fluctuations and changes characteristic of this language. This syntactic sketch will be of maximum use only if supplemented by constant observation of Tok Pisin as it is actually spoken and written.

NOTES

1. The forms *lukluk stil*, *stil na lukluk* and *lukluk na stil* have also been recorded. However, *stil* generally appears in first position if it is collated with transitive verbs, as in *stil lukim to observe someone from a hidden position*, but not **lukim stil*.
2. A comparison between *luksave to recognise* and *toksava to inform* illustrates that Tok Pisin exhibits characteristics of both preminative, accusative and ergative languages. Compare *luksave long man = mi lukim man na mi save longen I see the man and know him* with *mi toksava long man = mi tokim man na i save I told the man and he knew*.
3. Its occurrence in this function is reported for a number of pidgins and creoles. Thus, Hall (1966:78) writes: "A widespread African peculiarity is the use of verbs meaning *give* as complements of this type, indicating the person to whom s.th. is given or for whose benefit s.th. is done."
4. As yet, no spelling conventions for concatenated verbs have been laid down. The author has chosen to spell as two words cases which involve a transitive verbal ending in *-im* in first position in a verbal chain.
5. Note that in this construction the *i* functions like a pronoun rather than as a predicate marker. The complex grammatical development of *i* is discussed by Sankoff (1977c).
6. The complex restrictions governing the choice of these complementisers has been discussed by Woolford (1979b).
7. This phenomenon is similar to the behaviour of verbal modifiers such as *traim to try to*, where *na*, *long* and \emptyset fulfil the same grammatical functions. Compare:

ol i traime long kam	
ol i traime na kam	<i>they tried to come</i>
ol i traime kam	

4.5 THE LEXICAL SYSTEM OF TOK PISIN

P. Mühlhäusler

4.5.1 INTRODUCTION

Linguistic studies of the lexicon are concerned with three main areas:

- a) the inventory of lexical items and their origin
- b) the semantic organisation of lexical items into lexical fields
- c) lexical rules predicting lexical information of various sorts and rules accounting for the linguistic composition and semantic interpretation of complex lexical items.

The difference between studies of the type a) on the one hand and those of types b) and c) on the other is that between the analysis of lexical inventories and lexical systems. The former, because of the very different methodology involved in its study, has been dealt with in a separate chapter (Etymologising (2.6)).

The present chapter will be concerned with the following systematic aspects of the lexicon:

(a) Semantic field properties

These relate to the fact that the meaning of the individual words is affected by the presence of other words in a field. Some semantic fields, such as kinship terminology and colour terms, are closely knit, and the addition or subtraction of a new term tends to affect the meaning of all other terms in the field.

This contrasts with more loosely structured terminologies where additions or subtractions only minimally affect the meaning of other lexical items.

(b) Rules dealing with lexical redundancy

Lexical redundancy rules deal with predictable lexical information; instead of specifying such information for individual lexical items, a set of rules is added to the lexicon.

(c) Rules for the interpretation of complex lexical items

New words and higher-level lexical items can be formed by combining already available words or morphemes. The processes of word formation found in Tok Pisin include functional change (multifunctionality), compounding and reduplication. Word formation differs from the generation of syntactic structures in that it is typically restricted in productivity, and in that the resulting new structures show numerous semantic idiosyncrasies.

4.5.2 SEMANTIC FIELD PROPERTIES OF TOK PISIN

The two main ideas underlying the study of semantic fields are:

- a) that different languages split up the language-independent meaning continuum in different ways, e.g.

English	Tok Pisin (certain varieties only)
general term : <i>plants</i>	no general term
<i>tree - bush - grass - herb - vine</i>	diwai - gras - rop
	<i>trees and grass and vine</i>
	<i>woody plants non-woody plants</i>

- b) that the meaning of an individual member of a semantic field is determined by its relationship with other members of the same field. Thus, in the just cited example, English *tree* contrasts with four other terms, and Tok Pisin *diwai* with only two.

Semantic fields of Tok Pisin, with the exception of a few that are central to the cultures of Papua New Guinea, tend to be less populated than their corresponding English fields. This accounts for the often cited 'generality of meaning' in Tok Pisin and other pidgins.

Lexical field properties, like other semantic properties, can vary considerably from speaker to speaker, as substratum influence makes itself felt strongly in this area of grammar. Kinship is a case illustrating this. Mead (1931:148) remarks:

Because pidgin is a language that stretches over half a hundred different cultures, strange anomalies grow up. The natives who had first contact with the white culture were matrilineal people, and they learned to describe the members of their mother's clan as "country belong me". When a patrilineal people like the Admiralty Islanders came to speak pidgin, they were in difficulties which they surmounted by the device of retaining the reference to maternal relatives as "country belong me" and calling their own patrilineal clan "place belong me". The term "mama" is applied to all women of the generation above the speaker; so the investigator in court case or census has to follow a devious route in finding out true relationship. "Em he mama belong me". "He mama true belong you?" "Yes, he mama belong me". "You come up along bel(ly) belong em?" "No, me no come up along bel belong em. He mama, that's all." An own father is referred to by the phrase so aptly describing the tender care that a Melanesian father gives his little children, "he papa he carry me true".

Whilst linguistic independence is achieved at a much slower rate in the area of semantic fields than in other areas of grammar, the following kinship system is becoming increasingly widespread in Tok Pisin: the English glosses indicate far-reaching differences in the semantic organisation of these two languages:

Tok Pisin	English
tumbuna	<i>grandparent of either sex, grandchild of either sex</i>
papa	<i>father (uncle, guardian)</i>
mama	<i>mother (wife)</i>
kandare	<i>any relative on the mother's side: uncle, cousin, nephew, niece, aunt</i>
smolmama	<i>paternal aunt</i>
smolpapa	<i>paternal uncle</i>
brata	<i>sibling of the same sex</i>
susa	<i>sibling of the opposite sex</i>

Two more examples which illustrate the differences in the organisation of semantic fields in Tok Pisin and English are:

Names for members of different age groups:

pikinini man	<i>male baby, little boy</i>
pikinini meri	<i>baby girl, little girl</i>
manki	<i>girls and boys before puberty, unmarried young men</i>
man	<i>young married man</i>
meri	<i>young woman</i>
lapun	<i>old man or woman</i>

Basic colour terms:

blak	<i>black, dark blue or dark green</i>
ret	<i>red, light brown</i>
wait	<i>white, light coloured, silver</i>
blu	<i>lighter shades of blue</i>
grin	<i>lighter shades of green</i>
braun	<i>brown and grey</i>

The less culturally central a semantic field, the greater is the chance that different speakers operate in terms of incompatible systems. The names for fingers, as collected in a number of villages along the coast between Wewak and But, illustrate this:

<i>thumb</i>	<i>index finger</i>	<i>middle finger</i>	<i>ring finger</i>	<i>little finger</i>	
nambawan pinga	nambatu pinga	nambatri pinga	nambapo pinga	nambapaip pinga	1
mama pinga	nambawan pinga	nambatu pinga	nambatri pinga	nambapo pinga	2
nambapaip pinga	nambapo pinga	nambatri pinga	nambatu pinga	nambawan pinga	3
mama pinga		longpela pinga		liklik pinga	4

More recently, the renewed contact with English has begun to erode even some of the more stable lexical fields, such as numbers and names for parts of the body:

(a) Number system

The system used in Tok Pisin, in which all names for numbers are regularly derived, is being replaced by the English one, a process already observed by Reed (1943:283) some 40 years ago: "But, as the employed natives now gradually learn the English cardinals up to twenty, the Melanesian pattern of enumeration is dropping out of pidgin."

Thus one finds replacements such as:

Rural Tok Pisin	Urban Tok Pisin	gloss
wanpela ten wan	eleven	<i>eleven</i>
wanpela ten tu	twelp	<i>twelve</i>
tupela ten	twenti	<i>twenty</i>
tripela ten wan	teti wan	<i>thirty one</i>

(b) Names for parts of the body

Another semantic field in which borrowing from English has led to considerable restructuring is that of names for parts of the body. The introduction of English loans into Urban Tok Pisin has led to differentiation not previously found in Tok Pisin, for instance:

Rural Tok Pisin		Urban Tok Pisin	
pinga	<i>finger, toe</i>	pinga	<i>finger</i>
		to	<i>toe</i>
lek	<i>leg, hindleg of animal</i>	lek	<i>leg, leg of animal</i>
	<i>foot</i>	fut	<i>foot</i>
han	<i>arm, foreleg of animal</i>	han	<i>hand</i>
	<i>hand</i>	am	<i>arm</i>

Similar changes can be observed in the metaphorical use of certain names for body parts. Thus the expression lek bilong wara *mouth of a river* has been replaced by maus bilong riva *mouth of a river* in Urban Tok Pisin (cf. Todd and Mühlhäusler 1978).

An interesting aspect of semantic fields in Tok Pisin is that of folk taxonomies used in naming plants and animals. No exhaustive study is available at present, but the following data collected by the present author provide an indication of the use of numerals in the establishment of Tok Pisin folk taxonomies:

	descriptive phrase provided	English
nambawan balus	i no wait tru, i dakwait	<i>grey dove</i>
nambatu balus	i wait tru	<i>white dove</i>
nambawan galip	bilong yumi man i planim	<i>nut tree growing in gardens</i>
nambatu galip	strongpela bilong bus	<i>tree with hard nuts growing wild</i>
nambatri galip	bilong bus tasol	<i>another wild nut tree</i>
nambawan kabis	kabis tru	<i>cabbage</i>
nambatu kabis	i kamap long wara	<i>watercress</i>
nambawan kalangal ¹	retpela	<i>red parrot (male of Lorius roratus)</i>
nambatu kalangal	grinpela	<i>green parrot (female of same species)</i>

nambawan kwila	wetpela	<i>white ironwood</i>
nambatu kwila	retpela	<i>red ironwood</i>
nambawan moran	blakpela skin	<i>python (black skin)</i>
nambatu moran	skin i gat makmak	<i>python (speckled)</i>

The most highly populated field in the area of plant names is that of terms referring to coconut palms. The following list is based on Borchardt's dictionary (1926) and my own observations:

kokonas	<i>coconut palm and fruit</i>
kulau	<i>green drinking nut</i>
drai	<i>dry nut</i>
kopra, kabora	<i>copra, meat of dry nut</i>
drip	<i>very young coconut</i>
nok, pangal	<i>midrib of coconut leaves</i>
bombom	<i>coconut fronds</i>
bilo	<i>half coconut shell, used as ladle</i>
munum	<i>flowers of coconut</i>
kru	<i>shoot of nut</i>
milis	<i>coconut milk made from shredding coconut meat in the water of a ripe nut</i>
milisim	<i>to cook in coconut milk</i>
wara bilong kokonas	<i>water of ripe nut</i>
grisim	<i>to cook in water of ripe nut</i>
mit bilong kokonas	<i>coconut meat</i>
laplap bilong kokonas	<i>coconut leaf sheath</i>
kok bilong kokonas	<i>unopened flower sheath</i>
skin bilong kokonas	<i>husk of coconut</i>
sel bilong kokonas	<i>coconut shell</i>
stik bilong kokonas	<i>stem of coconut tree</i>

I shall conclude my observations on lexical fields in Tok Pisin with some brief remarks on the items *pis fish*, *pisin bird*, *snek snake*, *abus edible land animal* and *binatang creepy-crawly*. Though usage differs with the speaker's first language, there are some conventions which seem to hold for the majority of Tok Pisin speakers:

- a) a muruk *cassowary* is generally classified as abus and not as pisin
- b) a maleo *eel* is classified as snek, together with worms
- c) grubs, spiders, etc. are classified as binatang
- d) welpis *dolphin*, and often trausel *tortoise*, *turtle*, are considered to be pis
- e) a blakbokis *flying fox*, together with actual birds, is treated as pisin

The study of Tok Pisin semantics has only just begun, but it can be expected that more detailed research will result in valuable insights into the functioning of pidgin languages, and replace such vague notions as 'wide meaning'.

4.5.3 LEXICAL REDUNDANCY RULES

Lexical redundancy rules state generalities about the phonological, morphological, syntactic and semantic properties of lexical items. The study of these rules has made little progress since the proposal to incorporate them into lexical

description was made by Chomsky (1965:164-170). The following observations are by no means exhaustive.

4.5.3.1 Phonological redundancy rules

The main function of these rules is to predict permitted vs. impossible sound sequences, and for this reason they are also known as 'morpheme structure rules'. A second function of phonological redundancy rules is to specify redundant phonetic features of individual sound segments.

Phonological redundancy rules in Tok Pisin vary along two dimensions:

- a) there can be significant differences conditioned by a speaker's substratum language
- b) for the more developed second-language and first-language varieties, many of the original restrictions are relaxed.

The following illustrations are therefore abstractions from a more complex reality.

A case of a rule specifying permitted sound sequences is that which specifies (for the more conservative varieties) that there can be no consonant clusters word initially or word finally. As a result, words borrowed from English are adjusted either by the insertion of epenthetic vowels (see Pawley 1975) or by the deletion of one of the consonants of a cluster. Examples are:

English	Tok Pisin
<i>straight</i>	sitiret
<i>strong</i>	sitirong
<i>bridge</i>	biris
<i>glass</i>	galas
<i>hand</i>	han

Another very important phonological redundancy rule is that no word can have more than three syllables. This convention, in the past at least, has made it difficult for Tok Pisin to borrow polysyllabic words from other languages, and is one of the reasons why recent loans, such as *independens* are widely rejected.

Phonological redundancy rules serving the second function include:

- a) all front vowels are unrounded
- b) (for many varieties) all voiced stops are prenasalised
- c) all final stops are voiceless

Relatively little work has been done in this area of Tok Pisin phonology and the extent of phonological variation will have to be better understood before progress can be made.

4.5.3.2 Morphological redundancy rules

Two types of morphological redundancy rules can be distinguished. The first set of rules is in complementary distribution with the phonological restriction on word length just discussed. Whereas the acceptability of a word is determined for some speakers by the number of its syllables, for others it is the number of morphemes. Thus the convention on the possible length of Tok Pisin words can be stated in two ways:

- a) Tok Pisin phonological words are to have no more than three syllables
or b) Tok Pisin lexical words cannot consist of more than two morphemes.

The first convention restricts the derivation of transitive verbs from noun bases consisting of three or more syllables. Thus, for some speakers, the form *pupuluim to cast a love spell on*, derived from *pupulu love spell*, is not acceptable.

The convention on morpheme structures, on the other hand, appears to be more powerful. I shall now discuss some of the examples in which the only factor forbidding the generation of a new lexical item is the restriction on its morpheme structure.

Verbs can be derived from noun bases referring to instruments, the derived verbs expressing 'to use N to do something'. An extensive list of items following this program can be found below. Instances are:

strena	<i>strainer</i>	strenaim	<i>to strain</i>
spana	<i>spanner</i>	spanaim	<i>to tighten with a spanner</i>
sarip	<i>grassknife</i>	saripim	<i>to cut with a grassknife</i>

However, the derivation of transitive verbs from synonymous or semantically similar lexical items is barred:

koswaia	<i>gauze wire, strainer</i>	*koswaiaim ²
pukpukspana	<i>crocodile spanner, pipe wrench</i>	*pukpukspanaim
grasnaip	<i>grassknife</i>	*grasnaipim

I have found no counterexamples to this convention. However, an interesting way of overcoming this restriction was found in *sandim to scrub with sandpaper*, which is related to *sandpepa sandpaper*. Here, only the first component of the compound referring to the instrument is regarded as the instrument used in the action. The case of *glasim long glas bilong lukluk to give signals with a mirror* can be regarded as a similar one. Closely related to the case just discussed is a second set of morphological redundancy conventions. There is a general principle in Tok Pisin which forbids multiple derivations, i.e. a derived item cannot be further derived even if the phonological and semantic conditions for derivation are met. This means that lexical derivations only operate on lexical bases. This principle will be illustrated with some observations on the derivation of abstract nouns in Tok Pisin. Abstract nouns can be freely derived from adjectives or verb bases, as in:

lap	<i>to laugh</i>	lap	<i>laughter</i>
hepi	<i>happy</i>	hepi	<i>happiness</i>
kam	<i>to come, arrive</i>	kam	<i>arrival</i>
save	<i>to know</i>	save	<i>knowledge</i>
kros	<i>angry</i>	kros	<i>anger</i>

However, abstract nouns cannot be derived from adjectives or verbs which have been derived from other word bases. This excludes:

lexical base	derived verbs/adjectives	abstract nouns
bek (N) <i>bag</i>	bekim <i>to put into bags</i>	*bekim <i>the bagging</i>
savol (N) <i>shovel</i>	savolim <i>to dig</i>	*savolim <i>the shovelling</i>
spun (N) <i>spoon</i>	spunim <i>to spoon</i>	*spunim <i>the spooning</i>

To express the concepts of bagging, etc. paraphrases such as *wok bilong pulimapim long bek the work of filling into bags* must be used.

Similarly, abstract nouns cannot be derived from causative verbs which are derived from adjectives or verbs. Thus, *sindaunim to settle* can be derived from *sindaun to sit*, but **sindaunim action of settling, the settling of* is excluded. Instead, the paraphrase *wok bilong sindaunim the work of settling* must be used.

4.5.3.3 Semantic redundancy conventions

The main function of semantic redundancy conventions is to predict new semantic information on the basis of known information.

An example of such a convention is that which specifies that lexical noun bases referring to localities may also refer to the human inhabitants of such localities:

noun base	gloss
nambis	<i>beach or coastal dweller</i>
Amerika	<i>America or American</i>
bikbus	<i>big bush or bush dweller</i>
maunten	<i>mountain or mountain dweller</i>
Sepik	<i>Sepik or Sepik man</i>

Other examples are:

(a) The use of the same noun to refer to animals and the meat of animals:

bulmakau	<i>cow or beef</i>
sipsip	<i>sheep or mutton</i>
abus	<i>animal or meat</i>
pik	<i>pig or pork</i>

(b) The use of the same noun to refer to a material and something made of this material:

ain	<i>iron or pressing iron, anvil</i>
kapa	<i>copper or cauldron, 'copper'</i>
wul	<i>wool or shawl, bed cover</i>
plaua	<i>flour or small cake</i>
paura	<i>gunpowder or firecracker</i>
kom	<i>horn or comb</i>
plet	<i>china or plate</i>
gumi	<i>rubber or tube</i>
simen	<i>cement or monument, gravestone</i>
glas	<i>glass or glass, thermometer</i>
pulpul	<i>flower, grass or grasskirt</i>

Since many things can be made of the same material, the usefulness of this convention is restricted.

(c) The same noun can refer to a musical instrument and the sound made by this instrument:

musik	<i>musical instrument or music</i>
garamut	<i>slit gong or sound of slit gong</i>
wailis	<i>wireless or message</i>
taur	<i>conch-shell or sound of conch-shell</i>

Cases of lexical redundancy conventions referring to verbs are discussed under the heading of verbal auxiliaries (cf.4.4.1), as the prediction of such information is subject to regular syntactic rules.

4.5.4 THE FORMATION OF LEXICAL ITEMS

4.5.4.1 Introduction

The view adopted here is that a distinction can be made between syntactic processes and processes of word formation and that the place for the description of the latter is the lexicon (cf. Mühlhäusler 1979c:chapter 2).

Reference will be made to both words (such as paip *pipe* or mausgris *to flatter*) and lexical items of higher size-levels (e.g. lexical phrases such as draipela bun *a strong man*).

There are three main mechanisms for the formation of new words from existing word bases, namely compounding (the combination of two word bases to yield a new word), reduplication (the repetition of part of the whole of a word base to yield a new word) and multifunctionality (the shift of a word base from one grammatical category to another). Words which have not undergone any of these three processes are referred to as lexical bases, all others are referred to as derived lexical items. The decision to treat word formation processes as different from syntactic processes is based on two main considerations:

- a) Though derived lexical items are related to syntactic structures (paraphrases) containing lexical bases, they are not derived from such structures. Motivated lexical items are created as names for particular referents rather than as descriptive paraphrases. Thus, though a compound such as rabiswik is related to the syntactic construction wik i rabis *the week is worthless*, its primary function is to serve as a name for a *week which is not a payweek*. Thus, the meaning of a compound is not fully recoverable merely by reference to related paraphrases.
- b) The patterns underlying word formation are often of limited productivity. Whilst it is possible to derive a number of verbs with the meaning *put into* N from nouns referring to containers, not all nouns can serve as the basis for a verbal derivation. Thus matmatim *to bury*, *put into grave* and bekim *to put into bags* are accepted, but *betim *to put on a shelf* and *tinim *to can* are not.

The descriptive mechanism used in the presentation of motivated words is to classify such words in terms of a number of related paraphrases, such as:

MF³ Program 1

(N + im) V_{tr} → jusim N long wokim sampela samting

derived transitive verb is related to *to use N to make something*

CP³ Program 1

(adj. + N₁) N₁ → N₂ i gat adj. N₁

nominal compound is related to N₂ *has* adj. N₁

Examples following the first of these programs are:

hamarim *to beat with a hammer, to hammer*
 brumim *to sweep (with a broom)*
 soldaim *to solder*

Examples following the second program:

bikhet *bigheaded, conceited person*
 guthet *good thinker*
 wanai *one-eyed person*

An exhaustive account of the numerous word-formation regularities of Tok Pisin is given by Mühlhäusler (1979c), though new ones have since developed in the more advanced varieties of the language. Here follows a selection of the most common types:

4.5.4.2 Compounding

Compounds will be subclassified first in terms of their categorial status and second in terms of their related periphrastic structures.

(a) Nominal compounding

CP Program 1

(adj. + N) N → N i adj.

someone or something has the characteristics of adj.

The combination of a descriptive adjective plus a noun typically results in a word-level compound whose meaning differs to a smaller or larger degree from that of a syntactic group containing the same elements. Most of these compounds are also formally distinguished from syntactic groups in that the attributive adjective appears without its ending -pela. Thus *hatpela wara hot water* contrasts with *hatwara soup, broth* in both its form and its meaning. Combinations at phrase level are found mainly among older speakers. Examples of lexical phrases appear at the end of the list:

Tok Pisin	literal meaning	meaning
bikbol	<i>big testicles</i>	<i>elephantiasis</i>
bikgan	<i>big gun</i>	<i>cannon</i>
biknem	<i>big name</i>	<i>generic term</i>
bluston	<i>blue stone</i>	<i>copper sulphate</i>
guttaim	<i>good time</i>	<i>peace</i>
kolwin	<i>cold wind</i>	<i>sea wind</i>
retsos	<i>red sauce</i>	<i>tomato ketchup</i>
smolpapa	<i>small father</i>	<i>stepfather, uncle</i>
wetliva	<i>white liver</i>	<i>lungs</i>
blupela pis	<i>blue fish</i>	<i>parrot fish</i>
liklik star	<i>little star</i>	<i>firefly</i>
strongpela sua	<i>strong sore</i>	<i>framboesia</i>
waitpela blut	<i>white blood</i>	<i>pus</i>

CP Program 2

(wan + N) N → mitupela i gat wanpela N

the two of us share N

Examples are:

Tok Pisin	literal meaning	meaning
wanbel	one womb	twin
wanblut	one blood	blood relative
wankaikai	one food	messmate
wannem	one name	namesake
wanples	one village	someone from the same village
wanrot	one road	travel companion
wansolwara	one sea	fellow Pacific Islander
wanwok	one work	workmate

CP Program 3

(adj. + N₁) N₁ → N₂ i gat adj. N₁

N₂ has got (the properties of) adn. + N₁

Examples are:

bikhet	big head	bigheaded person
bikbel	big belly	fat person
blakskin	black skin	a native, Buka islander
plantihan	plenty arms	centipede
sikiswil	six wheels	heavy lorry
wetgras	white hair	old person
wetpus	white sash	paramount chief

CP Program 4

(N₁N₂) N₁ → N₁ i stap long N₂

N₁ is in/on/at N₂

Examples:

buskanaka	bush native	uncivilised person
mankimasta	boy staying with European	personal servant
skulboi	school boy	school boy
tinmit	tin meat	tinned meat
hanwas	arm watch	wrist watch
mausgras	mouth hair	moustache

(b) Verbal compounds

CP Program 5

(V_{tr} + N) V_{intr} → V_{tr} + N

to do something with N

Examples:

kikbol	kick ball	to play soccer
luslain	leave group	to depart
meknais	make noise	to tremble
pinistaim	finish time	to finish one's contract
sutas	shoot arse	to inoculate
givim bel	give belly	to impregnate
kisim win	catch wind	to rest

(c) Adjectival compounds

CP Program 6

(N₁ + adj.) adj. → N₁ bilong sampela man i adj*to have N₁ which is adj.*

Examples:

Tok Pisin	literal meaning	lexical meaning
aipas	<i>eye fast</i>	<i>blind, shortsighted</i>
belgut	<i>belly good</i>	<i>contented</i>
belklin	<i>belly clean</i>	<i>sincere</i>
nekdrai	<i>neck dry</i>	<i>thirsty</i>
skrulus	<i>screw loose</i>	<i>lame</i>
winsot	<i>wind short</i>	<i>winded</i>

4.5.4.3 Multifunctionality (functional shift)

Multifunctionality is important in the early stages of a pidgin language, since it provides new lexical items without an increase in either syntactic rules or rules of affixation. Its main drawbacks are:

- that it increases ambiguity
- that the derived forms are not longer than the base forms, thereby violating the principle that languages should be iconically encoded.

A detailed discussion of multifunctionality can be found in Mühlhäusler 1979c:349ff.

The following examples, classified according to the categorial status of the base, illustrate the most important programs of multifunctionality in Tok Pisin.

(a) Derivation from nominal bases

MF Program 1

(N + im) V_{tr} → jusim N long {^{mekim}_{wokim}} sampela samting*to use N to {^{make}_{do}} something*

The nouns sensitive to this program can become transitive verbs by adding the transitivity marker -im. The following list includes the items most commonly used:

basic item	derived verb
ain <i>iron</i>	ainim <i>to iron</i>
baira <i>hoe</i>	bairaim <i>to hoe</i>
blok <i>pulley</i>	blokim <i>to raise with pulley</i>
bombom <i>torch</i>	bombomin <i>to catch fish with torch</i>
bros <i>brush</i>	brosim <i>to brush</i>
bulit <i>glue</i>	bulitim <i>to glue</i>
dril <i>drill</i>	drilim <i>to drill</i>
glas <i>thermometer</i>	glasim <i>to take a temperature</i>
glu <i>glue</i>	gluim <i>to glue</i>
hama <i>hammer</i>	hamarim <i>to hammer</i>
huk <i>hook</i>	hukim <i>to catch with a hook</i>

basic item		derived verb	
kom	<i>comb</i>	komim	<i>to comb</i>
laim	<i>glue</i>	laimim	<i>to glue</i>
lok	<i>lock</i>	lokim	<i>to lock</i>
lum	<i>loom</i>	lumim	<i>to weave</i>
maisil	<i>chisel</i>	maisilim	<i>to chisel</i>
meta	<i>yardstick</i>	metaim	<i>to measure</i>
nat	<i>nut</i>	natim	<i>to secure with a nut</i>
nil	<i>nail</i>	nilim	<i>to nail</i>
pam	<i>pump</i>	pamim	<i>to pump</i>
pin	<i>pin</i>	pinim	<i>to pin</i>
rola	<i>roller</i>	rolaim	<i>to move with rollers</i>

MF Program 2

(N) V_{intr} → mekim wok bilong N
to perform the work of N

Nouns referring to persons having a certain professional or other status can be used as verbs. Both intransitive and transitive verbs can be derived. For most such derivations the transitivity marker long is chosen. This program is of less generality than the previous one and a number of possible derivations are not used by older speakers.

noun base	intransitive verb	transitive form
boskru <i>crew member</i>	boskru <i>to be a crew member</i>	-
bos <i>boss</i>	bos <i>to be in charge</i>	bosim <i>to rule over</i>
draiwa <i>driver</i>	draiwa <i>to be the driver</i>	-
het <i>head</i>	het <i>to be the head</i>	hetim <i>to rule over</i>
jas <i>judge</i>	jas <i>to be the judge</i>	jasim <i>to judge</i>
kaunsil <i>councillor</i>	kaunsil <i>to be the coun- cillor</i>	kaunsil long <i>to counsel, advise</i>
komiti <i>second in village</i>	komiti <i>to be second in village</i>	-
kundar <i>acolyte</i>	kundar <i>to be the acolyte</i>	kundar long <i>to be acolyte</i>
lida <i>leader</i>	lida <i>to be the leader</i>	lida long <i>to lead</i>
mandor <i>supervisor</i>	mandor <i>to be the supervisor</i>	mandorim <i>to supervise</i>
memba <i>member</i>	memba <i>to be the member</i>	-
mekanik <i>mechanic</i>	mekanik <i>to be a mechanic</i>	-
ministran <i>acolyte</i>	ministran <i>behaves like kundar</i>	-
papa <i>father, owner</i>	papa <i>to be the owner</i>	papa long <i>to own</i>
pasindia <i>freeloader</i>	pasindia <i>to sponge</i>	pasindia long <i>to sponge</i>

MF Program 3

(N + im) V → putim sampela samting i go insait long N
to put something into N

The productivity of this program is restricted by the preference of many speakers for periphrastic constructions. The following forms, however, are widely accepted.

banis	<i>fence, bandage</i>	banisim	<i>to fence in, bandage</i>
bek	<i>bag</i>	bekim	<i>to put into bags</i>
bilum	<i>stringbag</i>	bilumin	<i>to put into a stringbag</i>
bus	<i>bush</i>	busim	<i>to send to the bush, chase off</i>
graun	<i>ground, soil</i>	graunim	<i>to bury</i>
kalabus	<i>prison</i>	kalabusim	<i>to jail</i>
kompaun	<i>compound</i>	kompaunim	<i>to settle in a compound</i>

MF Program 4

(N + im) V → mekim i kamap olsem N
to reduce to, make into

The meaning of the transitive verb is to make into what is referred to by the noun. Examples include:

baret	ditch	baretim	to drain by making ditches
hap	piece, part	hapim	to reduce to parts
hip	heap	hipim	to pile up into a heap
meme	pulp, inedible part of betelnut or sugarcane	memeim	to pulverise, chew up
pudel	heap	pudelim	to heap

MF Program 5

(N) V_{intr} → mekim long N (= sampela taim)
to do something at a certain time

Noun bases referring to a point or period of time can become intransitive verbs expressing to do what is normally done at such a time. The following examples were recorded:

brekpas	breakfast	brekpas	to have breakfast
limlimbur	period of rest	limlimbur	to stroll
malolo	time of rest	malolo	to rest
pesto	celebration	pesto	to celebrate
pinistaim	end of labour contract	pinistaim	to end contract labour
potnait	fortnight	potnait	to pool wages
sande	Sunday	sande	to pool wages on Sunday or to spend Sunday
spel	time of rest	spel	to rest

(b) Derivations from adjective and intransitive verb bases

MF Program 6: formation of abstract nouns

(adj./V_{intr}) N → passin bilong adj./V_{intr}
the manner of

bikpela	big	bikpela	size
longpela	long	longpela	length
prout	proud	prout	pride
kleva	clever	kleva	intelligence
swit	sweet	swit	sweetness
hevi	heavy	hevi	weight
brait	wide	brait	width
kamap	to arrive	kamap	arrival
pairap	to explode	pairap	explosion
wokabaut	to walk	wokabaut	excursion, travel
driman	to dream	driman	dream

MF Program 7: derivation of causative verbs

(adj./V_{intr}) V_{caus} → N₁ i mekim N₂ i adj./V_{intr}
to cause to

sindaun	sit	sindaunim	to cause to sit, settle
gohet	progress	gohetim	to cause to progress

kirap	<i>get up</i>	kirapim	<i>to arouse, startle</i>
surik	<i>flinch</i>	surikim	<i>to push back</i>
strong	<i>strong</i>	strongim	<i>to strengthen</i>
stret	<i>straight</i>	stretim	<i>to straighten</i>
tait	<i>tight, fast</i>	taitim	<i>to tighten</i>
tru	<i>true</i>	truim	<i>to fulfil</i>

MF Program 8: derivation of transitive verbs from intransitive verbs

$(V_{intr}) V_{tr} \rightarrow N_1 i V_{intr} \text{ long } N_2$
to act in the way expressed by V_{intr} *towards* N_2

sekan	<i>to take leave</i>	sekanim	<i>to shake hands with, to take leave from</i>
marimari	<i>to be good-hearted</i>	marimariim	<i>to have mercy on</i>
hambak	<i>to fool around</i>	hambakim	<i>to mal-administer</i>
pekpek	<i>to defecate</i>	pekpekim	<i>to deliberately defecate on, to soil</i>
puspus	<i>to have intercourse</i>	puspusim	<i>to have intercourse with</i>

(c) Derivation from transitive verb bases

MF Program 9

$(V_{tr}) N_{abst} \rightarrow \text{pasin bilong } V_{tr}$
the manner of V_{tr}

The productivity of this program is rather restricted; in addition there is no way of predicting whether the transitivity marker -im will appear with the derived nouns or not. The following examples are commonly found in Tok Pisin.

bekim	<i>to answer</i>	bekim	<i>answer</i>
askim	<i>to ask</i>	askim	<i>question</i>
kolim	<i>to call, name</i>	kolim	<i>pronunciation</i>
traim	<i>to try, tempt</i>	traim	<i>temptation</i>
subim	<i>to shove, push</i>	subim	<i>force</i>
wasim	<i>to wash</i>	was	<i>washing</i>
taitim	<i>to tighten, pull hard</i>	tait	<i>force</i>

Apart from these main types of multifunctionality, a number of less productive programs can be found, some of which have been taken from English in recent years.

4.5.4.3 Reduplication

Iteration of morphemes, words and higher level units is used to fulfil a number of semantic functions in Tok Pisin. A preliminary examination of these functions was made by Mühlhäusler (1975c) and a more comprehensive account as well as a discussion of the descriptive problems is given in Mühlhäusler 1979c. The main function of reduplication is to modify the meaning of the iterated items rather than to create entirely new words. This characterises iteration as a stylistic rather than a word-formation process. The terminological distinction between repetition (iteration at phrase and higher levels) and reduplication (iteration at word-level) is often made, though little will be said here about processes above word-level.

The classification of reduplicated words is done in terms of the semantic function of reduplication.

RD⁴ Program 1: intensification

By repeating part or the whole of a lexical base a new form is created which expresses that an action, state or property is present to a higher degree. Reduplication is accompanied by shifting the main stress to the initial syllable of the resulting word and often by an increase in tempo. This program operates on transitive verbs, intransitive verbs, adjectives and adverbs and the sub-classification will be made accordingly.

(1a) Intensification of transitive verb bases:

The transitive verb base is repeated in full but the transitive marker -im appears only at the end of the reduplicated form. Examples are:

askim	to ask	askaskim	to ask persistently
harim	to hear, listen	harharim	to listen intently to
holim	to hold, touch	holholim	to hold tight
katim	to cut	katkatim	to cut thoroughly, cut into little bits
paitim	to hit	paitpaitim	to give a thorough thrashing

(1b) Intensification of intransitive verbs and adjectives:

In the case of attributive adjectives the adjective ending -pela is iterated together with the adjective stem; in predicative position this depends on the morphological class of the adjective. Those which appear without -pela in predicative position also appear without -pela in their reduplicated form. In all instances no increase in tempo can be observed.

Since the meaning of these reduplicated items can be recovered more readily if additional contextual information is known I shall illustrate this subclass with a few phrases and sentences:

blakpela blakpela klaut	a very dark sky
gutpela gutpela meri	a very good woman
switpela switpela kaikai	very tasty food
draipela draipela pik	a very big pig
trupela trupela tok	a very true story
sotpela sotpela siket	a very short skirt
pasin i nogutnogut tru	this is really bad behaviour
kokonas i kamap sotpela sotpela	just a tiny bit of coconut tree had grown
dispela dis i brukbruk	this plate is broken into little pieces
ol i luslus nau	they are really lost
bodi i taittait	to walk around with 'tight' limbs, to walk like Frankenstein (said of dead body)
ol meri i paulpaul long taun	the women lead a bad life in town
ol i kam bungbung	they all gathered (eagerly)
mi gogo pinis	I finished walking (fast, intensely)
ol i kraikrai long mani	they are all crying loud for money

(1c) Reduplication of adverb bases:

Again, reduplication with adverb bases will be illustrated with examples containing some contextual information:

em i stap insaitinsait long pukpuk	<i>he was deep inside the crocodile</i>
em i tok momo yet	<i>he talks a great deal</i>
pater i krosim em nating nating	<i>the Father is cross with him for no reason whatsoever</i>
ol i givim nabaut olsemolsem naunau Inglis i stap nau	<i>they distributed it just like this now, the English are here</i>
ol pipel bilong Hailans i save pait klostuklostu	<i>the Highlanders usually fight from very close</i>
ol Niugini i save dring kwikkwik	<i>the New Guineans usually drink very quickly</i>

RD Program 2: plurality and distribution

Though plurality and distribution are typically found with nouns and numerals, there is also a tendency among fluent Tok Pisin speakers to reduplicate verbs and adjectives in constructions expressing an idea of plurality and distribution. Reduplication of verbs and adjectives for this purpose may be regarded as some sort of optional number agreement.

(2a) Reduplication of nominal bases:

Here follow some examples of nominal reduplication embedded in their linguistic context:

ol i pulimapim ol bekbek	<i>they filled the various bags</i>
siot i gat kalakala na kainkain mak	<i>the shirt has various patterns and various colours</i>
dispela pikinini bilong diwai i gat konakona	<i>this fruit which has a number of corners (carambola fruit)</i>
ol kinaselkinasel ol save putim	<i>they used to collect lots of shells</i>
em i wok long kukim kaikai long naitnait	<i>he is busy cooking food every night</i>

(2b) Reduplication of verbal bases:

mipela planti pamili i mas bungbung	<i>many members of our family must come together</i>
ol liklik lang ol i plaipalai long mama bilongen	<i>little flies were swarming around his mother</i>
planti snek i hiphip insait long diwai	<i>lots of snakes were piled up inside the tree</i>

(2c) Reduplication of numerals serves the main function of indicating distribution whereas the idea of plurality is only subordinate to this purpose. Though all examples recorded have single main stress there is a certain amount of fluctuation in the use of *-pela*. Examples are:

wanpelawanpela ailan i gat nem bilongen yet	<i>each of the many islands has its own name</i>
--	--

ol Ostrelia i no save maritim tutu meri	<i>the Australians are not in the habit of marrying two girls</i>
ol i takis long faivfaiv dola	<i>they pay five dollars tax each</i>

4.5.5 CONCLUSIONS

The aim of this chapter was to present a brief introduction to the systematic aspects of the lexicon of Tok Pisin. The study of regularities such as the ones pointed out has been badly neglected in the past, leading many outside observers of the language to the conclusion that the Tok Pisin lexicon is an abnormally short list of words and therefore inadequate in dealing with more complex topics. I hope to have succeeded in casting doubt on such a view, by pointing to the numerous lexical programs which enable fluent speakers of Tok Pisin to interpret and produce a very large number of lexical items.

NOTES

1. This example was given to me by Dr Laycock.
2. The symbol * signals ungrammaticality at the point of development under discussion.
3. MF = multifunctionality; CP = compounding.
4. RD = reduplication.

5. TOK PISIN AND ITS RELEVANCE TO THEORETICAL ISSUES
IN CREOLISTICS AND GENERAL LINGUISTICS

5.1 TOK PISIN AND ITS RELEVANCE TO THEORETICAL ISSUES IN CREOLISTICS AND GENERAL LINGUISTICS

P. Mühlhäusler

5.1.1 INTRODUCTION

5.1.1.1 General background

Whilst the relationship between the study of particular languages and a theory of human language is one of mutual dependence, in the sense that descriptions of individual languages must be derived from sound general theories and that those theories in turn must be based on observations of individual languages, there would seem to be no particular reason, at first sight, why Tok Pisin should be more suited to the purposes of theoretical linguists than any other human language. In fact, Tok Pisin, alongside other pidgin and creole languages, has been ignored and at times scorned by theoretical linguists until the very recent past. However, in the wake of concern for linguistic universals and sociolinguistic theories, interest in pidgins and creoles has become very widespread, as can be seen from the veritable explosion of publications in this area. For a number of reasons Tok Pisin figures prominently in these discussions, notably:

- a) Tok Pisin is one of the very few languages whose entire linguistic development can be documented in considerable detail. It thus provides badly needed observational adequacy for the historical linguist.
- b) The rate of linguistic change has been so fast that predictions concerning rule-changing creativity can be checked within a short period of time.
- c) Tok Pisin is spoken both as a second and first language and thus affords valuable insights into the nature of creolisation. Its range of linguistic variation is thus wider than that of most other languages.
- d) Tok Pisin, like other pidgins and creoles, is more natural than most of the world's languages, since it developed under extreme pressure for communication in a multilingual context. Here, influence from specific traditional languages and attempts to introduce cultural refinements characteristic of old languages is virtually absent. Thus, it seems reasonable to assume that a language such as Tok Pisin closely reflects the inborn human language capacity.

Thus, Tok Pisin can provide linguists with particularly valuable data against which to test their theories. It is impossible to do justice to all the issues raised in this area in a single chapter. All that I can realistically propose to do is to briefly outline some of the areas where evidence from Tok Pisin has been of particular relevance. I shall now deal with them as follows:

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443

(1) General linguistics

- a) terminological issues
- b) methodology
- c) linguistic universals
- d) markedness
- e) relationship between structure and function

(2) Creolistics

- a) theories of pidgin origin
- b) problems of linguistic discontinuity
- c) comparative linguistics and the interrelationship between Pacific pidgins and creoles
- d) Tok Pisin and Bickerton's bioprogram grammar

5.1.1.2 Terminological issues

Like any other branch of linguistics, creolistics has suffered from considerable terminological problems. Particular difficulties were experienced in defining pidgins and creoles. A detailed discussion can be found in Mühlhäusler 1974:11-25 and in Samarin 1975. Since definitions often determine the direction of research, it would seem profitable to look at some of them in more detail. The term pidgin has been defined, among other things, as:

- a) "A variety whose grammar and vocabulary are very much reduced The resultant language must be native to no one." (Bloomfield 1933:474)
- b) "A language which has arisen as the result of contact between peoples of different languages, usually formed from mixing of the languages." (UNESCO 1963:46)
- c) "The vocabulary is mainly provided by the language spoken by upper stratum (sic) of a mixed society, adapted by the lower stratum to the grammar and morphology of their original language." (Adler 1977:12)
- e) "... more or less deformed European words strung together with a minimum of grammar" (Bodmer 1880 quoted from Mühlhäusler 1974:14)
- f) "... the grammatical structure has been simplified very much beyond what we find in any of the languages involved in their (= pidgins') making." (Jespersen 1922:227)
- g) "Two or more people use a language in a variety whose grammar and vocabulary are very much reduced in extent and which is native to neither side. Such a language is a 'pidgin'." (Hall 1966:xii)
- h) "It (i.e. Pidgin English) is a corrupted form of English, mixed with many morsels from other languages and it is adapted to the mentality of the natives; therefore words tend to be simply concatenated and conjunction and declension are avoided." (Baessler 1895:23-24 translated from German)

Note that there are a number of problems with such definitions:

- i) Those who stress the makeshift character of pidgins (a "supplementary tongue for special forms of intercourse" Reinecke 1964:537) ignore

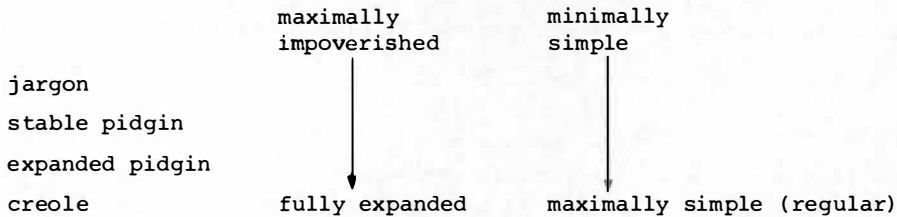
the fact that pidgins can develop to a considerable degree of stability and complexity.

- ii) There is a tendency to confuse simplification (greater grammatical regularity) with impoverishment (lack of referential and non-referential power). There is also considerable uncertainty as to whether simplification is greatest in incipient or extended pidgins.

Studies in the area of interlanguage (e.g. Corder 1977 and Traugott 1977:132-162) have drawn attention to the insufficiency of the notion of simplification (or simplicity) in some pidgin and creole studies. The latter points out that (153ff):

The natural semantax hypothesis suggests that a large number of linguistic phenomena often called 'simplification' does not in fact involve processes of simplification The result of acquisition may be an internalized system simpler from a comparative point of view than others' systems, but in itself it is not simplification.

The complex problem as to the relationship between simplification in the sense of rule generalisation on the one hand and naturalness and markedness on the other, cannot be solved here. However, data from developing pidgins support the view that impoverishment and simplification are inversely related: as the referential and non-referential power of a language increases, so its content must become more structured. A basic jargon used to exchange information in a limited contextual domain does not need structure. In its initial phase it is little more than a list of phrases or lexical irregularities. We thus get the following picture:



Agheyisi's view (1971:24) that:

It is possible that most of the factors which contribute to the development of the simplified variety known as the pidgin are most active during the pidginization process. This process is said to extend chronologically from the period of initial language contact through the stage when the resulting pidginized speech becomes sufficiently regularized and stabilized to have associated with it certain unique features by which it can be recognized and distinguished from other systems.

can no longer be upheld.

- iii) Pidgins are not mixed languages in the sense most often intended. First, it appears that the most mixed component of grammar is the lexicon, where syncretisms of various types are common (see chapter on etymologising (2.6)), and not syntax. Secondly, mixing at the syntactic and morphological levels is virtually absent in the formative phase of pidgins and becomes more important only after

stabilisation and considerable expansion have taken place. It is most pronounced in the post-pidgin phase, i.e. when a pidgin comes into renewed contact with its original lexifier language. The various aspects of mixing in pidgin development are discussed by Mühlhäusler (1982c).

- iv) Pidgins are classified and often defined as being based on 'lexically' a principal lexifier language, typically the language spoken by the socially dominant group. Two objections can be levelled against this view. As pointed out by Dennis and Scott (1975:2):

"... we will avoid calling the creoles 'English-based' or 'Portuguese-based' etc., since we can see no grounds for deciding that the lexicon is the base of the language, as opposed to the semantic-syntactic framework of the language.

A second reason is that the mixed or compromise character of pidgin lexicons is typically ignored. Thus, whilst most Tok Pisin words can be related to an English etymon, a very large proportion (probably as many as 50% in its formative years) can also be related to items of other languages. This is typically ignored in cognate counting.

In view of the above considerations I would like to propose a new definition of a pidgin:

Pidgins are examples of partially targeted or non-targeted second-language learning, developing from simpler to more complex systems as communicative requirements become more demanding. Whilst pidgin languages by definition have no native speakers, they are social rather than individual solutions and hence characterised by norms of acceptability. For such stability to develop three or more different languages must be involved in pidgin formation.

5.1.1.3 Methodological issues

Pidgin languages, at least in their early phases of development, exhibit a number of characteristics which should have endeared them to both structuralist and transformationalist grammarians:

- a) They are probably the only languages where the notions of 'free variation' or 'optional rule' make sense.
- b) They belong to the very restricted number of cases where idiolectal grammars can be pinpointed.
- c) In incipient pidgins the lexicon can indeed be regarded as a 'list of irregularities'.

Whereas a number of structuralist grammars of pidgins have been written (e.g. Hall 1943a for Tok Pisin), the above mentioned 'advantages' of pidgins were not used for theoretical argumentation, nor were they taken up by transformationalists. Instead, the latter dismissed the importance of pidgins on the following grounds:

- a) It was believed that languages can be learned perfectly only by children before maturation and that access to universals such as enable children to speak any human language is only imperfectly found in adults. It is for this reason that some transformationalists have dismissed pidgins as parasites upon 'true' languages.

- b) Establishing the grammaticality of strings involved the testing of speakers' intuitions. In second-language speakers such intuitions are only imperfectly realised and probably absent in the initial phases of pidgin development.¹
- c) Transformational grammars are static in that they describe an idealised invariant system. Since one of the principal characteristics of pidgins is their dynamically changing and hence variable nature, the problem of selecting an abstract 'typical' pidgin is great.²

To these may be added other considerations. Transformationalist descriptions are meant to be neutral between speaker and hearer's grammar. Such a description would fail to do justice to the complex patterns of unidirectional intelligibility, semi-intelligibility and the great distance between production and perception skills in pidgin languages. Similarly, the view that one is dealing with a homogeneous speech community (a term which is highly controversial even for old established languages, cf. Romaine 1982) is simply inappropriate. Many pidgins arise precisely for the reason that social and linguistic distance between groups can be maintained, and the development of speech communities in the conventional sense typically occurs late in their development.

Many post-transformational directions in linguistics, in particular the dynamic or quantum linguistics developed by Bailey, Bickerton, DeCamp and others, gained much of their impetus from pidgin and creole studies. The dynamic account of language (also referred to as lectology) is characterised by:

- a) The incorporation of development or time in grammatical description: implicational patterns of the type 'a implies b' can be interpreted as b was added to the grammar later than a.
- b) The central role of linguistic structures. The analysis of linguistic variation aims at describing linguistic patterns rather than correlations between linguistic and social variables.
- c) Its being panlectal, i.e. describing all variants of a language. Actual speakers will normally be competent in smaller parts of such panlectal grammars. It will also be found that language users will have more comprehension than production grammar. It must be pointed out, however, that the description of the panlectal patterns takes precedence over the assignments of subgrammars to individual speakers.
- d) Its being able to predict changes by referring to metaprinciples such as naturalness.

Summaries of the differences between earlier and lectological models are given by Bailey (1973) and, for pidgin and creole linguistics, by Mühlhäusler (1980b). Whereas this model allows for a descriptively adequate account of the complex variation patterns characterising much of pidgin and creole grammar, the very complexity of such descriptions makes it practically impossible to write complete grammars. My description of variability in Tok Pisin plural marking occupies more than 50 pages (Mühlhäusler 1981a) and would have been considerably longer had it been based on an adequately selected sample of speakers. The practical limitations of fieldwork for creole variation studies are discussed by McEntegart and Le Page (1982). The main task facing the descriptive linguist is to find a plausible compromise between abstract description and detailed observation of variability. A rule of thumb is that variation studies are most profitably

carried out in those areas of grammar that are subject to conscious manipulation by speakers of the language.

An important aspect of all the models discussed so far is the implicit belief that the referential (cognitive, truth-value) function is the primary function of language. Again, this is true only of incipient pidgins and middle-class western academic discourse and would have been yet another reason for linguists to take pidgins more seriously. All other languages including present-day Tok Pisin are probably dominated by the so-called nonreferential functions. I do not propose to solve the difficult problem of the numbers of and boundaries between these functions. However, what is interesting from the point of view of developmental theories of language is the order in which such functions are acquired in pidgins and first languages. Compare Halliday's findings with those of Mühlhäusler (1980b:46):

HALLIDAY 1974	MÜHLHÄUSLER 1980b ³
a) instrumental	a) referential (representational)
b) regulative	b) directive (regulative)
c) interactional	c) integrative (connative, interactional)
d) personal	d) expressive (personal)
e) heuristic	e) phatic (interactional)
f) metalinguistic	f) metalinguistic
g) imaginative	g) poetic (imaginative)
h) representational	

I will return to this point in the section on form and function.

In conclusion, pidgins are of particular importance to linguistic methodology because they highlight a number of problems which have been virtually ignored in the study of classical or modern standard languages. Most significantly, they are largely free from cultural influence in their grammatical structures and have no written tradition to influence the perception of language phenomena.

5.1.1.4 Linguistic universals

There are two principal approaches to the study of linguistic universals:

(1) The Greenbergian approach (cf. Greenberg 1963 and elsewhere) based on the comparison of surface characteristics of a large number of languages. Examples (from Greenberg 1963) are:

Universal 34: No language has a trial number unless it has a dual.
No language has a dual unless it has a plural.
(This is an unrestricted implicational universal.)

Universal 42: All languages have pronominal categories involving at least three pronouns and two numbers. (This is an unrestricted independent universal.)

Universals of the Greenbergian type can be easily falsified with evidence from new languages, as has been done for universal 42 by Laycock (1977e:33-41).

(2) A second approach to linguistic universals is that of Chomsky (e.g. 1965) and other transformationalists. It consists of postulating a small number of abstract universal principles which are said to enable children to learn any language. Examples include:

- a) The grammars of all languages have a category VP (verb phrase). (This is a substantive universal.)
- b) The semantic component interprets syntactic deep structure. (This is an organisational universal.)
- c) If the phrase X of category A is embedded within a larger phrase ZXW which is also of the category A, then no rule applying to the category A applies to X but only to ZXW. (This is the A-over-A principle, a formal universal discussed by Chomsky (1968:27-47).)

It should be noted that these latter are universals of formalisation and that their alleged status as mental realities is largely removed from empirical verification. Both Greenberg's and Chomsky's approaches to universals are deficient in a number of ways:

- a) As suggested by Bickerton (1981), they compare languages consisting of mixtures between cultural and (biologically founded) natural grammar, i.e. systems which are strictly speaking not comparable. At best, one will obtain an arbitrary mix between natural and cultural universals and one is likely to miss out on a very large number of natural universals which have been overlaid by cultural grammar in individual languages.
- b) Both types of universals are static, i.e. based on fully developed adult grammars. They are therefore difficult to relate to findings from pidgin, creole and child-language development.

However, even within the above two frameworks, a number of linguists (e.g. Givón 1979, Mühlhäusler 1974 and Kay and Sankoff 1974) have noted the special role of pidgins and creoles in universals research. The three authors independently arrived at the conclusion, expressed by Givón 1979:4:

Thus the reduced or simplified characteristics of pidgins which arose under such conditions may simply reflect the fact that universal grammar is a highly un-marked type of grammar.

and on p.24:

... they might be a precious source of data about the elusive beast we have all been questing with only a scant measure of success this far - Universal Grammar.

This view has been attacked on two grounds:

- a) The basis of comparison consisted of randomly chosen endpoints of development. Thus, universals such as the absence of the copula were arrived at by comparing incipient pidgins with highly developed ones. Many of the initially postulated universals (e.g. the absence of plural marking of pidgin nouns) were subsequently disconfirmed with evidence from more developed pidgins (e.g. Tok Pisin where we find *ol meri women* against *meri women, woman*).
- b) Since pidgins are created by adults after maturation (e.g. after the so-called critical age for language acquisition) one could not expect them to reveal the nature of the universals base. Universals could only be observed in the formation of first generation creoles, i.e. when a pidgin was converted into the first language of a new speech community. A strong advocate of this view is Bickerton (e.g. 1976).

As regards the first objection, it is now accepted that the basis for universals research should be pidgin development. Research findings point to a universal program of pidgin expansion, consisting of implicational universals of the type that B is not acquired before A. An actual example is plural marking. This will always appear with nouns in subject position referring to human beings, then be extended to other grammatical positions (direct object, indirect object, after prepositions in that order) and degrees of animateness.

These findings from pidgin expansion are supported by identical findings for the development of grammar in second-language learners (i.e. the grammar such learners use in spontaneous conversations rather than the formal classroom environment). It appears that the stages any learner of any language has to undergo are those already independently established for pidgin expansion (cf. Corder 1977). It must be pointed out, however, that pidgin expansion is subject, to a greater extent than creole formation, to external pressures and cultural borrowing. However, the comparison of a sufficient number of pidgins would soon filter out such situation-specific idiosyncrasies and leave the analyst with a universal program. More detailed comments on the biologically and psychologically-founded universals in pidgin development are given by Mühlhäusler (1982c).

5.1.1.5 Linguistic markedness

Related to the question of linguistic universals is that of markedness, as was indeed suggested by Givón in the quotation above. Marked categories are acquired late by children, lost early in aphasia and are therefore less likely to be found in the world's languages. The presence of a marked category always implies that of an unmarked one.

Markedness studies of real languages have suffered from the following deficiencies:

- a) Their results were often affected by cultural considerations.
- b) There is considerable conflict between markedness in different components of grammar. Thus, less markedness in the phonological component tends to promote greater markedness in the morphological one.

Pidgin languages do not suffer from such considerations since:

- a) They develop maximally independent from cultural pressure,⁴ especially when the original lexifier language is remote or removed (as has been the case with Tok Pisin for most of its history), and when speakers of many different languages are involved in communication via a pidgin.
- b) As in other types of second-language development, the grammar of Tok Pisin has been dominated for most of its history as a second language by considerations promoting the optimisation of perception. It thus affords valuable insights into morphological naturalness, as is illustrated by Mühlhäusler (1982c).

It thus emerges that the widespread equation:

unmarked = natural
 marked = unnatural

can no longer be maintained. Instead, one should reserve naturalness for biologically and psychologically based phenomena and markedness for those which are caused or affected by cultural forces.

5.1.1.6 The relationship between form and function

A number of directions within linguistics, most notably sociolinguistics and stylistics, are concerned with the relationship between linguistic forms and speech functions. However, attempts to establish correlations between linguistic and non-linguistic parameters have usually run into considerable difficulties for one or more of the following reasons:

- a) It is widely ignored that the rate of change for linguistic and external parameters is not the same. Thus, correlations at different points in time will lead to very different results.
- b) Different functions are typically expressed by a single form and different forms may express a single function. This means that the assumption of form-function bi-uniqueness is not met.
- c) Most correlations are propensities rather than clear-cut cases.

Most of these problems have to do with the fact that traditional languages as spoken by adults possess only a very small number of clearly separable functions (Halliday 1974 macrofunctions) which are to be correlated with a very large number of forms. In the case of developing systems such as pidgins or child language the situation is different. Not only are there more distinguishable language functions (Halliday's microfunctions), there are also fewer forms to relate them to, especially in the incipient phases of development. Pidgin data thus constitute an ideal testground for the interdependency of forms and functions. However, any test must take into account that pidgins experience a constant expansion of formal and functional resources and that the correlations therefore must be of dynamic kind. A distinction must also be made between natural and cultural developments on both the formal and the functional side. One reason why previous correlationist studies have had so little success may lie in the indiscriminate mix of those two factors in the data studied.

There are many other areas where pidgin data bear on questions of linguistic theory. A number of them are discussed in a recent volume edited by Valdman and Highfield (1980), to which the interested reader is referred. The remainder of this chapter will deal with the narrower range of questions asked within pidgin and creole studies.

5.1.2 TOK PISIN AND PIDGIN AND CREOLE LINGUISTICS

5.1.2.1 Introduction

Not so many years ago the theoretical discussion of pidgins and creoles was restricted to two main topics: a) the explanation of their origin and b) their mixed character and subsequent potential contribution to a theory of language mixing. In recent years the relevance of both these questions has come under attack, the former from Bickerton (1976) who points out that the study of external origins fails to do justice to the psychological nature of these languages, the latter by Mühlhäusler (e.g. 1982) who claims that these languages are not mixed in any of the accepted senses (see subsection on substratum influence). As a consequence, a number of new issues have emerged which are now being widely discussed. Some of them will now be dealt with in greater detail.

5.1.2.2 Theories of pidgin origin

We can distinguish between the following explanations of pidgin formation:

- a) theories of Pidgin English origins
 - i) nautical English theory
 - ii) foreigner talk/baby talk theory
- b) general theories of pidgin formation
 - iii) relexification theory
 - iv) universalist theories

In addition we find theories which stress observed differences between pidgins. They include:

- v) common core theories
- vi) substratum theories

I will now discuss these proposals, though it would seem to be unreasonable to expect that any single cause is a sufficient explanation of the complex formation of a pidgin.

5.1.2.2.1 Nautical English

The idea that the origins of pidgin English can be traced back to the language of English sailors and whalers is a very popular one. An example of this folkview is given by F. Robertson in *Pacific Islands Monthly*, 23 October 1931, 'This Fascinating "Pidgin": pp.10-11

The recipe for the language is interesting: Take one sea full of British sailormen, hardy, daring, very British and profane, and leave it in a cool place for two days; extract their speech; then bring to boil and extract what speech remains. Add a coconut shell each of Chinese, Malay, German and Kanaka and bring to boil a hundred or so times, then season with a little war or two; add a few drops of Mission sauce and sprinkle with blackbird pepper and recruiter salt. Strain through Kanaka lips and serve with beer on boat days, or with undiluted Australian any other time.

Unfortunately, no documentation is given and this lack of data is also characteristic of other authors. An exception is Schellong (1934:87-98) who provides some interesting observations of the development of pidgin on board the Pacific trade vessels.

More serious attempts to trace back varieties of pidgin English to nautical English are those of Churchill (1911) and Reinecke (1937:534). The latter points out that

One of the most favourable situations for the formation of such dialects is found aboard merchant vessels which ply the seven seas and ship large numbers of foreign sailors - and indeed the seaman is a figure of the greatest importance in the creation of the more permanent makeshift tongues.

The role of nautical English also features prominently in the work of Hall (e.g. 1966:120). He claims that by applying the comparative method to pidgin English data, one will find that it

... is essentially an approximation of such features of lower-class seventeenth-century English speech as its speakers saw fit to use in their contacts with non-Europeans in the course of their trading, 'Blackbirding', and colonizing activities. If we have to assign a specific locality to our proto-pidgin-English, it will have to be somewhere in the lower reaches of the Thames, on either bank of the river, in the docks and settlements in such parts of London as Bermondsey, Rotherhithe, Wapping, Shadwell and Limehouse, and in other English seaports such as Plymouth.

More recently Hancock (1976:23-36) has researched the language used on trade vessels and the results of his investigations may prove significant to the understanding of the history of Jargon English in the Pacific area.

It is unlikely that nautical English will account for more than a minority of structural characteristics of Tok Pisin, and it must further be remembered that its influence was felt mainly in the years before 1900. The main value of further studies will be their explanatory value for lexical diffusion in the Pacific (e.g. the travels of such words as *kalabus prison*, *bulmakau cattle* or *kapmari earth oven*).

5.1.2.2 Foreigner talk (FT) or baby-talk explanations

Recent years have seen a number of significant changes in the experts' opinions about second-language acquisition. These changes have also been reflected in the various writings on the origin of pidgins and creoles. Hypotheses concerning second-language learning and pidgin development are based on the following main theories:

- a) behaviourist learning theories
- b) mentalist learning theories
- c) theories which accommodate both behaviourist and mentalist principles

For the proponents of the behaviourist approach, the question of the origin of pidgin languages was relatively easy to answer. Since languages are learnt by imitation, pidgins were said to reflect the FT (or baby-talk) register used by speakers of the superordinate language when addressing uneducated foreigners. In addition to imitation of FT, interference (or substratum influence) was considered a second force in the development of pidgins. According to Bloomfield (1933:472):

Speakers of a lower language may make so little progress in learning the dominant speech, that the masters, in communicating with them, resort to 'baby-talk'. This 'baby-talk' is the master's imitation of the subjects' incorrect speech. There is reason to believe that it is by no means an exact imitation, and that some of its features are based not upon the subjects' mistakes but upon grammatical relations that exist within the upper language itself. The subject, in turn, deprived of the correct model, can do no better now than to acquire the simplified 'baby-talk' version of the upper language.

Under the impact of Chomsky's devastating review of Skinner (1964:547-578) there was a vigorous reaction against behaviourism as an explanation of language learning and the development of pidgins. Instead, it was now widely accepted that

humans were born with an innate capacity to construct well-formed grammars out of imperfect input data, and a similar case can be made for pidgin formation. In the wake of universalist views of human language capacity, the question of the linguistic input in the formative years of pidgin languages was pushed very much to the background.

Both the behaviourist and the purely mentalist approach to the problem of the origin of pidgin grammar were programmatic rather than empirical. Very little actual support has been adduced for either hypothesis. Developments in language learning and pidgin-creole theory in the 1970s have led to a more realistic approach to this problem, incorporating both behaviourist and mentalist views on first (cf. Vorster 1974) and second (e.g. Clyne 1978, Ferguson and DeBose 1977) language learning.

Some data on the type of reduced English used by expatriates are given in the chapter on the internal development (2.4). Such data illustrate one serious problem for imitation theories. Many of the constructions in the input are so variable and inconsistent that they provide little help for the incipient learner.⁵ A second problem with FT explanations is that the influence of reduced varieties of English is not spread evenly throughout the development of a pidgin. Thus:

- a) The linguistic impact of FT is restricted to the very early stages of pidgin development; once a pidgin has developed its own stable grammatical structures, FT (because of its very instability and lack of linguistic sophistication) cannot contribute anything to the further growth of a pidgin.
- b) As a pidgin develops, its mutual intelligibility with FT decreases.
- c) As a rule, FT will continue to be used by speakers of the superordinate language as long as they are in a secure and superior social position.

In conclusion it can be said that there is little doubt that foreigner talk versions of English were widely used in the areas where Tok Pisin originated and developed. However, the existence of such varieties tells us little about their impact on Tok Pisin as spoken by the local population.

This then takes us to the end of explanations stressing the English character of Pidgin English. Let me just briefly point out a number of seldom-stated consequences of such explanations:

- a) They allow for multiple origins and thus avoid the problems of accounting for the complex sociohistorical links between various pidgins.
- b) They perpetuate the myth that in culture-contact situations it is the dominant language (that of the dominant group) that 'wins', ignoring the multitude of sociolinguistic factors of real life contexts.
- c) By postulating that "the correspondences between ... Melanesian Pidgin and English ... are all-pervasive - that is they are found in all branches of linguistic structure" (Hall 1966:118) the principal task of pidginists is seen as that of spelling out the deviations of pidgins from their European model.

There appears to be no need to uphold the position outlined here any longer. Not only do we have ample data to disconfirm it, we also have models of pidgin formation and development to incorporate more adequate data. These will be outlined further on in this chapter.

5.1.2.2.3 General theories of pidgin formation

As more and more pidgins and creoles became known in the 1950s and 1960s, it became obvious that there were very noticeable structural similarities between varieties that shared few lexical properties. Again, explanations for this phenomenon must be seen against the background of prevailing attitudes towards language learning and transmission. Thus, relexification theory enabled linguists to maintain the idea of models being imitated, whereas universalist explanations could only become fashionable, in spite of the fact that they had been put forward as early as the 1880s by scholars such as Schuchardt and Coelho, once the pendulum of linguistic thought had swung towards mentalist explanations of language development.

5.1.2.2.4 Relexification theory

In its strongest form relexification theory claims that most European-based pidgins and creoles are related via a special process involving the maintenance of grammar and the replacement of lexical units. The grammar is said to be that of 16th century Pidgin Portuguese or possibly medieval Mediterranean Sabir. The possibility of relexification or, as Hall (1975:183) puts it, "the substitution of vocabulary items for others, with the maintenance of a stable syntactic base", was first suggested by Thompson (1961). Whereas Thompson suggests that the West African slaver's jargon (Pidgin Portuguese) (p.113):

... may have been the pattern for all the West Indian Creoles just as, in the Eastern and Pacific worlds Portuguese creole dialects, well known to Europeans of many nationalities may have provided the model for the two great branches of Pidgin English, China coast pidgin and Neo-Melanesian ...

Laycock (1970c:ix) merely considers the possibility that relexification of Pidgin Portuguese may have played some role in the development of Tok Pisin. This suggestion is dismissed by Hall (1975).

There are a number of arguments against Thompson's views of Tok Pisin development including:

- a) Structural dissimilarities between Tok Pisin and China coast Pidgin English.
- b) Historical considerations: since trade contacts with China were very weak, the first and pidgin-speaking Chinese arrived long after the stabilisation of the language.

In addition, and more importantly, there are a number of more general reasons why relexification explanations are seldom satisfactory:

- a) Relexification is a timeless concept and ignores the fact that pidgins are developing entities. It is not made clear at what point relexification should have occurred. Since there was no

stable pidgin grammar when contact with the outside world was greatest (the jargon stage) no syntactic base could have been maintained. It is true that Tok Pisin eventually developed grammatical features which are shared by many creoles. However, all available evidence points in the direction of independent development.

- b) Relexification theorists do not normally ask the important question, whether a given instance of relexification constitutes an abrupt break in linguistic tradition or not.

For this the analyst requires information as to the absolute length of time needed for relexification, communicative problems and changes in the composition of the pidgin-using community.

The difference between the two types of relexification can be illustrated by the following examples from Tok Pisin:

	gradual change		abrupt change	
Stage 1	beten	<i>to pray</i>	binen	<i>bee</i>
Stage 2	beten o prea	<i>to pray</i>		
Stage 3	prea	<i>to pray</i>	bi	<i>bee</i>

In the first case (a) continuity is maintained by the joint use of both lexical items in a synonym pair. In the second case (b) the word for *bee* was introduced twice at different stages in the development of Tok Pisin by different speakers. The external explanation for this difference is that the discussion of non-traditional religion has been one of the central functions of Tok Pisin for most of its existence. On the other hand, there is no such tradition for talking about beekeeping. A comparison of arbitrary stages of the language, as practised in diachronic structuralist analyses would not capture this difference, though no descriptive problems would arise within a developmental framework as proposed by Bailey (1980b).

It seems likely that both types of relexification have played a role in the development of virtually all pidgins and creoles (for the latter only in the formative period), whereas languages that are spoken natively are subject almost exclusively to gradual relexification. To isolate the respective role of the two types of relexification in the development of Tok Pisin is an important precondition for determining the amount of linguistic continuity found in this language.

Such considerations as have just been discussed firmly indicate that relexification cannot explain the formation of Tok Pisin, though its role in subsequent development must be acknowledged.

5.1.2.2.5 Universals of pidginisation

The relevance of pidgins to the study of linguistic universals having already been discussed earlier in this chapter (section 5.1.1.2), I will restrict myself to the discussion of universals in pidgin formation.

The greatest advantage of universalist explanations is that they can account for the many structural similarities between historically unrelated pidgins and creoles. As a general principle, universals of language are appealed to whenever there is conflicting input and/or disruptions in transmission. It is also important that universals of pidginisation should be seen as a developmental

program rather than a pool of constructions from which individual pidgins can fish at random.

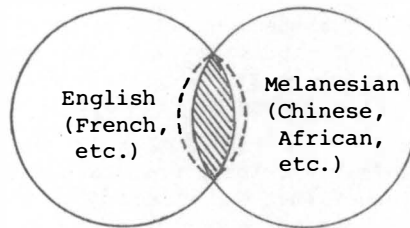
Another very important point is that appeal to linguistic universals is characteristic of social solutions to interlinguistic communication (i.e. when many speakers form a new language community) and is much less common in individual attempts. Thus, the very first stage of Tok Pisin's development, the jargon stage, is characterised by a number of different communicative strategies, whereas its stabilisation on the multilingual plantations and subsequent expansion in a multilingual context is shaped primarily by universal forces of pidgin expansion.

Comparative evidence on pidgin development is still scarce, and it is not inconceivable that the hypothesis of a single language independent expansion program is too restrictive to cover other pidgins. However, it would seem wise at this stage to put forward a strong claim and revise it as needed. The evidence available thus far certainly suggests that linguistic universals are the most satisfactory explanation of the origin of Tok Pisin structures.

A developmental universalist hypothesis has no difficulty in accounting for observed differences between 'synchronic' grammars of different pidgins; they are seen as reflecting different stages in pidgin development. However, before the emergence of developmental models such differences strongly militated against universalist proposals and in fact enhanced the plausibility of the last two major theories of pidgin formation which will now be discussed.

5.1.2.2.6 Common core theories

Among the various explanations of pidgin formation put forward by Robert A. Hall at various stages in his scholarly life, the idea that pidgin grammar is the common core between the grammars of the languages in contact attracted the largest number of followers. The structural resources of a pidgin language are seen by Hall (1961) as follows:



The structural resources of a pidgin language. Hachured area represents the overlapping of the 'parent' languages.

Such a view appeared highly plausible, especially in a climate where behaviourist learning theories prevailed. The shaded area can be interpreted as that of learning facilitation in contrastive analysis. Thus, pidgin learners take the easiest way out by concentrating on precisely those structures which are learnt with least effort. However, there are some very serious objections to such an explanation:

- a) The areas of facilitation may turn out to be those parts of grammar that have least communicative relevance.
- b) The common core model is totally static and ignores the fact that at different points of linguistic development a different core would obtain. This is particularly true in the case of Tok Pisin, one of whose 'parent' languages, Tolai, has undergone very significant changes over the last few decades.
- c) This view assumes that the speakers of the pidgin resulting from such language contacts are perfect bilinguals, i.e. have equal access to all systems involved. Obviously, what is common to two languages can only be established once they are fully known. At the time that Tok Pisin grammar developed, however, access to English was virtually unavailable to most of its speakers.
- d) There is a great deal of factual counterevidence. Tok Pisin had grammatical properties not shared by all systems in contact even very early in its linguistic development. The distinction between inclusive and exclusive first personal plural pronouns (yumi vs. mifela) is an example.

It is admitted that identification of constructions across the languages in contact played some role in the formation of Tok Pisin. Lexical mergers, for instance, have been discussed in the chapter on etymologising (2.6). A syntactic example is the development of the Tok Pisin predicate marker *i* out of the English anaphoric pronoun *he* and the predicate marker *i* of Tolai and related languages. It should be noted, however, that the eventual conditions for the use of the Tok Pisin predicate marker do not exactly match those of either Tolai or English. Thus, a common core explanation does not give the full picture even in such instances.

5.1.2.2.7 Substratum theories

Opinions as to the importance of substratum influence on the grammar of Tok Pisin vary, ranging from its assessment as a minor subsidiary force in its development (e.g. in Hall 1966) to the view that "its syntax ... has features of a Melanesian kind, and certainly bears but little external resemblance to that of either of its Western European forebears." (Wolfers 1971:413)

As I have pointed out elsewhere (Mühlhäusler 1982a), the field of substratum studies is in a state of disarray and there would seem to be little point in appealing to substratum influence when encountering an un-English construction in Tok Pisin until one knows what can be borrowed and to what extent borrowing leads to new structures which are not encountered in either of the languages in contact.

Let me illustrate the problems of establishing substratum influence with a practical example. Most attributive adjectives in Tok Pisin appear before the noun. A small group, however, appear after the noun (so-called postmodifiers), including:

botol bruk	<i>broken bottle</i>
tok giaman	<i>untrue talk</i>
banana mau	<i>ripe banana</i>
han kais	<i>left hand</i>
het kela	<i>bald head</i>

graun malumalu	<i>swampy ground</i>
ples nogut	<i>bad place</i>
wil pas	<i>stuck wheel</i>
tok tru	<i>true talk</i>
buk tambu	<i>holy book</i>

Wurm (1977b:515) suggests that Tok Pisin postmodifiers reflect substratum influence from Tolai:

The appearance of adjectives of different classes preceding or following the nouns which they determine attributively is a typical feature of the Austronesian Tolai which shows the phenomenon uniquely amongst New Guinea Austronesian languages. It may well have entered Pidgin from this source.

There are a number of problems with this suggestion, however. First, it is not clear what grammatical rule is involved here. If it was simply the rule that 'some but not all attributive adjectives appear postnominally', then one could point to a similar rule in English, manifested in, for instance:

money galore
president elect
court martial
 etc.

This view would then support a superstratum grammar view as well as a substratum and a common core view. We thus have to examine the adjectives affected in both English and Tolai. It soon becomes clear that those adjectives which appear postnominally in English do not do so in Tok Pisin.

Influence from Tolai could manifest itself in two ways, either in the form of a different word-order with a newly borrowed item of Tolai origin (thus conforming to the often held principle that "ordering of syntactic constituents can be borrowed only if the phonetic form of at least one member has also been borrowed") or in the form of calquing. Let us examine both possibilities against the historical evidence available.

The only items of Tolai origin in the list of postmodifiers are mau *ripe*⁶ and malumalu *swampy*. The former word is documented long before the latter and thus seems to be the best candidate for triggering off a new word-order rule in Tok Pisin. However, as pointed out by Mosel (1980), "Tolai mao *ripe* appears before the noun and not after it as in Tok Pisin". As regards malumalu, it does not belong to the group of Tolai adjectives which can appear postnominally and furthermore seems to be an intransitive verb for most Tolai speakers anyway.

The explanation that the new word-order is a result of direct substratum influence is thus disconfirmed by the data. The second possibility is indirect influence or calquing. This possibility is alluded to by Mosel (1980) who points out that both Tolai tuna *true* and Tok Pisin tru are postmodifiers (Tok Pisin has a variant trupela, however). The available historical evidence, however, suggests that tru was not the first adjective to appear postnominally. The only postnominal attributive adjective mentioned in Brenninkmeyer's 1924 grammar is nogut *bad*. He writes (p.10):

If the adjective appears after the noun, it becomes predicative and is linked to the subject by means of

he = *he is*, as in pig he fat, boy he nice ...

banana he 'mao', kaikai he no tan

Exceptions: no good which followed the noun without the he and save *intelligent, wise*.

Man no good
 Man save
 Boat no good

(This appears to have developed in the defective pidgin of beginning learners of the language.)

(translation mine)

The corresponding Tolai adjective *kaina bad* is only found before nouns, however. This clearly indicates that the rule emerged in Tok Pisin without any direct or indirect support from either Tolai or English. The fact that further adjectives were subjected to it subsequently may have something to do with substratum influence. What is important, however, is that in most cases, there are very significant differences between Tolai and Tok Pisin adjective ordering, as documented in detail by Mosel (1980).

One is reminded of Bickerton's more general statement on the role of substratum influence in pidgins and creoles (1979a:3):

Although there are here and there some sweeping similarities which tease you and provoke you to go on with the search, you never find any language which has quite the same kinds of structures as the creole language does.

This statement is borne out by Mosel's thorough investigation into structural influences of Tolai on Tok Pisin (1980). Some of her conclusions on individual parts of grammar are of relevance to the present discussion:

a) on phonology (p.23)

3. Tok Pisin phonology is not identical with Tolai phonology. Otherwise one would expect, that Tolai loanwords have been retained in their original form and that English loanwords have been regularly adapted to Tolai phonology. But the Tolais' influence on the development of Tok Pisin was not as strong as to impose their phonology on Tok Pisin. 4. Furthermore, the Tok Pisin phoneme system is not so much reduced as to contain only those phonemes which are common to all substratum languages involved in its development; for the development of Tok Pisin has been and still is a constant process determined by mutual learning of its speakers from each other. Thus, for instance, the phoneme /s/, which is absent in Tolai, has been introduced as a separate phoneme in the Tolais' pidgin. Secondly, Tok Pisin exhibits the distinction between lax and tense vowels, which is absent in Patpatar-Tolai languages, whereas vowel length, which is distinctive in Patpatar-Tolai languages, is not distinctive in Tok Pisin.

b) on the number system (p.63)

Though in Tok Pisin and the Patpatar-Tolai languages the system of the cardinal numbers is structured according to the same principle, one should be careful not to regard this as a convincing proof for substratum influence. For this kind of decimal system is so simple, that one need not to take substratum influence into account to explain its development.

c) on reduplication (p.109)

The divergencies between Tolai and Tok Pisin suggest that the general idea underlying reduplication in Tolai on the one hand and in Tok Pisin on the other is different. Apart from intensifying reduplication, in Tolai all instances of the second type of reduplication have in common that they express some kind of imperfective aspect, while in Tok Pisin the only function of word level reduplication is to signal some notion of plurality. For that very reason neither durative nor habitual nor continuous action (which cannot be understood as actions consisting of a number of similar actions) are expressed by reduplicated verbs in Tok Pisin. Both concepts are related and overlap insofar as they both include repeated action. Thus substratum influence of Tolai upon Tok Pisin can be excluded as far as verbal reduplication is concerned.

d) on the verb phrase (pp.126-127)

The only structural features shared by Tok Pisin and Tolai verbal phrases are:

1. the use of an introductory particle, i.e. the use of the predicate marker in Tok Pisin and the subject marker in Tolai.
2. the possibility of verbal chaining.

These similarities are rather marginal in comparison with the divergencies between Tolai and Tok Pisin, and since the use of the predicate marker in Tok Pisin can be traced back to ancient Bichelamar, it is only verbal chaining that may have resulted from substratum influence (cf. p.95ff).

Divergencies between Tok Pisin and Tolai are found in

1. the meaning of verbal phrases of the structure
 $pm/sm + NP$,
2. the position of the negative particle,
3. the tense and aspect marker system,
4. the expression of the passive voice,
5. the expression of wish, competence, ability, obligation and permission.

e) on sentence structure (pp.134-135)

As shown in the table below, there are only a few types of sentences which show the same structure both in Tok Pisin and Tolai.

Sentence type

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|-------|
| 1. Non-verbal declarative sentences | |
| (1) existential sentences | - |
| (2) equative sentences | - |
| (3) locational sentences | - |
| verbal declarative sentences | |
| (1) stative sentences | - |
| (2) intransitive sentences | + |
| (3) transitive sentences | + |
| (4) descriptive sentences | + |
| (5) equative sentences | - (+) |
| (6) subjectless sentences | - |
| 2. Interrogative sentences | + |
| 3. Imperative sentences | + |

- = this sentence type has not the same structure in Tolai and Tok Pisin
- + = this sentence type has the same structure in Tolai and Tok Pisin
- (+) = this sentence type has the same structure in Tolai and Tok Pisin in a very few cases.

The few cases in which Tolai and Tok Pisin sentence structure coincide cannot serve as a proof of substratum influence. For the structure of interrogative and imperative sentences in Tok Pisin can also be explained as the result of simplification of English sentence structure; and the structure of intransitive, transitive and descriptive sentences is similar to that of the corresponding English sentences as well.

It should be remembered that Mosel's analysis is a synchronic comparison of present-day Tok Pisin and Tolai. This means that some of the similarities found (and there are not many) are the result of Tolai having been influenced by Tok Pisin and Tok Pisin's having independently developed constructions which look like corresponding Tolai constructions. An example are de-adjectivised causatives, discussed by Mühlhäusler (1979d), and verbal chaining, or verb serialisation. The latter construction is felt to be so un-English by many linguists, that its only possible source is a substratum language. Since the discussion of verb serialisation continues to occupy a prominent place in pidgin and creole theorising I will look at the Tok Pisin evidence in more detail.

Tok Pisin shares verb serialisation with many other pidgins and creoles, some of them apparently historically unrelated. Thus, the presence of verb serialisation in the West Indian creoles is often traced back to African influence, most recently (1982:113) in Holm's review of Bickerton 1981. Holm writes:

An important case for substratum influence is the existence of a variety of serial verb constructions in many West African languages like Yoruba as well as in the creoles spoken by the descendants of Africans:

Yoruba	ó	fi	̀be	gé	ērā
Krio	i	tek	n f	čēčē	dī bif
Djuka	a	teke	nēfi	koti	a meti
	literally	'he	take	knife	cut the meat'

i.e. *He cuts the meat with a knife* (Huttar 1975). Many such constructions are found across lexical boundaries in both creole and African languages, pointing to widespread features in the syntax of many African languages which survived in the creoles. However, for the sake of his argument Bickerton claims that "creoles and West African languages invented verb serialization independently, but for slightly different reasons" (p.120). In reference to the examples from Huttar 1975 quoted above, he asserts that it is impossible to tell whether Saramaccan has this kind of serialization, although the present balance of evidence seems to be against it. Saramaccan is well known as being, among the three Surinam creoles (or, for that matter, among all the Caribbean creoles), the one which best preserves African lexical and phonological characteristics This being so, and if serial constructions also reflect African influence, one would expect to find that SA [Saramaccan] had more such constructions than

DJ [Djuka] and SR [Sranan], rather than the reverse There is no explanation for the pattern in terms of substrate influence. Aside from Bickerton's puzzling position that would seem to allow for substrate influence on the lexical and phonological levels but not on the syntactic level, there is the more serious implication that Saramaccan lacks serial verb construction. Many Saramaccan serial verb constructions are in fact given in the Huttar paper which Bickerton quotes and lists in his bibliography.

The examples given by Holm can easily be translated into present-day Tok Pisin by simple relexification as in *em i kisim naip katim mit he cut the meat with a knife*. The sources for such apparent similarities in the Atlantic and Pacific pidgins and creoles have been discussed by Hall (1966:76ff). He suggests that (p.78):

South Seas pidgin expressions may have originated independently of those that have an undoubtedly African base; or they may have been introduced into the South Seas by sailors and traders who had picked them up directly or indirectly from African contacts.

i.e. both explanations are compatible with substratum explanations. However, evidence from the historical development of Tok Pisin makes them implausible.

- a) It must be noted that verb chaining in Tok Pisin is a very recent phenomenon. It became widely used only after the Second World War, i.e. long after it could have been borrowed from South Seas traders and sailors (in whose language it appears to be generally absent) and a long time after intensive contact with Tolai had discontinued.
- b) According to Mosel (1980), some structural correspondences between Tok Pisin and Tolai verbal chaining can be found, though in the majority of cases, there are significant differences. Some of the most productive patterns of Tok Pisin verb chaining have no counterpart in Tolai. Again, it must be remembered that most of them appeared once contact with Tolai had become unimportant.

There appears to be a good reason why substratum influence is not very likely in verb chaining in pidgins and creoles. Utterances containing more than one verb are of greater complexity than single verb utterances and therefore appear later in the development of pidgins. When contact with an influential substratum language is greatest, the language is simply not ready to borrow such complex structures, but when verb chaining does become needed (because of the lack of prepositions) the substratum language is no longer available. This fact is generally ignored by linguists who compare abstract static systems rather than developments of pidgins and creoles. In spite of the fact that this is still common practice, it must be stated categorically that no comparison between the endpoints of pidgin development with alleged sub- or superstratum languages can yield any reliable information as to their role in pidgin formation.

5.1.2.3 Theories of origin: conclusions

- a) The role of the various factors involved in shaping Tok Pisin can only be assessed within a developmental framework. As has

been illustrated in the chapter on the internal growth of the language (2.4), different forces are operative at different stages of its linguistic development.

- b) No single cause explanation can adequately account for the complexities of Tok Pisin's development. However, it appears that the most important and most lasting single force involved is a universally motivated program for second-language development. Since the evidence from the many languages in contact tends to be conflicting, the only solution for many areas of grammaticalisation lies in linguistic universals.
- c) It appears that a construction has a better chance of being adopted if it is supported by a conspiracy of developmental forces. Common core solutions or substratum influence have a better chance of being adopted if they also are in agreement with universal tendencies of development. This means that, in many cases, individual factors will fail to give a sufficient account.

5.1.3 DISCONTINUITY IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF TOK PISIN

5.1.3.1 General remarks

Even a cursory examination of the descriptive and theoretical literature on pidgins and creoles will reveal a strange preoccupation with historical continuity. Given the widespread acceptance of the uniformitarian principle in historical linguistics and the tendency to closely correlate linguistics with well-defined geographic or social entities, this comes as no surprise. The development of pidgins and creoles, in spite of its obvious special character, is treated in the same way as language change resulting from diffusion. Three common strategies in the treatment of these languages are:

- a) To ignore or play down phenomena other than internal development so as to be able to postulate 'normal' family trees (e.g. Hall 1961:413-415).
- b) To postulate special kinds of relationships such as relexification, whilst still using the family tree model.
- c) To apply general developmental principles to the expansion of pidgins and creoles (some examples are discussed by Sankoff 1979:23-47).

By the use of such strategies the evidence from pidgin and creole development comes to support allegedly-normal principles of language development rather than refuting them. Again, this is understandable; pidginists and creolists have been eager to demonstrate that their languages are normal members of the community of languages and hence legitimate topics for linguistic study. One of the standard arguments is that these languages are just quantitatively different. Pidgins, in particular, are languages stripped to the bare essentials and hence ideal representatives of human language. A final reason for seeking historical continuity in pidgins and creoles is their speakers' desire to trace their linguistic and social roots. Thus, Papuan Pidgin English is traced back to an old trade language and renamed Hiri Motu, Cameroon Pidgin English is traced back to early West-African contact languages, and so forth.

Such are the reasons for seeing pidgin and creole development as a) proceeding from less complex to more complex systems, and b) taking place within a well-defined geographic area and speech community. However, the view that we are dealing with stable communities of speakers and stable patterns of transmission can easily be falsified if one considers the external conditions which led to the development of these languages. An important consideration, pointed out by Hall (1962:151), is that the very existence of a pidgin is a function of its usefulness as a second language:

Pidginized languages normally come into existence for a specific reason, last just as long as the situation which called them into being, and then go quickly out of use. Only if the situation changes radically does such a language acquire a longer lease on life and, by becoming creolized, pass over to the status of a 'normal' language. From this point of view, although even a pidginized language is not a true organism, we can speak of pidgins as having 'life cycles', and of their being 'inherently weak' in that, not their linguistic structure, but their social standing is normally not hardy enough to enable them to be used outside of their original context.

Put differently, the degree of linguistic sophistication and the functional scope of a pidgin are highly sensitive to external factors. In view of this, one cannot expect that the development of a given pidgin will always proceed from an initial simple jargon to a more complex stage and extended pidgin followed by either linguistic decline or creolisation. Instead, within one and the same geographic area, a pidgin can, rapidly, change its linguistic and social nature, becoming useless and hence structurally reduced only to be subsequently revived.

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 either to 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, those 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 transmission () 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.

Such problems will now be illustrated with a historical sketch of the development of Tok Pisin, highlighting disruptions in social and linguistic patterns. This sketch is meant to be supplementary to the more detailed accounts of the internal and external histories of the language given elsewhere in this volume.

5.1.3.2 Discontinuities in the history of Tok Pisin

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 dependent 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 in Samoa. By about 1890 about 1,000 had been returned from Samoa, bringing with them a better knowledge of European ways and, above all, a stable pidgin, Samoan Plantation Pidgin English, which they had learnt during their indenture. There was indeed a very rapid increase in the number of Pidgin English speakers soon after the inception of the Samoan labour trade.

Schuchardt (1979:20) reports on a letter written to him by HERNSHEIM, one of the leading traders in this area in 1883:

In New Britain, where, according to his information, no native understood any European language some seven years ago, now everyone, particularly the children, speaks 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.

A firm pattern of language transmission soon became established. Young men between the ages of 16 and 20 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 target 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% of the 1,000 word lexical inventory was of German origin (cf. Mühlhäusler 1979c:199-207). Both trends were reversed with the departure of the Germans and their replacement by Australian settlers and administrators. As a result, in those 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.

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 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, as characterised in Mead's valuable article of 1931. 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 the situation just outlined. 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.

Similar observations are made by Orken (1954:863) about the Tolai people of the Rabaul-Kokopo area, once the centre for the use of Tok Pisin:

I have been working in the immediate vicinity of Rabaul and Kokopo for over two years now and I am convinced that whatever was the situation pre-war, most of the children and women, and a considerable number of young males now have but a rudimentary knowledge of Pidgin and consequently use it very sparingly in their village life.

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. As well as 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 more 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, discussed first by Hall (1955b:91-109). Its main result is the crystallisation of a separate sociolect, Urban Pidgin (cf. Mühlhäusler 1979c:140-153 and 288-308), 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 (1982b) predicts social and linguistic compartmentalisation of the language, including its structural decline in some areas.

Finally, a few words must be said about creolisation. Contrary to our initial more abstract model, which postulates a steady increase in linguistic sophistication in Tok Pisin up to the point of creolisation, one can observe a number of forces diminishing the achievements of first generation creole speakers. Because even creolised Tok Pisin has to be used in an environment of largely second-language speakers, some of the more drastic changes made by children developing the creole are given up once they have to communicate in an adult community. In some areas, where the usefulness of first-language Tok Pisin is particularly low, e.g. in the case of Rambutyo Island discussed by Mühlhäusler (1977b:569), one can observe considerable regression along the developmental dimension. Creolisation followed by repidginisation is also a recognised force in the development of West African Pidgin English (cf. Todd 1979) and in many West Indian creoles.

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:

- a) A number of significant breaks in the composition of the speech community, including the decline in the importance of European speakers, the severing of links with Samoa, the decline of the plantations and compartmentalisation into regional and social varieties.
- b) Several changes in the substratum and superstratum languages, including the change from English to German and back to English,

the decline of Tolai and, a fact which I have not discussed in this section, the growing importance of speakers of non-Melanesian languages, in particular Highlanders.

- c) 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 and it is possible to identify at least three qualitatively different and mutually barely intelligible varieties.

5.1.3.3 Discontinuity: conclusions

We are led to conclude that many of the conventional ideas about linguistic continuity do not apply to languages such as Tok Pisin. Rather, we find:

- a) Pidgins and creoles typically develop in the context of social upheaval and population displacement. Although such breaks are perhaps greatest in the initial formative period of pidgins and creoles, and while I agree with Sankoff (1979:24) that "the plantation system is so crucial because it was unique in creating the catastrophic break in linguistic tradition that is unparalleled", changes in the external setting can and often do occur repeatedly at different stages of development.
- b) Pidgins and creoles are geographically highly mobile, as they tend to accompany population movements. Labels such as West African Pidgin English or New Guinea Pidgin English can therefore be very misleading, since being spoken in one geographic location at two different points in time does not warrant the assumption of historical continuity in the case of a pidgin.
- c) The frequent disruptions of established patterns of transmission of pidgins and creoles tend to lead to either language replacement or qualitative changes between different historical stages. An example is the occurrence of pidginisation followed by creolisation followed by repidginisation.
- d) Observations about the sociohistorical context of pidginisation and creolisation suggest that an understanding of continuity and discreteness of the external development of such languages should take methodological precedence over a description of their linguistic development.
- e) As a consequence of (c), one finds that the notion of earlier and later rules underlying the implicational patterns of Baileyan variation grammars can only apply to stable self-contained periods of development. Implicational scaling can furthermore provide a powerful heuristic tool in that gaps, breaks and reversals of perceived patterns can support the extralinguistic evidence concerning breaks in the continuity of transmission.

5.1.4 THE COMPARATIVE METHOD IN PIDGIN AND CREOLE STUDIES

5.1.4.1 Introduction

Questions regarding the relationship between various pidgins and creoles, their relationship to substratum languages and the reconstruction of proto-pidgins have occupied a prominent place in pidgin and creole linguistics for a long time. Most workers on these topics employ the comparative method, i.e. they look for systematic correspondences in the phonological, morphological, syntactic and core-lexical levels of pidgins and creoles, and they construct family trees depicting the linguistic (or genetic) interrelationships between these languages. Some recent such studies on Pacific pidgins include those of Clark (1977) and Dutton (1980).

That many traditional assumptions about linguistic change do not apply in the case of pidgins and creoles has already been pointed out in this volume (e.g. in the chapters on internal history (2.4), and etymologising (2.6), as well as in the section on discontinuity in the present chapter). However, in order to give a complete argument some of my previous points will be briefly repeated in the discussion which follows.

The most important corollary assumptions held by those who apply the comparative method to pidgins and creoles are, in the words of Hall (1966:115):

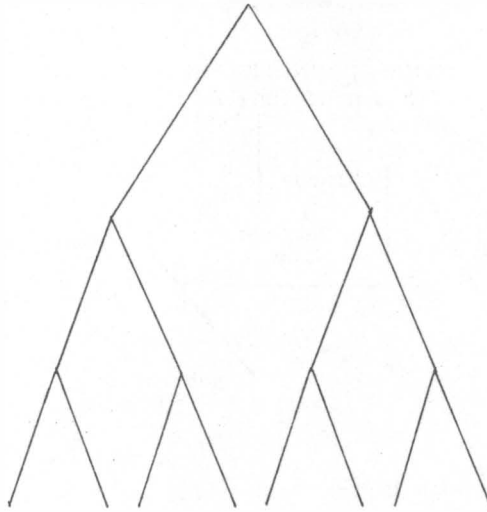
- a) that among languages related through having come from a common source, the process of differentiation has always been gradual; and
- b) that, among such languages, the relationship has always been 'pure', that is, there has been little or no introduction of structural patterns (...) from any source outside the language family concerned.

Hall argues that such corollaries are too restrictive and that neither gradualness nor structural purity are fully present in pidgins and creoles, a point which is not controversial. He continues to argue, however, that the family tree model is nevertheless applicable to these languages, and this, I feel, is highly controversial. I therefore propose to examine the notion of family trees in the light of Hall's defence of the comparative method.

5.1.4.2 Family tree relationships

Family trees in everyday life have one surprising property: they allow one to trace back only one of the two sexes of ancestors. Thus, whereas it is perfectly possible to trace one's grandfather's grandfather's greatgrandfather, it is very difficult, if not impossible, to do the same for one's grandmother's grandmother's greatgrandmother. In other words, family trees are cultural interpretations or artifacts rather than objective mirrors of reality (particularly since biological fatherhood is much more difficult to prove than biological motherhood).

Family tree models of languages are similarly selective. It is assumed that languages typically develop by diffusion, more particularly inheritance, which means diffusion from one generation to another. Accordingly, later languages are traced back to one single earlier language directly higher up in a family tree, which in turn is traced back to a single node, until the presumed ancestral language is reached. The familiar form of the family tree model thus is as follows:



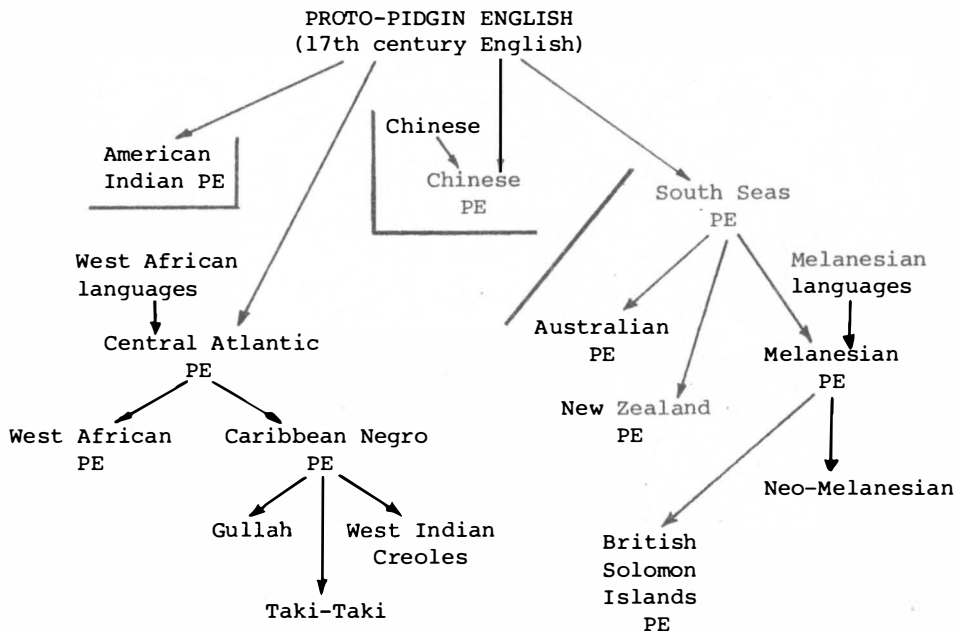
The applicability of such a family tree model to pidgins and creoles is defended by Hall (1966:117ff) as follows:

But even though all languages are 'mixed', some - to paraphrase Orwell's famous expression - are more 'mixed' than others. We are left with the question whether, in fact, the more mixed languages are so mixed as to invalidate the assumption of genetic relationship, particularly as applied to languages of whose history we have no detailed knowledge. In theory, a language might conceivably combine elements from two or more sources so that they were perfectly evenly balanced and so that they would be, therefore, unclassifiable according to our customary assumption. Yet, in practice, such a condition of perfect balance is never found - not even in any of the pidgins and creoles that have been investigated in more detail than say, Schuchardt or Jespersen were able to do, and not even with their (admittedly extensive) carry-overs, in structure as well as vocabulary, from Chinese, Melanesian, African, or other substrata. In Haitian Creole, the proportion of French structure is both greater and more fundamental than that of African-type structure; and the same is true of Chinese Pidgin English, Neo-Melanesian, Sranan, Gullah, etc., in relation to English and the various substrata involved.

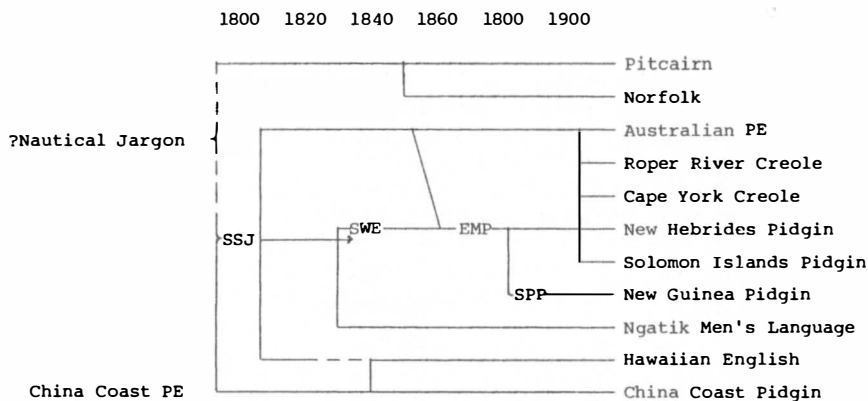
and (p.118)

Even with the data available at present, it is evident that the ancestral form of any given group of related pidgins and creoles can be reconstructed, using the accepted techniques of comparative linguistics, and that the 'proto-pidgin' which we reconstruct in this way shows a reasonable correspondence to certain features of the 'source' language which we already know from other materials.

An actual tree illustrating these views is given by Hall (1961:414):



A more detailed tree of Pidgin English in the Pacific, taking into consideration some of the complex interrelationships between Melanesian and other varieties of Pidgin English is given by Clark (1980:48):



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.)

Historical relations indicated by comparative and documentary evidence

While such family trees appear neat and possess a certain plausibility, I feel that they are grossly misleading.

The principal task of those who wish to find out about pidgin origins and relationships would seem to be to discover whether features are shared because of:

- a) common historical links
- b) identical lexifier languages
- c) (genetically closely related) substratum languages
- d) universal principles of pidgin development
- e) accidental factors.

It is a well-known fact that shared links with English pose many special problems. For instance, they necessitate the development of a special set of lexical items for comparative purposes which bears little similarity to the Swadesh list commonly used in comparative work. The list of lexical and grammatical features used by Clark (1980) looks as follows:

	New Guinea	Solomons	New Hebrides	Cape York
<i>all</i> ₁	ol	-	ol	ol
<i>all</i> ₂	ol	-	ol	ol
<i>all same</i>	olsem	olsem	olsem	olsem
<i>all together</i>	olgeta	olketa	olgeta	olgeta
<i>along</i> ₁	-	-	-	lo(ng),la
<i>along</i> ₂	long	lo(ng(o))	long	lo(ng),la
<i>been</i>	bin	bin	bin	bi(n)
<i>belong</i>	bilang	blong	blong	blo(ng),bla
<i>bullamacow</i>	bulmakau	bulumakau	bulamakao	(bullamacow)
<i>by and by</i>	(ba(i)m)bai	baebae	bambae	baimbai
<i>catch</i>	kis-im	kas-em	kas-em	kech-im
<i>fellow</i> ₁	-pela	-fala	-fala	-
<i>fellow</i> ₂	-pela	-fala	-fala	-pela
<i>got</i>	gat	gar-em	gat	gat
<i>he</i>	i	i	i	i
<i>him</i>	-im	-im,-em,-m	-im,-um,-em	-i(m)
<i>kaikai</i>	kaikai	kaikai	kakae	kaikai
<i>kill</i>	kil-im	kil-im	kil-im	-
<i>man bush</i>	+	+	+	-
<i>piccaninny</i>	pikinini	pikinini	pikinini	pikanini
<i>pigeon</i>	pisin	pisin	pijin	(pigeon)
<i>plenty</i>	planti,plenti	plande	plante	plenti
<i>savvy</i>	save	save	save	savi
<i>something</i>	samting	samting	samting	-
<i>stop</i>	stap	stap	stap	stap
<i>suppose</i>	s(a)pos	sapos	sipos	(suppose)
<i>too much</i>	tumas	tumas	tumas	tumach
<i>what name</i>	wanem	wanem	wanem	wanim
<i>where</i>	-	wea	we	wee
<i>you me</i>	yumi	yumi	yumi	yumi

(continued overleaf)

	Roper River	Norfolk	Hawaiian	China Coast
<i>all</i> ₁	al	-	-	-
<i>all</i> ₂	-	-	-	-
<i>all same</i>	-	-	o:r se:m	ólsem
<i>all together</i>	-	-	-	-
<i>along</i> ₁	la(nga)	lɔŋ(f)ə	-	(lɔŋ)
<i>along</i> ₂	la(nga)	-	-	-
<i>been</i>	bin	bIn	bin	-
<i>belong</i>	bla(nga)	-	-	(b(ə)lór)
<i>bullamacow</i>	-	-	-	-
<i>by and by</i>	baymbay	bɛmbɛə	baimbai	bajmbaj
<i>catch</i>	gej-im	-	(catch)	kæčI
<i>fellow</i> ₁	-bala	-	(fellow)	(-fɛlə)
<i>fellow</i> ₂	-(m)bala	-	-	-
<i>got</i>	gat	gAt	gott,gatto	læv gat
<i>he</i>	-	-	-	-
<i>him</i>	-im,-um	-	-	(-əm)
<i>kaikai</i>	kaikai	-	-	-
<i>kill</i>	gil-im	-	-	-
<i>man bush</i>	-	-	-	-
<i>piccaninny</i>	biginini	-	-	-
<i>pigeon</i>	-	-	-	-
<i>plenty</i>	-	plɛntɛ,plæntɛ	parenti:	plɛntI
<i>savvy</i>	jabi	-	sabe	sævI
<i>something</i>	-	-	-	-
<i>stop</i>	-	-	stopp	stap
<i>suppose</i>	buji,buñi	səpos(ɛn)	sapo:z	səpōs
<i>too much</i>	dumaj(i)	tu	to: mačč	tūməčI
<i>what name</i>	wanim,wanem	-	-	-
<i>where</i>	(weya)	-	-	-
<i>you me</i>	yunmi	-	-	-

Distribution of comparative features

While Clark avoids the problems associated with points a-c and e, he has considerable problems with universals of pidgin development, as he himself acknowledges. These difficulties are enhanced by the insufficient attention he gives to changes over time and the time dimension in general. Let us look at the problem in more detail in relation to two particular items: a) the pluraliser *all* (ol) and the relativiser *where* (we). Clark's discussion of *all* (1980:46-47) is more satisfactory as some historical information is given. He suggests that the plural marker *all*₂ is derived from an earlier third person plural pronoun *all*₁. *All*₂ is not documented for Australia and the Solomons. Later, Clark suggests a complication arising from the fact that the pluraliser *all* is documented before the third person plural pronoun *all* (p.47):

An equally difficult and related problem is the relation between *all*₁, *all*₂ and *all together*. If *all* was in fact in use as a pluralizer as early as the sandalwood period, it cannot very well have derived from the pronominal *all* as suggested earlier. If anything, the opposite direction would be indicated. Moreover, *all together* as plural pronoun considerably antedates *all*₁:

- (56) [European speaker, New Hebrides, 1877] '... suppose you let him some boy go along a Queensland, we buy

him altogether, my word, good fellow.' (Giles 1968: 4ln.)

- (57) [Solomons, 1884] 'What for Government Agent no let boat's crew help 'em boys, when altogether want go Queensland?' (Rannie 1912:46)

Such examples weigh against the earlier suggestion that *all* was the original pronoun and the NH and SI *all together* an innovation. But these problems can only be clarified by a more detailed study of records after 1885.

Such a study has been carried out by Mühlhäusler (1981a), which included additional evidence from Papuan Pidgin English and Queensland Kanaka English. From my data some interesting findings emerge:

- a) It appears that virtually all the pidgins under investigation have encoded the plural marker by means of *all*₂ at some point in their development. Papuan Pidgin English exhibits this feature in the data before 1890 but in later texts *oltugeta* is used instead. Torres Straits Pidgin (closely related to Clark's Cape York Pidgin), on the other hand, began with *oltugeta* in the 1890s and only developed an *ol* plural in the 1970s. A static comparison of present-day Torres Straits Pidgin (Broken) or Cape York Pidgin with Tok Pisin data would seem to wrongly suggest a shared linguistic tradition.
- b) In Tok Pisin's predecessor Samoan Plantation Pidgin nominal plurals were signalled variably (if at all) by means of *plenti*, *all*₂ and *oltugeta*, though it appears that *ol* was in the process of replacing the other possibilities. I feel that similar variability was also of importance in other varieties of Pidgin English such as appear in Clark's table. The selection of one or the other variant as typical and hence a basis for comparison is likely to seriously affect the results of a comparative analysis.
- c) In Tok Pisin before 1920 all three pluralisers found in Samoan Plantation Pidgin are also encountered. In addition, *-fela* is used as a pluraliser with nouns and pronouns. There are also indications that the distinction between *ol* (*all*₂) and *oltugeta* was occasionally used to distinguish a paucal (i.e. referring to a few) from a plural meaning (cf. Brenninkmeyer 1924).
- d) There are considerable regional variations within languages such as Bichelamar. These differences may reflect differential patterns in the recruiting to the main plantation centres of the area.
- e) The reasons for choosing *all*₂ appear to be manifold. They include borrowing from prestige varieties (possibly Torres Straits Pidgin from Tok Pisin), continuation of established traditions (shared 'drift' of SPP and Tok Pisin), independent innovations (Papuan Pidgin English?) and possibly phonological condensation of *oltugeta*.
- f) It appears that there are a limited number of sources for pluralisers which are in agreement with universals expansion patterns for pidgins (the use of plural affixes found in the superstratum languages is not one of them). All of them are tried in all the recorded pidgins, though only one of them tends to get selected in each variety. The selection may be determined by sociological and other external factors.

Given the lack of uniformity and continuity in plural marking and its transmission, the applicability of the comparative method is in grave doubt. This also goes for the next feature, the relativiser *we* (from English *where*).

There are a number of factual additions on this item:

- a) As pointed out by Clark (1980:18) it is also found in Krio, Cameroons Pidgin, Jamaican Creole (*we*) and Gullah (βe). In fact, this was taken by Todd (1979) as strong evidence in favour of a shared history of Krio and Cameroon Pidgin English.
- b) Contrary to what is suggested by Clark's table, the relativiser *we* is also documented for Tok Pisin, though it is a recent development and not found in all areas.
- c) The presence of *we* in Torres Straits Pidgin is very recent. Whereas Dutton (1970) could obtain no relativisers in spite of elicitation and a considerable corpus of texts, I had no problems in eliciting a relativiser *we* in 1978. It does not appear that it was borrowed from any of the surrounding pidgins.

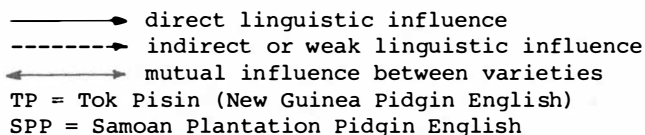
These findings again suggest that the comparative method will give very misleading results as to the shared history of a number of pidgins and creoles. It would seem that its reliability in the morphosyntactic area is very low indeed, and that any attempt to construct family trees on the basis of such evidence is misguided.

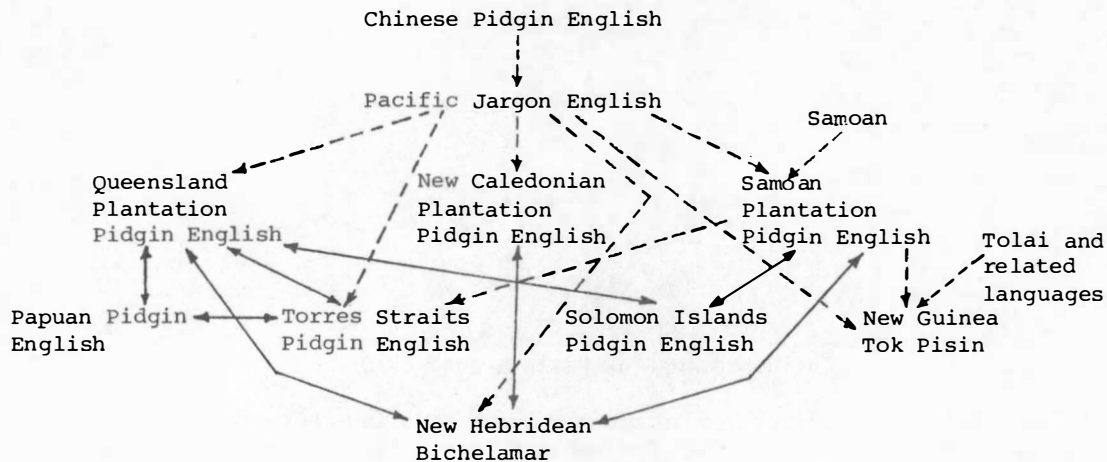
However, it does seem worthwhile to carry out a different type of comparative pidgin linguistics, namely the sequence in which grammaticalisation occurs. Thus, it would be interesting confirmation of the hypothesis that pidgins expand by following a universal program of grammaticalisation if the sequence in which we emerged as a relativiser in Tok Pisin (first in locative contexts as in *ples we em i stap the place where she lived*, then in temporal ones as in *taim we em i kamap the time at which he arrived*, and finally in all other contexts, such as *pikinini we i pundaun the child who fell down*) was the same in other pidgins.

Even the more restrictive goal of constructing family trees on purely lexical evidence cannot be achieved, unless the nature of the resulting trees is changed very drastically. The two most important changes would be:

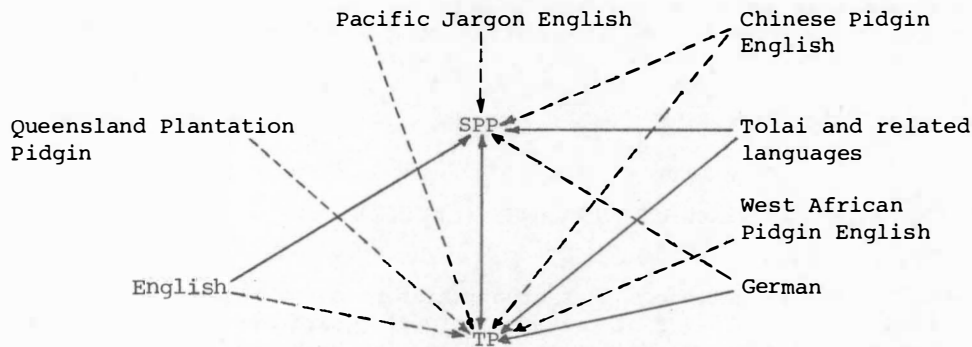
- a) To acknowledge that there is only partial continuity in the development of pidgins and that therefore a different 'family tree' is required at each point of pidgin development.
- b) To abandon any attempt to trace back pidgins to a single ancestor. As I have shown in the chapter on etymologising, the lexicon of a language such as Tok Pisin can be very mixed.

If we apply these two principles to the construction of 'family trees' for Tok Pisin, we may get something like this:

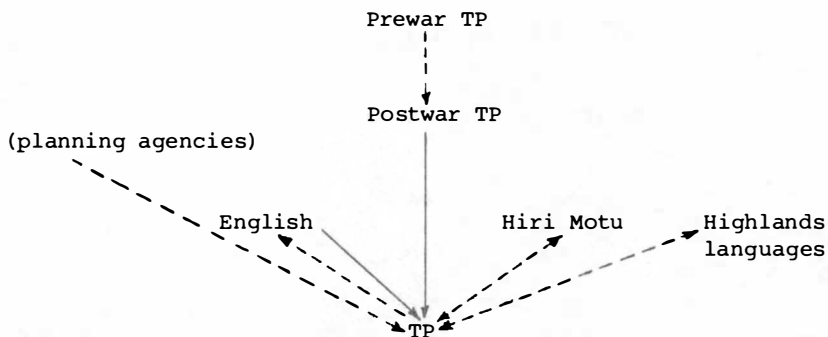




Pidgin English in the Pacific around 1880



Linguistic influences on Tok Pisin around 1900



Influences on Tok Pisin around 1975

Note that only in the first two charts are there any links between Tok Pisin and other Pacific varieties of Pidgin English and that many of these earlier influences are entirely restructured or replaced in later varieties.

5.1.4.3 Comparative method conclusions

The comparative method has been found to be inadequate for several reasons in this chapter, the principal reason being that it concerns itself with arbitrary abstract states and not developments in time. In addition, insufficient attention is paid to the enormous synchronic variability found in languages such as Tok Pisin at all stages of development and the ambiguous nature of many lexical items and some syntactic constructions, i.e. ambiguous in the sense that to a European they tend to look European and to a New Guinean New Guinean. As long as the numerous methodological and practical difficulties are not sorted out there appears little point in carrying out further comparative research of the type discussed here.

5.1.5 TOK PISIN AND BICKERTON'S LANGUAGE BIOPROGRAM

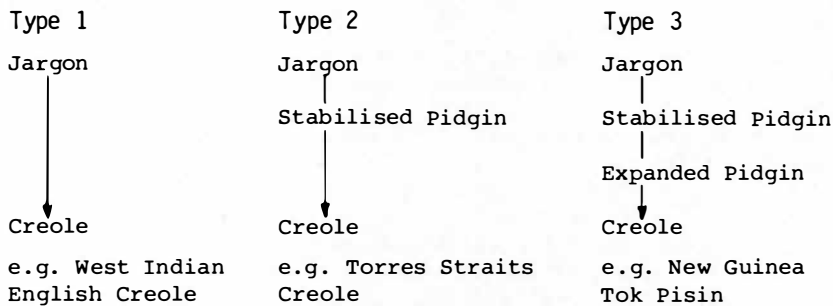
5.1.5.1 Introduction

Among the major challenges that creolistics poses to general linguistics as practised by the followers of transformational generative models of grammar is the theory of bioprogram grammar as developed by Bickerton (1981). Bickerton argues that, where normal language transmission breaks down, children have very limited access to linguistic input and therefore have to appeal to their natural language bioprogram. Thus, in first generation creoles, children may hear from their parents a greater impoverished pidgin. Nevertheless they end up speaking a highly structured, qualitatively clearly different creole - so different in fact, that it can be unintelligible to their parents. Whereas in such untargeted first-language acquisition the resulting language is maximally natural and bioprogrammatic, in the acquisition of 'full' languages children are faced with an additional task, that of restructuring their bioprogram to bring it closer to the culturally defined language of their parents. This process is not straightforward and many natural-creole structures can be found in early child language acquisition, a fact which has been widely overlooked because psycholinguists ignored the possibility that creolisation could be involved here.

Finally it is argued that, since creole structures were not in the input they must be biologically preprogrammed, such a program reflecting the phylogenesis of human language. It should be noted at this point that the bioprogram is a dynamic developmental one (its different stages being implicationally ordered) rather than a ready-made set of universals à la Chomsky.

5.1.5.2 Types of creolisation

Second-language pidgins differ widely in structural complexity. They range from rudimentary jargons to stable extended pidgins, the latter approximating other human languages in terms of complexity. Creolisation may occur at any point in pidgin development and one therefore has to distinguish between the following three types:



If any second language becomes the first language of a speech community, its deficiencies need to be repaired. Depending on the developmental stage at which creolisation occurs, different types of repair can be observed:

Type 1, with a creolised jargon:

Repair is needed at all levels, i.e. there is need for a natural phonological and semantic system and perhaps also a pragmatic system.

Type 2, with creolised stable pidgin:

The repair requirements in this case include the addition of derivational depth to existing basic structures and the development of pragmatic rules.

Type 3, with creolised expanded pidgins:

The main repair requirements of a nativised expanded pidgin appear to concern its stylistic and pragmatic potential. The transition between the pidgin and its corresponding creole is gradual rather than abrupt.

5.1.5.3 Is Tok Pisin a special case?

Bickerton argues that true creolisation is only encountered in type 1 and that the differences between pidgin and creole varieties in the case of types 2 and 3 cannot serve as a basis for statements about bioprogram language. He states (1981:3-4):

In New Guinea, the percentage of superstrate speakers was low, but the pidgin existed for several generations alongside the indigenous language before it began to acquire native speakers. Thus Tok Pisin was able to expand gradually, through normal use, rather than very rapidly, under the communicative pressure of a generation that had, for practical purposes, no other option available as a first language. The bilingual speakers of Tok Pisin had ongoing lives in their own languages and, perhaps more importantly still, in their own traditional communities; whereas in the classic creole situation, people had been torn from their traditional communities and forced into wholly novel communities in which the value of traditional languages was low or nil. The two situations are not commensurate, and we would expect to find, as we do, that while Tok Pisin differs from English much more than Réunion Creole does from French, it lacks, again, a number of the features found in the classic creole languages, and possesses a number of features which those creoles, in turn do not share.

Accordingly, in the text that follows, I shall use the word *creole* to refer to languages which:

- 1) Arose out of a prior pidgin which had not existed for more than a generation.
- 2) Arose in a population where not more than 20 percent were native speakers of the dominant language and where the remaining 80 percent was composed of diverse language groups.

The first condition rules out Tok Pisin and perhaps other (e.g. Australian Aboriginal) creoles;

Thus, it would seem that Tok Pisin can reveal little about the nature of biologically based grammars if Bickerton's arguments are accepted. It is indeed true that, in type 3 creolisation, the difference between the pidgin and the subsequent creole in many areas of core grammar, such tense marking (Sankoff and Laberge 1973) or number marking (Mühlhäusler 1981a), is not terribly great. At other levels of grammar, however, e.g. that of word-formation, I have found qualitative differences between extended and creolised extended Tok Pisin (Mühlhäusler 1979c:309-315).

However, it seems too restrictive to confine the operation of the bioprogram to children acquiring their first language before puberty. There appears to be ample evidence that the order in which new grammatical constructions emerge among second-language learning adults is very similar to that found in first-generation creole development. It is interesting to observe that, of the areas of grammar distinguishing a particular type 1 creole (Hawaiian Creole English) from its pidgin predecessor, the four areas where this language shows 'substantial identity' with *all* other creoles (existential possessive, adjective as verb, questions and passive equivalents) are also shared with Tok Pisin, as is the copula encoding which is present in *many* creoles. Bickerton's remark (p.72) that "the degree of identity is quite remarkable when we consider that HCE shares none of the substratum languages of the other creoles" is not more remarkable than the observation that, in the case of Tok Pisin, such apparent recourse to universal bioprogram grammar was taken by second-language speaking adults. In fact, adults and children appear to behave very much in the same manner: when there is no input, or highly conflicting input, they will turn to their bioprogram; when there is sufficient input they will try to incorporate it into

their developing system, even if it involves having to commit a large number of unnatural linguistic acts.

5.1.5.4 Bioprogram grammar: conclusions

Evidence from the linguistic development of Tok Pisin could be of crucial importance in arguments about language bioprograms, for, as has already been pointed out, during periods of its development substratum and superstratum influence was minimal indeed. Tok Pisin appears to meet all the essential criteria which favour the appeal to bioprogram strategies of linguistic development and moreover can be documented in considerable detail. The conditions under which bioprogram acquisition is favoured can be summarised as follows:

- a) The target is maximally remote, i.e. in cases of both untargeted first-language acquisition (first-generation creole) and untargeted second-language acquisition (pidgin).
- b) The resulting system is a social rather than an individual solution. In the case of a pidgin developing in a highly multilingual environment the strategy of transfer is highly restricted (cf. Meisel 1982) and the developmental sequences thus appear to be the same. It is also interesting to observe that natural interlanguage grammar is most likely to emerge where learners find themselves in a natural discourse setting (rather than in the classroom).
- c) Bioprogram development is found primarily in the first stages of any type of language acquisition. Large-scale comparison of incipient acquisition should yield interesting data on biogrammar.

The objection that there are well-documented differences between first- and second-language acquisition is frequently raised. In a model of language which treats grammar as an independent variable (i.e. independent of other possible innate cognitive skills) such differences are significant. However, since grammar develops to serve a number of functions, such as making requests or establishing social bonds, it can be expected that the sequence in which such functions become important to language learners also influences grammatical development. The order in which children acquire new functions differs quite significantly from that found in adult second-language acquisition and pidgin formations, as has been shown. All this means is that the activation of certain bioprogram developments is dependent on the presence of specific environmental factors, factors which can be relatively easily isolated in the history of Tok Pisin.

While the linguistic relevance of type I creole languages is receiving wider acceptance, the relevance of pidgin development to the study of natural grammar, linguistic universals and markedness theory still awaits wider recognition. A more detailed discussion of these issues is given in my review of Bickerton 1981 (Mühlhäusler 1983c).

5.1.6 GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

Linguistic theory, when it comes to the crunch, must not only be constructed in such a way that it can be mapped onto observable data, it must also ask what sort of data are the most suitable for answering the questions of linguistic theory.

As Bickerton (1981) points out in a preface to *Roots of language*, it is the former slaves, servants and exploited peoples

who fought for decency, dignity, and freedom against the Cartesian savagery of Western colonialists and slave-makers;
whose tongues, having survived to confound pedagogue and philosopher alike, now, by an ironic stroke of justice, offer us indispensable keys to the knowledge of our species.

This view is also very much applicable to Tok Pisin, whose origins lie in the often violent encounters between European colonisers and entrepreneurs and the local population of Papua New Guinea.

If I was pushed to single out the most important lesson that can be learnt from the study of pidgins and creoles I would opt for the fact of their changeability. Pidgins and creoles, more than any other language, bear witness that any theory of language which does not incorporate time-dependent change will fail to adequately characterise its subject matter. The factor of change is crucial to understanding of linguistic universals, since the most useful universals are of the implicational type. The investigation of change has also shown itself to be an important way of finding out about linguistic markedness, since developmentally earlier aspects of grammar are also the ones that are less marked. Again, a better knowledge of linguistic change was seen to be essential in an understanding of the complex relationship between linguistic forms and functions.

Insights into the nature of language change do not, however, always give support to existing hypotheses. In some instances, the incorporation of time and change into a descriptive framework exposes the irrelevance and/or misguidedness of previous conceptions.

One example is the application of the static comparative method to pidgins and creoles. The available evidence we have discussed in this chapter clearly suggests that the only possible basis for a comparison of different pidgins and creoles, or of these languages with alleged substratum and superstratum languages, can be a dynamic developmental one.

The lack of historical-developmental considerations is of particular severity in the discussion of the various theories of pidgin origin. Many available explanations confuse the formative years with later developments, or simply try to account for timeless abstractions. The various explanations of pidgin formation can only be of true value if related to particular stages of pidgin development. Simplification and substratum influence were shown to be developmentally very late and hence inadequate explanations of pidgin formation, while universal processes were seen to be particularly prominent in the early formative years. Common core grammar, on the other hand, appears to be a virtually useless explanation at any point in pidgin development.

Next to changeability, pidgin languages, and Tok Pisin in particular, afford important insights into rule changing creativity. The astonishing grammatical and lexical sophistication of expanded Tok Pisin is indicative of the fact that major grammatical expansion and rule changes can also occur in adult grammar, a fact frequently denied by the proponents of critical threshold views of language development.

Finally, a study of Tok Pisin greatly promotes our understanding of what is natural (biologically founded) and what is cultural (abnatural) in human languages. In cases of untargeted second-language learning and expansion, as in Tok Pisin, the majority of innovations appear to have their foundation in

preprogrammed language universals. Far from being unnatural or parasitic, as sometimes claimed by main-stream linguists, pidgin languages may be considerably closer to the natural foundations of language than most of the so-called 'natural' languages.

Because of the short timespan in which Tok Pisin developed from a broken version of English into a highly sophisticated pidgin and a creole, linguists can observe many phenomena of language development in situ. Further intensive work on this language is bound to lead to further significant findings for general linguistics.

NOTES

1. Anyone who has tried to get judgements about grammaticality from speakers of a pidgin will agree that this is a highly unreliable method (not that it makes much sense for speakers of other languages as pointed out by Labov 1972b).
2. That pidgins and creoles need a quantum rather than a static framework of description was pointed out by Le Page in his foreword to Bailey 1966: xi-xii.
3. Note that there are problems with the translation of terminology in this area.
4. A comparison of markedness in pidgins and normal languages affords some interesting insights into the difference between cultural markedness and naturalness. Thus, in English feminine or female is more marked than masculine or male, a fact which can be seen from ordering in conjuncts: boys and girls, men and women (but not vice versa). In child language development and pidgin development no such fixed conjunct order appears to emerge naturally.
5. It is interesting to note that some constructions of English foreigner talk, such as the plural *-s*, left traces in the lexicon of Tok Pisin (e.g. *anis ant*, *masis match*) but never became part of its grammar.
6. I will ignore *tambu sacred*, *taboo*, as in *buk tambu holy book*, *bible*, because of its phonological properties and the fact that the word is widely found in other Oceanic languages and Pacific pidgins. Moreover, it is not listed as a postmodifier in Brenninkmeyer's 1924 grammar.

6. ISSUES AND PROBLEMS

6.1 CURRENT ATTITUDES TO TOK PISIN

Julie Piau and Susanne Holzknrecht

EDITORS' NOTE:

In this chapter, two short contributions from writers of quite divergent background have been presented, each of them addressing herself to the main theme of the chapter from their respective points of view. Julie Piau is a Papua New Guinean from the Chimbu (Simbu) Province who is at present a university student in Australia, and Susanne Holzknrecht a lecturer at the University of Technology in Lae. Inevitably, there is considerable overlap between their respective statements. However, it was felt by the editors that the nature of these two contributions was in itself significant in revealing the 'attitudes to attitudes' of these two authors, and it was decided to avoid extensive editing which might have obliterated the salient nature of the contributions themselves.

6.1.1 SOME CURRENT ATTITUDES TOWARDS TOK PISIN - Julie Piau

6.1.1.0 Introduction

There has been little material published concerning attitudes towards Tok Pisin. It is touched on briefly by Wurm and Mühlhäusler (1979), and McDonald (ed. 1976a) has compiled a collection of readers' letters and reactions to Tok Pisin which were provoked by Dutton's inaugural lecture 'Language and national development - long wanem rot?'.¹

This paper is based largely on my observations and conversation in certain parts of Papua New Guinea. I will firstly discuss expatriate attitudes and secondly, Papua New Guinean attitudes in general, and thirdly, some specific issues relating to Tok Pisin.

6.1.1.1 Expatriates

In writing about expatriates, that is, non-Papua New Guineans, I find that they fall into two distinct groups, and the length of time one spends in Papua New Guinea matters very little in their attitudes towards Tok Pisin. There are those that see the importance of Tok Pisin, and those that ignore the existence of Tok Pisin.

There are a number of expatriates that have been in Papua New Guinea for a long time, yet they have very little knowledge of Tok Pisin. This group of expatriates have little contact with Papua New Guineans, and if the need arises

S.A. Wurm and P. Mühlhäusler, eds *Handbook of Tok Pisin (New Guinea Pidgin)*, 487-493. *Pacific Linguistics*, C-70, 1984.

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to communicate with them, especially someone who cannot speak any English, they tend to add the suffix *-im* to English words, and this is the closest they get to pidginising their English. These would be the extreme members of this group, who deny the existence of Tok Pisin because they see Tok Pisin as a childish language, a bastardised English, or not a proper or true language. Therefore, they feel that Tok Pisin is a substandard language compared to English, and that it will eventually be replaced by English.

The second group of expatriates see the importance of Tok Pisin as a means of communication, either because of the nature of their job, or because they are genuinely interested in learning Tok Pisin because they feel that this is the only way to learn about Papua New Guinea, its people and culture.

Some of these people acknowledge the existence of Tok Pisin and have enrolled in Tok Pisin classes, yet do not make any attempt to practise their Tok Pisin out of class, because they can just muddle along. The general attitude being 'why keep up the Tok Pisin when I can get by in English anyway?'

On the other hand, there are many expatriates who have mastered Tok Pisin, and there are even a few who are creative in their uses of Tok Pisin. Papua New Guineans are extremely pleased with expatriates who can speak Tok Pisin as well as they can, and accept them as members of 'the gang'.

6.1.1.2 Papua New Guineans

In this section on Papua New Guinean attitudes, I will only discuss certain issues such as the national language question, education and the media, as this is not meant to be an exhaustive paper on other issues.

6.1.1.2.1 Rural Papua New Guineans

In most rural areas, the vernacular is spoken on a day-to-day basis, with Tok Pisin being used when there are outsiders. In the past few years, I have noticed the increasing usage of Tok Pisin amongst adults, and an even larger number who speak to their children in Tok Pisin, and it is the language that these children speak before their vernacular. The only time that the parents speak to the children in the vernacular is when they cannot articulate themselves as well as in Tok Pisin. Although this is what is happening in Simbu, it would not surprise me if the same was happening in other parts of Papua New Guinea.

I feel that the increasing use of Tok Pisin in the rural areas shows that Tok Pisin has prestige, and therefore parents choose to speak to their children in Tok Pisin rather than the vernacular.

6.1.1.2.2 Urban Papua New Guineans

Tok Pisin is the main language of communication in the urban areas because of the large number of people living in the same community without having the same language. Children growing up in the urban areas tend to speak Tok Pisin rather than the vernacular, even if both parents speak the same language. With increasing intertribal marriages, there are more people speaking Tok Pisin than the vernacular. I have noticed that in Port Moresby, people who belong to the

former Territory of Papua (referred to from here on as 'Papuaans'), make an effort to learn Tok Pisin, while there are very few people from the former Territory of New Guinea (referred to from here on as 'New Guineans'), who will make an effort to learn Hiri Motu. Some educated Papua New Guineans feel that Tok Pisin is the only language that they can really express themselves in because they cannot do the same in English. Apart from those who have an emotional attachment to Hiri Motu, they feel that Tok Pisin is part of their culture.

6.1.1.3 Education

English has been the main medium of instruction in schools. A large number of Papua New Guineans cannot see Tok Pisin as the language of instruction in schools. Some feel that Tok Pisin as the medium would not permit discussion of abstract concepts, nor has it got the lexicon for technical terms. They also say that it would be too expensive to produce materials in Tok Pisin, especially at tertiary level, and having Tok Pisin as the language of education would lower the educational standards. In any event, the reason they send their children to school is to learn English because they do not have to go to school to learn Tok Pisin.

There are a few people who believe that the language of schools should be Tok Pisin, because the teaching standards have dropped largely because of English. Mr Clement Poye, the former Minister for Media has mentioned that "we should accept defeat and use Tok Pisin, Hiri Motu and the local vernaculars as the language of instruction" (*Post Courier* 7/4/1981:4).

I feel that the underlying reason that people give for retaining English as the medium of instruction is because of the status that English has over Tok Pisin, Hiri Motu and the vernaculars, and the feeling that the only way to have status, wealth and power is through English.

6.1.1.4 National language

Dutton's inaugural lecture (1976a) saying that Tok Pisin should become the national language has been the subject of widespread criticisms and heated debates. However, to this day, there has been little official discussion on the national language question.

There are already three de facto national languages, English, Tok Pisin and Hiri Motu, and attitudes are mixed, because some feel that all three languages should be retained. The notion of having only Tok Pisin as the national language has come under a lot of criticism from the Papuaans because of their emotional attachment to Hiri Motu. These Papuaans equate Tok Pisin with New Guineans, and as one reader put it, "they do not want to be forced into using that ridiculous language" (*Post Courier* 10/6/1976). They feel that they already have a national language, that is Motu. Abaijah (*Post Courier* 25/6/1976:2) has also said that Tok Pisin is "nothing but a comic opera language ... and who wants to speak pidgin to our Papuan people?" At the same time, there are Papuaans who speak Tok Pisin and would like it to become the national language.

The majority of New Guineans would like to see Tok Pisin as the national language because the majority of people speak it, and most importantly, because it is THEIR language.

Others feel that Tok Pisin should not be made the national language because it is not the language of our ancestors, and it is a colonial language. If we have to choose a national language, it should come from within the country.

Others feel that Tok Pisin is all right for the national language, but Papua New Guinea would look 'stupid' if it could not conduct its affairs in an international language.

On the whole, however, the majority of people feel that Tok Pisin should not be the ONLY national language.

The government's attitude to this issue has been to shelve it, because it is a delicate issue and both parties (Papuan and New Guineans) have to be pleased, which is perhaps why there is no national language policy.

6.1.1.5 Media and communication

Already there is a newspaper published in Tok Pisin, *Wantok*. There are more interviews on the National Broadcasting Commission in Tok Pisin than Hiri Motu. Most provincial radio stations conduct their programs in Tok Pisin (see Siegel, 6.3 in this volume), and debates in the national parliament are also in Tok Pisin as well as in English. Although this is not directly related to attitudes towards Tok Pisin, it shows Tok Pisin's importance in communication.

6.1.1.6 Conclusion

In the colonial era, a pre-independence Tok Pisin was regarded as the language of white gods, and enabled speakers to get a share of European wealth and power (Wurm and Mühlhäusler 1979:258). Today, it is not considered as the language that enables one to have access to European wealth and power, but the language identifying one as being a Papua New Guinean.

6.1.2 SOME NOTES ON PRESENT-DAY ATTITUDES TO TOK PISIN WITHIN PAPUA NEW GUINEA - Susanne Holzknrecht

6.1.2.1 Introduction

Can people use a language *without* having an 'attitude' towards it? One speaks a language comfortably or uncomfortably, easily or with difficulty, reluctantly or gladly. Perhaps a person never has to think about or articulate this feeling about the language being used and it is quite unconscious. But it is still there.

Asking Papua New Guineans how they 'feel' about hearing, speaking, reading or writing Tok Pisin is interesting because most of the ones I spoke to said they 'liked' it, they enjoy speaking it, feel at ease with it and prefer it to English. In villages I know, people who do not know any English also enjoy speaking Tok Pisin, but rather more reluctantly than the educated Papua New Guineans. In the village the feeling is that one should be speaking whichever tok ples is appropriate for the situation, and Tok Pisin is used only in contexts

where there are people present who do not understand a certain tok ples, or in particular institutionalised circumstances.

The information I give is based on conversations with Papua New Guineans and expatriates in Papua New Guinea, mostly in Lae and on observations in Lae, Madang, Port Moresby and some other parts of Papua New Guinea. There was no systematic survey done and the information is mostly impressionistic.

For the purposes of considering 'attitude' I have divided up the Tok Pisin-speaking population of Papua New Guinea into rural village-dwelling Papua New Guineans, urban village-dwelling Papua New Guineans, urban-dwelling Papua New Guineans, long-term expatriates, and short-term expatriates.

6.1.2.2 Papua New Guineans

6.1.2.2.1 Rural villages

In most areas of Papua New Guinea outside the towns, and even within the towns, the people of Papua New Guinea speak one or more of the vernacular languages on a day-to-day basis. In the village, Tok Pisin is only used when there is no other common language, for example with outsiders such as visitors, officials, missionaries, etc. It is occasionally used for formal meetings, even where there is a common vernacular language. When asked why this is so, people suggested that Tok Pisin makes the meeting more 'official', as it was and is the language of government and administration. The concept of formal meetings was introduced in Tok Pisin originally, and they have remained in Tok Pisin. Village Court hearings are also often conducted in Tok Pisin, for similar reasons. Any written records of proceedings are done in Tok Pisin.

Village people are proud of their own languages, as part of their own, special cultures and prefer to use these vernaculars rather than Tok Pisin in most village situations. Some young people who come home for school holidays, or from years away at school or work, cannot speak their own languages very well and resort to Tok Pisin in the village. They are criticised and made fun of, and become ashamed because of it.

When playing sport in the village, people occasionally use Tok Pisin as the vernacular languages do not have all the vocabulary ready to hand. Often, in this context, the Tok Pisin words are mixed in with the vernacular.

6.1.2.2.1.1 Urban villages

Urban villages are different to rural villages. By urban villages, I mean those traditional villages which have become incorporated into towns, or are traditional villages just on the outskirts of towns, for example Butibam, near Lae. In urban villages such as Butibam the young people now speak Tok Pisin nearly all the time. Many of these young people are from families in which the parents come from different language backgrounds, and so speak Tok Pisin in the home as well. Only the old people in these urban villages now speak the vernacular language most of the time.

6.1.2.2.2 Urban Papua New Guinea

In towns in Papua New Guinea the situation is very different. And each town is different, as far as language use goes, to all the others. Tok Pisin is needed for communication between people who do not share a common vernacular. Uneducated people in towns, who speak little or no English, speak Tok Pisin most of the day, even among 'wantoks'. It is the language of town, of work, of commerce. If you speak your own tok ples in public with your wantoks, you might be accused of saying things behind someone's back, of saying rude or nasty things about someone close by who does not understand you. But Tok Pisin is out in the open, it is accessible to everyone and there can be no misunderstandings.

Educated Papua New Guineans, except for those whose lingua franca is Hiri Motu, have an emotional attachment to Tok Pisin. They see it as part of their Papua New Guinea culture, a national culture, and use it creatively and joyfully. In shops, offices, classrooms (unofficially!), on the streets, one hears mostly Tok Pisin being spoken. Educated Papua New Guineans spoken to about the subject believe that Tok Pisin should be, and will be, spoken in Papua New Guinea as far as one can see into the future. It cannot be replaced by English. It is the 'middle way', the medium language that all can share. Tok ples has its place and is very important. English is for the educated and is also important. But Tok Pisin is for everyone.

Town Papua New Guineans enjoy speaking Tok Pisin to expatriates who speak it well, and appreciate very much their skill and willingness to use Tok Pisin. On the other hand, when faced with an expatriate who speaks it poorly or condescendingly, they are annoyed and switch to English if they can.

Papua New Guineans who have thought about the question of vernacular education seem to feel that Tok Pisin should not become the medium of instruction or even be taught as a language in schools. They feel that English is the best medium for education in the present world. They also feel that Tok Pisin is a language one learns, not a language that one is taught. When one speaks Tok Pisin, one is free to innovate, to be creative. One is not likely to be corrected or laughed at, or accused of trying to be too 'high', which one runs the risk of doing when one speaks English among peers, or those who know English less.

In the towns, Papua New Guinean parents often have a firm family 'language policy'. Some parents want their children to learn to speak English, and enforce an 'English only' rule at home. Others prefer their children to speak a vernacular language and encourage its use, along with English, at home. Others use only Tok Pisin in the home and outside, especially those from mixed language backgrounds.

6.1.2.3 Expatriates

6.1.2.3.1 Long-term expatriates

Expatriates, or non-Papua New Guinean residents or visitors, vary in their attitudes to Tok Pisin. The variation depends on how long the person has been in the country, on his or her country of origin, on the degree of need to speak Tok Pisin on the job, and on the contexts in which it has to be used.

Longer-term people have, on the whole, more skill in Tok Pisin and more commitment to learning to use it well. But many of these people think that Tok Pisin should not become the national language or replace English. Some feel

that Tok Pisin is "selling the Papua New Guineans short", keeping them back from full development by burdening them with an inadequate language. Thus their attitude to Tok Pisin is that it is not a true, developed language, is sub-standard (compared with, e.g. English) and will eventually be replaced by English anyway. Others feel that Tok Pisin and English can exist happily side by side, being used as they are now in different but complementary contexts.

6.1.2.3.2 Short-term expatriates

Short-term expatriates either take Tok Pisin very seriously and enrol for classes where available, or try to ignore it altogether and just muddle along, speaking it only to gardeners or house servants. Those who sign up for classes are usually those with a mission, or with a desire to experience Papua New Guinea to the full. They are enthusiastic learners and try to appreciate Tok Pisin in its full cultural context as a pathway to learning about Papua New Guinea and its people.

The other group, those who deny the importance of Tok Pisin, often have little contact with Papua New Guineans outside working hours, during which they speak mainly English. Many of them believe that Papua New Guineans who claim to speak only Tok Pisin are pretending, "and really understand every word in English". But one often finds these people liberally sprinkling their English with Tok Pisin words, like wantok, rausim, bagarap, maski, etc.

6.1.2.4 Conclusion

These are some of the feelings that people have, at the present, about Tok Pisin in its context as a Papua New Guinean language. As I stated earlier, this information is impressionistic, gathered from conversations, direct questioning and observations made over quite a long time in Papua New Guinea. What is most striking about Papua New Guineans' attitudes to the different languages which exist in their country is their strong attachment to their mother-tongues and commitment to perpetuate them, their emotional attachment to Tok Pisin, and especially their lack of resentment towards English as the colonial language. They believe, and hope, that all these different languages can co-exist and develop happily in the future Papua New Guinean society.

6.2 CURRENT USE AND EXPANSION OF TOK PISIN: TOK PISIN AS A LITERARY LANGUAGE¹

Don Laycock

Literary productions in a language such as Tok Pisin clearly cannot be older than the language itself. At some time in the last 100 years, the first story was told in the pidgin being spoken in the New Guinea area, and the first song in that language was sung; but both these events, which would mark the beginning of creative writing in Tok Pisin, escaped the attention of literate recorders. The data we have on early literary creations in Tok Pisin is quite late; the first documented songs known to me were collected in the period immediately prior to World War I, although they were not published until 1922 (Jacques 1922). They run:²

- | | |
|---|--|
| (1) <i>Master belong mi...i...i</i>
<i>Come back quick.</i>
<i>Mi like him taro,</i>
<i>Mi like him painap.</i> | masta bilong mi
kambek kwik
mi laikim taro
mi laikim painap |
| (2) <i>I long time long Sigismund,</i>
<i>I long time long Singais.</i>
<i>Put him down Roland</i>
<i>I go down long Rabaul.</i>

<i>All cabin hi no save notting</i>
<i>Kee fast him Roland,</i>
<i>Kee fast him Sigismund,</i>
<i>Kee fast him Sigisan.</i> | i longtaim long Sigismund
i longtaim long singais
putim daun long Roland
i go daun long Rabaul

ol kebin i no save nating
kipasim Roland
kipasim Sigismund
kipasim Sigisan |

Undisputed story-texts in Tok Pisin are even later; the first are probably those published by Hall (1943a).

At this point we must distinguish three separate strands of literature in Tok Pisin:

- 1) folk literature: songs, stories and speeches of indigenous Tok Pisin speakers, transmitted orally;
- 2) writings in Tok Pisin by Europeans, for the most part translations;
- 3) deliberate 'literary' creations in Tok Pisin by indigenous writers, and published over their own names.

6.2.1 FOLK LITERATURE

The first type is perhaps the most poorly documented, especially as regards songs. Apart from the song quoted above, only about half-a-dozen songs have

S.A. Wurm and P. Mühlhäusler, eds *Handbook of Tok Pisin (New Guinea Pidgin)*, 495-515. *Pacific Linguistics*, C-70, 1984.

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been noted down by European observers - and that usually unreliably, in a mish-mash of spellings, and without the melodies. Some important examples include the following:

- | | | |
|--|--|-----|
| (3) <i>O Engineer, O Engineer...</i> | <i>o ensinia</i> | [2] |
| <i>Go ahead machine... go ahead machine...</i> | <i>gohet masin</i> | [2] |
| <i>Ready up anchor... ready up anchor...</i> | <i>rere ap-anka</i> | [2] |
| <i>Go ahead machine... go ahead machine...</i> | <i>gohet masin</i> | [2] |
| <i>Machine he go... machine he go...</i> | <i>masin i go</i> | [2] |
| <i>O engineer... O engineer...</i> | <i>o ensinia</i> | [2] |
| (4) <i>Time me lose-im Vanimo,</i> | <i>taim mi lusim Vanimo</i> | |
| <i>Me slip namel long salwara,</i> | <i>mi slip namel long solwara</i> | |
| <i>Sun e go down pinis,</i> | <i>san i go daun pinis</i> | |
| <i>Me look back, me no painim Vanimo,</i> | <i>mi luk bek, mi no painim Vanimo</i> | |
| <i>Me slip deck long Tara,</i> | <i>mi slip dek long Tara</i> | |
| <i>Me sorry mama na susa.</i> | <i>mi sore mama na susa</i> | |
| (5) <i>Good fellow moon e come,</i> | <i>gutpela mun i kam</i> | |
| <i>Time belong ol single-e-run,</i> | <i>taim bilong ol singel i ron</i> | |
| <i>Single-o,</i> | <i>singel-o</i> | |
| <i>Single-o,</i> | <i>singel-o</i> | |
| <i>Promis single-o!</i> | <i>promis singel-o</i> | |
| (6) <i>Sun up long mountain Wewak,</i> | <i>sanap long maunten Wewak</i> | |
| <i>Me look-look.</i> | <i>mi lukluk</i> | |
| <i>E go down long sodawater,</i> | <i>i godaun long solwara</i> | |
| <i>Now me sori,</i> | <i>na mi sore</i> | |
| <i>Now me cry.</i> | <i>na mi krai</i> | |
| (7) <i>Ol mary long nursie,</i> | <i>ol meri long nesi</i> | |
| <i>Ol e tait long rot.</i> | <i>ol i tait long rot</i> | |
| <i>Hankasip e stap on top,</i> | <i>hankasip i stap antap.</i> | |
| <i>Kol win e blow him.</i> | <i>kolwin i bloim</i> | |
| (8) <i>You mary one-talk,</i> | <i>yu meri wantok</i> | |
| <i>You gammon me tasall,</i> | <i>yu giamanim mi tasol</i> | |
| <i>You writim name belong me</i> | <i>yu raitim nem bilong mi</i> | |
| <i>Underneath long leg belong you.</i> | <i>ananit long lek bilong yu</i> | |
| (9) <i>Ol mary Matupi</i> | <i>ol meri Matupi</i> | |
| <i>Ol sellim tomato;</i> | <i>ol i salim tomato</i> | |
| <i>Likim tumas sixpence.</i> | <i>laikim tumas sikispens</i> | |
| (10) <i>Wanpela meri i raitim pas long mi</i> | [2] | |
| <i>Em i tok, bai mi go daun long wetim em,</i> | <i>wetim em</i> | |
| <i>Mi kirap long biknait mi godaun long wetim em</i> | | |
| <i>Mi go wet wet nating tulait hia</i> | | |
| (11) <i>Sotpela hia, longpela hia</i> | | |
| <i>Mi sanap mi lukluk long draiwara</i> | | |
| <i>Sotpela hia, longpela hia</i> | | |
| <i>Mi sanap mi lukluk long draiwara</i> | | |

- (12) Mi stap long Moem barik
 Mi kisim leta long ples
 Mi stap long Moem barik
 Mi kisim leta long ples
 Ol i toksave long mi
 Papa i dai pinis
 Mi sore na mi kraik
 Mi brukim unifom bilong mi
 Ol i toksave long mi
 Papa i dai pinis
 Mi sore na mi kraik
 Mi brukim raifel bilong mi
- (13) Pupulu bilong yu yu putim wet proksait
 Na ples i tanim
 Pupulu bilong yu yu putim wet proksait
 Na ples i tanim
 Samting bilong husat
 Samting bilong yu yet
 Na yu no ken pret
 Samting bilong husat
 Samting bilong yu yet
 Na yu no ken pret
- (14) Meri nangu, meri nangu
 Meri nangu taragau i hukim yu
 Taragau i hukim yu [4]
 Nau yu ranewe marit [4]
 Taragau i hukim yu
- (15) Busama i bin paia [2]
 Wewiak i salim wailes
 Busama i bin paia
- (16) Yumi hapi tude long dispela pati
 Tude yumi hapi tumas long dispela nait
- (17) Sore tumas long mi, sore mi yang kauboi
 Em i olosem asua bilong yu
 Kolim mi tupela taim, kolim mi yangpela nating
 Mi sore tumas na mi kraik
 Sore tumas long mi, mi no save long yia bilong mi
 Em i olosem asua bilong yu
 Sore tumas long mi, mi ken lavim yu
 Mi sore tumas na mi kraik

Example (3) is from Dean and Carell 1958, sung by the crew of a mission boat en route from Wewak to Aitape; examples (4)-(9) are from Willey 1965, mostly songs of soldiers and carriers on the march (Number (3): 'marching song of the Pacific Islands Regiment'); examples (10)-(14) are from Dutton 1973, mostly collected in the East Sepik Province by Mr Bryant Allen (Australian National University); example (15) I learnt myself in Port Moresby in September 1973, from the singing of Ralph Wari, a student at the University of Papua New Guinea; and numbers (16) and (17) were also collected by me, during fieldwork in Buin

(Bougainville) in 1966 (and published by Hannet (1970)). The selection is sufficient to show that indigenously-created Tok Pisin songs are fairly simple in structure, express a mood rather than a narrative, make extensive use of repetition, and shun European devices such as rhyme.³ Nevertheless, I believe that the structure of the songs derives from European songs rather than indigenous sources; such melodies as have been published or recorded are also derived from European sources (typically, 'hillbilly' songs, hymn tunes, and modern pan-Pacific 'Hawaiian' melodies). The usual accompaniment in the past was the ukulele or 'Hawaiian' guitar, which Papua New Guineans at that stage had not yet learnt to tune in such a way as to accompany indigenous melodies. An example of a song with an essentially European melody (in which the last few bars suggest the Irish song *Kevin Barry*) is the following, published in a book of 'International Songs' (1952):

Bi-po mi wok long kam-pa-ni, mi les tu-mas, o-lo mas-ta raus-im mi

Bi-hain mi go long ka-lia-kan o-lo me-ri laik-im mi

(18) *Before me work long company,
Me laze too much, alla mastah
rouse-im me.
Behind me go long Kalakan
Alla Mary like-im me.*

*Me work long day, me work long
night,
Me work too much, me sorry yet
long me.
Me like run way, me like go home
Long country belong me.*

*Me look-look yet long one Mary
Em-ee look-look yet, longa alla
taim long me
Me talk long day, me talk long
night
"You come one-time long me".*

*Me two-fella go runaway, go
long way yet
Long country belong me.
Me like too much kai-kai b'long
me,
Me no like company.*

Bipo mi wok long kampani
Mi les tumas, olo masta rausim mi
Bihain mi go long Kalakan
Olo meri laikim mi

Mi wok long de, mi wok long nait
Mi wok tumas mi sore yet long mi
Mi laik ronewe mi laik go hom
Long kantri bilong mi

Mi lukluk yet long wan meri
Em i lukluk yet long olo taim long mi
Mi tok long de mi tok long nait
'Yu kam wantaim long mi'

Mi tupela go ronewe, go longwe yet
Long kantri bilong mi
Mi laik tumas kaikai bilong mi
Mi no laik kampani

The melodies of five other songs are given by Hannet (1970), and a recording of songs (10)-(14) can be heard on the tapes accompanying Dutton 1973. Many more Tok Pisin songs are regularly played on Papua New Guinea radio stations (for example 'Mi waswas long pain serp/si i kisim mi', popular in the East Sepik Province in 1971), but have not been released commercially. It is to be hoped that efforts will be made to record this ongoing oral tradition in Tok Pisin writing.

A number of other songs are often cited as examples of indigenous Tok Pisin creations, but in some at least we may suspect European editing or rewriting; in this category we may place the two best-known of the older Tok Pisin songs, 'Yumi sekan' (example (19)) and 'Ples bilong mi i nambawan' (example (20)) - the former cited from Harnet 1970 (with which compare a slightly different version given by Willey (1965)), and the latter from Hogbin 1939, who took it from a "Roman Catholic hymn-book" (reprinted by Hall (1943a), with the comment: "Although parts of this poem may have been 'doctored' or written by the missionaries, it has a sufficiently authentic ring to be included in the texts by Melanesian rather than by European speakers").

(19) Yu mi sikan
 long taim mi go.
 Mi no save
 sapos mi bagarap
 Balus i palai antap
 mi ting sori
 mi ting baimbai mi dai.

Yu mi sikan
 long taim mi go.
 Mi no save
 sapos mi bagarap
 Sip i sel long wara
 mi ting sori
 mi ting baimbai mi dai.

(20) Ples bilong mi i namberwan,
 Mi laikim im tasol.
 Mi tink long papa, mama tu,
 Mi kraik long haus blong ol.
 Mi wok long ples i longwe tru,
 Mi stap no gud tasol.
 Ples bilong mi i namberwan,
 Mi laikim im tasol.
 Ol wantok, brader, susa tu,
 Longtaim i wetim mi.
 Ol i salim planti tok i kam,
 Ol tink mi lus long si.
 Nau mi kirap, mi go long ples,
 Mi no ken lusim mor.
 Ples bilong mi i namberwan,
 Mi laikim im tasol.

The stricter metre, and the use of rhyme in example (20), should be especially noted, and contrasted with the forms of the undoubtedly indigenous creations. Probably in the same category are two short poems (or songs?) given by Murphy (1943):

(21) O Kanai, kanai antap tru,
 Yu trip tasol yu go
 Mi liklik manki lukim yu,
 Mi sanap daonpilo.

O Kanai, Kanai stap antap
 Naispela trip b'long yu
 Aiting yu lukim Deo stap
 Na yu laik stap klostu

- (22) Liklik pisin, pren b'long mi
 Kam sindaun klostu
 Mi no meknais, nau yu kam
 Kaikai fikus tu

Liklik pisin, yu no pret,
 Mi no holim spia
 Naispela pisin, nau yu kam
 Liklik manki hia.

Examples of undisputed European writing in Tok Pisin will be cited in the next section.

An oral tradition in Tok Pisin narrative has not yet established itself. Comparatively few Tok Pisin texts by indigenous speakers have been published in any 'undoctored' way; some of the major collections to date are to be found in the manuals of Laycock (1970c), Dutton (1973), Wurm (1971a), and Counts (1982). It should be noted, however, that most of these texts are in fact translations of vernacular stories, and are told in Tok Pisin only for the benefit of the European recorder; situations rarely arise (or, at least, have rarely been observed) where narratives are told in Tok Pisin to a predominantly indigenous audience. The texts of Hall (1943a; Hall and Bateson 1944) are for the most part told by his European anthropologist informants, relying on memory or on field transcriptions, while a very early text of the Garden of Eden story, supposedly told by a Solomon Islander working on the sugarcane plantations in Queensland (London 1909, reprinted by Churchill (1911)) is very unreliable evidence of any sort of indigenous pidgin. Nevertheless, even in these examples a Tok Pisin narrative style is discernible, a style whose major elements are taken from vernacular story-telling styles. Most notable of these elements is the linking of sentences by repetition of the previous verb, often introduced by *orait*, as in the following example from Laycock 1970c - repetitions italicised:

- (23) *Orait*, i go long raunwara, pukpuk i ken kisim em, na bikpela snek i stap long wara, em i ken kisim em. *Orait*, *ol i kisim i kam*, smokim pinis, *ol i putim gen*, *ol i go bek*. *Ol i go bek*, *ol i kisim*, *ol i kisim torosel na wonem samting*, pukpuk, *ol i siutim long supia*. *Ol i siutim long supia*, *orait*, sapos dewel i kamap long wara, baimbai masalai long maunten i go daun kisim nau

This sentence-linking, which derives from the 'sentence-medial' verbs of non-Austronesian languages of Papua New Guinea, is also a major feature of Tok Pisin rhetoric - another field of indigenous literary creation which many visitors to Papua New Guinea have observed (especially at the meetings of Local Government Councils), but which has not been documented in any satisfactory way.

6.2.2 TOK PISIN WRITING BY EUROPEANS

Europeans have long been active in Papua New Guinea in producing written material in Tok Pisin, but very little of their production comes under the heading of creative writing; most of it consists of functional manuals on health, hygiene,

carpentry, administration news, cooking, politics, and theology. The quantity of such 'literature' is too vast to survey here; some items are listed in the bibliography to Laycock 1970d, and many more are included in the bibliography of Reinecke 1975. Missions of all denominations have translated into Tok Pisin various hymns and portions of the liturgy, two of the most widespread publications being the Catholic *Buk bilong beten end singsing bilong ol katolik* (1960), and the Protestant *Buk song bilong lotu long tok pisin* (n.d.). From these, respectively, we may cite the translation of 'silent night' (24) and of 'O Come All Ye Faithful' (25):

(24) *Krismas nait, santu nait!*

*Ol i slip, star i lait,
Nau Maria i karim God Son,
Liklik Yesus kamdaun hir long graund,
Yesus Peman i kam,
Yesus Peman i kam.*

*Angelo nais end wait,
Ol i kam, ol i singsing long God,
Bringim gudfelo tok blong ontop,
Yesus Peman i kam,
Yesus Peman i kam.*

*Betlehem nau i lait,
Watchman ol i kirap i go kwik,
Faindim, lotuim Yesus long krib,
Yesus Peman i kam,
Yesus Peman i kam.*

*Nau mi go, mi no wet.
Mi laik lukim long disfelo nait,
Liklik Yesus i gud, i olrait.
Yesus Peman i kam,
Yesus Peman i kam.*

Krismas nait, santu nait!

*ol i slip, star i lait,
nau Maria i karim God Son,
liklik Yesus kamdaun hia long graun
Yesus Peman i kam
Yesus Peman i kam.*

*Angelo nais en wait
ol i kam, ol i singsing long God
bringim gutpela tok bilong antap
Yesus Peman i kam
Yesus Peman i kam.*

*Betlehem nau i lait
wasman ol i kirap i go kwik
painim, lotuim Yesus long krib
Yesus Peman i kam
Yesus Peman i kam*

*Nau mi go, mi no wet
mi laik lukim long dispela nait
liklik Yesus i gut, i orait
Yesus Peman i kam
Yesus Peman i kam.*

(25) *Kam ologeta kristen*

*kam long krismas moning
yumi laik tingting long Betlehem
yumi laik tingting long pikinini bilong God
kam sing Aleluya [3]
long Kraist Jisas*

*Olgeta ensel
mekim gutpela song
ol i liptimapim nem bilong God antap
em i salim pikinini bilong helpim yumi
kam sing Aleluya [3]
long Kraist Jisas*

Noteworthy in these productions are the differing forms of words like *Jesus* (Yesus/Jisas) and *angel* (angelo/ensel), but such denominational differences in the use of Tok Pisin have largely disappeared. (Baker (1944) castigates the competing mission orthographies then in use.)

Perhaps the most influential of mission writings have been the Bible translations, not so much the series of excerpts that formed the *Liklik katolik baibel* (1934) (though this and its predecessors must have been familiar to thousands of Papua New Guineans) as the more recent complete translation of the New Testament

(*Nupela Testamen* (1969)). This was the first major publication to use the new 'standardised' Tok Pisin orthography. The same orthography is followed religiously by the directors of Kristen Pres, the major Tok Pisin publishing house in Papua New Guinea, which puts out an extensive list of religious and educational works in Tok Pisin. The Summer Institute of Linguistics at Ukarumpa also publishes in Tok Pisin as well as vernaculars, and produced, in the popular *Manki i pas long tais* (1971), what was probably the first comic-book in Tok Pisin, albeit with a religious content.

Outside of mission and administration propaganda, little creative writing by Europeans has reached indigenous speakers of Tok Pisin. A few brief translations have been undertaken by Europeans as tours-de-force, or as demonstrations that Tok Pisin is not an 'inadequate' language; noteworthy among these translations are a version of a passage from Sophocles' *Oedipus rex*⁴ by Gaywood (1951), the myth of Theseus and Ariadne retold by Hall (1959b), and Murphy's (1943) translation of Mark Anthony's speech from Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar*, a portion of which follows:

- (26) Pren, man bolong Rom, Wantok, harim nau. Mi kam tasol long plantim Kaesar. Mi noken beiten longen. Sopos sampela wok bolong wanpela man i stret; sampela i no stret; na man i dai; ol i wailis long wok i no stret tasol. Gutpela wok bolongen i slip; i lus nating long giraun wantaim long Kalopa. Fesin bolong yumi man. Maski Kaesar tu, gutpela wok i slip.

Along the same lines, I have completed a translation of *Macbeth* which may eventually be published, after revision. My translation of Wilhelm Busch's poem *Max und Moritz* is included in a collection by Görlach (1984), but is unlikely to reach many Tok Pisin speakers for some time.

Direct creative writing, as distinct from translation, is less in evidence. Dutton (1973) gives the following song written by Mike Goodson,⁵ an agricultural officer in Papua New Guinea:

- (27) Mipela mipela didiman
 Husat meri laik i ken
 Ol i kolim mipela nambawan man
 O mipela didiman
- Mipela wok long nait na de
 Na mipela no gat dola-de
 Mipela no gat gutpela pe
 O mipela didiman
- Mipela save go wok bus
 Kaikai pinis na mi smok brus
 Tingting long olgeta samting i lus
 O mipela didiman
- Kiap i ting mi rabisman
 Mi holim meri long tupela han
 Sapos em i laik kotim mi i ken
 O mipela didiman
- O hapkas pikinini ples pulap
 Inap long go long wanpela trak
 Maski long moa, ating em inap
 O mipela didiman

Laycock (1972b) has published one Tok Pisin song in *Wantok* newspaper, and has a number of others unpublished. But by and large Europeans have hesitated to enter the field of creative writing in Tok Pisin, perhaps fearing invidious comparisons with native Papua New Guinean writing. Nevertheless, there remains a great deal of scope for European contributions to the Tok Pisin literature of Papua New Guinea, a fact which was long ago recognised by Hall (1954b):

Potential authors might be found among both Europeans and natives. Europeans with the requisite technical and cultural knowledge and with adequate command of Neo-Melanesian might well be encouraged to undertake literary projects, either as a part of educational or missionary work, or as a spare-time recreational occupation.

At a Tok Pisin conference held at the University of Papua New Guinea in September 1973, a literature sub-committee strongly expressed the view that there should be greater variety in the type of reading material available in Tok Pisin ('humour, biography, fables, language games, etc., as well as instructional subjects'); much of this variety could well come from the efforts of Europeans. Two members of the audience suggested that the list could well include erotica and as a step in that direction I offer the following translation I made of the English bawdy ballad 'Sam Hall', and disseminated in the Sepik area in 1959:

(28) O nem bilong mi Samol, yes Samol [2]

O nem bilong mi Samol
na mi gat wanpela bol
em i inap long pakim ol
bladi sit, bladi sit
em i inap long pakim ol
bladi sit

Mi laik plei long meri long nait ...
tasol man bilongen i no laik
na bol i lus long pait ...

O kiap em i kam ...
na i kotim mi long san -
em i ken siubim kot long bam ...

Nau mi stap kalabus ...
na nau mi nogat brus
na bai ol moni i lus ...

O mi wok long katim gras ...
na pater i go pas -
em i man bilong pakim as ...

O bai mi pinistaim ...
mi laik kisim misis traim -
mi gat moni inap long baim ...

O mi laik go long Lae ...
brukim kontrak, ronewe
na les long san olde ...

O klosap bai mi dai ...
kisim ples paia baimbai -
tasol mi no ken i krai ...

(A version of the English original can be found in Laycock 1982b.)

An even earlier bawdy limerick is one written by the anthropologist John M. Whiting, cited by Hall (1943a):⁶

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>(29) <i>klostu lon ars brlon kokonus tri,</i>
 <i>wenfɛlɛ meri kəmɛp lon mi,</i>
 <i>sɪdawn lon gras -</i>
 <i>i-gat brgfɛlɛ ars -</i>
 <i>i-tɔk i-lajk pʊʃpʊʃ lon mi.</i></p> | <p><i>klostu long as bilong kokonas-tri</i>
 <i>wanpela meri kamap long mi</i>
 <i>sindaun long gras</i>
 <i>i gat bikepa as</i>
 <i>i tok i laik puspupus long mi</i></p> |
|---|--|

6.2.3 INDIGENOUS CREATIVE WRITING

Self-conscious creative writing in Tok Pisin by local-born authors is a comparatively new phenomenon; outlets for publication in this field have been available only since 1969. The major impetus in this field was provided by Mr Ulli Beier, who held an appointment in the teaching of creative writing at the University of Papua New Guinea from 1967 to 1972, and who remained active in Port Moresby for a further few years as Director of the Institute of Papua New Guinea Studies, responsible for the administration of many cultural activities, including creative writing.

Although Mr Beier's main interest was in the promotion of writing in English, and his knowledge of Tok Pisin was insufficient for him to make valid critical judgements, the publications he initiated (*Kovave* and *Papua Pocket Poets*) provided a medium for the expression of Tok Pisin writings, and Mr Beier's encouragement ensured that they were published. The first (pilot issue) of *Kovave* carried two songs in Tok Pisin collected by students (as well as songs in Solomon Islands and Australian Aboriginal Pidgin), and also the first published Tok Pisin play, 'Em rod bilong kago', by Leo Hannet (of which a longish extract was reprinted by Laycock (1970d)). Most subsequent issues included at least one or two Tok Pisin poems, but the later ones were written rather than 'collected'; these include two poems which became deservedly popular, and which have been issued on posters by the former Creative Arts Centre (now the National Arts Centre) in Port Moresby. The poems are 'O meri wantok' by Bede Dus Mapun (*Kovave* 3/2 1972) and 'Moa! Moa! Yet!' by Jerry Kavop (*Kovave* 4/1 1972); the first is given here (30), with a 'reply' by Peni Bryning (31) (*Kovave* 4/1 1972):

- (30) O meri Papua
 O meri Buka
 O meri Nugini
 O meri Haelen
 O meri wantok me sore long yu.
- Yu lukim Astralia man i draivim kar
 Yu lukim Amerika man i draivim trak
 Yu lukim Inqlan man i ronim mota baik
 Yu lukim Nuzilan man i kikim baisiko!
 Yu sanap yu lukluk na yu sek.
 O meri wantok mi sore long yu.

Yu lukim Papua man i raon long lek
 Yu lukim Buka man i ron long lek
 Yu lukim Nugini man wokabaot long lek
 Yu lukim Haelan man i taitim long lek
 Yu harem bilak man i tok "Monin meri wantok"
 Yu tanim pes no tok "Hemarai lasi"
 Yu taitim bel na tok "Nogat sem bolo yu".
 O meri wantok mi sore long yu.

O meri wantok
 Bipo maus bilong yu i save braon
 Nao maus bilong yu i red
 Bipo garas bilong yu i save sanap lus
 Nao yu pulim igo tait
 Bipo susu bilong yu i sabe selek
 Nao i sanap tait olsem yet.
 Yu lukluk long galas na tok
 "Inap long tuandi dola wan dorop!"
 O meri wantok mi sore long yu.

Lapun man bilong Inglan i tok "Nansei!"
 Yangpela man bilong Astralia lukim yu na i tok
 "My dalen black en beauriful
 I'll mek you like kween of heaven above."
 Yu harem na yu ting se i turu.
 O meri wantok mi sore long yu.

Mi sanap mi lukluk tasol
 Mi sidaun mi ting ting tasol
 O meri wan sikin mi sore long yu.
 O meri wantok mi sore tumas long yu.

(31) O man wantok mi sore long yu.
 Mi sore yet long yu.
 Yu lukim meri Astralia
 Yu lukim meri Amerika
 Yu lukim meri Inglan
 Na yu seksek long en.

O man wantok mi sore long yu.
 Yu go long piksa na yu seksek
 Yu lukim waitpela susu
 Yu lukim beksait i stap nating
 Yu lukim longpela waitpela gras
 Na yu seksek nogut tru.

O man wantok yu mekim wanem long meri wantok?
 Yu givim pikinini long en
 Yu givim plenti wok long en
 Yu paitim em sapos kaikai i no kamap kwiktaim
 Yu larim em long haus na go drink bia -
 O sore-sore long yu!

O man wantok mi sore long yu.
 Yu wokabaut olsem kakaruk man
 Yu putim klos olsem kauboi
 Yu go long piksa, yu go spak nabaut
 Long nait yu drim long meri i narakain -
 O man wantok mi sore yet long yu!

Tok Pisin poems can also be found in some of the small booklets issued as *Papua Pocket Poets*, especially those edited by Hannet (1970) and Tawali (1971); the first of these contains only 'folk' songs, and has been mentioned above, while the second is the most important collection of Tok Pisin poems to date. Space permits only the citation of Tau Peruka's 'Nansei' (32), also published in *Pangu Pati Nius* June 1973, and by Dutton (1973), and a poem by Kila R. Wari on the ever-popular theme of 'Meri Wantok' (33):

- (32) Mi katim kona long Koki Maket
 Mi lukim olo man na meri salim
 buai, daka, pis na banana
mi no seksek
 Mi lukim meri i gat longpela gras
Ei! Nansei!
- Mi sanap long nabis bilong Ela Bis
 Mi lukim olo masta waswas
mi no seksek
 Mi lukim olo missis oli kalap kalap nabaut
 na opinim lek bilong ol
Ei! Nansei!
- Mi sindaun long hap sait bilong braun riva
 mi lukim bikpela pukpuk i kamap
mi no seksek
 Mi lukim meri i rausim dress bilong en,
 waitpela susu bilongen i sanap streit
Ei! Nansei!
- Mi wokabaut long klostu long swiming pul
 mi lukim sagana bilong ol man
mi no seksek
 Mi lukim waitpela sagana bilong ol meri
Ei! Nansei!
- Mi raon raon long Burns Philp
 mi lukim ol niupela samting
mi no seksek
 Mi lukim ol meri wokabaut wantaim sotpela dres
 has bilong ol i sek-sek narakain
Ei! Nansei!
- (33) Meri Wantok
 Nogat arapela
 Inap winim yu,
 Yu tasol, Meri Wantok

Susu i sanap,
 Olosem retpela maunden
 I sanap taim san i hatim
 Na i brukim leiva bilong mi,
 Em yu tasol meri wantok.

Ai bilong yu olosem paia i lait.
 Gras bilong yu i bilak tru
 Na i luk swit mo
 Tasol skin bilong yu i kol
 Olosem kolwara,
 Na i mekim mi i hangkamap
 tru long yu,
 O, Meri Wantok.

Only one collection of Tok Pisin poems by a single writer has appeared; this is the interesting booklet *Kas bilong yu* by Jerry Kavap (1974).

Tok Pisin newspapers proliferated in the 1970s, but many ceased publication after only a few issues, and most did not survive independence; the principal ones were *Wantok*, *Bougainville Nius*, *Pangu Pati Nius*, *Poroman*, *Luksave*, *Toktok bilong Haus ov Asembli*, and *Raunabaut*. Only *Wantok* continued fully viable after independence, and has had a considerable influence on the way Tok Pisin is written, especially in non-literary reporting. (New provincial newspapers in Tok Pisin, such as *Enga Nius* and *Enga Provins Nius* (both started in 1979), were unavailable for evaluation at the time of updating this paper.)

However, the Tok Pisin publications rarely carried contributions that can be regarded as creative writing, apart from the letters to the editor and the contributions of readers to the sections (particularly in *Wantok*) devoted to traditional stories ('stori bilong ol tumbuna'). (The style of Tok Pisin in the media is reviewed by Siegel (1983, 1984).)

The lack of creative writing in *Wantok* in recent years may be due to a lack of submissions rather than the editorial policy. However, recent issues have carried translations into Tok Pisin of stories originally written in English; a story 'Wailabus gat tingting' (perhaps from a Hemingway original) was serialised in five parts from issue #411 (3 April 1982), while the famous *Esquire* story 'Leningen versus the ants' was serialised in four parts from issue #416 (8 May 1982). The translation demands of such stories have considerable consequences for the future of Tok Pisin writing; but the translators in these instances were not identified, and some of their translation choices are mechanical or anglicised.

Considerable creativity is shown also in comic strips in Tok Pisin. The first of these were translations, often of religious stories (*Manki i pas long tais* has been mentioned above, and around 1970 another mission comic book entitled *Laip bilong Jisas* was common around the Sepik area). A version of Carl Anderson's comic strip *Henry*, with Tok Pisin explanations at the bottom of the frame, ran in the paper *Nu Gini Toktok* until it ceased publication in 1971. *Wantok* still often runs Tok Pisin translations of Bible comics; however, during the 1970s it has also run translations of the comic strip versions of literary classics such as *Moby Dick* and *The last of the Mohicans*. The first comic strip in *Wantok* was Walt Disney's *Scamp* ('Dog Maski'), soon to be followed by Lee Falk and Sy Barry's *The Phantom* - dropped again in August 1977, following copyright troubles after independence. The comic strip of *Tarzan* (started 1979) has had a long run, while other translated comic strips have appeared in other publications.

However the real area of creativity lies in the locally-created comic strips. In *Wantok*, many of these are the work of a *Wantok* artist named Biliso Osake. The earliest Biliso drawings in *Wantok* are illustrations (particularly to the traditional stories), advertisements, and cartoons, but from 1978 Biliso has been responsible for three strips of fairly regular occurrence: *Tambu Toro*, *Biabia*, and *Kaunsila Traim*. The first two of these deal with the experiences of urban dwellers (unsophisticated and sophisticated, respectively), while the third is an educational comic on appropriate technology (also available as a separate book - Biliso Osake (1980)). While most of the creativity in these works is visual, there are often wry comments on Tok Pisin usages, so the strips need to be considered in the context of Tok Pisin writing.

We cannot leave comic strips without mentioning the Isuzu Lu advertising cartoons of Bob Browne, or the same author's topical-commentary cartoon 'Grass roots', which started in the *Post-Courier* in February 1980. These also show considerable creativity in the use of Tok Pisin, especially in an urbanised variety, where interference from and mixture with English is a source of a great deal of fun.

Some Tok Pisin writing also appeared in the journal *Papua New Guinea Writing* (formerly *New Guinea Writing*), which prior to independence was produced by the Literature Bureau of the Department of Information and Extension Services, with the goal of furthering creative writing in Papua New Guinea. This journal may also have been a casualty of independence, as it seems to have ceased publication. Most contributions were in English, but contributions in Tok Pisin used to be accepted. This journal was one of the few outlets for Tok Pisin prose; issues 2 (December 1970), 6 (June 1972), 9 (March 1973), 11 (September 1973) and 13 (March 1974) contain Tok Pisin stories, and issue 2 also contains a review in Tok Pisin of Hannet 1970. Issue 11 (September 1973) carried an editorial on the desirability of continuing to publish Tok Pisin contributions (Boschman 1973); this brought a comment, in a letter to the editor in issue 12 (December 1973), that Tok Pisin literature would be taken more seriously if the standard orthography were adhered to. Issue 13, however, continued to print Tok Pisin with erratic spelling. (Of the above-mentioned periodicals, only *Wantok*, and perhaps *Luksave*, consistently uses the standard orthography.)

Prior to independence, the Literature Bureau awarded prizes annually for creative writing; prior to 1972 awards were given for Tok Pisin poetry only, but after 1972 there was a section for stories in Tok Pisin and Hiri Motu (sponsored by the Summer Institute of Linguistics). In that year 34 stories in Tok Pisin, and one in Hiri Motu, were submitted; the 1973 competition drew 122 Tok Pisin stories (and none in Hiri Motu), which indicated a growing interest in the use of Tok Pisin as a medium for creative writing. Other institutions, such as Kristen Pres, have also attempted to promote creative writing in Tok Pisin, and a course for potential authors was held in 1973 by the Summer Institute of Linguistics (reported by Cates and Cates (1975)). Such courses have fallen into abeyance in recent years, although smaller-scale workshops are offered from time to time.

There has been, however, little provision for Tok Pisin plays; these, if submitted to the Literature Bureau, were judged in the English section. Few Tok Pisin plays have been published at all: the exceptions comprise only Hannet 1969, Namaliu 1970 and Tokome 1973. Some plays exist in mimeographed form only; these include Rabbie Namaliu's lively satire 'Maski Kaunsil', and Kakah Kais' 'The Cornerstone topples'. Tok Pisin plays are occasionally performed at educational institutions in Papua New Guinea - such as the University, the National Arts

Centre, the Teachers' Colleges, and high schools - and receive an enthusiastic welcome from the audiences. Drama is obviously a field of writing which deserves further encouragement, as performances bring home to thousands of people the potential of Tok Pisin as a literary language, whether or not the plays are later published for the benefit of the literate minority. (Plays in English have been reviewed by Powell (1975).)

6.2.4 FURTHER OBSERVATIONS

In spite of a certain amount of interest in creative writing in Tok Pisin, it is nevertheless clear that the potential audience is as yet fairly small and unsophisticated, and the potential writers as yet unsure of the language as a medium. Nevertheless, the influence of Tok Pisin as a vehicle for 'grass-roots' communication is making itself widely felt, even in the more heavily promoted courses for creative writing in the English language (reviewed by May (1971)). Authors of Papua New Guinea now feel free to use Tok Pisin expressions and dialogue in works written otherwise in English, and Tok Pisin calques in English writings are not uncommon. There exists a large list of Tok Pisin words which are familiar to most people (expatriates and indigenes) who know Papua New Guinea, and these convey concepts not easily expressible in English with the same overtones; the list includes amamas, bagarap, banis, bikhet, bilas, birua, buai, galip, garamut, giaman, gris, kokomo, kongkong, kundu, lapun, lus, manki, maski, muruk, pamuk, poisin, rabis, sanguma, sore, susu, tambaran, tambu, tu-kina bus, tumbuna, wantok, and at least twice as many items again (see also Wolfers 1969). A number of other less common Tok Pisin words (for example aiai, aibika, amberoi, aupa, dadap, hatwara, pangal, tangir) express indigenous flora, fauna, or foodstuffs, for which there are rarely convenient English equivalents. Authors in Papua New Guinea (such as Soaba (1975)) are freely sprinkling their English writings with such words, thus giving to their works a flavour that is uniquely Niuginian (see also Brash 1975).

But it is not just as a source of local colour that Tok Pisin exists in Papua New Guinea; given the right sort of encouragement, and opportunities for inexpensive publication, the beginnings of Tok Pisin writings that have been cited in this chapter could yet be seen to flower into an extensive literature that expresses the aspirations of the people of this new nation to a degree that writings in other languages, whether imported (like English) or restricted (like the indigenous languages), can never hope to achieve. The likelihood of such a development, however, recedes further and further into the background as Tok Pisin itself becomes more and more circumscribed in its use, as discussed in Laycock 1982b, and elsewhere in this volume. The life of Tok Pisin as a literary language will be over almost before it has begun, unless events take an unforeseeable turn.

NOTES

1. This paper is only a slightly modified version of Laycock 1977a. At that time it seemed that Tok Pisin had a great future as a literary language; but those hopes have not been fulfilled.

In the updating, it has not proved possible to include a fully comprehensive account of writings in Tok Pisin that have appeared since the time the original account was conceived, and partially written, in 1973. Neither has it been possible to provide full coverage of ephemeral publications and newspapers. However, I do not feel that I have missed any major works. It is clear that there has been a lack of interest in Tok Pisin as a literary language since independence in 1975; the reasons for this are not analysed in this paper, but they must in some way relate to the decline in the use and prestige of Tok Pisin reported elsewhere in this volume (Laycock, *The future of Tok Pisin*, 6.9).

2. The Tok Pisin extracts are translated at the end of this article. In order to make the quoted songs easier to read, and to aid comparison, many have been translated into standard Tok Pisin orthography (Mihalic and Sievert 1970; Mihalic 1971). Where the orthography shows only minor deviations from the standard (especially the poems by Papua New Guineans, Nos.30-33), the original orthography is retained.

Some of the texts written or collected by Europeans show unusual, even ungrammatical, usages; however, the translations attempt to show what I believe was intended.

Where song texts contain repeated lines, this is indicated by a number in brackets at the end of the repeated line.

3. Tok Pisin is a difficult language to rhyme in, owing to the relatively small number of monosyllabic words which can occur at the end of a line, and to a paucity of rhyming polysyllabic words. Nevertheless, my translation of *Max und Moritz* (Görlach 1984) contains 214 rhyming couplets.
4. Not a good example of the 'adequacy' of Tok Pisin. The English translation used takes up 12 lines, the Tok Pisin version 39!
5. In the first printing of his book, Dutton erroneously gave the surname as *Goodman*.
6. Laycock (1970d), misreading Hall's text, mistakenly took this to be a genuine indigenous song cited by Hall.

APPENDIX

Translation of, and annotations, to Tok Pisin citations

Translator's note

Translating from Tok Pisin into English involves making a number of decisions, not least among which are the choice of tense in verbs, and number in nouns (features which are normally unmarked in Tok Pisin). Further, songs and poems in Tok Pisin achieve a (perhaps deliberate) structural ambiguity, by often suppressing the subject or object. I have tried to make my choices on the basis of

the context, but certainly do not feel that my translations are the only possible ones.

A further trap into which the translator is commonly led is that of using the English words from which the Tok Pisin words are derived; this assists the reader who does not know Tok Pisin to see how the Tok Pisin text is constructed, but it has the disadvantage of missing important shades of meaning. I have therefore translated freely in this respect, preferring to preserve the sense and flavour of the original, rather than its syntactic and etymological make-up. For the same reason, I have not felt obliged to always translate the same Tok Pisin lexeme in exactly the same way in English.

The translations nevertheless are as accurate as I can make them, somewhat at the expense of literary style; I would not make quite the same choices if I were trying to render the Tok Pisin originals as English poems.

- (1) *My master, come back quickly. I like taro; I like pineapple.*
- (2) *the SIGISMUND and the SEESTERN are waiting a long time for the ROLAND to go to Rabaul. The cabin-boys know nothing; lock up the ROLAND, lock up the SIGISMUND, lock up the SEESTERN. [Two vessels are waiting for a third, which is delayed. Jacques (1922), who collected this and the poems, reads something different into the Tok Pisin in his translation, which runs:*

Lange Zeit kommt der Sigismund nicht,
 Lange Zeit kommt der Seestern nicht.
 Den Roland hat's aufgeworfen,
 Die nach Rabaul gehn wollten.

Kein Kapitän weiss etwas.
 Angesperrt sitzt der Roland (Aufgelaufen).
 Angesperrt sitzt der Sigmund
 Angesperrt sitzt der Seestern.]

The SIGISMUND is a long time coming, the SEESTERN is a long time coming. None of the captains knows anything. The ROLAND stays locked up (run aground); the SIGISMUND and the SEESTERN stay locked up.
- (3) *O engineer, start the motor; prepare to up-anchor; the motor runs; o engineer.*
- (4) *When I left Vanimo, I slept at sea; the sun went down, I looked back, but could not see Vanimo. I slept on the deck of the TARA, and thought of my mother and sister.*
- (5) *The full moon is here, it is the time of the single men; single-o, 'promise' single-o.*
- (6) *Standing on Wewak mountain, I looked down at the sea; I was sad, and I cried.*
- (7) *The women who work as nurses dash along the road, the veils on their heads blowing in the wind.*
- (8) *You, my girlfriend, are deceiving me; you write my name on the inside of your thigh.*

- (9) *The women of Matupi sell tomatoes [sexual favours]; they are keen to get sixpence.*
- (10) *A woman wrote me a letter, saying to go down and wait for her; I got up in the middle of the night to go down and wait for her, and I waited and waited in vain until dawn.*
- (11) *Short here, long here; I stood and looked at the low tide.*
- (12) *While I was at Moem barracks, I received a letter from my village, informing me that my father had died. I was sad and I cried; I broke my uniform. I was sad and I cried; I broke my rifle.*
- (13) *As a love-charm you use white peroxide, and upset the village; who is it for? But you should not be afraid.*
- (14) *Sago-woman, the hawk will catch you; you run away to get married, and the hawk will catch you.*
- (15) *The BUSAMA caught fire; Wewak announced it on the radio. [The BUSAMA was a coastal vessel whose cargo of oil caught fire and exploded off Wewak in 1958.]*
- (16) *We are happy today at this party, we are very happy this night.*
- (17) *I pity myself, the young cowboy [flashy dresser]; it is your fault. Twice you called me just a kid; I am sad and I cry. I pity myself; I don't know how old I am. It is your fault; I pity myself for loving you; I am sad and I cry.*
- (18) *I used to work for the company; I was idle, and the white men fired me. I shall go to Kalakan, where the women like me. I work by day, I work by night; I work excessively, and pity myself; I would like to run away home, to my own area. I keep looking at one woman, and she keeps looking at me; I tell her day and night: 'Come along with me'. The two of us will run away, a long way, to my area; I like my own kind of food, but I don't like the company.*
- (19) *Let us shake hands as I leave; for all I know, I shall come to grief. The plane flies high, and my heart is heavy; I think I shall die.*
Let us shake hands as I leave; for all I know, I shall come to grief. The ship sails on the water, and my heart is heavy; I think I shall die.
- (20) *My village is best, it is the only place I like; I think of my father and mother, and cry [when I think] about their house. I work in a distant place, where I am not happy; my village is best, it is the only place I like.*
My friends, brothers, and sisters, have long awaited me; they send many messages, and think I have been drowned. Now I shall get up and go home, and never leave it again; my village is best, it is the only place I like.
- (21) *Seagull, seagull, high above, you drift along; I stand below, a little boy, and watch you. Seagull, seagull, high above, your drifting is beautiful; I think you can see God, and wish to approach him.*

(22) *Little bird, my friend, come and sit near me; I make no noise, and you come and eat the figs. Little bird, do not fear; I have no spear. Nice bird, come to this little boy.*

(23) *Well, they go to the pond, they can get crocodiles, and the big snakes that live by the water. They get them, smoke them, put them aside, and go back. They go back, catch some more, catch tortoises and all kinds of things, crocodiles, they spear them. They spear them; but if the spirit comes up in the water, the demon of the mountain will go down and get them now.*

(24) *Christmas Eve, holy night! All are sleeping, the stars are shining; Mary bears God the Son, little Jesus comes down to earth; Jesus the Redeemer comes.*

The beautiful white angels come and sing of God, bringing good news from heaven; Jesus the Redeemer comes.

Bethlehem is now lit up; the shepherds arise and go quickly to find and worship Jesus in the crib; Jesus the Redeemer comes. Now I shall go without delay; in this night I wish to see the good and gracious Jesus; Jesus the Redeemer comes.

(25) *Come, all Christians; come on Christmas morning, and think of Bethlehem, and the Son of God. Come and sing Hallelujah to Christ Jesus.*

All the angels sing a sweet chorus, exalting the name of God on High, who sent his Son to help us. Come and sing Hallelujah to Christ Jesus.

(26) *Friends, Romans, companions, listen now. I come only to bury Caesar; I shall not pray for him. If some of a man's deeds are righteous, and others unrighteous, and the man dies, people gossip only about the unrighteous deeds. His good works sleep, and are lost in the earth, with the mourning. This is how we men behave. The same goes for Caesar; his good deeds are dormant.*

(27) *We are the agricultural workers; any woman who wants to, may. They call us the best of men; we are the agricultural workers.*

We work night and day, and do not even receive a dollar a day; we do not receive good pay, we agricultural workers.

We go and work in the bush, eat our food and smoke, thinking of all the good things we are missing; we are the agricultural workers.

The administrative officer thinks we are worthless. I reach out for women with both hands; if he wants to prosecute me, he's welcome! We are the agricultural workers.

The place is full of half-caste children, enough to fill a truck - to hell with more, I think that's enough! We are the agricultural workers.

(28) *O my name is Sam Hall, yes Sam Hall - and I've only got one ball; that's enough to fuck you all, bloody shit.*

I wanted to sleep with a woman at night, but her husband objected, and I lost my ball in the fight.

The administrative officer came and prosecuted me next day; he can stick his court up his bum.

Now I am in prison, without tobacco, and soon my money will be finished.

I work at cutting the grass, and the priest goes past; he is a sodomite.

Soon my time will be up; I should like to try a white woman - I've got enough money to buy one.

I should like to go to Lae, break my contract, and run away, and idle in the sun all day long.

Soon now I shall die, and go to hell - but I shan't cry.

(29) *Near the base of a coconut palm a woman came up to me; she sat down on the grass (she had a big arse) and requested intercourse with me.*

(30) *O women of Papua, women of Buka, New Guinea women, women of the Highlands, I pity you! You look at the Australians driving cars, the Americans driving trucks, the English riding motorcycles, the New Zealanders pedalling bicycles; you stand and watch them, and desire them. O women of my people, I pity you!*

You look at the Papuans going on foot, you look at the Bukas running on foot, you look at the New Guineans walking on foot, you look at the Highlanders striding on foot; you hear a black man say 'Good morning, woman of my people', and you turn your head and say 'You have no shame'. You draw yourself in and say 'You have no shame'. O women of my people, I pity you!

O women of my people, your mouths used to be brown; now your mouths are red. Your hair used to flow loosely, now you bind it tight; your breasts once were slack, but now they stand up firm. You look in the mirror and say 'Worth twenty dollars a drop!' O women of my people, I pity you!

Old men from England say 'Good show!'; young men from Australia look at you and say 'My darling black and beautiful, I'll make you like the queen of heaven above'. You listen and think they are telling the truth - o women of my people, I am sorry for you!

I just stand and observe, and sit and think. O women of my colour, I pity you; o women of my people, I pity you greatly.

(31) *O men of my people, I pity you; I really pity you. You look at the Australian women, the American women, the English women, and you desire them. O men of my people, I pity you; you go to the pictures and you get excited. You look at the white breasts, the bare backsides, and the long blond hair, and you get as excited as can be.*

And, o men of my people, what do you do with your own women? You give them babies, you give them a great deal of work; you hit them if the food is not ready quickly, you leave them in the house and go and drink beer - o how I pity you!

O men of my people, I pity you; you walk around like young cockerels, and dress up like cowboys; you go to the pictures, and get drunk all over the place - and in the night you dream of a different kind of woman.

O men of my people, I really pity you!

(32) *I was fooling around at Koki Market, looking at the men and women selling betelnut, lime, fish, and bananas - and I didn't turn a hair; I looked at the women with long hair - Hey! That's something!*

I stood on the strand at Ela Beach, watching the white men bathing - and I didn't turn a hair; I looked at the white women gadding about, and opening their legs - Hey! That's something!

I sat down on the side of Brown River, and saw a big crocodile come up - and I didn't turn a hair; I saw a woman take off her dress, her white breasts standing up straight - Hey! That's something!

I walked about by the swimming pool, and I saw the thighs of the men - and I didn't turn a hair; I saw the white thighs of the women - Hey! That's something!

I was roaming around the Burns Philp store, looking at all the new things - and I didn't turn a hair; I looked at the women in miniskirts, their buttocks shaking like nobody's business - Hey! That's something!

(33) *Woman of my people, there is none that excels you; you stand alone, woman of my people. Your breasts stand up like red mountains; they stand when the sun warms them, and break my heart - that is you alone, woman of my people. Your eyes are like burning fires, your hair is really black, and looks very attractive; but your skin is cold, like cold water, and it really attracts me to you, o woman of my people.*

6.3 CURRENT USE AND EXPANSION OF TOK PISIN: TOK PISIN IN THE MASS MEDIA

Jeff Siegel

6.3.0 INTRODUCTION

The use of Tok Pisin in periodical publications and radio broadcasting has been expanding since World War II, and a distinct form of the language as used in these media has emerged (Siegel 1983). This Media Tok Pisin can be defined as the journalistic variety used in the mass media for news reports, announcements, editorials, educational features, and letters. It is found mainly in newspapers and in radio broadcasts read from prepared scripts. Thus, it almost always involves the written channel.

This chapter presents a brief history of the use of Tok Pisin in the mass media and then goes on to describe the linguistic features of Media Tok Pisin (MTP). The first section contains examples of Tok Pisin from earlier printed materials. The second section contains examples from contemporary sources, mainly *Wantok* newspaper (number:page) and scripts of broadcasts from Radio Morobe (RM).

6.3.1 HISTORY OF TOK PISIN IN THE MASS MEDIA

In this section, the medium of published periodicals is discussed first, then radio broadcasting.

6.3.1.1 The development of written Tok Pisin

The earliest examples of Tok Pisin in the mass media were not meant to be used for communicative purposes by speakers of the language. Rather, they were for the amusement of European readers, samples of what was generally thought to be a strange and comical form of broken English. The use of what Hall (1955a: 58) calls "quasi-English" spelling, reflects these attitudes. This following example from the *Rabaul Times* (11/3/1927) is typical:

(1) A KANAKA LAMENT

Rain he no come boy he no got kai-kai, no got water, no got sweet potato, no got yam, no got taro, Gott dam, he no good. All time go along Kong-kong buy 'em rice, one bag 10 mark. Me no got mark no catchem rice, then me kai-kai coconut all time. Me no like. Old fellow coconut tree he die too. Small fellow all same. Banan he too lik lik. Pawpaw he fall down. Me can burn him. Why rain he no come? I tink byme-bye me die finish...

S.A. Wurm and P. Mühlhäusler, eds *Handbook of Tok Pisin (New Guinea Pidgin)*. C-70:517-533. *Pacific Linguistics*, C-70, 1984.

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The development of Tok Pisin into a written language to be utilised by its Melanesian speakers began in the 1920s. Catholic missionaries in Alexishafen (Madang) and Vunapope (Rabaul) realised that Tok Pisin was not merely broken English but an independent language. Since it had become a valuable lingua franca among the diverse linguistic groups of New Guinea, it would be a useful medium for teaching literacy and spreading the gospel. Thus, these missionaries started serious linguistic studies of Tok Pisin and developed orthographies. By the early 1930s, Tok Pisin was being used in educational books on Manus Island (Mühlhäusler 1979c:125-237).

The first Tok Pisin periodical was published by the Alexishafen mission, *Frend bilong Mi*, a monthly magazine of stories and songs which began publication in 1935. It continued, except for the war years, until 1952. From the Vunapope mission came the monthly journal *Katolik: Buk long Tok Pitsin*, published in 1940-41. It continued after the war as the *Katolik Nius*.

The Methodist and Lutheran missions also began publishing materials during the 1930s. Although all the various missions developed orthographies for their publications, they did not standardise these orthographies among themselves. Thus, each mission used a different system (see Wurm, Writing systems and the orthography of Tok Pisin (2.5) in this volume). Some of the differences between the systems used in early publications can be seen in Figure 1:

current standard	1 Catholic (Alexishafen) 1935	2 Catholic (Vunapope) 1940	3 Methodist (Rabaul) 1936	4 Lutheran (Madang) 1938
antap <i>up, above</i>	ontop	antap	on top	antap
arere <i>next to</i>	arere	harere	-	-
bikpela <i>big</i>	bigfelo	bikpela	biq fela	big fela
bilong <i>of</i>	bilong	belong	bilog	beloŋ
bihain <i>behind</i>	bihaind	bihain	biaind	bihain
dispela <i>this</i>	disfelo	despela	dis fela	-
diwai <i>tree</i>	divai	divai	diwai	-
giaman <i>lie</i>	gamon	gijaman	qaman	geman
graun <i>ground</i>	graund	giraon	qraun	geraun
gutpela <i>good</i>	gudfelo	gutpela	qud fela	-
helpim <i>hear</i>	hirim	harim	hirim	harem
helpim <i>help</i>	helpim	halipim	helpim	helpem
husat <i>who</i>	huset	husat	usdat	husat
kisim <i>take</i>	kichim	kisim	kesim	-
long <i>to, at</i>	long	long	alog	loŋ
olgeta <i>all</i>	olgeder	ologeta	oltugeta	olgetta
olsem <i>like</i>	olsem	olosem	olsem	olsem
orait <i>O.K.</i>	orait	olrait	olrait	-
painim <i>look for</i>	fiandim	painim	faindim	-
pinis <i>finished</i>	finish	pinis	finis	-
planti <i>plenty</i>	plenti	palanti	plenti	planti
ples <i>village</i>	ples	peles	ples	-
pret <i>afraid</i>	fred	poret	fred	fred
samting <i>thing</i>	samting	samting	samtig	samtiŋ
sapos <i>if</i>	supos	sopos	supos	-
save <i>know</i>	save	sabe	savi	sawe
tasol <i>only</i>	tasol	tasol	dasol	tasol
tumas <i>very</i>	tumas	tumas	tumats	tumas
wanem <i>what</i>	wotnem	vonem	watnem	wanem
wantaim <i>with</i>	wantaim	vantaim	-	wontaim
wara <i>water</i>	water	vara	wota	-
yu <i>you</i>	yu	ju	iu	ju

1 *Frend bilong Mi*
2 *Katolik: Buk long Tok Pitsin*
3 *A Methodist hymn book and catechism in Pidjin English*
4 *Siŋ siŋ buk*

Figure 1: Comparison of spelling from four mission publications

6.3.1.2 World War II

Written Tok Pisin was first used for mass communication when World War II struck New Guinea. Millions of propaganda leaflets written in Tok Pisin were dropped all over New Guinea by both the Allies and the Japanese (Mühlhäusler 1979c:95). Because of the educational efforts of the missions prior to the war, many people could read these leaflets. But during the war many more people were exposed to written Tok Pisin than had been before. Furthermore, the war was the first time that the written language was used extensively for communication outside religious spheres.

The leaflets used a variety of orthographies, some based on those of the missions as illustrated in Figure 1, others mixtures. Here are two examples from the Allies (from McDonald, ed. 1976b):

(2) MAN BILONG LIKLIK BUKA NAU BIK BUKA

Yu harim tok bilong guvmen.

Yu save, disfelo Japan im ino masta i olsem kanaka. Im tu i save wokim poison. Ol i laik bakerup im yufelo.

Im i laik rausim olgeter stron felo man nau gifim bel long ol meri nau susa bilong yu. Olsem behain nau olgeter giraun nau coconus nau saksak i bilong pikanini bilong Japan ...

[PEOPLE OF SMALL BUKA AND BIG BUKA

Listen to what the government says.

You know this Japanese is not like the whitemen, but like natives. He also knows sorcery. He wants to harm you all.

He wants to get rid of all the strong men and get your wives and sisters pregnant. Thus, all land and coconuts and sago will belong to their children.]

- (3) Nau dasol bikpapa balus bilog iumi iqat por insin iqo log Kavieng na painim manua bilog lapan istap log pasis. Ol manua i laek sutim balus bilog iumi dasol ino inap. Ol i porpaia natig ...

[Just now our four-engine planes went to Kavieng to get the Japanese warships which were in the passage. The warships tried to shoot down our planes, but they couldn't. They missed ...]

The following is an extract from a leaflet dropped by the Japanese (McDonald, ed. 1976b):

(4) TOKTOK LONG OLGETA MAN

LONG TAIM BOLONG NIPPON

TENNO-HEIKA (naim bolong bikpala King bolong Nippon) em i bikpala King bolong olgeta peles bolong lapan, em i gat gutpala tingting na sori tumas long iupala olgeta long dispala peles long ol pasin bilong ol Ingilis na ol Amerika. Nau em King bolong Nippon i salim ol Manovo na ol soldia bolong en i kam long dispala peles bolong iupala, long tikue iupala long pasin nogut ol mekim long iupala ...

[ANNOUNCEMENT TO ALL PEOPLE.

IN THE REIGN OF NIPPON

TENNO-HEIKA (the name of the emperor of Nippon), the emperor of all Japan, sends good tidings and is very sorry for what the English and the Americans have done to you of this place. Now the emperor is sending a warship and soldiers here to take you away from the evils they are doing to you.]

6.3.1.3 The postwar period

The effectiveness of the use of Tok Pisin in written mass communication during the war was realised by education and administration officials. Thus, after the war, they started the first Tok Pisin newspapers. The most important of these were the *Rabaul News* (1946-49) and the *Lae Garamut* (1947-56). Others were the shorter-lived *Lagasai* (Kavieng 1947-48), *Buka News* (1948-49), *Madang Matau* (ca.1948 and 1952) and *Wewak News* (ca.1948). They were all mimeographed weeklies.

The content of these newspapers was clearly intended for indigenous speakers of Tok Pisin rather than for Europeans, as is evident in this passage from *Lagasai* (13/3/1948:3):

- (5) I bin gat trabal i kamap Kavieng long ol neitivs i save ron nabaut long wili-wil insaid long taon, na oli no save lukaut or fasim gud lap-lap bilong ol. Tinktink gut bihain long fasim gud lap-lap bilong iu sapos iu laik ron long wili-wil insaid long taon long Kavieng.

[There has been some trouble in Kavieng with natives riding bicycles in town and not being careful to put on their loincloths well. From now on remember to make sure your loincloth is on securely if you want to ride a bicycle in Kavieng town.]

Although the circulation of these newspapers was not very high, the content reached many people. Baker (1953:196) describes the situation for the *Rabaul News* as follows:

At the beginning of 1950, about 950 copies of the paper were being brought out each Friday night - on a Gestetner. The reading public of these 950 copies was estimated at "at least eighty thousand". An Administration officer told me, "I myself have seen natives in outlying districts gathering in the hundreds to hear one man reading from a single copy."

However, the newspapers used many English words and English spellings of Tok Pisin words (see Hall 1955b:96). According to Mühlhäusler (1979g:12) this reflected a policy of trying to gradually change Tok Pisin to English by introducing an increasing number of English words. It may also reflect the lack of standardised spelling systems. The use of English is evident in the following two examples. The first is from the *Rabaul News* (XI,12:1):

- (6) Bilong harim ol choirs long Semi-final [go] long hap bilong Council yet, na baimbai Kiap i ken makim olsem tiri(3)pela Adjudicators bilong go harim ol, na ol i ken makim ol despela choirs bilong go kamap long final or last raun bilong choir competition.

[In order to hear the choirs in the semi-final, go to the council chambers, and the government officer will choose three adjudicators to go listen to them, and they will choose the choirs who will go into the final round of the choir competition.]

The second example is from the *Madang Matau* (I,1:3 [1952]):

- (7) Colonel Murray i lukim palanti nativeman, luluais, na counsilman bilong palanti peles istop closetu.

[Colonel Murray has seen many natives, chiefs, and councilmen from many nearby villages.]

Furthermore, the different newspapers that did try to follow a standard Tok Pisin orthography still used different systems, as illustrated in Figure 2. National standardisation did not occur until later.

		<i>Lagasai</i>	<i>Lae Garamut</i>	<i>Rabaul News</i>
bikpela	<i>big</i>	bigfala	bigpela	bigpela
dispela	<i>this</i>	desfela	dispela	dispela
diwai	<i>tree</i>	diwai	divai	diwai
graun	<i>ground</i>	giraon	giraon	giraun
gutpela	<i>good</i>	gudfala	gudpela	gudpela
helpim	<i>help</i>	halawim	(h)alivim	(h)alivim
husat	<i>who</i>	usat	husat	husat
kirap	<i>start</i>	kirap	gerap	gerap
kisim	<i>take</i>	kesim	kesim	kesim
painim	<i>look for</i>	fainim	painim	painim
paitim	<i>strike</i>	faitim	faitim	paitim
planti	<i>plenty</i>	plandi	palanti	plandi
ples	<i>village</i>	pleis	peles	pleis
pret	<i>afraid</i>	fret	poret	faret
sapos	<i>if</i>	sapos	sapos	sopos
wanem	<i>what</i>	wanem	onem	wanem
yu	<i>you</i>	iu	yu	yu

Figure 2: Examples of spelling from postwar newspapers, 1948

6.3.1.4 Standardisation

In 1955 the first attempt was made to standardise the language on the national level to avoid variations exemplified in the examples and figures above. The standardisation process is described in detail by Mihalic (1975), Wurm (1975 and this volume), and Wurm, Mühlhäusler and Laycock (1977). But even though the proposed standard orthography was accessible in the official Department of Education (1956) publication and in Mihalic's (1957) *Grammar and dictionary of Neo-Melanesian*, it was still not used consistently in the printed media.

All the regional postwar newspapers had ceased publication by 1959, but they were superseded by other newspapers which were printed rather than mimeographed, and more widely distributed. The first was the Tok Pisin version of *Our News* called *Nius bilong Yumi*. It was put out by the Department of Information and

Extension Services from 1959 to 1982. However, this government publication, as well as others, did not adhere to the newly proposed standard orthography (see Wurm, this volume (2.5)).

Another newspaper printed in tabloid form appeared in 1960. This was the *Pidgin English News*, the weekly supplement to the *Lae New Guinea Times-Courier*. In 1962 it became the *Nu Gini Toktok* which continued until 1970. At that time it had a circulation of over 5000, and was widely distributed throughout the New Guinea region. Unlike the government publications, this newspaper tried to follow the proposed standard orthography, although at times it did use some anglicised spelling and vocabulary.

The *Pidgin English News* and *Nu Gini Toktok* contain examples of what have emerged as features of contemporary Media Tok Pisin: extensive use of bin as a past tense marker and use of husat as a relative pronoun (see section 6.3.2.1). For example:

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>(8) Mista Kapena i tok se em i bin
lukim plenti Hanuabada i drink
wantaim narapela pipal bilong
arapela vilis ...
(4/10/1962:13)</p> | <p><i>Mr Kapena said he has seen many
Hanuabadans drinking with people
from other villages.</i></p> |
| <p>(9) Welfea ofisa Mr Guthrie, husat
i bin lukautim wok bilong
welfea long Sepik na Wewak ...
(4/10/1962:13)</p> | <p><i>Welfare officer Mr Guthrie, who
looked after welfare in the
Sepik and Wewak ...</i></p> |

Note, however, the use of tok se to introduce quotations which is no longer found in the mass media.

Another now uncommon usage is that of baimbai as the future marker. It was used in the *Pidgin English News* but was later replaced with its reduced form bai in the *Nu Gini Toktok*.

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>(10) Na taim mitupela ikam bek baim-
bai mi lusim Misiel long Brisbane
na mi wanpela tasol baimbai igo
ken long Rabaul.
(26/4/1961:1)</p> | <p><i>When we come back, I'll leave
Misiel in Brisbane and I'll
go to return to Rabaul alone.</i></p> |
|--|---|

In 1962, another periodical began publication using the standard orthography. This was the monthly church magazine, the *New Guinea Lutheran*, from Madang. It is still being published, but has been the *Niugini Luteran* since 1974. This periodical made use of a modified standard orthography which was later used for the Tok Pisin translation of the New Testament, published in 1968. This orthography was subsequently adopted by all religious organisations in the country, but not by the government.

Other Tok Pisin periodicals which started in the 1960s were *Wastaua* (1963), a monthly Tok Pisin version of the Jehovah's Witnesses publication *The Watchtower*, and the weekly *United Nations Nius na Nots long Tok Pisin* (1967), put out by the U.N. Information Centre for Papua New Guinea, Port Moresby. Periodicals which combined English and Tok Pisin material were *Kumul* (1966), quarterly, Police Association of Papua and New Guinea; *Bougainville Copper Bulletin* (1967), bi-monthly; *Kundu* (1968), monthly, Catholic Press, Vunapope; and *Nius long Gavman bilong Australia* (1969), quarterly, Department of External Territories, Canberra.

6.3.1.5 The period since 1970

The new decade saw the end of the *Nu Gini Toktok* but the establishment of two other widely distributed newspapers using Tok Pisin, both of which are still running. One is the political party newspaper, *Pangu Pati Nius*. The other is the more important *Wantok*, then published fortnightly, now weekly, with a circulation of over 10,000. The importance of this publication is summed up in its style book, *Stail buk bilong Wantok Niuspepa* (n.d.:2):

It is imperative for us at Wantok to write and spell correct Tok Pisin because unofficially we are considered the norm for usage and spelling throughout the country. Whether we like it or not, we are setting the standards for Tok Pisin writing, simply because no one else writes and prints as much material as we do in Tok Pisin. And what we write is spread all over the country.

Section 6.3.2 contains examples of writing from *Wantok* and a further description of its policies.

6.3.1.6 Tok Pisin in radio broadcasting

The first radio broadcasts in Tok Pisin were made during World War II in 1944 from a station set up by the Allies in Port Moresby. Until the end of the war, there were approximately one and a half hours a day of broadcasts for the indigenous people of Papua New Guinea (Toogood 1978:285).

After the war in 1946, the Australian Broadcasting Commission (ABC) started the Port Moresby station, 9PA. However, Tok Pisin was used only for news broadcasts twice a day. Programs aimed at Papua New Guineans were generally in simple English, prepared by the Department of Education.

In 1956, responsibility for these programs was taken over by the Social Development Branch of the Department of Native Affairs. At that time there were still only a little more than seven hours a week of broadcasting meant for Papua New Guineans. Of this time, 30 per cent was in Tok Pisin, 30 per cent in Hiri Motu, 16 per cent in English, and the rest in various indigenous languages (Mackay 1976:13-14).

The number of hours of broadcasting in Tok Pisin increased with the establishment of district short wave stations. The first at Rabaul began operating in 1961, and others soon followed (see Figure 3). By 1973 there were stations in 12 districts and approximately 75,000 radio receivers in the country (Toogood 1978:287). The daily listening audience was approximately 340,000 (Mackay 1976:165).

In December 1973, the National Broadcasting Commission (NBC) was established, paving the way for more Papua New Guinean programmers and announcers, and more use of Tok Pisin, especially on the district level.

Today Tok Pisin is heard extensively on 15 of the 19 provincial radio stations. Nine of these broadcast in Tok Pisin almost exclusively. Five use Tok Pisin along with various indigenous languages. One uses it in addition to English and Hiri Motu (see Figure 3). Although English remains the main language of the national service, Tok Pisin is used not only in news broadcasts, but also in some interviews and advertisements. It can also be heard in the broadcasts of parliamentary debates and sporting events.

Province	location	year started	languages used*
Central	P. Moresby	1973	TP E HM
Chimbu	Kundiawa	1973	TP
East New Britain	Rabaul	1961	TP LL
East Sepik	Wewak	1963	TP
Eastern Highlands	Goroka	1971	TP LL
Enga	Wabag	1977	TP LL
Gulf	Kerema	1964	HM
Madang	Madang	1971	TP
Manus	Lorengau	1975	TP
Milne Bay	Alotau**	1972	E HM
Morobe	Lae	1971	TP
New Ireland	Kavieng	1973	TP
North Solomons	Kieta	1968	TP
Northern	Popondetta	1972	E HM LL
Southern Highlands	Mendi	1973	TP LL
West New Britain	Kimbe	1973	TP
West Sepik	Vanimo	1976	TP
Western	Daru	1965	E HM
Western Highlands	Mt. Hagen	1966	TP LL

*TP = Tok Pisin, E = English, HM = Hiri Motu, LL = Local indigenous languages. Note: LL are used by more stations now than in 1975.

**The Milne Bay station was previously at Samarai, est. 1967.

Figure 3: Provincial radio stations
(based on Mackay 1976:167-175)

6.3.2 THE LINGUISTIC FEATURES OF CONTEMPORARY MEDIA TOK PISIN

This section describes the linguistic features of the variety of Tok Pisin used in the mass media (MTP). It shows how some of these features represent an innovative force on the language as a whole, while others represent a conservative force. It also looks at the influence of English.

6.3.2.1 The innovative side of Media Tok Pisin

Many of the distinctive features of MTP, in comparison with spoken varieties, can be attributed to differences between oral (face to face) communication and mass communication in general (see Siegel 1981 and Akinnaso 1982). The language used in mass communication must be more explicit because of the lack of information communicated by aural and visual cues in face to face communication. For example, in both writing and broadcasting visual cues such as gestures, facial expressions, posture, and distance are missing. And in writing prosodic cues such as intonation and pitch are lacking. Furthermore, because of the distance involved in mass communication, it cannot rely on information from familiar setting or shared cultural knowledge of speakers and listeners. This explicitness comes through a wider vocabulary and increased grammatical complexity.

Such lexical and grammatical expansion, however, has also been reported for creolised varieties of Tok Pisin, for example, in Mühlhäusler 1977b and Sankoff 1977a. Thus, it is not always easy to distinguish innovations of the mass media from those of creolisation.

One feature of MTP, however, that does clearly distinguish it from other varieties is the frequent use of long complex sentences. While most writing in Tok Pisin has avoided such complexity, MTP, especially in *Wantok*, has not. Here is an example:

- (11) Primia Andrew Komboni bilong Wes Sepik i bin tok, bihain long lukluk raun bilong ol long ol boda developmen projek bai ol i bringim kamap sampela long ol samting ya ol i ting i bikpela tru long ai bilong gavman na pipel bilong Papua Niugini long taim ol i holim bikpela kibung bilong olgeta primia long insait long Papua Niugini long Madang long Mun Me long dispela yia yet.

West Sepik Premier Andrew Komboni said, after their tour of development projects along the border, that they would bring up some of these issues which they think are important to the government and people of Papua New Guinea when they hold the Premiers' Conference in Madang in May this year.

(466:2)

Another distinct feature of MTP is the frequent use of two optional subordinate clause markers: the relative pronouns *husat* and *we*. In other written Tok Pisin and in uncreolised spoken varieties, clauses postmodifying a NP are generally unmarked, as in the following examples:

- (12) I gat planti mama i no bihainim pasin tumbuna.
- (13) Mi save dispela ples yu go longen.

There are a lot of mothers who don't follow tradition.

I know [the place] where you're going.

(233:7)

(1973:139)

In MTP *husat* *who* is used as a relative pronoun to introduce the relative clause modifying the NP head which is the subject of the embedded sentence. Some examples are:

- (14) Nau PNG i gat Gavana Jeneral, Sir Tore Lokoloko, husat i makim kwin insait long PNG.
- (15) Ol man husat i gat dispela sik bilong bia i ken ringim ALKOHOLIKS ANONIMAS long Mosbi ...
- (16) Ol lain husat bai kam long dispela woksop bai kisim moa skul long accounting.

Now PNG has the Governor General, Sir Tore Lokoloko, who represents the queen in PNG.

Men who are suffering from alcoholism can ring Alcoholics Anonymous in Port Moresby ...

Those who will come to this workshop will learn more about accounting.

(RM 21/5/1981)

This construction has also been adopted by those writing letters to the editor in *Wantok*:

- (17) Planti taim mi save harim long
redio olsem, man husat i save
miksik tok inglis wantaim tok
pisin. *Many times I hear on the radio
men who mix English with Tok
Pisin.*
- (269:4)
- (18) Mi laik bekim pas bilong brata
ya, Y. Have, husat i bin rait
long Wantok Niuspepa long wik
i go pinis ... *I'd like to answer the letter of
brother Y. Have, who wrote to
Wantok Newspaper last week ...*
- (466:6)

The use of this construction is also found in other public media. For example, the following announcement was heard over the public address system at Port Moresby's Jackson Airport (25 August, 1981):

- (19) Narapela singaut i go long
pasindia Dama husat bai i go
long flait 826. Inap yu go
long sekin kaunta. *Another call for passenger Dama,
who is going on flight 826.
Can you go to the check-in
counter.*

Mühlhäusler (1977b:573) reports a similar construction sometimes found in creolised Tok Pisin which he says is 'anglicised'. However, the English derivation of this construction has now been obscured. In example (17) above, the writer uses the husat relative construction in a letter complaining about people mixing English and Tok Pisin. Furthermore, the MTP husat can refer to certain [-human] nouns, unlike the English *who*, as in the following examples:

- (20) East New Britain em wanpela
long ol tripela Provinces husat
i bin kisim ful pawa bilong em
yet. *East New Britain is one of the
three provinces which has got
complete power for itself.*
- (RM 29/6/1981)
- (21) Dispela liklik sik bilong Melbon
Kap tasol i paulim planti wok
manmeri insait long biktaun
bilong PNG husat i gat haus bet. *This 'Melbourne Cup fever' has
fouled up many working people in
the cities of PNG which have
horseracing betting shops.*
- (442:2)

The [-human] nouns which can be relativised with husat, however, might be considered [+human] collective nouns in Tok Pisin: for example, provins *province*, biktaun *city*, kantri *country*, and kampani *company*. Other [-human] nouns are usually relativised with we in MTP as follows:

- (22) Long dispela wik yumi harim
riport bilong Odita Jeneral we
i soim olsem planti ol bikman
na ol gavman dipatmen i nogat
gutpela risen long spendim
pablik mani. *This week we heard the Auditor
General's report which showed that
many leaders and government
departments don't have good
reasons for spending public
money.*
- (437:2)

- (23) Dispela wanpela wik campaign we
bai stat long narapela wik
Mande, bai go wantaem long soim
piksa bilong malaria ...
(RM 30/6/1981)
- This one week campaign, which
will start a week from Monday,
will include showing films about
malaria.*
- (24) Ol dispela pis i ken daunim ol
kain kaikai we ol manmeri i
save givim long pik o kakaruk
na pato.
(469:4)
- These fish can reduce the food
which people give to pigs or
chickens and ducks.*
- (25) Yalamet Community Village
organisation i papa long haus
we han bilong bank bai i stap.
(RM 30/6/1981)
- The Yalamet Community Village
organisation owns the house where
the bank branch will be.*
- (26) Pater Lini i tok olsem kantri
bilong em i no sainim wanpela
tok orait we em i ken kisim ol
ranaweman i go long Vanuatu.
(437:3)
- Father Lini says that his country
hasn't signed any agreement by
which he can take refugees into
Vanuatu.*
- (27) Long tupela yia olgeta, rait ai
bilong Kanat Mbaseh i bin pas
olgeta i stap inap long mun
Oktoba we em inap lukluk gen
long tupela ai bilong em.
(445:4)
- For two full years Kanat Mbaseh's
right eye was completely blind
until October when he could see
again with both eyes.*

When *we* is used as an adjunct of place, the relative clause can also be of the "pronoun-retention type" (Comrie 1981:140), for example:

- (28) I gat planti ples balus we Des
7 balus na ol liklik balus
nabaut i save pundaun long en.
(469:3)
- There are many airstrips where
the Dash 7 and other small planes
land.*

Two authors have reported examples of the use of *we* in relative clauses in spoken creolised Tok Pisin: "em i bin krosim pikinini we i no winim praimer i skul *he was cross with the child who did not complete primary school*" (Mühlhäusler 1977b:572) with a human NP head; *we* is otherwise restricted to relative clauses with non-human heads or ones which have an adverbial function.

Another way of marking relative clauses in creolised Tok Pisin has been reported by Sankoff (Sankoff and Brown 1976, Sankoff 1977a) and cited by many linguists (although it is not widespread). This is 'ia bracketing', setting off the boundaries of a relative clause with *ia* (or *ya*). Again, this construction is not found in MTP.

However, other examples of increased grammatical complexity reported in creolised Tok Pisin are also features of MTP. These are mainly in the development of obligatory grammatical categories of tense, aspect, and number. First

is the use of *bai* as an obligatory future marker (Sankoff and Laberge 1973). Here are some examples from MTP:

- (29) *Ol i tok bai ol i lusim mani*
long wanem pe bilong balus bai
go daun.
 (469:2) *They say they'll lose money*
because the air fares are going
down.
- (30) *Bai i gat ol lain blong lukluk*
tu bai istap long dispela
woksap ...
 (RM 30/6/1981) *There will also be some observers*
who will be at the workshop.

Second is the use of *bin* as a marker of past tense, which, according to Mühlhäusler, was popularised by radio announcers (reported in Dutton 1973:79). This usage is especially common in news reports (as is the perfective in English) both on radio broadcasts and in *Wantok*, for example:

- (31) *Tasol bihain long dispela taim*
planti pipel i bin toktok planti
long senisim dispela. Long taim
ol i bin autim Somare long gav-
man long 1980, planti pipel na
ol primia i bin toktok strong
long senisim kain gavman em
kantri i gat nau.
But after this time many people
discussed changing this. When
they ousted Somare from the
government in 1980, many people
and the premiers emphasised
changing the kind of government
we have now.

Third is the increasing tendency to mark all plural nouns, especially animate nouns, with the plural marker *ol* even when plurality is expressed by other quantifiers (Mühlhäusler 1977b, 1981a). This can be seen in examples (20) and (22), and in the following:

- (32) *Ol tripela kampani hia ...*
 (100:13) *These three companies ...*
- (33) *Ol sampela soldia long Mosbi i*
pait gen ...
 (437:4) *Some soldiers in Port Moresby*
fought again ...
- (34) *... sik i no ken kamap long*
planti ol pipol ...
 (RM 30/6/1981) *... the disease won't affect*
many people.
- (35) *Mr Moromoro itok ol dispela ol*
senis inap long igo daun long
ol high skuls ...
 (RM 30/6/1981) *Mr Moromoro says these changes*
can go down to the high schools ...

Another way of marking plural has appeared in urban and anglicised varieties of spoken Tok Pisin: the use of the English plural marker *-s* (Hall 1955b:99; Mühlhäusler 1979f:237, 1981a:58-60). This usage is commonly heard on radio broadcasts, as pointed out by Lynch (1979:5): "Thus one hears, on the radio especially, *ol ministas, ol tisas, ol studens* and so on." Some examples from scripts of radio news broadcasts, in addition to (20) and (35) above, are: *ol posters* and *developments* (RM 30/6/1981). In the printed mass media, however, this usage is avoided.

In addition to grammatical expansion, MTP is also characterised by lexical expansion, as many new lexical items are introduced to deal with the increased scope of topics in the mass media. Many new words have been coined from Tok Pisin elements, such as ranaweman *refugee*, grismani *bribe*, stapwok *strike*, and wansolwara *fellow Pacific Islander* (see also Laycock 1977b). However, most new items are straight borrowings from English, despite efforts to limit them, described in the next section.

The use of synonym pairs in the mass media to introduce new lexical items has been described in detail by Mühlhäusler (1979g). New items are paired with a more familiar word or expression using *o or*. This is one of the most salient features of MTP. Two examples are:

- (36) Madang i gat nupela Haus Tambaran o Kalsa Senta. *Madang has a new Haus Tambaran or Culture Centre.*
(375:5)

- (37) Tasol i no long ol paket o karamap we planti pipel i save laik long baim. *But it's not in packets or coverings in which many many people like to buy it.*
(442:3)

In many instances, however, a new item is introduced without the benefit of explanation or synonym pairs, for example:

- (38) Nek bilong ol meri long gras-rut level i bin kamap bikpela na strong tru ... *The voices of the women at the grass-roots level came out really big and strong.*
(469:2)

This is especially frequent in news broadcasts where there is wholesale introduction of English words. For example, the following can be found in the script of one broadcast (RM 30/6/1981): teknikol edukesen *technical education*, karikum *curriculum*, kolis stadis *college studies*, institusen *institution*, ol agency *agencies*, woksop *workshop*, and ol energy project *energy projects*.

6.3.2.2 The conservative side of MTP

The preceding section showed grammatical and lexical innovations which may be the result of the greater scope of use and required explicitness of language used for mass communication. On the other hand, such language in some aspects is more conservative than other varieties.

First, there is the influence of the written channel. When a language is standardised and written, it is also to some extent frozen in time. The orthography that is developed for a language may be phonemic at first, but because of standardisation it does not change to reflect the phonological changes that are taking place in the spoken language. Thus, the oral and written codes begin to diverge.

For example, morphophonemic change resulting from phonological reduction in varieties of spoken Tok Pisin has been reported by several authors (Hall 1955b:99, Sankoff and Laberge 1973:36, Aitchison 1981:203). The most detailed account is Lynch (1979). He shows how long is realised as /lo/ or /l:/, bilong as /blo/, mitupela as /mitla/, and the resulting changes in NP morphology.

He also shows how *save* and *laik* have become aspect prefixes /sa/ and /la/. These changes, and others of a similar nature, are not reflected in written Tok Pisin. Thus, published mass media have no part in promoting such changes.

Second, there is the influence of standardisation and planning. The standard Tok Pisin used in the mass media is based on rural rather than the urban sociolect (Mühlhäusler 1975e, 1979f). Because of the influence of English, western culture, and creolisation, the urban sociolect is becoming more unlike the rural standard. Thus, at least for speakers of urban Tok Pisin, the language of the mass media represents a conservative influence.

The policy of *Wantok* is outlined in the *Stail buk* (p.13):

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

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

(39) rural	urban	English
bungim	kolektim	<i>collect</i>
pasin	kastem	<i>custom</i>
meri	gel	<i>girl</i>
gat	hevim	<i>have</i>
kamapim	groim	<i>grow</i>
stapwok	straik	<i>strike</i>
paitim	nokim	<i>knock</i>
stretim	levelim	<i>level</i>
lusim wok	risain	<i>resign</i>
tok nogut	swea	<i>swear</i>

The published mass media are more conservative than the broadcasting media as far as the use of rural Tok Pisin is concerned. The use of the urban or anglicised -s plural in radio broadcasts has been described above. This use is proscribed in the *Stail buk* (p.12): "It is incorrect to add an 's' to Tok Pisin words as a pluraliser. E.g. ol gels." Furthermore, although news broadcasts are read from scripts written largely in standard orthography, pronunciations may reflect some of the phonological changes of creolised Tok Pisin as described above. The non-standard spelling blong in example (30) is probably indicative of its pronunciation.

The use of many English words in news broadcasts has also been described above. But in the same broadcast the rural alternatives in the following list were used rather than the urban ones:

(40) rural	urban	English
sumatin	studen	<i>student</i>
bungwantaim	konpresn	<i>conference</i>
sindaun	laif	<i>way of life</i>
han	brens	<i>branch (of a bank)</i>
hamamas	hepi	<i>happy</i>

Thus, at least the attempt is being made to use some rural forms that might not otherwise be heard by urban listeners.

The policies of *Wantok* have also helped to keep the written language from diverging too far from the spoken. As mentioned in section 6.3.1.3, newspapers are often read out to large groups. Thus, the number of people exposed to the written Tok Pisin of newspapers is far greater than circulation or literacy figures would indicate. *Wantok* is well aware of this fact, as stated in the *Stail buk* (p.6): "The basic assumption behind all Tok Pisin writing is that it is going to be read aloud." The following suggestions are made:

The best norm to follow in Tok Pisin writing is this: write each sentence in such a way that a Pisin speaker can pick it up and read it aloud correctly the first time he sees it. The writer ... must write it the way a Pisin speaker would SAY it. (pp.6-7)

After a direct quotation is finished, it is good to continue with some word that lets the listener (more than the reader) know that the direct speech is ended. E.g. Em i tok, "Mi go nau." Orait, nau em i kirap i go. (p.9)

Another example of *Wantok's* policy is the decision made at a staff meeting in 1979 to use *ya* more frequently in order to make the written Tok Pisin more like the spoken (Siegel 1981:28). It is used as a general deictic marker or for emphasis. Most often it serves to focus on a NP which has already been referred to, as in example (11), or one which is followed by an appositive, as in example (18). Other examples are (44) below and the following:

(41) Nau yumi lukim: ol memba ya ol
i lida o nogat?

(436:2)

*Now we'll see: are these members
[of parliament] leaders or not?*

(42) Yupela mas bungim Mista Somare
na miting wantaim em na toktok
long tupela minista ya, Tony
Bais na Pita Lus.

(446:6)

*You all must meet Mr Somare and
hold discussions with him and
these ministers, Tony Bais and
Pita Lus.*

Attempts to keep written Tok Pisin like the spoken can also be seen in the use of interjections and conversational colloquial language, especially captions to photographs:

(43) Oloman! Ol meri tu i no isi
isi. Ol i sanap klostu klostu
long ples bilong bet.

(442:2)

*Man! The women too didn't hold
back. They crowded around the
betting place.*

(44) Aiyo yupela, em Titus Tilly, na
em wanpela kameraman bilong
Wantok Niuspepa ya. Lukim em,
baga ya i kaikai tang nating.
Wok bilong ol meri ya lusim
stap bro.

(466:1)

*Oh, you all, this is Titus Tilly,
and he's a cameraman for Wantok
newspaper. Look at him, the bugger
is biting his tongue for nothing.
Leave the women's work alone,
brother.*

6.3.2.3 The influence of English

The large number of English words used in news broadcasts has been mentioned in the preceding section. In addition, despite attempts to use mainly rural vocabulary in *Wantok*, many words from anglicised urban Tok Pisin are coming in. For instance, some words formerly considered urban become widely known enough to be considered rural, and thus used in newspapers. The following examples are listed in the *Stail buk* (p.14): *skwata squatter*, dropout *dropout*, *wimins klap women's club*, and *pilaia player*. But also, use of the recommended rural alternatives is far from consistent. For example, in the following list the urban alternatives are commonly used:

(45) rural	urban	English
bosman	menesa	<i>manager</i>
gohet	progres	<i>progress</i>
kibung	miting	<i>meeting</i>
as	risen	<i>reason</i>
tok gris	edvetaismen	<i>advertisement</i>
mak	boda	<i>border</i>
opisa	eksekyutiv	<i>executive</i>
askim	eplikesen	<i>application</i>

Finally, even in *Wantok* there is more English text being used. Current editions contain an English supplement from the College of External Studies. And more and more advertisements are using English. For example, *Wantok* 115 (30/4/1975) had ten advertisements, all completely in Tok Pisin. *Wantok* 466 (30/4/1983) had 23 advertisements, seven completely in Tok Pisin, ten completely in English, and six using both languages.

As pointed out by Piniâu (1975a:93), most of those literate in Tok Pisin also have a great deal of exposure to English since English has been the main language of education. It could be that with increased mass education along with urbanisation, the importance of Tok Pisin, at least in the printed mass media, will diminish. However, with the establishment of rural Tok Pisin schools, *Wantok* may continue to be an important means of communication, especially in rural areas. And Tok Pisin will almost certainly continue as the most important language of radio broadcasting in rural areas.

To summarise, in the mass media at present there is a balance between the use of standard rural Tok Pisin and the introduction of innovations from anglicised urban Tok Pisin. If this balance can be maintained, the mass media will play a major role in keeping these two varieties mutually intelligible.

6.4 CURRENT USE AND EXPANSION OF TOK PISIN: TEACHING AND TOK PISIN

T.E. Dutton

Ever since Europeans first set foot in what used to be called the Territory of New Guinea and tried to force their will and/or ideas on to the people that inhabit that part of present-day Papua New Guinea they have had to rely on a small number of local languages to communicate with them. By far the most significant of those languages, in terms of the numbers who spoke it and could be reached by it, was the language known variously as Neo-Melanesian, New Guinea Pidgin, Pidgin English, and, now officially, Tok Pisin. For similar reasons, and because knowledge of English only began to increase significantly after the Second World War, most formal and informal education up to that time had to be conducted in this language also. This in turn meant that instructors of whatever kind had to learn it themselves or be taught it. Moreover, because Papua New Guinea was basically an illiterate society Papua New Guineans themselves had to be taught to read in it if they were to be of maximum use to their foreign masters. The story of how some organisations and some arms of administration used Tok Pisin for teaching purposes, and of how the language was taught to various individuals and groups, both within and without Papua New Guinea, up until the Territory of New Guinea was united with the Territory of Papua to form the newly independent country of Papua New Guinea, has been told in some detail in a previous volume of this series (Wurm, ed. 1977:639-757).

At that time the major issues were theoretical ones having to do with the role that Tok Pisin (and its counterpart, Hiri (or Police) Motu, in what used to be the Territory of Papua) should play in the education and development of the newly independent country. In particular whether it should be used as a medium of instruction, and if so, to what extent.

The then minister of Justice, and former minister for Education, Mr Ebia Olewale, pointed out in his contribution to the volume referred to above that although it was a desirable goal "for every child in Papua New Guinea to receive its first introduction to education in its own local language" (p.639) there were a number of factors (having to do with the availability, or otherwise, of suitable teaching materials and teaching staff) which militated against this. But given that many children already spoke Tok Pisin as a first or second language, and that suitable teaching materials were already available and could be reproduced cheaply, it could be argued, he said, that Tok Pisin (or Hiri Motu in certain areas) was "the best choice" for achieving this desirable goal (p.640). Besides, it was also desirable that the younger generation should "have a good command of one of the two great lingue franche, Pidgin or Hiri Motu" (p.640) even if it was not possible to give everyone a good knowledge of English, for these languages are truly Papua New Guinea languages and are recognised as unofficial national languages which have great emotional appeal. Even so, no-one in a position to influence government education policy in Papua New Guinea

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has so far been prepared to press for even limited education in Tok Pisin as part of that policy, although various versions of the government's Five Year Education Plans have tentatively approached it and then shied away from it again. Practically, however, Tok Pisin is used, and is allowed to be used in government schools as an explanatory language in teaching where necessary.

But government schools cater for only a very small proportion of the population, and in rapidly decreasing numbers the higher one moves up the scale from primary to secondary to tertiary level. Consequently there are many who are uncatered for in the government system amongst the nation's children of school age. Although this number is gradually decreasing there are still many - about 50% - who will not have had the opportunity of going to a government school before they are too old. In addition there is the large mass of the adult population who are already too old for the system, as well as those so-called 'drop-outs' or 'push-outs', who have had to leave school at different points in the system for one reason or another and who have little chance of re-entering it. Here the churches in Papua New Guinea play a vital role. Thus, as was pointed out by several authors in the above-mentioned volume, e.g. Neuendorf, Renck, Mihalic, Zinkel, they attempt to provide some kind of basic education in Tok Pisin for this large section of Papua New Guinea society, who would otherwise miss out on some kind of formal education. The Lutheran Church (ELCPNG) is the best organised and has a whole system of education that runs parallel to the government one. In this system students can go as high as Year 10, and all textbooks - even for such subjects as mathematics and social studies - are produced in Tok Pisin. The system also incorporates a teacher training institute. Other churches either have similar, if smaller systems, and/or use the materials produced for the Lutheran system. An important aspect of this work is that it not only provides some sort of education for much of Papua New Guinea's 'needy' but it also helps to counteract some of the social problems produced by a system that promotes English as a 'cargo cult' language and produces malcontents and social misfits who are unwilling to return to their societies and lead a modified traditional life on the land. As Zinkel points out (p.691) the government education system "operates efficiently in churning out educated and semi-educated young people, but it does not seem to educate them for the society in which these youngsters must live."

At a different level there are problems with Tok Pisin as a medium of instruction, specifically, with its adequacy in technological fields. Thus in 1977 when the volume referred to above was produced, two authors, Bell and Scott, discussed the role of Tok Pisin in the Army (pp.671-690) and in agricultural extension work (pp.723-731) respectively, and pointed out the need for keeping the vocabulary of the language in step with technological development. This is a problem that is related of course to the general issue of language planning in Tok Pisin and a topic that is discussed at some length by Mühlhäusler later in the present volume (6.8).

But these issues and problems were those of the mid-to-late 1970s. What of those today?

Unfortunately it is not possible to answer this question in any precise way at this time as no research has been carried out into these aspects of Tok Pisin since then. About all that can be said is that similar issues and problems still exist but nothing detailed is known about them comparable to that provided by the surveys carried out for the 1977 volume being referred to. About the only thing that is known for certain is that attitudes to the language have become very positive amongst foreigners visiting or going to work in the country as is

manifested by the continual demand for books and/or courses of instruction in it. Indeed, this demand is so high that the only detailed course available in it, *Conversational New Guinea Pidgin* (Dutton 1973) has had to be reprinted several times and eventually withdrawn from sale because of the deteriorating condition of the master tapes used for the reproduction of learner's tapes that are sold to accompany the printed text.

In review then the best that can be said about teaching in and about Tok Pisin, both inside and outside Papua New Guinea, is that the present stage of knowledge is poor and unreliable, and the actual situation unknown. Yet given that Papua New Guinea is still a developing country it is very likely that that situation is not much different from what it was in the mid-to-late 1970s when it was last investigated in any detail.

6.5 CURRENT USE AND EXPANSION OF TOK PISIN: EFFECTS OF TOK PISIN ON SOME VERNACULAR LANGUAGES

Malcolm Ross

6.5.1 INTRODUCTION

Little attention has been paid to the effects of Tok Pisin on the native vernaculars of Papua New Guinea, partly, perhaps, because the topic is dwarfed by questions about traffic in the opposite direction - from vernaculars into Tok Pisin (see, for example, Mosel 1980) - and partly because most scholars (including the present writer) who collect data for a vernacular have tended to regard Tok Pisin intrusions as foreign neologisms unworthy of much attention. Exceptions to this generalisation are Laycock (1966), who briefly examines some effects of Tok Pisin on Abelam (in what is now the East Sepik Province), and Chowning (1983), who reports on lexical effects of Tok Pisin on three languages on New Britain.

The 'effects' which we shall discuss in this paper are cases of what Weinreich (1963:30-48) has called 'transfer' and Clyne (1967:ch.3) 'transference', i.e. in a community where many or all speakers are bilingual, features are transferred from one of the speakers' two languages to the other. Thus we are concerned here with cases of transference from Tok Pisin into vernacular languages. Weinreich and Clyne each offer a terminology for the classification of cases of transference, but, since our data cover only a subset of their categories (for example, we have no cases of phonological transfereces), we use here a simpler classification on two dimensions. Firstly, we distinguish between grammatical and lexical transference. Lexical transference occurs when members of an open set of items (e.g. nouns, verbs) are transferred from Tok Pisin to a vernacular, grammatical transference when members of a closed set of items (e.g. prepositions, modals) are thus transferred. Secondly, we distinguish between those transfereces which are replacive (i.e. a Tok Pisin item replaces a vernacular item, either as an alternant or as a total substitute) and those which are neologistic (i.e. a Tok Pisin item is added to the repertoire of a vernacular). Replacive lexical transfereces are further divisible, adopting Clyne's terms, into morpho-semantic transfereces (where a form is transferred from Tok Pisin to the vernacular, also retaining its Tok Pisin meaning) and semantic transfereces (where a vernacular item undergoes change in meaning determined by some Tok Pisin parallel). To sum up, transfereces may be:

- a) Lexical
 - i) replacive
 - morphosemantic
 - semantic
 - ii) neologistic
- b) Grammatical
 - i) replacive (and morphosemantic)
 - ii) neologistic

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Weinreich and Clyne both refer also to syntactic transferences (i.e. changes in item order) as a subcategory of grammatical transference. The only cases of syntactic transference in our data, however, occur as a result of other kinds of grammatical transference and are therefore dealt with in connection with these.

We deal below first with lexical, then with grammatical, transferences, and conclude with a discussion of transference from Tok Pisin into vernaculars. Substantially less space is devoted to lexical transference than to grammatical, since the latter is a phenomenon which has evoked some controversy among scholars. Whereas lexical transference, loosely termed 'borrowing', is an accepted and well studied phenomenon, the question of whether grammatical transference occurs has long interested linguists, as Weinreich's (1963:29) summary of the arguments shows. We shall show below that grammatical transference from Tok Pisin into some vernaculars does occur, and that this phenomenon is made particularly interesting by the fact that much the same transferences have apparently occurred (or are occurring) in different Austronesian languages which are geographically quite separated from each other and not in any kind of contact. We shall attempt to describe and classify these transferences and to offer a tentative explanation of why similar transferences have occurred in different languages.

The occurrence of Tok Pisin transferences in vernaculars has nothing directly to do with the fact that Tok Pisin is a pidgin or a creole, but is related to the fact that it is a lingua franca and that speakers are fluent in both the vernacular and Tok Pisin. Laycock (1979:94) has pointed out that bilingualism is common in Papua New Guinea and characterises its effect as follows:

In a situation where both speaker and hearer are bilingual, there is no pressure to keep languages apart, and switching between the two is common Note that this type of linguistic interference is to be distinguished from pidginization, and the resulting 'mixed language' is to be distinguished from a pidgin, in that mixing is between two full linguistic systems, both of which are controlled by the speaker For such a mixed language to become stable, as a new linguistic system, it is here postulated that disappearance of the monolingual community/communities is an essential factor.

The situation from which our data are drawn appears to be a subtype of that described by Laycock, in that our speakers are bilingual in their vernacular and in Tok Pisin, and the beginnings of 'mixing' are occurring. The languages in which grammatical transference occurs do indeed appear to be cases where there are no longer any monolingual speakers: all are fluent in the vernacular and in Tok Pisin.

6.5.2 LEXICAL TRANSFERENCE

Lexical transference, as we saw above, is divisible into cases of replacive transference and neologistic transference.

Neologistic transference occasions few surprises, as Tok Pisin items are borrowed for objects and concepts which have become familiar since European contact and adapted to the phonological patterns of the vernacular. A few cases from published literature are:

(1) Abelam, south of Maprik, East Sepik Province

Tok Pisin		Abelam
stesin	<i>station</i>	dɔycən
dokta	<i>doctor</i>	dɔktɔ
misis	<i>white woman</i>	mycəc
hapmun	<i>fortnight</i>	apmwn
pater	<i>priest</i>	pətɔyt
sikul	<i>school</i>	cəkwl
hadwok	<i>work</i>	atwɔk
god	<i>God</i>	gwɔd
marit	<i>marry</i>	marət
nambawan	<i>chief, principal</i>	nɔbɔwan

(Laycock 1966)

(2) Nakanai, around Hoskins, West New Britain Province

Tok Pisin		Nakanai
wok	<i>work</i>	vokɔ
balus	<i>aircraft</i>	balusu
lotu	<i>church</i>	lotu

(Chowning 1983)

sip	<i>ship</i>	sipi
kar	<i>car</i>	kari
sithaus	<i>latrine</i>	sithaus
kamda	<i>carpenter</i>	kamda
nil	<i>nail</i>	lili
belo	<i>bell</i>	belo

(Johnston 1980)

(3) Buang, Snake River, Morobe Province

moni	<i>money</i>
memba	<i>member, shareholder</i>
bak stua	<i>bulk store</i>
direkta	<i>director</i>

(Sankoff 1972)

These examples are part of the process of lexical borrowing which has evidently long been the norm in many parts of Papua New Guinea (see, for example, Dutton 1982b, for well documented examples of precontact borrowing).

What is a little surprising, however, is the phenomenon pointed out by Sankoff (1972:48), namely that Tok Pisin lexical items for which there are perfectly good vernacular equivalents occur in her recorded texts. She attributes this to the speaker's desire to give status to his vernacular utterances by the inclusion of Tok Pisin items. If she is right, then her examples are not examples of true transference, but of a deliberate use of foreign words. However, it is also clear that true replacive lexical transference does occur. Chowning (1983) mentions mekim *kaikai* *make a feast*, moran *python*, and sikau *wallaby* as items which have become part of the vocabulary of Sengseng (east of Kandrian, south-west New Britain), replacing whatever native items there may have been. Similarly, she mentions tingting *thought*, sak *shark*, and win *wind* as replacive transferences into Kove (west of Talasea, north-west New Britain). The only explanation we can offer for these - tentatively - is that speakers bilingual in

Tok Pisin and a vernacular have become so 'at home' in Tok Pisin, perhaps even more so than in the vernacular, that certain items which occur frequently in their Tok Pisin discourse are transferred to the vernacular because of their familiarity.

A case of replacive transference due to familiarity is reported by Susanne Holzknrecht (personal communication) for Adzera (Markham Valley, Morobe Province). She provides the following example:¹

- (4) Adzera a. dzi anuŋ? i-riŋant-in gin u
 I NEG REAL-know-about.it about.it NEG
 I don't know about it.
- b. dzi anuŋ? i-sawi gin u
 I NEG REAL-know about.it NEG
 I don't know about it.

Here sawi (Tok Pisin *save know*) alternates with Adzera riŋantin. However, Holzknrecht points out that Adzera has a number of verbs of knowing, e.g. riŋant-*know something/about something*, tsanŋan *know by seeing*, fariŋ?- *be able to name something*, and others, all of which are able to be replaced by sawi. Thus it seems that replacement by sawi is due to speakers' familiarity with the less complex semantic system of Tok Pisin.

Chowning (1983) provides examples of semantic lexical transference from Tok Pisin into Nakanai, that is, of cases where a Nakanai item has undergone a change of semantic range modelled on the semantic range of a Tok Pisin item. She cites Nakanai ubi la maisu *pierce the nose (septum)*, which, by analogy with Tok Pisin sutim nus *play a trick (literally, pierce the nose)*, has also acquired the meaning *play a trick*. Similarly, Nakanai vo-kuru *black skin*, originally describing someone whose skin was exceptionally dark, has become a member of the pair vo-kuru *black skin/vo-kakea whiteskin*, identical in meaning with the analogous Tok Pisin terms blakskin/waitskin meaning *Papua New Guinean/European*.

An interesting case of semantic lexical transference which is apparently due to being at home in Tok Pisin is the calquing of Tok Pisin/English greetings into vernacular languages in urban settings, e.g. Tolai (Gazelle Peninsula, north-east New Britain) boina marum *good night*, Gedaged (islands off Madang town) tidom uyan (literally *night good*), both calques of the Tok Pisin greeting gudnait.

6.5.3 GRAMMATICAL TRANSFERENCE

We will introduce grammatical transference with an example. Below are two versions of the same sentence from the writer's fieldnotes for Sera, an Austro-nesian language of the West Sepik Province:

- (5) Sera i. Soken TENEN paksana buak sein raminrin ke
 ii. Soken INO paksana buak sein raminrin ke
 Soken NEG board canoe his yesterday NEG
 Soken didn't board his canoe yesterday.

In version (i), all morphemes in the sentence are Sera morphemes. In version (ii), the negative morpheme tenen has been replaced by ino, a sequence of two Tok Pisin morphemes - the predicate marker i and the negative adverb no (cf. Mühlhäusler 1984i), illustrated in the equivalent Tok Pisin sentence below:

- (6) Tok Pisin Soken | NO kalap long kanu bilong em asde
Soken PM NEG ascend onto canoe of him yesterday
Soken didn't board his canoe yesterday.

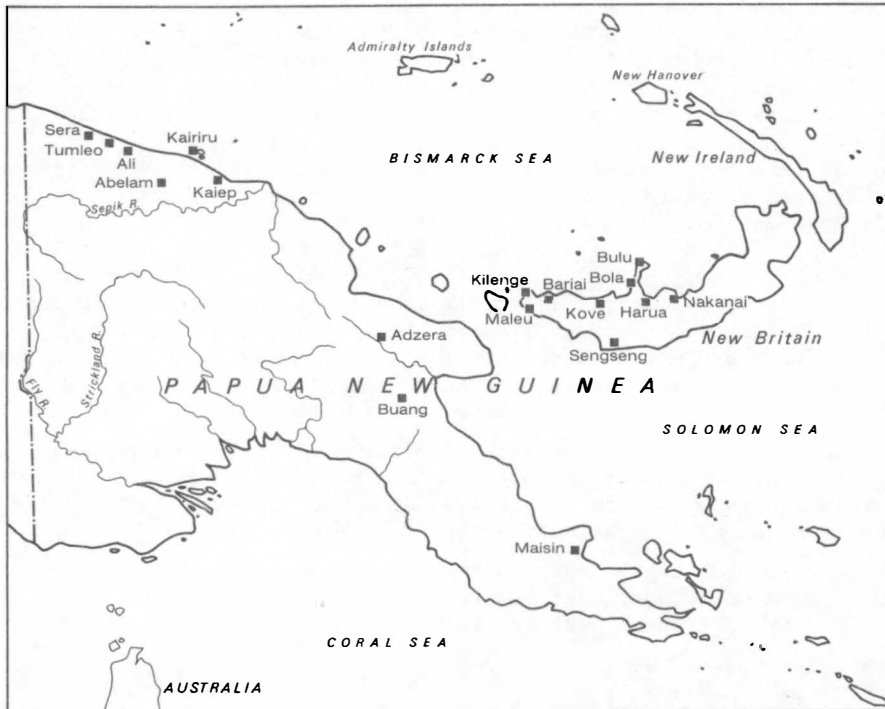
Unfortunately, the nature of our data on which our brief study of grammatical transference is based imposes severe limitations of scope. Apart from a very few cases from Laycock (1966) and Sankoff (1972), most of the data used here are from the writer's fieldnotes, accumulated in the course of a comparative survey of Austronesian languages in Papua New Guinea which aimed to collect just enough morphosyntactic data from a large number of languages in order to make a preliminary genetic classification of those languages. Hence the data are limited to Austronesian languages, consist of elicited sentences rather than free text, and are mostly from speakers younger than 25, with primary and some secondary English-medium education, who are at least as 'at home' in Tok Pisin as in their vernacular, if not more so. Despite these limitations, however, we feel it is worth offering this study in the hope that the phenomenon of grammatical transference from Tok Pisin will receive further investigation. Since elicitation took place through the medium of English, not Tok Pisin, the grammatical transferences in the data are not an artefact of the elicitation procedure, and occur consistently both within and across languages. Where the Tok Pisin transference alternates in the data with a native item, this is noted below.

The languages in which we have noted Tok Pisin grammatical morphemes during this survey are scattered along the north coasts of mainland Papua New Guinea and of the island of New Britain. They are, arranged in low-order genetic groups and with their approximate locations (see map), as follows:

Sera	west of Aitape, West Sepik
Ali	east of Aitape, West Sepik
Tumleo	east of Aitape, West Sepik
Kairiru	islands off Wewak, East Sepik ²
Kaiep	east of Wewak, East Sepik
Kilenge	around Cape Gloucester, West New Britain
Maleu	around Cape Gloucester, West New Britain
Bariai	north-east of Cape Gloucester, West New Britain
Bulu	Talasea Peninsula, West New Britain
Harua	east of Kimbe, West New Britain

Of the languages above, our data for Sera, Kaiep and Harua are more affected by grammatical transference from Tok Pisin than our data for the other languages. Sociolinguistic reasons for this are not hard to find. Sera and Kaiep are each spoken only in one village and surrounded by speakers of non-Austronesian languages. Sera has no primary school close by, and primary-school students are therefore weekday boarders in Sissano, several hours' walk away. The three Harua-speaking villages are in the area near Kimbe which is occupied by oil-palm settlements of people from other parts of Papua New Guinea. Hence all three languages are in situations where Tok Pisin assumes pressing importance as a lingua franca, and none of them is spoken in a community where Tok Pisin is less important and the 'unmixed' form of the language might be preserved. Although our informants do not represent a cross-section of their communities, being younger and having some education, they appeared to be competent in their respective vernaculars, which continue to serve as a mark of identity for their communities: our Harua informants were living in their villages, our Kaiep informant was boarding at a school very close to his own village. Both these facts and the internal consistency of their use of Tok Pisin transferences in

the data (Tok Pisin prepositions, for example, occur frequently in the Kaiep data, with complete consistency and no alternation with native items) suggest that the grammatical transferences in our data are either becoming or have already become an integral part of the vernacular, at least in Kaiep and Harua.



Map: Papua New Guinea vernaculars referred to in connection with transference from Tok Pisin

Since we are particularly interested in the fact that similar transferences from Tok Pisin to vernaculars have occurred in widely separated languages, and the same Tok Pisin item may be a replacive transference in one vernacular and a neologistic transference in another, we shall group transferences here in terms of grammatical categories rather than of the replacive/neologistic distinction, and then examine them briefly in terms of this distinction in section 6.5.3.7. Tok Pisin morphemes which have been found in one or more of the languages above are:

- a) Verb phrase morphemes
 - i) Negative adverbial *no*
 - ii) Aspect-marker *pinis* (completion)
 - iii) Tense-marker *bai* (future)
 - iv) Modal verbs *save be in the habit of*, *mas must*, *laik desire*, *inap be physically able to*

- b) Post-nominal emphasisers tu *too*, *stret*, *yet* (emphatic)
- c) Prepositions
 - i) long (location, instrument)
 - ii) bilong (purpose)
 - iii) wantaim (accompaniment, instrument)
- d) Equative copula em
- e) Clause conjunctions
 - i) Co-ordinating conjunctions na *and*, tasol *but*
 - ii) Subordinating conjunctions taim *when*, sapos *if*
- f) Discourse marker orait

Most of the functions of these morphemes in Tok Pisin are described by Mühlhäusler (1984i), and their functions in the Austronesian languages in which they occur differ very little from their Tok Pisin functions. Transferences of each of these morphemes in Austronesian languages are illustrated below.

6.5.3.1 Verb phrase morphemes

The negative adverbial no has been found only in Sera, and its use is illustrated in example (5) above.

The completive aspect-marker pinis has been found in Sera and Kaiep:

- (7) Sera Soken akla pe ya pi-ma PINIS
Soken say that I go-come COMPL
Soken said that I had come.
- (8) Kaiep sapos kit ta-lia rawar ndi ñare ka-lia PINIS
if we we-go then they FUT they-go COMPL
If we had gone, they would have gone.

In both languages pinis occurs after the verb, as in Tok Pisin em i kamap pinis *he has arrived*. However, Sera also has a completive marker o, which alternates freely with pinis in the same position. Although the Kaiep data contain no alternant to pinis, it is probable that Kaiep once also had a post-verbal completive marker, since Kairiru, closely related to Kaiep, has a completive marker rruon which may occur post-verbally.

The use of the future tense-marker bai is illustrated below:

- (9) Sera BAI uik n-ok-so buak bel lein
 FUT we FUT-we-make canoe small.PL some
We shall build some small canoes.
- (10) Kaiep sapos kit ta-lia, BAI ndi tu ka-lia
 if we we-go FUT they too they-go
If we go, they will go too.
- (11) Ali eu BAI ni-?iaŋ niu aluŋ
 I FUT FUT.I-eat coconut some
I shall eat some coconut.

- (12) Kairiru PAI rri moin rrar-qur jeik
 FUT PL woman they-put.into netbag
The women will put them into the netbags.
 (Wivell 1981:129)
- (13) Kairiru ei a-wot ei a-lieq rruon, kyau tu PAI wu-lieq ñes
 he he-say he he-go COMPL I too FUT I-go only
If he had gone, I would have gone too.

In Tok Pisin, *bai* occurs either before the subject noun phrase (*bai mi kam I'll come*) or between the subject and the verb phrase (*mi bai kam*). The same alternation occurs in Kairiru, whilst *bai* precedes the subject in Sera and Kaiep and follows it in Ali. The one difference between the Tok Pisin and Austronesian structures is that the latter have a subject-marking prefix which does not occur in Tok Pisin. Of the four languages in which *bai* occurs, Ali, Kaiep and Kairiru have native alternants. For example:

- (14) Ali eu SEM ni-ʔiaŋ niu aluŋ
 I FUT FUT.I-eat coconut some
I shall eat some coconut.
- (15) Kaiep kit ÑARE kiat mumurun ta-uk
 we FUT canoe small we-make
We shall make a small canoe.
- (16) Kairiru qat AP rra-lieq Qiep pwarr
 canoe FUT they-go Kaiep saucepan
The canoes will go to Kaiep for the saucepans.
 (Wivell 1981:129)

In Sera and Ali, futurity is basically expressed by the verb-phrase initial *n-* (examples (9) and (11)), and Tok Pisin *bai*, Ali *sem* occupy a native pre-verbal modifier slot.

The examples below illustrate the use of modal verbs:

- (17) Sera Soken SAVE to-paksana buak sein olketadei
 Soken HAB ASP-board canoe his every.day
Soken boards his canoe daily.
- (18) Sera uik MAS n-ot-ain makara
 we OBL FUT-we-eat taro
We are going to eat some taro.
- (19) Kaiep ik SAWE k-i imun
 thou HAB thou-stay where
Where do you live?
- (20) Kaiep Karik a-giap ik MAS ku-mia
 Karik he-say thou OBL thou-come
Karik told you to come.
- (21) Harua iau MAS g-a kani raŋa niu
 I OBL FUT I-eat some coconut
I'm going to eat some coconut.

- (22) Harua iau ba INAP g-a rike na aga vogu kuduvi
 I NEG ABIL FUT I-board on canoe my tomorrow
 I won't be getting on my canoe tomorrow.
- (23) Harua To i SAVE rike-riike na aga vona na taim lobo
 To he HAB board-board on canoe his on time every
 To boards his canoe daily.
- (24) Harua e Maikel i LAIK rauulo mule
 ART Michael he DESR dance again
 Michael wants to dance again.

In Sera and Kaiep, where any tense-marker and subject-marker are prefixed to the verb stem, a modal precedes prefixes and verb stem. In Harua, where any tense-marker and subject-marker precede but remain separate from the verb stem, a modal precedes the pre-verbal morphemes if these begin with a tense-marker, as in examples (21) and (22), but intrudes between the subject-marker and the verb if no tense-marker occurs, as in examples (23) and (24). Thus only the latter examples follow the Tok Pisin pattern of *Maikel i laik danis gen Michael wants to dance again*. There is no direct evidence in the Sera, Kaiep or Harua data of native morphemes which have been replaced by the Tok Pisin modals, but Kaiep's close relative Kairiru has a set of native pre-verbal modifiers (not themselves verbs) which behave in the same way as the Tok Pisin modals in Sera and Kaiep, suggesting that these languages may have had native modifiers which have now been replaced by the Tok Pisin modal forms:

- (25) Kairiru tuyieq WOT ti-lieq piyei
 we.INC.DL intend we.DL-go where
 Where do we intend going?
 (Wivell 1981:127)

Bola, related at the dialect level to Harua, shows no sign of native structures similar to those of examples (21) to (24) (Bosco 1979), and Nakanai, a member of the same low-order group as Harua, also lacks such structures (Johnston 1980). It is therefore probable that Harua had no native modal verbs.

Laycock's (1966) data for Abelam provide a tantalising glimpse of the use of the Tok Pisin modal *save be in the habit of* in a non-Austronesian language. The usual expression of the habitual in Abelam is the structure:

- (26) Abelam VERB BASE-rə-VERBAL SUFFIXES
 where rə = stay

For example:

- (27) Abelam wne ya-Rə-kwa
 I come-HAB-NONPAST
 I am still coming
 (Laycock 1965:55)

But the texts show the structure:

- (28) Abelam save + VERB BASE-VERBAL SUFFIXES

For example:

- (29) Abelam nAk gAy SAVE dAy apmwn kəty-kwA
one village HAB they fortnight dance-NONPAST
Some villages are accustomed to dance for a fortnight.

In this case the transference of a Tok Pisin morpheme to the vernacular has occasioned a syntactic change more radical than any noted for an Austronesian language.

6.5.3.2 Post-nominal emphasisers

The term 'post-nominal emphasisers' is used to cover Tok Pisin *tu*, *stret*, and yet in contexts like *mi tu I too*, *Maikel yet Michael himself*, as illustrated below:

- (30) Sera bai rei pe TU na-ker-pei
 FUT *they self too* FUT-*they-go*
They will go too.
- (31) Ali e YET ta-wak
it self it-break
It broke by itself.
- (32) Tumleo au na-ʔun Moskanyun STRET
I I-see Moskanyun direct
I saw Moskanyun himself = It was Moskanyun that I saw.
- (33) Kaiep bai ndi TU ka-lia
 FUT *they too they-go*
They will go too.
- (34) Kairiru kyau TU pai wu-lieq ñes
I too FUT *I-go only*
I would have gone too.
- (35) Bariai gau YET na-kor
I self I-break
I myself broke it.

Sera pe *self* in example (30) and Kaiep no in example (41) below indicate that Sera and Kaiep have a native category of post-nominal emphasisers, and Wivell (1981:73-74) finds a similar category in Kairiru.

6.5.3.3 Prepositions

The use of the Tok Pisin prepositions *long* and *wantaim* in Sera, Ali and Kaiep is illustrated below:

- (36) Sera nou LON malolo
house PREP rest
house for resting

- (37) Ali eu k-ia parei WANTEM eŋ
I I-go bush PREP him
I went to the bush with him.
- (38) Ali Wanakau ka-tot ai WANTAIM yertiniaŋ
Wanakau he-chop tree PREP axe
Wanakau chopped the tree down with an axe.
- (39) Kaiep gia w-i LON Keip
I I-stay PREP Kaiep
I live at Kaiep.
- (40) Kaiep Karok i-un ik LON kie
Karok he-hit thou PREP stick
Karok hit you with a stick.
- (41) Kaiep Karok no a-i WANTAIM gia
Karok alone he-stay PREP me
Only Karok lives with me.

The preposition bilong has been found in only one case, namely with purposive usage in Kaiep:

- (42) Kaiep mokor BLON ka-kian
fish PREP we-eat
Fish for us to eat.

The use of Tok Pisin prepositions in examples (36) to (41) and in example (42) is interestingly different from the Tok Pisin morphemes discussed in earlier subsections, in that in Sera, Ali and Kaiep, the Tok Pisin prepositions are not replacing a native morpheme category, as these languages appear not to have a native category of prepositions. When no Tok Pisin preposition is used, Sera and Ali employ an unmarked noun phrase for location or instrument:

- (43) Sera batan ya to-yon SERA
formerly I ASP-live Sera
Formerly I lived at Sera.
- (44) Sera Soken nak ya AI
Soken hit me stick
Soken hit me with a stick.
- (45) Ali Wanakau ka-tar eu AI
Wanakau he-hit me stick
Wanakau hit me with a stick.

Our Kaiep data show Tok Pisin prepositions consistently throughout, but two pieces of evidence indicate that Kaiep also lacked a native category of preposition. Firstly, Laycock's (1971) fieldnotes from Terebu, a dialect of Kaiep, show no prepositions:

- (46) Terebu dya gw-alie +LIM
I I-go house
I am going to the house.

Secondly, Kairiru also has no locative preposition -

- (47) Kairiru kyau wu-mor SERASIN
I I-stay Serasin
I live at Serasin.

- and uses an instrumental postposition:

- (48) Kairiru yieq jyaj tai yiu KYAI go-ug
thou fish one spear POSTP thou-stab
You stab the fish with a spear.

The comitative use of wantaim in (37) and (41) replaces the 'inclusive subject' structure which is common in the Austronesian languages of Papua New Guinea, whereby the referent of the comitative noun phrase is included in the subject, as in Kairiru:

- (49) Kairiru Qaulen ñes TUI TU-mor
Kauleng only both we.DL-stay
Only Kauleng lives with me.

Bariai also uses Tok Pisin wantaim:

- (50) Bariai Siko ga i-nam WANTEM gau
Siko IRR he-come PREP me
Siko will come with me.

However, this example is a little misleading, in that wantaim in Bariai usually serves the same function as *together* in English *together with*, i.e. it is an adverbial modified by a prepositional phrase. For example:

- (51) Bariai gau ŋa-la WANTEM ŊA-N eava goa a-la tivur-iai
I I-go together PREP-him man that we.EXC-go bush-POSTP
I am going with that man into the bush.

- where ŋa- is the preposition. The same structure is found in Maleu with the preposition kŋe:

- (52) Maleu iau na-la UANTEM KŊE na-vla lo em-la uraura
I I-go together PREP ART-man that we.EXC-go bush
I am going with that man into the bush.

It is clear from Kilenge, which is related at dialect level to Maleu, that in Bariai and Maleu wantaim is occupying the native adverbial slot which is occupied by touoi *near* in the following example:

- (53) Kilenge na-ga kiau i-mari TOUOI kŋe n-ako
ART-pig my he-stay nearby PREP ART-water
My pig is near the water.

6.5.3.4 Equative copula

The use of the Tok Pisin third person pronoun em as an equative copula has been found only in Sera -

- (54) Sera i-temein eso EM anan sein Nimbi
 NM-woman that COP mother her Nimbi
That woman is Nimbi's mother.

- where it corresponds to the native copula se:

- (55) Sera eso-ke SE Soken
 that-one COP Soken
That one is Soken.

This use of em is evidently derived from the Tok Pisin use of em to reference a left-dislocated topic: dispela man ya, em Maikel *This man, he is Michael.*

6.5.3.5 Clause conjunctions

The co-ordinating conjunctions na *and* and tasol *but* are illustrated below:

- (56) Sera Soken to-ain makara NA ya to-ain yam
 Soken ASP-eat taro and I ASP-eat yam
Soken was eating taro and I was eating yam.
- (57) Sera ese nou purun sia TASOL nou wau se sein Soken
 this house big my but house new COP his Soken
This big house is mine, but the new house is Soken's.
- (58) Kaiep Karok a-si a-i NA und a-kian
 Karok he-sit he-stay and banana he-eat
Karok sat and ate a banana.
- (59) Bulu luma ka koruka oi ia no-gu, TASOL luma ka kalabaka
 house REL big this it CL-my but house REL new
 vea ia ne Lagote
 that it CL Lagote
This big house is mine, but that new house is Lagote's.

It is common in Papua New Guinea Austronesian languages for clauses to follow each other in simple parataxis, as in the Kairiru example below, and there is no evidence that na and tasol have replaced native morphemes:

- (60) Kairiru ei o-morr wurr a-qan
 he he-sit banana he-eat
He sat and ate a banana.

The subordinating conjunctions taim *when* and sapos *if* are illustrated below:

- (61) Sera TAIM Soken to-ain bur, ya tol-i
 when Soken ASP-eat banana I call-him
While Soken was eating a banana, I called him.
- (62) Sera SOPOS uik n-oter-pei, bai rei pe tu na-ker-pei
 if we FUT-we-go FUT they self too FUT-they-go
If we go, they will go too.

- (63) Kaiep SAPOS kit ta-lia, bai ndi tu ka-lia
if we we-go FUT they too they-go
If we go, they will go too.
- (64) Harua TAIM e To i-kan-kani a vudi, e iau a kene-a
when ART To he-eat-eat ART banana ART I I call-him
While To was eating a banana, I called him.
- (65) Harua SAPOS miseu g-e-mano, ritou popo rito g-e-mai
if we FUT-we-go they too they FUT-they-come
If we go, they will come too.

The native equivalent of the structures illustrated above appears to have been parataxis.

6.5.3.6 The discourse marker orait

One of the functions of Tok Pisin *orait* corresponds to that of English *now*, *right*, etc. in marking the beginning of a new segment of discourse (see Sinclair and Coulthard 1975:40), as in this example from Sankoff (1972:45-46):

- (66) Tok Pisin ORAIT, *disfela tok em bilong pepul ...*
now this talk it PREP people
Now, this talk has to do with the people ...

Both Laycock (1966) and Sankoff (1972) give examples which show that this use of *orait* is transferred into vernacular discourse with an apparently identical function.

6.5.3.7 Replacive and neologistic transferences among grammatical morphemes

If the grammatical transferences described in sections 6.5.3.1 to 6.5.3.6 above are divided into replacive transferences and neologistic transferences, we arrive at the following listing:

a) Replacive

- i) Negative adverbial *no* (Sera)
- ii) Completive aspect-marker *pinis* (Sera, Kaiep)
- iii) Future tense-marker *bai* (as a pre-verbal modifier in Ali, Kaiep, Kairiru)
- iv) Modal verbs (as pre-verbal modifiers in Sera, Kaiep)
- v) Post-nominal emphasisers (Sera, Ali, Tumleo, Kaiep, Kairiru, Bariai)
- vi) Preposition *wantaim* (as an adverbial in Bariai, Maleu)
- vii) Equative copula *em* (Sera)
- viii) Discourse marker *orait* (Buang, Abelam)

b) Neologistic

- i) Future tense-marker *bai* (?Sera)
- ii) Modal verbs (?Harua, Abelam)
- iii) Prepositions (Sera, Ali, Kaiep)
- iv) Clause conjunctions (Sera, Kairiru, Kaiep, Bulu, Harua)

Clearly this listing is rather tentative, as we lack sufficient information about earlier stages of the vernaculars. In the case of orait, we have assumed that discourse markers are language-universal, and that the use of orait must therefore be replacive.

6.5.4 DISCUSSION

Our discussion addresses itself to two interrelated questions:

- a) Why have transferences from Tok Pisin into vernaculars occurred?
- b) Why have the same grammatical transferences from Tok Pisin occurred in different vernaculars?

The answers to both these questions are immediately clear with regard to neologistic lexical transferences: they are items borrowed from Tok Pisin for objects and concepts which did not exist in the cultures of Papua New Guinea before contact.

The two questions are less easily answered with regard to replacive lexical transferences and to grammatical transferences. However, the fact that lexical borrowing occurs in order to provide an item in the vernacular where none existed before provides us with a clue to the reasons for other kinds of transference. We noted in section 6.5.2 a case of replacive lexical transference whereby a single Tok Pisin item *save know* has replaced several Adzera items with more specialised meanings. Clearly, we cannot say that no item for *know* existed in Adzera before. However, we suggest that from the viewpoint of the speaker familiar with Tok Pisin, no item with the semantic range of Tok Pisin *save* existed before, and that for him the transference of *save* into Adzera is an easier strategy than searching for the contextually appropriate and semantically narrower Adzera equivalent. Seen in this way, the introduction of *save* into Adzera as an alternant or a replacement for existent lexical items is not so very difficult from the introduction of *rositi* (English *rusty*) into Nakanai for a new concept as an alternant for the creation of *koko-robo* (literally *excrete-covering*) from native items (cf. Johnston 1980:10).

Although the speaker's perception that his vernacular has no item for an object or concept is probably an important step towards the explanation of replacive lexical transference, it is certainly not a complete explanation. At least two other factors are important, one individual, the other social. The individual factor was mentioned above, namely that the speaker must feel sufficiently 'at home' in Tok Pisin to have a need to find vernacular items which are equivalent to Tok Pisin items - as a result of which he employs a Tok Pisin item where he finds no vernacular item which he perceives to be its equivalent. The social factor is described by Chowning (1983), who points out that a variety of cultural features will make a language more receptive or less receptive to lexical transference. Clearly the operation of each of these two factors is a matter of degree. As Chowning points out, the transference of Tok Pisin *morán python* and *sikau wallaby* into Sengseng, where speakers are normally not at home in Tok Pisin, is probably attributable to a cultural feature, namely a system of word taboos. The presence of *sak shark* and *win wind* in Kove, however, results from the bilingualism of speakers in Tok Pisin and Kove, and from the degree of speakers' 'at home'-ness in Tok Pisin.

If we turn to neologistic grammatical transferences such as the transference of Tok Pisin prepositions (section 6.5.3.3) or clause conjunctions (section 6.5.3.5) into vernaculars, we see that the explanations we have offered for

lexical transferences may apply - in part, at least - to grammatical transferences as well. It is clear that the Austronesian vernaculars which lacked prepositions and clause conjunctions were not essentially defective: they simply used other devices to express, for example, the locative and instrumental relations expressed by Tok Pisin long and wantaim. However, the bilingual speaker who is very much 'at home' in Tok Pisin may well perceive his vernacular as lacking equivalent items, and makes up for their absence through the transference into the vernacular of the Tok Pisin prepositions and clause conjunctions.

Again, there are other factors which will encourage or hinder transference. The phrase and clause structure of the Austronesian vernaculars we have cited above is quite similar to that of Tok Pisin, and it is likely that this encourages speakers to apply the use to the same basic grammatical system for both languages, i.e. to speak each as a morpheme-for-morpheme equivalent of the other. Where the speaker is more at home in Tok Pisin than in the vernacular, he will tend to make his vernacular utterances morpheme-for-morpheme equivalents of his Tok Pisin utterances, a process which will foster the transference of Tok Pisin grammatical morphemes like prepositions and conjunctions where no direct equivalent exists in the vernacular. To what extent the pressure to find morpheme-for-morpheme equivalences applies to non-Austronesian vernaculars, whose structures are dissimilar to Tok Pisin, is a matter for investigation: Laycock's Abelam data (cf. example (29) above) indicate that it does apply in some measure, as Tok Pisin save not only replaces Abelam rə, but is inserted pre-verbally, as in Tok Pisin.

We noted above that Sera, Kaiep, and Harua, the three languages in our data which are most affected by transference from Tok Pisin, are all spoken in small communities where Tok Pisin assumes a large measure of importance and where there is no pressure to retain a 'pure' form of the vernacular.

The cases of replacive grammatical transference described above are probably attributable to much the same factors as replacive lexical transference. For example, the replacement of vernacular verb phrase morphemes by Tok Pisin morphemes, described in section 6.5.3.1, is probably attributable to the speaker's feeling that his vernacular lacks precise equivalents of pinis, bai, or the modals save, mas, laik and inap, in much the same way as the Adzera-speaker feels that Adzera lacks a translation-equivalent of the lexical item save *know*. It is also probably this factor which leads to the same transferences occurring in widely separated languages: the Austronesian languages of Papua New Guinea in general use much the same semantic categories, and it is at the points where these differ from Tok Pisin that transferences tend to occur. For example, in their verbal systems the Austronesian languages of Papua New Guinea tend to distinguish morphologically between realis and irrealis, rather than between present and future, and between continuity and punctiliarity, rather than between habitual and 'one off' actions, and the transference of bai and save seems to represent an attempt to introduce these distinctions into vernaculars.

6.5.5 CONCLUSION

The common factor to which we have attributed transference from Tok Pisin to vernaculars is that the item which is transferred is perceived by the speaker as having no sufficiently exact vernacular equivalent. In cases of neologistic lexical transference, this perception results from the fact that the objects and concepts for which lexical items are borrowed are indeed new to the culture. In

the other kinds of transference discussed here, the speaker's perception results from the factors summarised in our quotation from Laycock (1979): speakers are bilingual, and there is no countervailing social pressure to prevent transferences becoming stable. We have also suggested that it is necessary for the speaker to be more at home in Tok Pisin than in his vernacular for transferences to occur, and that this 'at home'-ness encourages the speaker to search for morpheme-for-morpheme vernacular equivalents to Tok Pisin.

Examples of similar phenomena outside Papua New Guinea are not difficult to find. Grammatical transference from a lingua franca into a vernacular has occurred with the adoption of Spanish prepositions into Tagalog and Chamorro, presumably because languages with a Philippine 'focus' system tend to express grammatical relations in their verbal morphology, rather than through independent morphemes, and speakers at home in Spanish therefore felt a lack of vernacular equivalents to Spanish prepositions.³ Tagalog has the Spanish co-ordinating conjunction *pero* (Schachter and Otnes 1972:544), corresponding to Tok Pisin *tasol*, and the Spanish comparative adverb *mas* (Schachter and Otnes 1972:239) (< Spanish *más*). Walker (n.d.) records the use of the Indonesian modals *harus must* and *mau want to* in Koiwai (south coast of Irian Jaya), parallel to the transference of their Tok Pisin equivalents *mas* and *laik* into Papua New Guinea vernaculars. He also notes the transference of the Indonesian negator *bukan* into Koiwai (as *bu'an*), analogous to the Sera replacement of the native negator *tenen* by Tok Pisin *i-no*.

Some corroboration of the hypothesis that 'at home'-ness in the source language is an important condition of transference is provided by the fact that transference occurs with considerable frequency in immigrant communities where speakers become more at home in the language of their adoptive country, and transfer from it into their ancestral vernacular. It is also interesting that transference again often affects the same categories of morpheme as we have noted for Tok Pisin-to-vernacular transference. Thus transference of prepositions has been noted from English into German (Clyne 1967:62-63) and Italian (Andreoni 1967) in Australia and from English into French in Canada (Mougeon et al 1978), and transference of conjunctions has been noted from English into German in Australia (Clyne 1967:36-39).

The idea that transference results from bilingualism is not new in the linguistic literature. Hermann Paul (1937:391-393), in his *Prinzipien der Sprachgeschichte*, originally published in 1886, attributes transference and language-mixing to bilingualism. The Sixth International Conference of Linguists held in Paris in 1948 (Lejeune 1949) discussed the question of morphological transference, and contributions stressed that it occurs as a result of bilingualism (Vogt 1949:31-40); the grammatical similarities in the languages of the Balkan Sprachbund are attributable to bilingually initiated transference, as Krepinský exemplifies in his contribution (Krepinský 1949:317-324).

The pressure to seek morpheme-for-morpheme equivalences has resulted not only in the grammatical parallelism of the Balkan languages, but in the phenomenon of what Capell (1976b) calls 'mixed languages' in Papua New Guinea. Maisin, the language which has come to epitomise 'mixed languages' in Papua New Guinea, is an Austronesian language which has undergone bilingually initiated transference on a large scale from a neighbouring non-Austronesian language.⁴ As such, it is not essentially different from Rumanian, a Romance language which, according to Krepinský, has undergone bilingually initiated transference from neighbouring Slav dialects.

Of the Austronesian languages we have examined in this paper, Sera, Kaiep and Harua appear to be undergoing changes similar to those which have affected Maisin, differing from the latter only in the source and extent of transference. As such, they are cases of a phenomenon which has probably occurred many times before in Papua New Guinea, and which is well worth further study.

We end on a note of caution, namely that it is important to keep the transference phenomena we have discussed in this paper conceptually separate from the phenomena of pidginisation. A tendency has arisen in the last decade or so to assume that language contact results in pidginisation. Thus Goodman (1971) expresses some surprise that the Tanzanian language Mbugu, which is evidently a 'mixed' language, has not undergone the simplifications which are predictable from a pidginisation hypothesis. If we assume, however (and evidence presented by Tucker and Bryan (1974) points to this), that Mbugu is a mixed language resulting from massive transference, then we have no need to resort to a pidginisation hypothesis. Clearly, language contact is a phenomenon whose surface has only been scratched, but it seems that it would be helpful if pidginisation and transference were recognised as two quite separate phenomena.

NOTES

1. Abbreviations used in this paper are as follows:

ABIL	abilitative	INC	inclusive
ART	article	IRR	irrealis
ASP	aspect-marker	NEG	negator
CL	possessive classifier	NM	noun-marker
COMPL	completive	OBL	obligatory
COP	copula	PL	plural
DESR	desiderative	PM	predicate marker
DL	dual	POSTP	postposition
EXC	exclusive	PREP	preposition
FUT	future	REAL	realis
HAB	habitual	REL	relative marker

2. Kairiru examples are presented in Wivell's (1981) orthography, but examples, unless otherwise acknowledged, are from my fieldnotes.
3. Tagalog has *para for* (purposive) (Schachter and Otnes 1972:259); Chamorro has *para for* (benefactive), *desde from*, *asta* (< Spanish *hasta*) *until*, *as far as*, *sin without*, *pot* (< Spanish *por*) *about*, *on account of*, *kontra against* (Topping 1973:125-130).
4. To support this statement with data lies far beyond the scope of this paper, but the writer hopes to supply this lack at a future date.

6.6 THE SCIENTIFIC STUDY OF TOK PISIN: THE WRITING OF DESCRIPTIVE TOK PISIN GRAMMARS

P. Mühlhäusler

6.6.1 INTRODUCTION

When the history of linguistics in the 20th century comes to be written, a separate chapter should be devoted to the question 'What did linguists regard as legitimate topics of investigation?'. For a long time only a few languages were thought worthy of attention, whilst the remainder were given labels such as 'ungrammatical or deviant'.

Grammarians in earlier centuries regarded the classical languages Hebrew, Latin and Greek as the only ones deserving grammatical study and it was commonly accepted that all other languages fell short of this ideal. Languages with no inflection, such as English, were said to be 'grammarless'. The rise of European nationalism brought a major reorientation, in that languages such as German, French and English were now regarded as systems on a par with the classical languages. At the same time, the belief that primitive peoples from other parts of the world communicated by means of barbarous tongues remained firmly established. In fact, it was hoped by 18th century linguists that the study of languages spoken by 'culturally primitive' and illiterate people could throw light upon the origin of human language (cf. Robins 1967:158ff). When unbiased observers began to look at the so-called 'primitive' languages however, they often met with intricacies of grammatical organisation that were not found in the languages familiar to them. Thus, the notion that there were developed and underdeveloped languages began to make way, in the late 19th century for the now generally accepted view that all human languages are of comparable grammatical complexity and that the many surface dissimilarities are all manifestations of a deeper universal 'human language capacity'.

However, the status of true languages has continued to be denied, until very recently, to a number of linguistic phenomena, namely child language, pidgins (and creoles), and second language learners' approximative systems. What is common to these is that they are linguistic systems in development.

The view that developmental systems, such as child language and pidgins, were deviant in some way was dominant prior to 1970, and linguists lacked the conceptual paradigm to describe the dynamics of language development in time and space. Thus, the utterances made by a child were regarded as faulty imitations of the parents' mode and Pidgin English was labelled 'bad' or 'broken' English. It has been shown by recent child language studies, however, that, far from being faulty imitations, the utterances made by a child reflect an innate language acquisition device. Language development follows a fixed course; corrections and teaching on the part of the parents are only minor factors in this development. In short, children are innovative rather than imitative.

S.A. Wurm and P. Mühlhäusler, eds *Handbook of Tok Pisin (New Guinea Pidgin)*, 557-575. *Pacific Linguistics*, C-70, 1984.

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557

In spite of some pioneering attempts by scholars such as Schuchardt and Hall (Meijer and Muysken 1977; Hall 1966) in the field of pidgin and creole studies, the view that pidgins and creoles are parasitic rather than independent language systems is still widely found. However, a close study of pidgins reveals that they are systems in their own right. Like child language, pidgins are highly dynamic, changing from less to more complex systems as the communicative demands of their users increase. Moreover, the development of a pidgin cannot be explained in terms of random mixing or imperfect imitation, since it has been found that pidgins develop along universally preprogrammed lines, a fact which explains their amazing similarity in various parts of the world. As with child language, a pidgin illustrates the capacity of human beings to create efficient communication systems, the principal difference between the two being that children are communicating in an established language community whereas pidgins develop as communication systems for previously non-existent language communities.

As pidgins illustrate how adults learn and create new languages, their study has become a major research area in second language teaching and learning research. It is now becoming clear that the errors committed by, say, a second language learner of English are to a large extent systematic and describable in terms of natural developmental processes. In contrast to the development of pidgins, which takes place without formal tuition or pressure to conform to a pre-existing standard, a formal second language learning context introduces elements which may run counter to the natural learning order. A close study of pidgins as examples of naturally learnt languages may well result in more efficient second language teaching.

Today, no area of human communication remains that is not regarded as a legitimate field of investigation. What is more, developmental systems such as child language and pidgins are increasingly regarded as central to the study of human language and language learning capacity.

Our brief survey of the development of thinking about language can be summarised as follows:

Stage	Languages investigated	Regarded previously as
17th century	English, German, etc.	Deviations from classical ideal as embodied in Hebrew, Greek and Latin.
17th to 19th century	Languages of illiterate societies.	Lower on evolutionary scale than fully developed European languages.
First half of 20th century	Pidgins and creoles.	Impoverished versions of 'donor' languages.
From 1960	Child language.	Imperfectly learnt version of parents' language.
From early 1970s	Second language learner's approximative systems.	Imperfectly and unsystematically learnt version of target language.

Despite the fact that pidginists are now in a situation where the legitimacy of their subject matter is widely accepted, the problem of what to do with this newly gained respectability remains.

6.6.2 PRINCIPLES OF DESCRIPTIVE LINGUISTICS AND THE DESCRIPTION OF TOK PISIN

6.6.2.1 General remarks

Whereas a number of grammars and grammatical sketches of Tok Pisin have been written (see chapter on history of research (2.1)), few have devoted much attention to questions such as the nature of the data, the aims of description, the methods used and the more fundamental problems of grammar writing. This, on the whole, has not prevented scholars such as Hall (1943a), Wurm (1971a) or Laycock (1970c) from producing highly useable grammars, which have helped a large number of people to understand and speak the language and to make sense of many of its grammatical complexities. However, a comparison of the grammatical statements made in these works with the texts appended to them soon reveals some interesting discrepancies and uncertainties. It is such cases, together with some more principled questions that will constitute the subject of this chapter.

Descriptivism in linguistics can be characterised by the following guiding assumptions:

- a) languages are to be studied on their own terms
- b) prescription is taboo
- c) speaking is primary, writing secondary
- d) synchronic studies should take methodological precedence over diachronic ones
- e) systems are invariant

Each of these assumptions will now be considered.

6.6.2.2 Linguistic independence

The idea which most strongly prompted serious pidgin studies is that all languages should be studied on their own terms and not as deviations from or manifestations of any specific or universal grammar. This idea is one of the pillars of linguistic descriptivism.

Descriptive linguists postulate a twofold independence: a) from other linguistic systems and b) from language external factors. In the history of Tok Pisin description these principles were not always heeded. Thus, Borchardt (1930) writes in the introduction to his *Guidance for learning the Tok-Boi*:

As Tok-boi, also called, Pidgin-English, is according to its character, a Kanaka language, it would be best, to start the teaching of a Kanaka language.

We take the handbook of the North-Gazelle Peninsula language by P. Bley, M.S.C. If we translate the separate lessons into Tok-boi, we will succeed in the quickest way, to obtain the knowledge of this South sea product Tok-boi, which is only handled correctly by the boys.

A similar view is expressed by Reed (1943:275) who claims that "the basic grammatical structure corresponds to the general Melanesian pattern", and it is only in the very recent past that this view has been seriously challenged (e.g. by Mosel 1980 and Mühlhäusler 1981a). The view that Tok Pisin has a Melanesian grammar has, in at least some instances, led to curious examples of prescriptivism. Thus Sadler (1973b:98,99) strongly objects to the use of *taim* in the meaning *when* as in Taim Panu i stap long taun mi lukim *when Panu stayed in town*

I saw him reflecting a widespread Lutheran Mission attitude that this is a non-Melanesian usage.

Hall, on the other hand, in his various writings (especially 1955a and 1966) subscribes to the view that the proportion of English structure in Tok Pisin is both greater and more fundamental than that of Melanesian structure (cf. 1966:117) and that the correspondence of English and Tok Pisin structure is highly systematic. He appears to imply that Tok Pisin could be described in terms of a small number of systematic rules which change English structures into Tok Pisin ones plus a small set of irregularities. A tentative list of such correspondences in phonology is given by Laycock (1970c:xivff) who points out, however, that "there will be many exceptions" (p.xvi). Hall would be very hard pushed indeed if he was asked to give similar correspondence rules for morphology and syntax. The problem with the alleged structural similarity between English and Tok Pisin is that it is felt to occur at some ill-defined deeper level. This assumption is also made by Hooley (1962). In his criticism of Hooley's article, Turner (1966:207) is quick to point out that:

Similarities were indeed discovered, but rather general ones, and it might be interesting to take two certainly unrelated languages, like Maori and English, and see what similarities were discovered there, and whether there is a basic similarity in all linguistic structure, in the sense that all can be described by rather similar transformational models. This seems an almost necessary assumption in applying the transformational model to two languages in the first place.

Some difficulties in detail emerge too. It is suggested that the passive transformation, a key one in assessing the value of transformation grammars, is applicable to Neo-Melanesian. Thus, as *They spilled the petrol* can be transformed to *The petrol was spilled*, so 01 i-kapsaitim bensin can be transformed to Bensin i-kapsait. There is a difference, however, in that Neo-Melanesian does not offer a parallel to the possible *The petrol was spilled by them*. This difference could be significant. The value of the passive transformation depends on the possibility of the preservation of the original subject in a 'by'-phrase. If we do not simply take Bensin i-kapsait as parallel to such English intransitive constructions as *the petrol spilled* or *the container overturned*, why should it not be compared with the Icelandic impersonal construction? Because it would be a single chance coincidence with Icelandic? But in Icelandic, as in Neo-Melanesian, there are dual pronouns. Vit *the two of us* includes the meaning of mitupela *another person and I*. In Icelandic there is a construction using a dual pronoun and a noun in apposition, as in vit Gunnarr which means *Gunnarr and I*. In Neo-Melanesian, the sentence Mi tupela misus bilong mi go long Mumeng *My wife and I are going to Mumeng* clearly could be interpreted as similar to Icelandic ones (and, more relevantly, to identical Polynesian ones).

Similarities between Tok Pisin on the one hand and Tolai or English on the other can be expected, though their existence is no justification for describing Tok Pisin as a parasitic system. Apart from the fact that many of its constructions

are the result of independent developments and hence typically not found in any of its contact languages, there is a significant number of cases where two interpretations are equally possible. As observed by a number of authors (e.g. Bateson 1944, Silverstein 1972), the grammatical surface structures of a pidgin can be such that to the European they appear European and to the indigene indigenous. This means that, for a number of Tok Pisin constructions, there are at least two equally valid analyses. In practical descriptions this important point tends to be overlooked.

An example is the treatment of what Hall (1943a:20) calls 'verbal suffixes'. From the viewpoint of English mother tongue speakers of Tok Pisin, Hall's analysis that the "adverbial suffixes are *awt out*, *ap up* and *-we away*. Of these only *ap* is used extensively: *bringap bring up*, *kamap rise*, *appear ...*", makes good sense. From the point of view of many indigenous users of the language however, *-ap* is an intransitive verb rather than an adverbial suffix, as can be seen from constructions such as:

bringap bokis ain i ap	<i>bring up the patrol box</i>
V _t + V _{intr} N _{cp} pred.marker V _{intr}	
verb chain	

A similar case, at least in the formative years of Tok Pisin, is that *i* which by some speakers was used as an anaphoric pronoun, by others as a predicate marker. In a language that changes as fast as Tok Pisin, multiple analysis and reanalysis of surface structures is quite normal and to ignore this would do injustice to the character of the language. Note that such multiple analyses may, but do not necessarily, reflect the dependence of aspects of Tok Pisin grammar on other systems.

Examples such as the ones just mentioned illustrate a possible discrepancy between the descriptive linguist's programmatic statement of 'describing a language in its own terms' and her or his descriptive practice. Structuralist linguists such as Hall often subscribed to the principle of preferential ignorance, i.e. the less a linguist knew about the language, the more objective her or his account of the observed data. Such a view ignores the many culture-related metalinguistic views and prejudices even the most objective observer will hold. Linguists brought up in a western tradition are bound to observe entities such as sentences, phonemes, nouns, verbs, adverbs and so forth and are likely to ignore grammatical elements which are not clearly referential, are ambiguous as to their segmentability and situation-creating rather than situation dependent (for a discussion see Silverstein 1981). There is nothing wrong with describing languages in terms of units such as the ones mentioned here as long as these units are defined by a linguistic theory and not thought to be god-given entities. However, no-one using the same entities to describe two different languages can claim to describe languages in their own terms.

This takes us to a third type of dependence of individual descriptions on other systems. Contrary to earlier views which related Tok Pisin to either English or Tolai, many linguists nowadays regard the language as a manifestation of universal principles of language development and thus aim at giving a description in terms of alleged linguistic universals. More has been said about this in the chapter on theoretical issues (6.7). The only aspect I wish to mention which is not present in traditional descriptive linguistics, i.e. an explanation of the origins of structures. A universalist approach, particularly when combined with the analysis of developments, attempts to explain why observed grammar is as it is and why other mathematically possible combinations of grammatical rules and regularities are unlikely or impossible. Given the fact that there

are no grammatical discovery procedures and that the idea of a totally objective observer is unrealistic, a knowledge of linguistic universals, in particular developmental ones, can be a great help to the linguist describing a pidgin. It allows her or him to exclude a number of unreasonable hypotheses right from the beginning and to concentrate on plausible structures instead.

Descriptions involving universals often refer to deeper causes, though considerable uncertainty prevails in this area. It is not possible, at this point, to explain grammatical structures of Tok Pisin either in terms of biological or neurological parameters or in terms of social pressures. Turner's statement (1966:207-208) that:

The structure of Neo-Melanesian derives from the social situation in which the intermediary language was used. Some grammatically important morphemes and some more general details of syntactic structure may derive from one or another of the 'terminal' languages but it is doubtful whether the importance of these is equal to the importance of the social setting in determining Neo-Melanesian structure.

ignores the difference between social situations triggering off certain linguistic developments and social situations directly creating linguistic structures. A worthwhile discussion of this problem is given by Keller (1982:1-27).

The principle of the independence of linguistic systems has been shown to be problematic both at the level of the language to be described (which may be influenced to a greater or lesser extent by outside forces) and at the level of linguistic description (since descriptions derive from explicit or implicit theories). As our knowledge of these matters expands, both the range and nature of the observed data and the language in which our descriptions are couched will change.

6.6.2.3 The role of prescription

One of the principal points made by most 20th century linguists is that grammars should be descriptive and not prescriptive. In the words of Dinneen (1967:6):

The linguist, as an initial part of his investigation, merely records what the speakers of the language say, just as he hears it.... It is not his task to lay down rules of usage.

Such a statement has to be seen as a reaction against the earlier practice of forcing the grammars of observed languages into the framework of Latin and Greek grammar. The importance of description and the rejection of prescription was further enhanced by the emphasis on social and linguistic relativism. Thus, according to the founder of the American descriptivist tradition, Boas, there was no ideal type of language to which actual languages approximated more or less closely. Instead, human languages were seen to be endlessly diverse and hence to be studied in their own right. Linguistic relativism is further reflected in the view that there are no primitive languages, that rather all linguistic systems are equals.

It is not surprising that the advocates of this view were concerned with the problems of objective observations and discovery procedures, which, when applied to a given set of linguistic raw data, would yield an objective analysis.

There is no reason to believe, however, that the aim of finding discovery procedures is a realistic one. Indeed, the availability of such procedures would make linguistics unique among the sciences. This has been realised in the more recent past and most linguists would now agree with Lyons' view (1981:43) that:

... there is no such thing as theory-neutral and hypothesis-free observation and data collection. To use a currently fashionable phrase, originating with Popper, observation is, of necessity and from the onset, theory-laden.

Given that this is so, it would seem most realistic and conducive to grammatical enquiry to spell out in detail one's theoretical position and assumptions, before undertaking the job of grammatical description. It will only be at a later stage of enquiry, i.e. during testing, that one can judge the appropriateness of a given framework to the data under investigation. The relationship between different models of linguistic description and Tok Pisin data will be discussed below.

It would seem then that the kind of data considered within one's theoretical framework, as well as the descriptive process itself, are bound to introduce some element of prescription. This, I would like to argue, is not necessarily a bad thing and, in the case of developing languages such as Tok Pisin, can indeed be beneficial to users and planners of the language.

By choosing the most developed varieties of the language as the basis for one's description, one may bring such expressively more powerful varieties to the attention of a larger number of speakers, a procedure strongly favoured by Wurm (1978). Similarly, by ignoring less regular variants, one can introduce greater regularity into planned and standardised varieties of the language. The conflict between description and prescription is greatest in grammatical models which insist on a strict separation of synchronic and diachronic grammar. If, on the other hand, the grammatical description is that of expansion and development, one can make prescriptions more like anticipated or predicted developments. Before such predictive regularisation can be carried out, however, we require, in the words of Wurm (1978:182):

... a detailed study and exhaustive description of such features and their variations in all observable forms of New Guinea Pidgin which would provide the basis for cumulative prescriptive statements.

6.6.2.4 The relationship between speaking and writing

The reasons for separating the study of spoken and written language and for regarding the former as the primary manifestation are given in Saussure's *Cours de linguistique générale*, and have been repeated and expanded upon many times since the appearance of the *Cours* in 1914. Whereas 19th century linguistics and earlier language studies were often seen as a service discipline providing the background to the understanding of literary texts, 20th century linguistics, by stressing the primacy of the spoken word, also stressed its independence as a discipline.

An examination of the study of Tok Pisin reveals a paradoxical situation. Whereas the primary function of this language is clearly that of an oral medium of communication and whereas its emergence as a widely used written medium dates back only a decade or so, most descriptive linguists had to rely on two kinds of written data:

- a) short stretches of Tok Pisin scattered through English language travel books, novels and court proceedings;
- b) artificial sample sentences, which reflect written sentences in the language of the grammar writer.

Moreover, in the few cases where spoken language data were used, they almost inevitably were taken from narrative style, i.e. a highly monitored style which in many regards exhibits the functional and structural properties of written style in literate societies. The study of Tok Pisin is thus plagued by a heavy reliance on a scriptist tradition - in spite of programmatic statements to the contrary by some writers.

With the availability of better recording techniques and more sophisticated models of description, the problems just alluded to are beginning to be solved. Thus, a number of investigators have recorded unmonitored natural conversations (i.e. the type of language least influenced by writing) and have also begun to examine the differences between spoken and written Tok Pisin (e.g. Siegel 1981). A better understanding of written Tok Pisin is necessary because language planning is concerned with the written rather than the spoken form of the language. There may thus be a good case for favouring studies of the written language. Whatever form of the language is used as the basis for description, however, the nature of the data should be made perfectly clear in the text.

6.6.2.5 Synchronic and diachronic studies

The distinction between synchronic and diachronic language studies again stems from Saussure's *Cours*. Ever since Saussure's ideas became accepted in Europe, America and Australia, linguists have embraced the principle that synchronic atemporal study of language is not only possible but in fact should be the starting point of any linguistic analysis. Thus descriptivism is often taken to be synonymous with synchronic analysis. As observed by Robins (1964:4):

Descriptive linguistics ... is concerned with the description and analysis of the ways in which a language operates and is used by a given set of speakers at a given time. This time may be the present, and in the case of languages as yet unwritten or only recently given written form it will inevitably be the present.

Statements such as the above one are potentially misleading. Whilst it is true that an understanding of how speakers use a language in any given situation does not involve a knowledge of its prehistory, even language as used at one point in absolute time is not entirely atemporal. Thus, in a given communicative act, speakers of different ages using temporally slightly differing rules will be seen to communicate successfully. Within single speakers, stylistic shifts can most typically be projected onto change over time, the general principle being that synchronic variation is a reflection of relative time. In the case of Tok Pisin the exclusion of time is more damaging than in most other linguistic studies, as the structural changes here have been very considerable over a very short period of absolute time.

The exclusion of change and time from a linguistic description not only poses the almost insurmountable problem of which variety at which point in time to base one's description on, it also deprives the analyst of explanatory power. Whilst atemporal synchronic analyses merely describe more or less abstract

arbitrary language states, time-incorporating descriptions, i.e. those which consider those changes over relative time which are relevant to the functioning of the language at a given point in absolute time, have considerable explanatory power. Bailey's principle that developments explain resulting states but not vice versa not only suggests a commonsense approach to linguistic description, it also suggests how the many different branches of linguistics (sociolinguistics, dialectology, stylistics, etc.) can be integrated into one time-incorporating descriptive framework.

I feel it is justified to say that the abolition of the distinction between synchronic and diachronic linguistics is an important precondition for descriptively and explanatorily more adequate accounts of language.

Closely linked to the question of time is that of linguistic variation.

6.6.2.6 The place of variation in linguistic descriptions

Even if it was possible to describe a language 'on its own terms', the question of what constitutes 'a language' remains. Whereas descriptive linguists aim at describing a single invariant system, all languages, and pidgins even more so than 'normal' languages, exhibit linguistic variation. Variation is found along the following dimensions:

- a) temporal (older speakers using different forms from younger ones)
- b) social (social group membership can promote different norms and attitudes, affecting linguistic output)
- c) geographical (closeness or remoteness from centres of innovation promotes regional differences)
- d) stylistic (selfconsciousness or monitoring of speech results in selective suppression or promotion of grammatical phenomena).

It is important to note that all these variations are, in the last instance, a result of time, since rules of grammar begin at a certain point and then travel through geographical, social and stylistic space. Consequently one typically finds that the informal style of very old people equates with the more formal style of middle-aged people, or that geographical variants are also used to signal social or stylistic affiliation. The various aspects of variation in Tok Pisin have been described in detail elsewhere in this volume. Whereas a time-incorporating model of linguistic description, such as the developmental one (cf. Bailey 1977), has no problems in coping with variants found in a given speech community, linguists subscribing to strictly atemporal synchronic models are faced with considerable difficulties. Thus, in making sense of the enormous variation found in Tok Pisin, the following solutions might be adopted:

- a) Description of a common core grammar shared by all speakers of the language. Whilst this is theoretically possible (see Hockett 1958: 331ff), the grammatical core shared by all speakers of Tok Pisin would be very small indeed and its description give a very lop-sided picture of the language.
- b) Description of the overall pattern (again discussed by Hockett 1958:331ff), i.e. listing the sum total of all variants found at a given time. Hall's 1943a grammar, based on Tok Pisin as spoken by both Europeans and indigenes, is an attempt to do this. However,

a treatment of the numerous variations as free variants fails to do justice to their social and communicative functioning. Moreover, it is difficult in such a model to say anything about the relative importance of variants, as this depends on development and change.

- c) Concentration on a single variety. This view assumes that it is possible to find an invariant variety if sufficient external variables are kept constant. For example, it was believed by many descriptivist linguists that one could isolate so-called idiolects, i.e. varieties spoken by one speaker discussing one topic with one hearer in one situation. However, it has since become sufficiently clear (cf. discussion in Labov 1972a) that the notion of an invariant idiolect is a fiction and that, on the contrary, observed idiolects exhibit more variation than social grammars. Sadler's course (1973b) comes closest to an idiolectal description of Tok Pisin grammar and it is a very disappointing effort indeed.
- d) Common-sense grammars. Given the fact that most grammars of Tok Pisin have been written single-handedly by people who were simultaneously engaged in many different types of research and activities, it is not surprising that they took many shortcuts. Someone who is proficient in the language and has some background in linguistics is normally capable of making pretty good guesses about the relative importance of grammatical constructions. Thus, grammars such as those by Laycock (1970c), Mihalic (1971) or Wurm (1971a) select those aspects of Tok Pisin which are most widely spoken by conservative rural speakers in a selected part of the country, ignoring as much as possible individual and other differences. Whereas the result is not a scientific description (and no claims are laid by the authors), they fulfil an important role in practical life. However, since it is based on selective observation and personal experience or inclinations, discrepancies with the actual spoken language are common. They certainly do not attain the goal of observational adequacy, characterised by Botha as: "A grammar correctly presenting the observed primary data achieves the lowest level of success, observational adequacy." (Botha 1968:23).

Let me give some examples of the observational shortcomings of common-sense grammars.

- i) "Adverbs can be freely derived from adjectives by simply dropping the ending *-pela* where applicable." Restatements of this rule are widely found, e.g. Hall (1943a:27), Mihalic (1957:39), Wurm (1971a: 58) and Laycock (1970c:xxvii). The latter three mention *nupela* *newly* as an exception. An examination of recorded Tok Pisin data, however, suggests that the dropping of *-pela* in the formation of adverbs from adjectives is by no means as common as suggested by the above authors, nor can a number of adjectives ever be used adverbially. This example illustrates the widespread tendency among common-sense grammar writers to treat variable rules as categorical ones.
- ii) The treatment of aspect markers as categories of the verb. Though it may be argued that a statement to the effect that the so-called class of aspect markers appears with verbs is observationally correct,

their appearance with nominal and other non-verbal predicates remains unaccounted for. This example illustrates selective perception, i.e. aspect markers are perceived in the most prominent verbal context but ignored in others.

- iii) The treatment of verbal reduplication. Both Hall (1943b:194) and Laycock (1970c:xxiv) imply that we are dealing with a list of lexical exceptions rather than a grammatical process. Mühlhäusler (1979c: 285), on the other hand, makes a case for a general rule governing verbal reduplication. A parallel case in Jamaican Creole has been discussed by DeCamp (1974). He observes that, in the case of Creole reduplication, "no informant habitually used the entire set of nine variants" (p.52) and continues to point out that "the total system appears only in the composite vocabulary of all my informants" (p.53). It is suggested that certain rules of grammars can only be discovered when examining data from a large number of different informants, i.e. that these rules are in social rather than individual grammars. As common-sense grammars (and idiolectal grammars for that matter) are not derived from the systematic study of large numbers of speakers, such regularities will usually go undiscovered.

6.6.2.7 Conclusions

Linguistic descriptivism is limited by a number of factors, the most important ones being technical difficulties and narrow theoretical assumptions. As regards the former, the absence of sophisticated recording equipment has left linguists, over a long period, with little choice but to abstract from actual data in one or the other of the ways just outlined. Today, it has become possible to record spoken language, used in its cultural setting. While it is now possible to bring about a much better fit between spoken language and linguistic description, problems remain. Transcribing tapes is time-consuming and not likely to lead to significant new insights unless done within a framework of sociolinguistic methodology. Thus, linguists will have to be competent to select representative informants in representative situations if they want to avoid haphazard results (for a discussion of the problems see Romaine 1980:163-198). Combining sophisticated data sampling techniques with sophisticated linguistic analysis is an extremely lengthy business however, and it is unlikely that more than small subparts of Tok Pisin grammar will ever meet the goals of both observational and descriptive adequacy. Only if such analyses can contribute to a better understanding of selected problems of theoretical linguistics, applied linguistics or practical communicative requirements, can a detailed investigation be justified.

As regards the theoretical assumptions which have shaped linguistic description for most of the first 70 years of this century, they must be seen against the background of the history of linguistics, in particular the attempts to set up linguistics as a separate field of inquiry. Many of the practitioners of descriptive linguistics, whilst paying lip service to such principles, have nevertheless taken shortcuts or even strayed outside the established boundaries when it came to actual description. As we get to know the nature of language better it becomes increasingly clear that the writing of any grammar, descriptive or otherwise, is not a mechanical process but depends for its success on the skills, insights and imagination of the linguist. Even if the process of grammar making will never be fully rationalised, it helps to be aware of the following problem areas as they relate to the description of Tok Pisin.

Whilst linguistic descriptivism shares many properties, in particular in the area of underlying assumptions, the descriptive practice of linguists often differs considerably. A brief characterisation of the principal descriptive models as applied to Tok Pisin will now be given.

6.6.3 MODELS OF DESCRIPTION

6.6.3.1 Introduction

There is a widespread confusion, promoted greatly by introductory textbooks of linguistics, between a grammarian's rule of grammar and the mental processes underlying the production of language. An example of this confusion is found in Fromkin and Rodman (1978:9):

When the linguists wish to describe a language they attempt to describe the grammar of the language which exists in the minds of its speakers To the extent that the linguist's description is a true model of the speaker's linguistic competence, it will be a good or bad description of the grammar of the language, and of the grammar itself. Such a model is called descriptive grammar.

Apart from using the word 'grammar' ambiguously to mean the speakers' internalised grammar and a description thereof, this statement offers a very limited view of the aims of grammar writing. It is difficult to see why the aim of psychological reality should be the only valid one (and there have been many voices in recent years advocating the abolition of this notion, see Black and Chiat 1981) and, even if it were, why linguists should then set out to develop invariant descriptions in spite of the fact that the most fundamental aspect of human communication is that all speakers can produce a large number of different linguistic varieties and understand an even larger one.

Available models of description which have been used in Tok Pisin grammars include:

Class 1: Invariant models

- a) classical grammars
- b) structuralist grammars
- c) tagmemic grammars (regarded by some as a subclass of b))
- d) transformational generative models
- e) eclectic approaches

Class 2: Variable models of description

- a) quantitativist models
- b) lectological models (implicational scaling)
- c) eclectic approaches

6.6.3.2 Classical grammars

The tradition of describing exotic languages in terms of Latin or Greek grammar is an important one in European linguistics. While it was superseded in theoretical linguistics at the beginning of this century, it has continued in school grammar writing and, in the case of Tok Pisin, missionary grammar

writing. Thus, in the earliest grammar of Tok Pisin (Brenninkmeyer 1924) we find examples such as:

a) Latin case for nouns (p.2)

Nominativ:	house	man
Genitiv:	belong house	belong man
Dativ:	long house	long man
Akkusativ:	long	man

Such a system is difficult to apply where the surface case in Tok Pisin differs from that in Latin or European languages as in *mi givim man long haus* which translates as *I gave the man the house* and not *I gave the man to the house*.

b) Singular-plural distinction

Brenninkmeyer (p.2) simply states "plural is formed by means of a preceding *all*, sometimes by means of the more forceful *alltogether*." (translation mine). He ignores that the singular-plural distinction is by no means obligatory for all nouns (as can be seen in many of his own sample sentences) and that its semantic conditioning differs considerably from Latin or English.

Other examples where classical categories are inapplicable to Tok Pisin are the distinction between intransitive verbs and predicative adjectives, the fact that particles such as *bin* or *bai* have aspectual rather than temporal meaning and the area of adverbials, where many Tok Pisin 'adverbials' are in fact verbs in a verb chain. The imposition of classical categories not only introduces unnecessary complications into the description (e.g. case system), it also tends to distort actually used grammar.

6.6.3.3 Structuralist grammars

A central aim of structuralist descriptions is descriptive objectivity, i.e. to account for directly observable data (such as are found in a corpus) rather than for the knowledge or skills necessary to produce such data. The only serious attempt to formulate a corpus-derived grammar of Tok Pisin is that by Hall (1943a). However, in spite of Hall's belief in objective grammar discovery procedures, the goal of accounting for even the very limited corpus used as the basis of analysis is only achieved in a haphazard manner. There are numerous examples of constructions found in the corpus but not discussed in the grammar and an equally large number of grammatical rules which are only partially or not at all supported by the corpus. An additional weakness results from the neglect of semantic criteria manifested, for instance, in the blurring of the boundary between syntactic processes and lexical derivation.

Whilst Hall's grammar remains an important step in the history of grammar making for Tok Pisin and whilst it has had considerable influence on later grammar writers, it clearly exhibits the limitations of outside observers who are not participating speakers of the language they describe. In the absence of any sure measures for outsider objectivity, the grammatical judgements of insiders remain a factor which cannot be ignored.

6.6.3.4 Tagmemic grammars

Tagmemics, like other directions within descriptivist structuralism, is closely associated with the notion of discovery procedures and therefore subject to the same criticism as structuralist grammars. In spite of numerous assertions to the contrary, the aim of proceeding from etic to an emic analysis¹ is a quite unrealistic one which has led to considerable methodological confusion (for a discussion see Taylor and Mühlhäusler 1982).

For most of their presence in Papua New Guinea, the members of the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL), i.e. the main adherents of the tagmemic model, have not regarded Tok Pisin as a language worthy of study and have instead concentrated on indigenous vernaculars. Consequently, tagmemic descriptions of Tok Pisin are available only as drafts for limited circulation and have had very limited impact on grammar making for this language.

6.6.3.5 Transformational generative models

A distinction must be drawn between early transformational grammars based on the work of the American structuralist Zellig Harris and later Chomskyan ones. The former differed from straight structuralist grammars mainly in that they incorporated an additional grammatical operation (transformations), whilst continuing to be corpus and surface oriented. A good example of a transformational account of Tok Pisin grammar of this type is that by Hooley (1962). Since Hooley pays little attention to semantic considerations, his remarks on Tok Pisin grammar are more in the way of a formal game than insights into the ways in which the language is understood by its users.

The aim of later transformational grammars is to account for the competence of ideal speaker-hearers of a language, i.e. the knowledge that enables them to produce and understand such utterances as are found in it. There are a number of problems with this aim, the most serious one being the degree of abstraction necessary for characterising competence. The difficulties are aggravated in the case of pidgins, where speakers are, almost by definition, non-ideal second-language speakers. Whilst the aim of accounting for linguistic competence is in all likelihood a totally unrealistic one,² transformational generative grammarians have made some very interesting contributions to our understanding of complex structural properties of natural languages, by postulating ways of relating apparent surface disparities to deeper underlying regularities. Many of these insights are reflected in the most comprehensive transformational account of Tok Pisin, that by Woolford (1979a). However, the depth of her analysis has had the inevitable result of narrowing the scope of grammar covered. Large areas of Tok Pisin grammar have never been subjected to a transformational analysis and are unlikely to be in the future.

6.6.3.6 Eclectic approaches

Structuralist, tagmemic and, to an even greater extent, transformational generative grammars all aim at internal consistency and relatability to a general framework of grammatical description. All three models also adhere to the principle of outsider objectivity. Hence, one can expect very similar grammars from different people working within a given descriptive framework. The advantages of this are most obvious to theoretical linguists who, without knowing the

language, would like to use grammatical evidence from Tok Pisin in general linguistic argumentation. It is no accident that, in the wake of transformationalist concern with Tok Pisin, this language has become widely known to scholars of linguistics in many parts of the world.

Eclectic approaches to linguistic description, on the other hand, are oriented towards solving practical problems, including the very important one of being intelligible to a lay audience. Actual practice has shown that eclectic grammars are at their best when written by professional linguists who are competent in writing scientific descriptions but who have chosen to do otherwise for pedagogic or other reasons. Good examples of successful eclectic descriptions are those by Wurm (1969) and Laycock (1970c). Both writers are active users of the language and well aware of the relative importance of different areas of grammar in everyday communication. Much less successful are attempts by linguistically untrained laymen, such as Sadler (1973b), Murphy (1943 and later) or Healey (n.d.): the kind of shortcomings encountered are best illustrated by a few actual examples:

- a) Sadler (1973b) provides rules for Tok Pisin pronouns in not less than 11 out of 13 chapters, thus completely destroying the relatively straightforward basic grammatical properties of this part of speech. Put differently, Sadler completely fails to distinguish what is essential about pronouns.
- b) Murphy (1973 edition:25) comes up with the astonishing statement that "inflection forms a very important part of Melanesian Pidgin English". He asserts, confusing language with formal logic, that (p.41) "the native has actually a more logical approach to answering a negative question" and abounds in vague statements such as (p.46):

In Pidgin English, many words depend on their contextual nature for their proper meaning, i.e. on their position in, and relation to, context, and by the use of special modifiers usually and regularly associated with such words to indicate a special particular meaning not indicated by the word standing alone.
- c) In the following passage, Healey (n.d.) confuses the origins with the structure of grammatical processes, inflection and derivation, as well as making some other dubious statements (p.31): "Most Tok Pisin verbs are transitive and indicate or transfer the action from the subject to its object. There are additionally intransitive verbs ...", and (p.31):

Some Tok Pisin verbs are inflected by the addition of a suffix *im*. Some are single syllable, some double or multiple syllable. Nouns may be converted to verbs with the addition of the suffix *im* as in *sovel a shovel*, *sovelim to shovel*. Sentences have been converted into verbs as in the example *sanapim* literally *stand up him* to mean *erect*. Similarly *pulimapim* meaning *to pur* (sic!) or *fill up* obviously stems from *fill up him*. There are many others.

Such examples could be multiplied. They illustrate the general point that, in tracing the linguistic history of a pidgin, one has to beware not only of phoney examples given by earlier writers but also of inappropriate analyses. Whatever practical uses eclectic grammars may have, they are not a very good source of evidence for linguistic arguments, even less so than other invariant descriptive statements.

This completes our brief survey of static models of description. We now turn to two alternative models, i.e. models which regard linguistic variation as the central linguistic data.

6.6.3.7 Quantitativist models

As the name suggests, these models, associated with researchers such as Labov, are concerned with the incorporation of quantitative information into linguistic description. This is typically done by measuring the frequency of occurrence of a selected construction within a socially or otherwise defined group of language users. Thus, it may be found that a certain construction is frequent among young children, less frequent among middle-aged people and pretty well absent among very old speakers.

The necessity to correlate linguistic and extralinguistic variables before quantitative statements can be made constitutes the principal weakness of this model. First of all, it is not clear why linguistic structures should be correlated with one kind of social group and not another, since individual speakers belong simultaneously to many social groups. Secondly, there may be numerous cryptocorrelations which are simply not accessible to outside observers, and thirdly, for correlations to be meaningful, it is not enough to carry out an atemporal (synchronic) analysis. If the rate of linguistic change differs from that of social change (and there is little reason to assume that their pace is the same), whatever correlations one might establish for a given point in time are temporal accidents rather than reflections of general principles.

The work that has been carried out using this model, principally by Sankoff and her associates, is saved from the above criticism by the fact that in many analyses linguistic structures are correlated with age (e.g. Sankoff 1977c), thus portraying the temporal dimension of correlations. However, the general problem of getting representative samples of speakers, for whom a quantitativist analysis could yield, in principle, statistically significant observations, has as yet not been solved for Tok Pisin. Consequently, whatever quantitativist work has been carried out is more in the nature of preliminary observation than genuine description.

6.6.3.8 Lectological models (implicational scaling)

Lectological models were introduced by DeCamp (1971b) and subsequently developed by scholars such as Bickerton and Bailey. They purport to describe the patterns underlying linguistic variation. Whilst lectological models are concerned primarily with linguistic data, it is possible, in principle, to also correlate such findings with extralinguistic parameters and to carry out quantitative analyses.

The main principle underlying patterned linguistic variation is that grammars develop over time by the addition of new rules and rule variants. Rules which are introduced at one point in time among one group of speakers will need time to travel to other grammatical and social environments, i.e. it takes time for rules to become more general and it also takes time to overcome social, stylistic or geographical obstacles to expansion. Whereas the sequence of grammatical change is the same along all dimensions (rule A always being added before rule B which in turn is added before rule C, a fact which can be expressed by

means of an implicational scale $A < B < C$), the actual time involved in rule expansion may change from speaker to speaker, style to style, region to region, etc. thus making for synchronically observable variation. Therefore the principal task of variation linguistics is seen as describing the implicational patterns underlying all variants of a language. As has been already pointed out, the enormous complexity of languages makes it humanly impossible to describe the full extent of variation in all areas of grammar. Instead, and this has been the practice in the case of Tok Pisin, researchers have to be content with locally restricted analyses such as that of object deletion (Lattey 1979), variable presence of the predicate marker (Woolford 1979c) or plural marking (Mühlhäusler 1981a).

For fully developed first languages, implicational scales are mainly devices for representing variation caused by rule addition over time. Since new rules are added to grammars for many reasons (natural factors being only one of them), implicational scaling does not explain or predict in such languages. In the case of pidgins, this is different: implicational order here typically reflects the natural expansion program underlying the development of a pidgin from a rudimentary to a fully developed second-language system. If the order in which the presence of one construction implies that of another is indeed universal, we could expect this order to be manifested in all expanding pidgins. It is hoped that the studies carried out for Tok Pisin will be supplemented with comparable ones for West African Pidgin English and other varieties of expanded pidgins.

Whereas implicational scales are primarily of theoretical interest, their practical applications should not be underestimated. A knowledge of the developmental patterns of Tok Pisin can provide valuable information as to the best writing systems or the acceptability of proposed instances of planned grammar.

6.6.3.9 Eclectic approaches to linguistic variation

It should have become clear that available models of linguistic variation are of considerable technical complexity and, moreover, require analytic techniques which are beyond the resources of most investigators. Nevertheless, a knowledge of the extent and social meaning of Tok Pisin variation is necessary for teachers, planners and users of the language.

I have found that the most useful basis for a readable variation grammar is to follow existing folk classifications, mainly those for sociolects (Rural-Urban-Bush varieties and Tok Masta) and regional lects (coastal-mountain-islands). This in fact is the approach taken in the chapter on variation (3.2) and in the descriptions by Laycock (1970c) and Wurm (1971a), who concern themselves with the rural variety of Coastal and Highlands Tok Pisin respectively. This approach can further be supplemented by a number of general principles, including:

- a) the younger a speaker the more grammatical categories they will use;
- b) formal education promotes restructuring in the direction of English;
- c) old plantation areas are likely to exhibit Malay and German influence in their vocabulary;
- d) negative attitudes towards Tok Pisin tend to promote idiosyncratic usages.

Whereas the results of such an eclectic approach are highly useful to speakers and learners of the language, pretheoretical categories, such as Urban Tok Pisin, should not be confused with theoretical constructs or descriptive statements about objectively observable varieties.

6.6.3.10 Descriptive models: outlook

In the description of Tok Pisin, practical rather than theoretical considerations have prevailed and are likely to do so in the future. This means that, as with other minor languages, many descriptive frameworks which have been applied to the major European languages have never been applied to Tok Pisin, examples being stratificational grammar, systemic linguistics, glossematics or Montague grammar. Had such models been applied, the enormous variability of the language would have pointed to important discrepancies between abstract static models of description and the reality of a changing highly flexible language. Whereas until recently descriptive linguists were forced to devise either unrealistic abstractions or intuitively more satisfactory but methodologically suspect eclectic descriptions, the availability of variation models has greatly promoted hopes of achieving observationally, descriptively and explanatorily adequate accounts of Tok Pisin, albeit only in restricted areas of grammar.

To date all available grammars have been written in expatriate languages (mainly German and English). With the availability in Tok Pisin of the meta-linguistic vocabulary to discuss grammatical properties, the day may not be far off when a grammar of Tok Pisin will be written in the language itself.

6.6.4 CONCLUSIONS

The approach taken in this chapter can be summarised as follows:

- a) Descriptive grammars reflect the folk-views, pretheoretical assumptions and/or the theoretical orientation of their writers. There are no neutral objective descriptions.
- b) Descriptive grammars are limited by a number of practical considerations, such as size of corpus or speakers investigated, time needed to achieve greater delicacy of analysis, and readability to the intended audience.
- c) Descriptive grammars of Tok Pisin typically reflect the needs of expatriates rather than Papua New Guineans, a situation which in the long run can hardly be desirable.

Many of the above considerations are merely implicit in the descriptive grammars examined and individual writers were found to fluctuate a great deal in their methods and goals. I feel it is unreasonable to expect exhaustive grammatical descriptions of all or even the majority of grammatical phenomena of Tok Pisin but I would like to see greater explicitness when it comes to stating goals and theoretical assumptions.

One of the reasons why exhaustive grammars are unlikely to be forthcoming is the lack of time and resources. A more powerful reason is that the view presented, or at least adhered to, by all writers of descriptive grammars is that it is possible and desirable to portray grammar as a self-contained area

governed by fixed rules and that the job of speaking Tok Pisin involves applying such rules to existing lexical items. This, however, may turn out to be an extremely narrow and fairly useless assumption. Rather than concentrating on rules of descriptive grammar, linguists should look at the patterns underlying communication in Tok Pisin, as well as other verbal and non-verbal means. Areas where insights may be gained include the study of discourse structures, code-switching behaviour, non-verbal behaviour and the influence of cultural patterns on linguistic structures. A further important area for a second language such as Tok Pisin is an examination of communication breakdown and difficulties.

Put differently, it would seem that available descriptive grammars provide us with sufficient insights into the core grammatical properties of Tok Pisin and that further research in this narrow area is soon likely to reach the point of limiting return. More than ever before it is necessary to find out more about the use of the language and the ways in which it can bring about improved communication in polyglot Papua New Guinea.

NOTES

1. According to Cook (1969:19):
... the non-essential unit is called an etic unit, and it is the first approximation of the analyst to the unit from the point of view of an outsider. The essential unit is called the emic unit, and it is the unit of language from the point of view of a native speaker of the language.
2. Things are made worse by the problems of delimitating linguistic competence from the other kinds of competence with which speakers of 'natural' languages are equipped.

6.7 THE SCIENTIFIC STUDY OF TOK PISIN: TOK PISIN DICTIONARY MAKING: THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS AND PRACTICAL EXPERIENCES

P. Mühlhäusler

6.7.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter is complementary to the remarks made in the chapters on the history of research (2.1), etymologising (2.6) and the lexical system (4.5). Its aims are:

- a) to briefly discuss a number of prominent issues in lexicography;
- b) to highlight some of the practical problems experienced in dictionary making.

A confusion of the terms lexicology and lexicography is still widely found, in spite of the fact that the distinction between these two disciplines of linguistic inquiry is quite fundamental. Lexicology is primarily concerned with the systematic aspects of the lexicon, such as word-formation and lexical fields, and the function of the lexicon in the grammar of a language (cf. Botha 1968). Lexicography, on the other hand, is a term referring to the techniques and principles underlying the making of dictionaries. Because of its heavy reliance on the findings of lexicology it has often been labelled an applied science, and it is widely argued that 'good lexicography is impossible without good lexicology'. Recent years, however, have seen the emergence of theoretical lexicography as a quasi-autonomous field of scholarly research (cf. Zgusta 1971).

Unfortunately, most dictionary making for Tok Pisin has taken little notice of either lexicological studies or recent developments in lexicography, and the value of many excellent observations about Tok Pisin lexical items has been diminished by the generally poor organisation of available dictionaries. With the growing number of academic studies of Tok Pisin and with the emergence of a first generation of Papua New Guinean linguists, this situation is likely to change in the near future.

It is well known among lexicographers that it is impossible to produce a dictionary which is all things to all men. Different groups of users require a different organisation of the dictionary and compromises must be made. The situation for the lexicographer remains that described by Samuel Johnson in *A dictionary of the English language*:

It is the fate of those, who toil at the lower employments of life, to be rather driven by the fear of evil, than attracted by the prospect of good; to be exposed to censure, without hope of praise; to be disgraced by miscarriage, or punished for neglect, where success would have been without applause, and diligence without reward. Among these unhappy mortals is the writer of dictionaries

S.A. Wurm and P. Mühlhäusler, eds *Handbook of Tok Pisin (New Guinea Pidgin)*, 577-593. *Pacific Linguistics*, C-70, 1984.

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577

Every other author may aspire to praise; the lexicographer can only hope to escape reproach, and even this negative recompense has been yet granted to very few.

6.7.2 THE PRINCIPAL TYPES OF DICTIONARIES

6.7.2.1 Introduction

It is important to keep in mind that very different dictionaries can be found, each of them being most suited to a particular requirement. Specialisation in dictionary making is common with large established languages. In small and relatively minor languages, such as Tok Pisin, it is often difficult to keep different types of dictionaries apart, since manpower and resources are limited.

The main types of dictionaries are:

6.7.2.2 Bilingual and multilingual dictionaries

A number of bilingual and multilingual dictionaries and shorter vocabularies of Tok Pisin are already available, though none of them can be regarded as even a close approximation to the requirements of scientific bilingual dictionaries.

In the past the information contained in most bilingual dictionaries of Tok Pisin was heavily biased towards its expatriate users. As it is becoming one of the languages most commonly used by Papua New Guineans, and with increasing English-Tok Pisin bilingualism, a reorientation of the aims of such dictionaries in terms of the new target group of users would seem to be necessary. The four points outlined by Kilham (1971:35) for dictionaries in Australian Aboriginal languages are also valid for Tok Pisin:

- (a) to help them in the reading, writing and spelling of their own language;
- (b) to provide a defining dictionary of their own language which they can find useful;
- (c) to assist them in comprehending the national language, English, and
- (d) to help foster pride in their own language and culture.

To achieve these aims attention must be given to a number of requirements in dictionary making:

- a) The dictionary should contain information on the spelling, grammar and semantics of both Tok Pisin and English, preferably a contrastive sketch of the two languages.
- b) Because of Tok Pisin's special position, remarks on standardisation procedures, recommended spellings, etc. should be included.
- c) Though the contrastive sketch will have to operate with abstract closed systems, the variability in both Tok Pisin and English should be brought to the attention of the reader.
- d) The dictionary should contain some information on the geographic spread of Tok Pisin and possibly brief notes on the main features it shares with Solomon Islands Pidgin and New Hebridean Bislama.

- e) The entries could be listed in alphabetical order, though it would be a great help to the user if such a listing was preceded by remarks on word-formation and semantic fields. It is important that the organisation should be based on Tok Pisin as used by present-day speakers and reflect their intuitions. Thus *kuap to climb* should not appear as *go up* or a sub-entry of *go to go*, in spite of its etymology.

It would also seem helpful to bring to the attention of the user instances where differences between the present-day meaning and the original source-meaning can cause misunderstandings, as in *baksait back* and not *backside*.

- f) Information about grammatical and semantic properties should be given with each entry, preferably not only in the Tok Pisin-English part but also in the English-Tok Pisin section. Such information would include data on the derivational status of lexical items (lexical base vs. derived item), some semantico-syntactic features which are relevant to the correct syntactic operation of such items, and statements about certain idiosyncratic properties. The use of lexical entries should be illustrated with examples from natural conversation rather than with unimaginative and contrived sample sentences.
- g) Each entry should also contain such information as its sociolectal status, geographical distribution, differences in meaning in different geographical areas and stylistic uses. The failure to provide such information is one of the main drawbacks of currently available dictionaries.
- h) The grammatical description and the list of entries could be supplemented with certain encyclopaedic information such as appendices on kinship terms, colour terminology, forms of address, or remarks on magic. Other appendices could include standardised lists of technical terms not yet widely in use in Tok Pisin but likely to be so in the near future (e.g. chemical elements or terms used in parliamentary procedure).
- i) Because of the continuous expansion of Tok Pisin's functions, remarks on the mechanisms used in the introduction of new lexical material (loans, loan-translation, word-formation, etc.) should also be included. In other words, the information to be given in a good Tok Pisin dictionary should enable its users to make extrapolations from the items listed by pointing out some of the generative powers found in the language's lexicon.

An excellent discussion of the problems facing the compiler of bilingual dictionaries in the Pacific is given by Laycock (1974) whilst a critical account of actual dictionary making in New Guinea (including Tok Pisin dictionaries) is given by the same author in a later paper (Laycock 1977c).

Whereas the priorities in dictionary making for Tok Pisin clearly lie in the provision of a comprehensive bilingual Tok Pisin-English dictionary, other types of dictionaries must be mentioned as potential areas of future lexicographical work.

6.7.2.3 Encyclopaedic dictionaries

Proposals for an encyclopaedic dictionary of Tok Pisin have been made by Balint (1973:2-31), a project which he proposes to bring to completion almost single-handed in a comparatively brief period. It seems likely that this project will never appear in print, however, since the lexicographical practice employed by Balint fails to do justice to the basically sound theoretical proposals made by the same author. Laycock (1977c:177) has warned that the proposed encyclopaedic dictionary:

... promises to display a host of idiosyncratic neologisms and a high degree of ignorance of existing Pidgin lexemes, to such an extent that the dictionary is likely to serve more as a source of Pidgin amusement than as a workable dictionary for Niuginians.

To this criticism must be added that Balint appears to be ignorant of the considerable work carried out in the area of encyclopaedic dictionary making by Dahmen (1957), whose combined bilingual-encyclopaedic dictionary of Tok Pisin unfortunately never appeared in a printed form.

In contrast with other dictionaries, encyclopaedic dictionaries are:

... primarily concerned with the denotata of lexical units (words): They give information about the extra-linguistic world, physical or non-physical, and they are only arranged in the order of the words (lexical units) by which the segments of this extra-linguistic world are referred to when spoken about. (Zgusta 1971:198)

To this, some special considerations resulting from the nature of Tok Pisin and the prospective audience of an encyclopaedic dictionary of this language should be added. The central purpose of a Tok Pisin encyclopaedic dictionary appears to be to enable a maximum number of speakers to consolidate their knowledge of the language and to cope with the many recent innovations of English origin. In addition, a small number of planned neologisms for special fields of discourse might be worthy of inclusion.

In view of such rather modest aims one cannot expect the size of an encyclopaedic dictionary of Tok Pisin to be comparable to a similar project for a major language such as English. Given Tok Pisin's principal function as a bridge between European and traditional culture, such a dictionary should help to reinforce this function rather than try to incorporate the totality of knowledge contained in both cultures.

6.7.2.4 Historical dictionaries

Whereas bilingual and encyclopaedic dictionaries are primarily concerned with the communicative needs of the population of Papua New Guinea, a historical dictionary of Tok Pisin would be of interest mainly to linguists and, in particular, those studying pidgin languages.

The distinction between synchronic and diachronic dictionaries parallels that between synchronic and diachronic linguistics, though, traditionally, etymological and other diachronic information has never completely disappeared from synchronic dictionaries. Within the class of diachronic dictionaries there is a further distinction between historical and etymological dictionaries:

Historical dictionaries focus their attention on the changes occurring both in the form and in the meaning of a word (lexical unit) within the period of time for which there is historical (usually textual) evidence at hand. Etymological dictionaries focus their interest on the origin of the words (lexical units); and as it happens that a good part of the words of any language known to-day came into existence before the beginning of the textual tradition, the etymological dictionaries can be said to deal largely with the pre-history of words. (Zgusta 1971:200)

It is obvious that, in the case of Tok Pisin, the distinction between etymological and historical description is gradual rather than abrupt and that, in view of its very short history, a strict separation of the two in the compilation of a diachronic dictionary would be difficult to maintain. Furthermore, compilers of historical dictionaries should be aware of the fact that a strict distinction between synchronic and diachronic aspects of Tok Pisin makes little sense, since virtually all temporal changes are still found synchronically in different regional, social or stylistic varieties of this language.

Another important point concerns the area(s) covered by such a dictionary. Because the varieties of Pidgin English spoken in the south-western Pacific (cf. Mühlhäusler, Bennett and Tryon 1979) share much of their history, the optimal solution would be to cover the lexical history of all these languages in a single volume.

The problems relating to the compilation of historical information on Pacific Pidgin English lexical items are the scarcity of information, the unreliability of early texts and the inaccessibility of many older sources. Thus, a great amount of preparatory research is needed before such a task can be meaningfully executed. Entries would have to include at least the following historical documentation:

- a) present-day form and meaning and variations thereof;
- b) earlier attested forms and meanings;
- c) information about the date of usage, race of speaker and location of earlier usages.

It is hoped that one day a diachronic dictionary of Tok Pisin similar to the *Dictionary of Jamaican English* (Cassidy and Le Page 1967) will be available. A study of this work and of the articles discussing the theoretical and practical problems experienced during its compilation (Cassidy and Le Page 1961:17-36) could be of great help to future lexicographers.

6.7.2.5 Notional dictionaries

In contrast with the dictionaries discussed earlier, notional dictionaries deviate from the standard procedure of representing lexical items in alphabetical order. Instead, semantically-related words are grouped into semantic fields and further subarranged into more restricted domains of meaning. They typically deal with terminological sets in particular branches of human activities.

The making of such dictionaries serves a number of purposes. For those interested in the purely linguistic side of Tok Pisin, notional studies could provide insights into the relative density of lexical material in certain restricted semantic areas and thus help to decide the question of referential inadequacy.

6.7.2.6 Other types of lexical studies

None of the lexicographical work mentioned in the previous sections has been adequately dealt with to date and, given the small number of professional linguists studying Tok Pisin, it is unlikely that much will be achieved in the near future.

It is here that mechanised lexicography may come in handy. Frequency counts and concordances could then be done with relatively little effort. Otherwise it may be advisable to study small areas at a time before attempting really comprehensive lexicographical accounts of Tok Pisin.

6.7.3 DICTIONARY MAKING FOR TOK PISIN: A CASE STUDY

6.7.3.1 Introduction

I would like to conclude this chapter on a more personal note, i.e. a discussion of my own experiences gathered during a planned revision of Mihalic's 1971 *The Jacaranda dictionary and grammar of Melanesian Pidgin*.

This dictionary was first published in 1957 as *Grammar and dictionary of Neo-Melanesian*, being an extensive revision of Schebesta and Meiser's *Dictionary of Bisnis English* (1945). Whilst the 1957 edition reflects a conservative pre-war Tok Pisin, the many changes in society and language in the postwar years were taken into account in the 1971 edition.

Whilst the dictionary exhibits a number of shortcomings in its organisational and linguistic aspects, it has been a tremendously useful book over a long period of time and is quite rightly referred to as "asbuk bilong Tok Pisin" *the fundamental book on Tok Pisin* by some Papua New Guineans. The main need for a revision arose not out of its shortcomings but out of changed social circumstances and the rapid linguistic development of Tok Pisin. The main reasons for a revision include:

- a) The independence of Papua New Guinea brought with it drastic changes in society and technology.
- b) Considerable research of a lexicological kind had been carried out in the meantime (Mühlhäusler 1979c) and significant progress had been made in the investigation of the origin of lexical items borrowed from languages around the Gazelle Peninsula (Mosel 1980).
- c) The potential readership of the dictionary had shifted from a mainly expatriate to a mainly indigenous one.
- d) Considerable interest in Tok Pisin had been shown by theoretical linguists.

These considerations were dealt with as follows:

6.7.3.2 Changes in post-independence society

Whereas in colonial days most Papua New Guineans remained at the bottom of the social hierarchy, a rapid increase in social mobility followed independence in 1976. At the same time, tertiary education had become available to significant numbers of the indigenous population and many areas of knowledge which had

been spesel samting bilong masta *something special of concern to 'masters' (Europeans)* now attracted indigenous specialists. The main areas of lexical growth include:

- a) political and administrative vocabulary
- b) technical vocabulary
- c) urban slang
- d) names for consumer goods

For similar reasons, a number of lexical items had become inappropriate or obsolete, particularly those bearing connotations of racial discrimination. Examples are:

boi	<i>indigenous male in European employment</i>
masta	<i>European male</i>
misis	<i>European female</i>
mankimasta	<i>personal servant, valet</i>
doktaboi	<i>indigenous medical orderly</i>

Inappropriate connotations were found not only with lexical entries in Mihalic's (1971) dictionary but also with the sentences given to illustrate their use, such as *boi i hangamap long masta the boy is dependent on his master* found with the entry *hangamap to depend on*, or the explanation with the entry *han hand, arm, forelegs*, natives picture animals like men, as having arms and legs. Again, instead of expressions reflecting colonial attitudes or missionary moral judgements, such as *yumi mas lotu long sande on Sundays we must worship* (under the entry *lotu to worship*), value-neutral sample sentences were preferred.

As regards urban slang, in particular the use of double talk and metaphorical expressions, many common examples of *tok piksa metaphorical talk* and *tok bokis secret talk* were included.

6.7.3.3 Incorporation of recent etymological findings

A substantial number of etymologies were found to be in need of revision. Research by Mosel (1980) has made it possible, in many instances, to trace words back to individual languages rather than general language groups. Thus, instead of simply giving *Gaz.* (Gazelle Peninsula) as the origin for a word such as *diwai tree*, Mosel's research provides the more detailed information:

Tolai:	dawai
Mioko:	divai
Molot:	divai
King:	duai

Such etymologies could help those investigating the geographic origin of the language (in particular the role played by Mioko and the Duke-of-York Islands) to get a more accurate picture than has been possible hitherto.

That Samoa played an important part in the formation of Tok Pisin was not realised when Mihalic's dictionary appeared and consequently insufficient attention is given to vocabulary items of either Samoan or Samoan Plantation Pidgin origin. Some such items are:

Tok Pisin	from Samoan	gloss
kamda	tamuta	<i>carpenter</i>
malolo	malolo	<i>to rest, relax</i>
taro	taro	<i>taro</i>
popi	popi	<i>Catholic</i>
mumu	mumu	<i>(to bake in an) earth oven</i>

It seemed justified to give Samoan as the origin of kamda *carpenter* in spite of its ultimate English origin, since the sociohistorical context of Tok Pisin's development also favours such an interpretation.

Finally, numerous changes were made in the case of lexical items of German origin. In a number of instances such items had been wrongly assigned to another language. Thus, Mihalic (1971) gives a Gazelle origin for *pui naked*, though no cognate could be found by Mosel (1980). Instead, Z'graggen's suggestions (personal communication 1975) that it should be related to German *pfui exclamation of disapproval or disgust* seems plausible. Other allegedly German words turned out to be errors. *Senkelboi unmarried man living off the community* appears to be related to English *single* rather than German *schenken to give, present with*.

As has been shown in the chapter on etymologising, many problems remain, and future revisions of this dictionary will no doubt lead to further changes in the etymologies provided for lexical entries.

Lexicological research on word-formation accounts for a number of additional changes, including:

- a) The addition of many recently formed compound and derived lexical items.
- b) A better motivated order in the listing of lexical items, the practice in the revised dictionary being that, in the case of multiple grammatical class membership, the lexical base appears first and the derived forms afterwards. Thus, we get

brum

1. *broom*

2. *to sweep*

but

hepi

1. *to be happy, to celebrate*

2. *happiness*

As an exhaustive description of Tok Pisin word-formation was readily available elsewhere (Mühlhäusler 1979c), it was decided not to include a chapter on word-formation in the revised dictionary.

6.7.3.4 Changes in the readership

Because of the limited number of potential buyers of a Tok Pisin dictionary, the ideal solution, to have a number of volumes, each for one of the principal functions discussed above, appeared out of the question. Instead, the revision continues to be a compromise solution, hoping that this will appeal to Papua New Guineans as well as expatriates, non-linguists as well as linguists. Its main characteristics are:

- a) It is primarily a bilingual dictionary. In contrast with the 1971 edition, the English-Tok Pisin part was enlarged considerably and now includes the 1,000 most frequent words of English, a number of concepts central to Papua New Guinean culture, as well as the original entries chosen by Mihalic.
- b) The historical (etymological) information was revised. A new aspect is that numerous multiple etymologies are given (e.g. bel from Tolai bala *belly* and English *belly*).
- c) Additional encyclopaedic information was included, mainly for the benefit of expatriates and New Guinea Highlanders learning a coastal version of Tok Pisin. Encyclopaedic definitions were restricted to the Tok Pisin-English part, as monolingual English encyclopaedic dictionaries are readily available.
- d) Sociolinguistic information was given for individual entries wherever possible, in particular whether items were restricted to urban or rural users, colloquial, rare, regionally restricted and, a very important aspect, prone to causing misunderstanding.

As a result of these changes the dictionary has grown by about one third in size. The result is still very much a compromise but one which, I hope, will prove useful for some time to come, if it gets published in this or an even more drastically revised form, which seems increasingly likely.

APPENDIX

Sample pages from some existing and proposed dictionaries of Tok Pisin

The following is an illustration of the differences between Schebesta and Meiser 1945, Balint 1973, Mihalic 1971 and some pages from the latter as revised by P. Mühlhäusler.

(a) Schebesta and Meiser 1945

- A interj. 1. Exclamation of surprise, astonishment; Ah, look at this; that's it! 2. Exclamation of understanding; ah or ah, so! A so, nau mi save! *Oh, I know it!* The Japanese took over the expression and made a soska out of it; in a question, a soska-ne? These expressions were frequently used by the natives. 3. Exclamation of fury, esp. by children and women. 4. a, in connection with o, or else alone, is used by boys and men as an exclamation to irritate girls and women; these letters stand for the male and female private parts. When working the boys will call out "o-a, o-a". O stands for kok, a for kan.
- interrog. p. l. a, indicating a question, is placed at the end of a sentence. Yu-a? *Is that you?* Papa i kam finish a? *Has father come?* 2. a, often serves to emphasize the meaning of the preceding sentence. Asede (asde) yu no work liklik! A! Yu slip tasol! A! *Yesterday you did not work a bit! that's true! You slept the whole day! That is true, too!*

ABAUT (E. *about*) (gen. colloq. ebaut, nabaut, nambaut.), adv., Disfelo Flaur i kamap about, ebaut, etc. *This flower grows everywhere.*

ABERIS, cf. abrus.

ABRUS, adv. 1. To be apart from. Em i stop abrus long ol. *He stands apart from the rest.* 2. Alongside. Putim disfelo divai abrus long aderfelo. *Put this trunk alongside the other.*

- v.i. to pass (one another). Yu wokebaut abrus long mi long rod, tasol yu no lukim mi. *You passed close by me on the road, but you did not see me.* To move near one, to evade, to repel, to keep away from. Mi abrus long ol man nogud. *I stay away from all bad men.* Yu mast (or mas) abrus long olgeder traiim belong em. *You must repel all his temptations, or: you should avoid all his temptations.*

ABRUSIM, v.t. 1. To dodge. Mi abrusim spir. *I dodged the spear.* Mi abrusim ren. *I dodged the rain.* 2. To evade, avoid artfully. Kokonat i fuldaun, tasol mi abrusim em. *A coconut fell down but I evaded it (by a sudden shift).* 3. To avoid carefully. Abrusim olgeder traiim belong disfelo man. *Avoid carefully all the temptations of this man.* 4. General meaning: all things which should not be seen, heard, done, known, touched, etc. Things to be stayed away from. Abrusim ol disfelo samting. Abrusim fashin belong stil. *Keep away from stealing.* Yu laik go long Australia, yu abrusim plenti ailand. *On the way to Australia you pass many islands.* Mifelo ken abrusim sik, tasol mifelo no ken abrusim indai. *We may avoid sicknesses, but we cannot avoid death.* Mi abrusim disfelo man. *I do not like to meet this man.* Mi abrusim olkaind snek. *I keep clear of all sorts of snakes.*

ABUS, n. 1. Primary sense: pork, since abus (*pig, pigmeat, pork*) is the most common meat among the natives. Abus bulmakau *beef*. 2. Enlarged sense: fish, crabs, anything that may be eaten in a minor portion with other things in a larger portion, such as sago, taro or yams. Vegetables may therefore be called abus when dished out in small quantities with sago, etc. 3. Metaph.: everything that is very much liked, or liked as much as meat. Yu laik rais? *Do you like rice?* Yes, em abus belong mi! *Yes, that's meat to me!* - a strong tribe uses it in speaking of a weaker tribe, because they kill, devour them like a morsel of meat. Ol i abus belong mifelo. *They are our meat.*

- Abus is anything that fits in another thing and though a minor part, is necessary to complete it. Thus a shoe string may be called abus belong shu. A small lump (stone or wood) put under a stand to keep it in balance may be called abus. The main idea is, a small thing that helps to give a larger thing its last and final perfection.

ABUSIM, (cf. abus), v.t. To dish out (meat with the rest of the food). Abusim kaikai long meat. *Put a little meat with my food.* Abusim bred long buter. *Put butter on the bread.* Abusim taro long kokonat. *Put some coconut with the taro.* - v.t. & i. Ol bulmakau na bigbel abusim wantaim. *The cattle and the buffaloes are all mixed up.* Mi abusim ol meme wantaim ol shipship long wanfelo haus. *I brought the goats and the sheep together in one room.* Disfelo man i abusim nambaut ol tok. *This man mixes up the words of different languages.* Em i abusim ol tok. *He always gives another story about the same thing. He talks nonsense.*

ADERFELO, (E. *other fellow*) (colloq. narafelo, onarafelo, arafelo), n. Others, other. Ol aderfelo. *All the others.* With other words it forms compound words, such as aderfelo-mama *another mother, a woman who is a mother, or like a mother to me*; also called smol-mama, small-mama. This may be an aunt, step-mother, foster-mother. Likewise, aderfelo-papa. - adj. Other, else, different, second, next. Mi laikim aderfelo klos. *I want the other dress.* Em gudfelo man, aderfelo i nogud. *He is a good man, the other is not good.*

ADERKAIND, (E. *other kind, another kind*) (colloq. narakain, arakin, arken), adj. Other kind, a different kind, differently fashioned, made, done, fancifully attired. Em i aderkaind olgeder. *He is altogether different.* Mi laikim aderkaind klos. *I want a different dress, an other kind.* N.B. Aderfelo points to difference in number; aderkaind to difference in quality. - n. Ol i aderkaind-man. *A different type of man*; different in character or shape or fancy make-up. - adv. Differently. Aderkaind as adj. and adv. may have a comparative, which is formed by doubling the word. Disfelo stor i aderkaind aderkaind tru. Nau yu tok aderkaind aderkaind olgeder. As an adj. aderkaind may also have the meaning of a superlative of any adj. Mi lukim plenti haus finish, tasol haus belong Master, man, em i aderkaind! *I have seen many houses, but the Master's house, my word, that's different!* For the natives, aderkaind in this connection has the force of a superlative, either in a good or in a bad sense.

ADERSAID, (E. *other side*) (colloq. arasaid, narasaid), n. Other side, the reverse side. Tanim, lukim adersaid belong moni. *Turn it over and look at the other side of the coin.* Go long adersaid belong river. *Go over to the other side of the river.* More common than adersaid is the expression aderfelo hap. (cf. haf). Aderfelo hap (haf) belong moni; belong river. - adv. Putim adersaid. *Lay it on the other side.* Kanu i stop long adersaid. *The canoe is on the other side of the river.*

ADERTAIM, (E. *other time, another time*) (colloq. arataim, narataim), adv. some other time, at another time. Yu kam adertaim, mi no gat time nau. *You come at another time, I have no time for you now.* Long aderfelo taim is often used instead of adertaim.

ADERWE, (E. *other way, another way, the other way*) (colloq. arawe, narawe), adv. the other way, in another manner. Yu no tanim olsem, tanim aderwe. *Do not turn it like that, turn it the other way.* In this case it would also be correct to say Yu no tanim olsem, tanim aderkaind. Yu no pasim rop olsem, pasim aderwe. *Do not tighten the knot that way, do it in another manner.*

ADERWE, (E. *other where*), adv. elsewhere (cf. wer). Yu no putim divai hir, putim aderwe. *Don't put the trunk here, put it somewhere else.* Yu no kam hir, yu go aderwe. *Do not come here, go somewhere else.* But note that mi go aderwe, yu go aderwe can have two meanings: *I shall go one way and you will go another way*; or: *I shall go somewhere and you will go somewhere.*

ADORIM, (E. *adore*), v.t. to adore. Mifelo adorim God tasol. *We adore only God.*

ADRES, (E. *address*), n. address. Nau yu raitim adres long paus. *Now you have to write the address on the envelope.* (This word is not well known.)

ADRESIM, v.t. to address. Adresim peper long frend belong mi. *Address this letter to my friend.* Mi adresim disfelo peper olsem wotnem? *What address shall I write on this letter?*

(b) Balint 1973

A, a [a] namba wan leta bilong Pisin alfabet; long raitim tok "anas" yu mas raitim leta "a" pastaim.

A mlap long bihainim kwesten o tokstrong taim man i askim kwesten o mekim tokstrong i laik kisim tokbek olsem "yes" long man i harim [equivalent of "question tag"]; Yu laik kam, a?; Ramram, em i lusman tru, a?

ABRIS (long) *bpn* 1. long sait long [*beside*]; putim buk + long arapela.
2. longwei long [*away/far from*]; em i stap + long ol poroman bilong em.

ABRISIM *tt* (wpt abris long) 1. go han kais o han sut long a) [*pass by*]; sip i + ailan b) [*miss*]; naip i + em. 2. kalap longwei long samting nogut [*jump clear of*]; + spia. 3. i stap longwei long ol samting o man nogut [*avoid*]; + hotel long Praide; yumi mas + trink.

ABRUS = abris.

ABUS *n* 1. kaikai olsem mit o pis o kumu i go wantaim as kaikai bilong peles.
2. giaman kaikai bilong grisim pis na pulim [*bait*]; painim + bilong putim long huk. 3. ol wel animal man i save painim long bus na kilim bilong kaikai [*game*]. 4. samting man i laikim tumas (long holim o mekim) [*hobby*]; soka em i + bilong mi.

ABUSIM *tt* putim as kaikai wantaim arapela kaikai [*mix*].

A.D. [eidi] *stf* bihain long taim Jisas i bon.

ADRES *n* nem bilong peles man i stap [*address*]; wonem + bilong yu?; + bilong olgeta taim + bilong man i stap longpela taim long wangepela peles; + bilong salim pas nem bilong peles na bokis namba bilong man yu salim pas; + bilong wok nem bilong peles bilong wok.

ADRESIM (pas) *tt* raitim nem bilong man wantaim nem bilong peles na (bokis) namba bilong em [*address*].

ADVAISA *n* man gavman i baim long givim gutpela skultok bilong ol kain save o wok bilong gavman [*adviser*].

AFRIKA *n* kontinen i stap namel long Amerika na Asia, as peles bilong planti blakman, i hat olgeta taim [*Africa*].

AGEI *ktk* nois man i save mekim taim em i hamamas tru o i gat bikpela pein [*wow or ouch*].

AI *n* 1. ap bilong ol man na animal i save iusim long lukluk [*eye*]; + bilong em i raun man i sik o spak na i nonap lukluk stret; + bilong man i hevi man i laik silip turu; + bilong man i kamaut man i gat bikpela sori tumas na em i karai; + i pas a) + bilong man i bagarap, b) man i no save em i mekim wonem; hap + i pas lapun turu; + bilong man i ret man i koros; brukim + pasim + kwiktaim na opim gen; lukim long wan hap + tasol lukim hariap na lusim. 2. + bilong botol/daram hat i pasim maus bilong botol/daram [*cap/head*]; + bilong haus pes bilong haus [*front*]; + bilong nil bilong samap hul bilong supim teret [*eye*]; + bilong pensil [*point*]; + bilong sua namel bilong sua [*head*].

AIAI *n* 1. Longpela liklik diwai i gat planti liklik han. I gat tupela kain. Wangepela kain i stap olgeta taim long Papua Nu Gini na pikinini bilong en i sotpela na braitpela mo long pikinini bilong arapela kain we i kam long Polinisia. 2. pikinini bilong diwai + i ret antap na grin dambelo; pikinini bilong + bilong Papua Nu Gini i sot na brait, i gat ol liklik lip olsem grile i stap antap na man i mas rausim ol pastaim long ol i orait long kaikai. Pikinini bilong + i kam long Polinisia i longpela na brait nating na i nogat liklik lip olsem grile antap.

AIBIKA *n* liklik diwai i gat lip bilong kaikai olsem liklik lip bilong popo.

AIDIA *n* tingting i kamap insait long het bilong man [*idea*]; em i bin + bilong kaunsil long wokim rot; + bilong yu long statim stua i gutpela tasol yumi mas i gat mo moni pastaim.

AIDIN *n* wara marasin ol i wckim long garas bilong solwara bilong stopim blut i kamaut taim man i katim sikin na bilong kilim i dai jem sapos i stap long arere bilong sua [*iodine*].

AIGALAS *n* tupela galas antap long nus i halivim man i lukluk gut [*spectacles*].

AILAN *n* 1. giraun wara i stap raun long en long san i kamap na san i godaun [*island*]. 2. adres man bilong bikpeles i save iusim taim em i adresim man i kam long sampela + [*islander*]; Sepik i bungim Manus: "Apinun, +!"

AIAN *n* 1. samting man i tekemautim long giraun long wokim kar, haus, bris na planti samting mo [*iron*]. 2. samting bilong stretim ol kolos [*iron*].

AINANGA *n* liklik pis tru olsem kol bilong kaikai o bilong putim long huk na pulim bikpela pis [*whitebait*].

(c) Mihalic 1971

A

- 1) This is an exclamation of astonishment or surprise
Yu, a? = *You, huh?*
Tru, a? = *Is that right? You don't say! So that's true, huh?*
- 2) An exclamation of interrogation
Yu no sem, a? = *Aren't you ashamed of yourself?*

ABRUS, ABRIS (Mel.)

- 1) to be apart from
sanap abrus long ol = *to stand apart from them*
- 2) alongside
Putim dispela plang abrus long arapeia. = *Put this plank alongside the other one.*
- 3) to pass by, to miss
Spia i abrus long mi. = *The spear missed me, passed me by.*
- 4) to keep away from, keep clear of, to evade, to avoid
abrus long ol man nogut = *to keep away from evil doers*

ABRUSIM, ABRISIM

- 1) to get out of the way of something, to evade, to avoid something
abrusim spia = *to dodge a spear*
abrusim samting nogut = *to avoid something harmful*
- 2) to pass by something, to bypass something
abrusim ailan = *to pass by an island, to bypass an island*

ABUS (Gaz)

- 1) a side dish consisting mainly of pork, meat, fish, or sea foods
Mipela i no gat abus. = *We do not have any meat.*
abus bilong huk = *bait*
- 2) a tidbit, something much liked, a delight
Singsing em i abus bilong mi. = *Dancing is my delight.*
- 3) a shim
Putim abus aninit long lek bilong tebol. = *Put a shim under the leg of a table (to make it level).*
- 4) an easy mark
Ol kanaka bilong hap i olsem abus bilong mipela. = *The natives over there are our "meat", (i.e. we can defeat them at will).*

ABUSIM

- 1) to garnish, to season
abusim saksak long pis = *to garnish sago with fish*
abusim taro long kokonas = *to season the taro with a little coconut*
- 2) to mix, to mix up
abusim nabaut ol tok = *to mix words of several languages*
abusim ol paul wantaim ol pato = *to get the ducks and chickens all mixed up, intermixed*

ADRES (E)

address

ADRESIM

to address a letter or parcel

AFRIKA

Africa

ol man bilong Afrika = *the Africans*ol Afrika = *the Africans*ol Afrikaman = *the Africans*

AI (E)

- 1) an eye
Ai bilong mi i slip. = *I am sleepy, drowsy; I doze off.*
Ai bilong mi i hevi. = *I am sleepy.*
Ai bilong em i tudak. = *He is blind. He is jealous.*
Ai bilong mi i raun. = *I am dizzy; I feel giddy.*
lukim long wan ai tasol = *to look at quickly, superficially*
sanap long ai bilong ol = *to stand where all can see you; to stand in view of everyone, before everyone's eyes.*
brukim ai = *to wink*
Ai i ret. = *He is angry.*
- 2) a lid, tip, opening
ai bilong botol = *the lid or cover of a bottle*
ai bilong dram = *the head of a drum, the bung of a drum*
ai bilong haus = *the gable of a house*
ai bilong kokonas = *the sprout hole of a coconut shell*
ai bilong pensil = *a pencil point*
ai bilong sospen = *the lid of a pot*
ai bilong sua = *the head of a sore or abscess*
ai bilong taro = *a taro bud*

AIAI (Mel)

- 1) the Malay apple fruit and tree (*Yambosa malaccensis*)
- 2) a kind of hardwood (*Eugenia malaccensis*)

AIBIKA (Gaz)

a plant with edible leaves (*Abelmoschus manihot*)

AIDIA (E)

idea

AIDIN (E)

iodine

AIGLAS (E)

eyeglasses, spectacles

also known as: glas bilong ai

AILA (Gaz)

a tree with edible fruit (*Inocarpus fagiferus*)

AILAN (E)

island

ailan Kairiru = *Kairiru Island*

AIN (E)

iron

- 1) iron, steel, metal

ain bilong wokim kanu = *a canoe adze*

ain tru = *steel*

ain bilong skrapim saksak = *a sharpened piece of pipe used for shredding the pith of the sago palm while processing it*

ain bilong tamiok = *an axe head*

- 2) of iron, of metal

bokis ain = *metal box*

- 3) a spear with an iron head

sutim long ain = *to shoot something with an iron-headed spear*

- 4) the pressing iron

AINANGA (Gaz)

whitebait, small fish

(d) The same pages from Mihalic 1971 with revisions by P. Mühlhäusler

A

- 1) This is an exclamation of astonishment or surprise

Yu, a? = *You, huh?*

Tru, a? = *Is that right? You don't say! So that's true, huh?*

- 2) An exclamation of interrogation

Yu no sem a? = *Aren't you ashamed of yourself?*

A-A

yes (coll.)

ABRUS, ABRIS (Mel.)

- 1) to be apart from

sanap abrus long ol = *to stand apart from them*

- 2) alongside

Putim dispela plang abrus long arapela. = *Put this plank alongside the other one.*

- 3) to pass by, to miss

Spia i abrus long mi. = *The spear missed me, passed me by.*

- 4) to keep away from, keep clear of, to evade, to avoid

abrus long ol man nogut = *to keep away from evil doers*

- 5) overtaking

i gat bikpela tambu long dispela abrus = *there is a strict rule against such overtaking*

ABRUSIM, ABRISIM

- 1) to get out of the way of something, to evade, to avoid something

abrusim spia = *to dodge a spear*

abrusim samting nogut = *to avoid something harmful*

- 2) to pass by something, to bypass something

abrusim ailan = *to pass by an island, to bypass an island*

ABUS

- 1) animal (possibly E; animals) edible land animal
man ya i go lukautim abus long bus = *this man is going to hunt animals in the bush*
- 2) side dish consisting mainly of pork, meat, fish or sea foods
Mipela i no gat abus. = *We do not have any meat.*
abus bilong huk = *bait*
- 3) tidbit, something much liked, delight
Singsing em i abus bilong mi. = *Dancing is my delight.*
- 4) shim (rare)
Putim abus aninit long lek bilong tebol. = *Put a shim under the leg of table (to make it level).*
- 5) easy mark
Ol kanaka bilong hap i olsem abus bilong mipela. = *The indigenes over there are our "meat". (i.e. we can defeat them at will)*
Abus bilong tumbuna kandare (= kok) = (Tok Bokis) *she suits my sexual desires.*

ABUSIM

- 1) to garnish, to season
abusim saksak long pis = *to garnish sago with fish*
abusim taro long kokonas = *to season the taro with a little coconut*
- 2) to mix, to mix up
abusim nabaut ol tok = *to mix words of several languages*
abusim ol paul wantaim ol pato = *to get the ducks and chickens all mixed up, intermixed*
abusim solwara wantaim wara = *to bring both good and bad news*

ADMINISTRETA see: etministreta

ADRESIM (E, Urb.)

to address a letter or parcel
(Rur. raitim nem)

ADRES (Urb.)

address
(Rur. nem na asples)

AFRIKA (E)

Africa
ol man bilong Africa = *the Africans*
ol Afrika = *the Africans*
ol Afrikaman = *the Africans*

AGAI

ouch!

AI (E)

- 1) an eye
aiklia = *to be informed*
ainogut = *to have bad eyesight*
aipas = *to be blind*
airaun = *to be dizzy, dazed*
aislip = *to be very tired*
Ai bilong mi i slip. = *I am sleepy, drowsy; I doze off.*
Ai bilong mi i hevi. = *I am sleepy.*
Ai bilong em i tudak. = *He is blind. He is jealous.*
Ai bilong mi i raun. = *I am dizzy; I feel giddy.*

Ai bilong mi i sol. = *I am sick.*

lukim long wan ai tasol = *to look at quickly*

sanap long ai bilong ol = *to stand before everyone's eyes*

brukim ai = *to wink*

Ai i ret. = *He is angry.*

Long ai bilong mi. = *In my opinion, view.*

2) a lid, tip, opening

ai bilong botol = *the lid or cover of a bottle*

ai bilong dram = *the head of a drum, the bung of a drum*

ai bilong haus = *the gable of a house*

ai bilong kokonas = *the sprout hole of a coconut shell*

ai bilong pensil = *a pencil point*

ai bilong sospen = *the lid of a pot*

ai bilong sua = *the head of a sore or abscess*

ai bilong taro = *a taro bud*

AI (int.)

wow!

AI SIT (vul.)

shit!

AIAI (Mel.)

1) the Malay apple fruit and tree (*Yambosa malaccensis*)

(SM. "The so-called New Guinea apple. In some districts also called laulau. In other districts again there is a difference made between aiai and laulau. Aiai is an egg-shaped apple; and laulau a round-shaped apple. There are other fruits, white, red and yellow, shaped like a small bell; these fruits are also called aiai, resp. laulau.")

2) a kind of hardwood (*Eugenia malaccensis*)

AIBIKA (Tolai: ibika)

a plant with edible leaves (*Abelmochus manihot*)

AIDIA (E, Urb.)

idea

(Rur. tingting)

AIDIN (E)

iodine

6.8 THE SCIENTIFIC STUDY OF TOK PISIN: LANGUAGE PLANNING AND THE TOK PISIN LEXICON

P. Mühlhäusler

6.8.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter is complementary to two others, dealing with the history of attitudes and policies (2.3) and the history of writing systems (2.5). However, it was felt that the central role of the lexicon in the language planning process called for a separate chapter.

It is intended to concentrate here on the technical aspects of language planning, i.e. that area most closely associated with linguistic engineering, rather than on the external setting of man-made changes in the lexicon. In doing this, two principal areas will be discussed:

- a) general principles of lexical assessment and lexical planning;
- b) the history of lexical planning for Tok Pisin.

Apart from discussing the theoretical and practical aspects of vocabulary planning, this chapter also highlights person-made changes in Tok Pisin. Linguistic development and change is often seen as something comparable to the growth and change of a living organism. Thus, as regards Tok Pisin, heavy emphasis is placed on language-internal universal developmental tendencies. Whilst this is justifiable for the morphological and syntactic components of the language, especially during early phases of expansion, the lexicon has always been susceptible to outside interference, be it unintentional or planned. As will be shown in the discussion of the history of lexical planning, many such changes have been in direct opposition to natural growth tendencies, though they might not have been, had the innovators heeded some very basic principles.

The discussion of these principles in considerable detail seemed justified for precisely this reason. It appears that untrained naive speakers of a language are not well qualified to plan its linguistic future. Not only are their judgements very much hit-and-miss affairs, they also appear incapable of assessing the wider effects of local planning activities. At a more general level, the ability of human beings to perceive linguistic phenomena and initiate linguistic change is severely restricted by their folk view of language and by some universal constraints, such as that the gradient linguistic phenomena are typically perceived as non-gradient categorical distinctions. It is only once these limitations are made explicit and analysed objectively that language planning can make real progress.

It should be noted that the general principles of lexical planning will have to be supplemented by a number of special considerations, since Tok Pisin is a pidgin. They include:

- a) Tok Pisin is a second language spoken by speakers of as many as 700 different first languages. The requirements of second language users tend to lie in the area of optimisation of perception and hence call for a highly regular lexicon, favouring derivation and compounding over borrowing of lexical stems. The fact that Tok Pisin speakers can come from widely different cultural backgrounds imposes certain limitations, however. For example, a concept which is central to one group of Tok Pisin users and therefore should be expressed by a single lexical base, may be quite marginal to another group of users, and hence preferably encoded as a compound. In many cases culture-neutral solutions will not be possible and planners should beware of favouring only one culturally or regionally defined group.
- b) Special attention must be paid to the relationship between Tok Pisin and its principal 'lexifier' language English. An increasing number of Tok Pisin speakers use English in some areas of discourse and hence favour borrowing. A considerable amount of lexical fusion between Tok Pisin and English has been demonstrated for urban varieties of the former language elsewhere in the chapter on variation (3.2).
- c) As a culture contact language Tok Pisin incorporates structural and lexical material from a number of unrelated linguistic systems, in particular the SAE (standard average European, a term created by Whorf to characterise the close semantic and structural affiliations of the languages of Western Europe and the Middle East) and Melanesian languages, more recently also non-Melanesian languages of the interior. Language planners have to watch for areas where contrastive conflicts have not been resolved in Tok Pisin.
- d) A standard variety of the language has already been chosen and used in influential publications such as the New Testament translation. However, it remains to be seen if rural Madang Tok Pisin, the variety chosen, is a sufficiently developed basis for nationwide planning.
- e) Language planning and lexical growth have been dominated, throughout the history of the language, by expatriate values. However, it must be kept in mind that modernisation of a society and its language need not mean westernisation and that very different solutions could be considered if indigenous values were considered.

It thus should already be clear that there can be no optimal solution to lexical planning, but that there will be many areas of conflict. However, it would seem that the needs of second-language speakers will continue to dominate the scene for a considerable time to come and that therefore values such as learnability and internal consistency will rank above those of stylistic flexibility and aesthetic requirements. This would not seem to matter greatly, as lexical planning, like other forms of planning, will relate to some domains and functions of the language only, in particular its use in printed form and in public contexts, whilst creativity and flexibility can continue to thrive in private oral communication. Keeping this in mind, we shall now consider the important issue of assessing the adequacy of existing forms of Tok Pisin.

6.8.2 DETERMINING THE ADEQUACY OF TOK PISIN'S LEXICON

6.8.2.1 General remarks

For a long time linguists have not only been very reluctant to make value judgements about language but have also denied that such judgements could be made in principle. From the point of view of the ordinary speaker this seems strange indeed. But there is a gradual realisation among linguists today that the assumption that all languages and all linguistic forms are equal is by no means a sign of objectivity and scholarship. Instead, the refusal to comment on qualitative matters has made linguistics a less useful source of information to those who need it most, namely the language planners. The insistence of many linguists that their job was to describe some abstract linguistic system underlying the actual utterance of everyday speakers has also led to a neglect of external factors, such as speakers' attitudes.

Linguists concerned with the day-to-day realities of inefficient communication systems have realised, however, that evaluation criteria are an essential component of any language planning activity. Among the criteria proposed by a number of applied sociolinguists, the following three are of particular value for our discussion:

- a) referential adequacy, i.e. "the capacity of the language to meet the needs of its users as an instrument of referential meaning" (Haugen 1966);
- b) systematic adequacy, i.e. a language should be structured in such a way that its rules are maximally general and natural;
- c) acceptability, i.e. a form must be adopted or adoptable by the majority of whatever society or subsociety is involved.

Subordinate to these considerations are others, such as euphony, brevity, and symmetry between expression and content, which are listed and discussed by Tauli (1968). I will now briefly discuss these criteria.

(a) Referential adequacy

With regard to Tok Pisin, referential adequacy would not have to be the same for all of its users. Whilst a small minority who speak this language as a first language have to express all ideas and feelings in Tok Pisin, for the majority of speakers Tok Pisin is used in a limited number of functions and domains. Thus, referential adequacy has to be judged against the background of the communicative needs of a specific group of speakers. There are indications that Tok Pisin is an inadequate means of communication in a number of areas of discourse relating to recent technological and sociological change, but this can be said of virtually any language, including English. Because of Tok Pisin's productive word formation component and its relatively high syncretic capacity, most referential inadequacies can be repaired quite easily in principle.

Whilst the notion of referential adequacy is most often used to refer to deficiencies in the lexical area, it is also found at other levels of grammar. Wurm (1978) stresses that syntactic differentiation is not equally developed in all varieties of Tok Pisin. Thus, in some of the older second-language varieties:

- a) grammatical categories such as tense, aspect or number are either absent or under-represented;
- b) the system of prepositions is rather rudimentary;

- c) discourse-structuring grammatical elements are rare, making it difficult to express the difference between important and less important information.

However, since most of these deficiencies have been repaired in creolised and newer second-language varieties of Tok Pisin, language planners could easily resort to internal borrowing if it was felt that such distinctions were needed in the language.

A lot of claims have been made about the referential adequacy or inadequacy of Tok Pisin and have often formed the basis of value judgements. It must be remembered, however, that very little empirical research has been done in this area and that the question needs to be treated with great care. To claim that either Tok Pisin or one of its varieties is good or bad because of its referential potential ignores the fact that the potential of all varieties is continuously changing.

(b) Systematic adequacy

This criterion is concerned primarily with its internal consistency and regularity. Ideally, grammatical rules should be maximally general. Contrary to certain claims that pidgins are extremely simple, it can be shown that this statement has little meaning unless seen against the background of their continuous grammatical development.

As a general rule it can be stated that, in its initial stages, a pidgin grammar is full of exceptions and relatively minor or unproductive grammatical rules, and that greater regularity is only reached in its more developed varieties, if it develops without external interference. If, on the other hand, contact with its original lexifier language (English in the case of Tok Pisin) is renewed, then language mixing can lead to a substantial increase in grammatical irregularity. I wish to illustrate these two points with an actual example, the signalling of plural in Tok Pisin (full details in Mühlhäusler 1981a).

In the early part of this century, speakers of Tok Pisin used the pluraliser *ol* only variably, with nouns referring to living beings and preferably in grammatical subject or direct object position. Today, in a number of creolised varieties, the pluraliser *ol* is used before any noun which is semantically plural. This means that the rule to account for pluralisation around 1910 is much more complex than the rule needed to state pluralisation in the creolised Tok Pisin of 1980. The latter variety is therefore systematically more adequate.

Contact with English in some varieties of Urban Tok Pisin has led to the introduction of pluralisation by means of the formative *-s*, as in *mans* for Rural Tok Pisin *ol man men*. This new rule is not applied in all instances, however. Instead, one finds combinations such as *ol gels*, *gels*, *ol gel girls*, often used by the same speaker. It is extremely difficult to state the conditions under which one or other form is chosen. Thus, the systematic adequacy of the grammar has been reduced considerably under the influence of language contact.

Systematic adequacy also refers to the notion of linguistic naturalness. In second-language Tok Pisin, because it is a second language, linguistic strategies which optimise perception are more favoured than those promoting production. As a result, natural phonological processes (e.g. those reducing sounds or converting sound segments into more readily pronounceable sounds) are suppressed, and natural morphological processes (those favouring the optimisation of perception), are favoured. This means that there is a strong tendency in Tok Pisin for one form to have one meaning and for the same meaning to be expressed

by the same form. An example of morphological naturalness would be in the formation of derived words. Compare the irregular English examples with the regular ones of Tok Pisin:

Tok Pisin		English	
taun	bilong taun	<i>town</i>	<i>urban</i>
kantri	bilong kantri	<i>country</i>	<i>rural</i>
pisop	bilong pisop	<i>bishop</i>	<i>episcopal</i>
meme	bilong meme	<i>goat</i>	<i>hirsute</i>
plisman		<i>policeman</i>	
draivman		<i>driver</i>	
paniman		<i>joker</i>	
woksaveman		<i>specialist</i>	
hosman	hos meri	<i>stallion</i>	<i>mare</i>
sipsip man	sipsip meri	<i>ram</i>	<i>ewe</i>
kakaruk man	kakaruk meri	<i>cock</i>	<i>hen</i>
pikinini man	pikinini meri	<i>son</i>	<i>daughter</i>
pik man	pik meri	<i>boar</i>	<i>sow</i>

Tok Pisin's high degree of morphological naturalness makes it an easy language to learn as a second language. However, borrowing from both internal and external sources may have to be carefully controlled if this advantage of the language is not to be lost.

The case of morphological naturalness illustrates the fact that the terms 'good' or 'bad' pidgin cannot be discussed outside a social context. To have a maximum of morphological naturalness makes the language good from a learner's point of view. On the other hand, it reduces its stylistic flexibility and can make it rather monotonous, as has been illustrated by Mead (1931).

(c) Acceptability

Whilst linguistically naive speakers may make reference to the referential and systematic adequacy of Tok Pisin in discussing its merits, this is typically done in a haphazard way. Their main concern, and this goes particularly for New Guinean speakers of the language, is its social acceptability. This factor depends to a large extent on external circumstances and may change considerably over time. Some of these changes will be discussed below.

To begin with I want to discuss a more context-independent principle of social acceptability, namely whether expressions in a language are iconically encoded or not. There seem to be language-independent reasons for saying for instance, that:

- a) Reduplicated lexical stems should stand for concepts centring around childhood experiences and lighthearted personal emotions. Applying this criterion, the Tok Pisin items *tingting to think*, *toktok to talk* and *lukluk to look* would be badly encoded. In fact, educated speakers of the language tend to replace them with unreduplicated forms.
- b) Concepts which are central to a culture should be expressed by means of short lexical bases whilst marginal concepts can be expressed by longer compounds or circumlocutions. The difference in the relative importance of concepts can be seen from the following examples:

Tok Pisin	English
laplap	<i>length of cloth worn around the waist like a kilt</i>
kain laplap ol Skots i save pasim	<i>kilt</i>
lala	<i>tailor fish</i>
man bilong samapim klos	<i>tailor</i>

- c) There are limits to the degree of homophony in a language. Laycock (1969) observes that pidgin already has a relatively large number of words where different English words have fallen together. "To add to this number incautiously could well overload the language with forms that sound the same but have different meanings." Thus, the proposal to translate English *peace* as Tok Pisin *pis* is ill founded, as *pis* can already mean *piece*, *piss*, *fish*, *fees* and (in some varieties) *peas*.

In addition to such external or mechanical factors underlying social acceptability there are a number of sociopsychological factors. Among them the following are of particular importance:

- a) Expressions are regarded as socially harmful because they create divisions, e.g. insults, group labels or elite language.
- b) Expressions are regarded as taboo. In this connection it is interesting to observe that conventions for a taboo register in Tok Pisin emerged very early in its development, e.g. the use of *longpela pik long pig* for a human being eaten during a cannibal meal.
- c) A number of expressions are regarded as difficult to understand or confusing. Such expressions are particularly undesirable in the case of Tok Pisin, since its main function is that of a nationwide lingua franca.

Tok Pisin is spoken by people of a wide range of social and cultural backgrounds and it is for this reason that one can expect significant differences in the social acceptability of linguistic forms. Let me illustrate this with an example from the lowest linguistic level, that of pronunciation. A group of Tok Pisin speakers objected to the proposal to call Papua New Guinea Pagine on the ground that this would sound like *pakim mi fuck me*. Had they had a distinction between (p) and (f) in their variety this objection would hardly have arisen. At present, we do not even understand such relatively mechanical processes, and as a result unfortunate and socially damaging new expressions continue to enter Tok Pisin. Thus, the recently introduced expression *selek komiti* *select committee* is often interpreted as *slek komiti* *a slack or inefficient village committee member* and *investim mani* *to invest money* is frequently interpreted as *westim mani* *to waste money*.

Extensive language attitude studies need to be carried out to test this and other aspects of social acceptability. Without the results of such research no proper language planning can be carried out, since it is its social acceptability which in the last instance determines whether a proposed new expression will be fully adopted or not.

6.8.2.2 Judging Tok Pisin's referential adequacy

6.8.2.2.1 Introduction

No other area has figured so prominently in the debates as to the pros and cons of Tok Pisin than its referential adequacy. As claims about it continue to be made it would seem useful to sort out some of the misunderstandings which have prevented non-polemical discussion. These fall into two main categories: a) claims as to the number of lexical entries and b) claims as to potential lexical solutions:

6.8.2.2.2 The number of lexical entries

A typical example of the former type of argument are Gunther's remarks on the lexical inadequacy of the language (1969:53) summarised in the assertion that:

... it has a limited and restricted vocabulary, perhaps no more than 2,000 words of which 70% come from English. With respect to structural linguists, it is difficult to conceptualise, or to discuss the abstract in Pidgin.

Balint's counter argument appears equally unrevealing:

Gunther's low estimate of the Pidgin lexicon has goaded me into the rash and emotional reaction of compiling in two months an approximately 2,000 word dictionary of sporting terms in Pidgin. (Balint 1973:29)

The fact that it is possible to create or borrow a large amount of lexical material says nothing about the adequacy of the lexicon before the introduction of this material into it. I am prepared to believe Hall (1943b:192) when he states that some missionary managed to compile 11,000 entries for a Tok Pisin dictionary but again this claim is not very illuminating, for the following reasons:

- a) The fact that a lexical entry appears in a lexicon does not mean that a significant part of the linguistic community can handle the word and the associated concepts. Thus, the existence of the item *oksijen oxygen* does not mean that it can be used in general conversation. This criticism would seem to apply to most entries in Balint's sports dictionary (Balint 1969).
- b) The number of lexical bases or entries may not necessarily reflect the number of words individual speakers can use. It is known that a number of pidgin and creole languages supplement their limited inventory of 'entries' or 'bases' with a set of lexical rules whose application yields many new lexical items, which are very often equivalent to simple lexical items in other languages, such as English. Put differently, what is expressed lexically in one language may be expressed syntactically or intonationally in another.
- c) Many lexical items are merely stylistic alternants and do not contribute to the overall referential adequacy of a language. Thus the existence, in English, of adjective-abstract noun pairs of the type true-truth, beautiful-beauty, long-length does not make the language referentially more adequate than one without abstract nouns. Many putative gaps in the Tok Pisin lexicon appear as such only from the ethnocentric viewpoint of monolingual speakers of English.

- d) The number of lexical entries varies from speaker to speaker, locality to locality and time to time. In the case of Tok Pisin the rapid increase in referential power over time seems to be the most important of these factors. Thus, it is no good arguing about lexical deficiencies unless one is in possession of up-to-date information.
- e) Contrary to what many linguists believe, the lexicon of a language is not a closed set, and all judgements as to its precise size will therefore remain indeterminate.

Given such objections it would seem that the following requirements must be met if referential adequacy is to be meaningfully debated:

- a) Extensive case studies of communicative breakdown due to referential inadequacy should be made, in particular studies of translation, use of Tok Pisin in non-traditional domains and use among speakers from different backgrounds.
- b) Case studies of individuals, vocabulary tests and longitudinal observation of lexical growth in individuals should supplement the above.
- c) A careful assessment should be given of lexical needs in both the central areas of communication and the many more marginal specialist areas in which the language is used.

I may venture to suggest that the result of such studies will be similar to those for languages in many developing countries, namely that modernisation of society has proceeded at a faster rate than linguistic modernisation and that many areas of common interest cannot be adequately discussed with existing lexical means. This, it must be emphasised, is not a problem unique to pidgins or indeed languages of the third world. I have tried to demonstrate elsewhere (Mühlhäusler 1983d) that English is unsuited, in a number of ways, to the discussion of environmental issues, i.e. issues which are at the heart of the survival interests of its speakers.

6.8.2.2.3 Potential lexical items and related matters

A widely encountered view, reflecting structuralist relativist doctrine, is that all languages can express whatever their speakers wish to express and that new terms for new concepts are readily available if required. A good example is Steinbauer's (1969:8) statement:

Pidgin is adequate in both vocabulary and concepts for whatever use the main body of Pidgin speakers wishes to make of it. There are some areas of Western culture which have not yet been used by the majority of Pidgin speakers, because those areas have not been assimilated into their own cultural patterns. For this reason, technical vocabulary in these fields is not widely known in Pidgin. When these cultural areas are assimilated into the way of life of the majority of the speakers of the language, the necessary vocabulary for expressing the concepts involved will be developed as it is in other languages - either by borrowing terms from another language or by creating new terms according to the word formation patterns already found in Pidgin itself.

There are a number of claims implicit in Steinbauer's quotation, some of them associated with a strong, others with a weaker version of the 'principle of effability', i.e. that anything which can be thought can be expressed in any human language. The strong version claims that all languages use exactly the same set of semantic primitives and that therefore anything that can be said in one language can also be said in any other. It further entails that no changes of any importance are necessary for a language to cope with new fields of discourse, lexical additions being seen as low-level regroupings of already existing semantic material. This was proposed by Laycock (1969:12) in his defence of Tok Pisin:

There is no such thing in the world as a 'deficient' language, in any respect whatsoever. All languages have within them the capacity for expression of all concepts that could possibly occur to human beings; all have the possibility of change and adaptation, of absorbing new concepts, without the language being thereby altered out of all recognition. If this were not the case, then French would have been inadequate to discuss the French Revolution, German would have been unable to discuss the Blitzkrieg, and English would have died out at the beginning of the Space Age. Just as these languages found ways of dealing with new concepts, without the speakers being aware of the change, so Pidgin can deal with anything required of it.

Against this claim, a number of arguments can be adduced. Since the more general issues involved have been discussed very clearly by Schnitzer (1982:185-196), I will only raise two points directly relevant to Tok Pisin.

Firstly, there are strong indications that the introduction of new lexical material can have drastic effects on the lexical and grammatical structure of the language. The introduction of new kinship terms in Urban Tok Pisin (ankel *uncle*, cutting across previous kinship terminology which distinguished between kandare *maternal uncle* and smolpapa *paternal uncle*) or reinterpretations of old terms in the light of their English meaning (e.g. brata *brother* rather than *sibling of the same sex*), has led to the breakdown of a whole semantic field and to considerable difficulties in communication across sociolectal boundaries. Such changes fundamentally affecting the character of Tok Pisin are taking place and in many instances are the result of lexical innovation, particularly borrowing. In the most fortunate circumstances the existing system is not affected, new subsystems merely being added, but at worst one ends up with two incompatible systems, thus decreasing the communicative efficiency of the language.

A second point is that one should keep in mind the important role of perception in a second language such as Tok Pisin, and that lengthy circumlocution puts considerable strain on the hearer. This problem has been commented upon by a number of observers, for instance Wolfers (1971:416):

Very skilled speakers seem quite capable of expressing fine shades of meaning in the language, and to explain, then employ, relatively specialized concepts, though the Territory's lawyers insist that legal draughting in the pidgin is simply impossible. The Department of District Administration has recently been unable, for example, to translate *majority rule* precisely into Neo-Melanesian. Bihainim tingting bilong planti moa pipal, its final compromise, means no more than *supporting the opinion of*

many people, and is inadequate for the task. The concept can be explained through lengthy circumlocution and demonstration, but the problem of finding an accurate, short means of translation still remains.

Circumlocutions thus are best regarded as a temporary stage in lexical expansion. A language which frequently has to resort to circumlocution is not referentially fully adequate, particularly not from the point of view of the hearer. Circumlocutions involving five or more existing words are not felt to stand for single concepts and thus act as distractors rather than facilitators to communication. It is this circumlocutionary character of the Tok Pisin vocabulary that has been attacked by a number of its opponents and it appears that they have a valid point.

In conclusion, we are forced to reject the strong version of this claim, expressed in statements such as that by Dietz (1956:3): "Pidgin can express anything that English can express, fully and without ambiguity".

The weaker version acknowledges that communication systems are located in the temporal and cultural dimension and that their referential power has to be measured against such external factors. A typical example of this view is given by Wurm (1969:39):

In its present form, Pidgin is entirely adequate for the expression of all concepts and ideas within the framework of the culture of the Pidgin speakers, and it seems almost ridiculous to suggest that indigenes who speak Pidgin as their mother tongue, should not be able to express and refer to their entire cultural background in it because of an assumed inadequacy of the language.

Wurm's observation has considerable common-sense appeal and may indeed be taken as an adequate characterisation of the linguistic situation in many rural communities. However, it ignores two important considerations:

- a) Since Tok Pisin is a second language the range of its functions and domains is restricted for most of its users. Typically, traditional religion, family life and natural environment are discussed in local vernaculars. As regards first-language speakers, their numbers are too small to make a real impact in most areas. Consequently, the norms of second-language varieties continue to predominate even for first-language speakers. In addition, many first-language speakers become bilinguals in later life, reserving Tok Pisin for a reduced functional area. Thus, it may well be that even creolised varieties are not adequate to cope with 'the entire cultural background' of their speakers.
- b) As pointed out by Tauli (1968:14):

... it is a well known fact that language lags behind thought: on one hand it contains signs which have no longer any meaning in the speaker's mind, on the other hand there are meanings which have not yet been given an adequate expression. The first point refers most often to grammar, the latter especially to the vocabulary. It is particularly in the periods of cultural revolution that language lags behind its needs....

That this also applies to Tok Pisin is confirmed by a number of studies, in particular those of Scott 1977 and Franklin 1975a. These two authors illustrate how Papua New Guinean society had to cope with dramatic changes in technology

without being prepared for it linguistically or otherwise. From the end of the 19th century Papua New Guineans were recruited to serve on plantations developed by English and German-speaking expatriates along western lines. Almost from the beginning of the plantation system they were expected to spread these new technologies to their home villages, thus improving food supply. The beginnings of culture contact at the agricultural level are described by Scott (1977:723) in the following terms:

The conversations between indigene and European ... centred mainly around what was visible, concrete and of importance to the daily needs of each party. The Europeans were particularly interested in carbohydrate foods and thus learnt the native names for these, whilst the indigenes were interested in learning the white man's names for such things as axes Thus commenced the vocabulary of the agricultural worker, thus it remained to hinder agricultural development for many years. For whilst farming techniques were to develop over the years, the Pidgin language was not to develop parallel to it and communication between the farmer and the agricultural field officer was to remain at an unsophisticated level until the most recent years.

Scott notes two reasons for this state of affairs: first, the almost exclusive use of Tok Pisin by white agricultural officers for giving orders, without explanation and without expecting feedback information, and second, the resulting poverty of the vocabulary. His observations would seem to indicate that referential inadequacies can be the result of socially inadequate language use. Franklin adds observations about systematic inadequacies, in particular the use of new lexical items, which can be, and as his tests clearly demonstrate, continuously are, confused with similar sounding existing expressions. An example is the interpretation of *niseri nursery* as connected with sickness and hospitals rather than with a place for raising healthy plants.

It now appears that both the stronger and the weaker view of Tok Pisin's referential adequacy are not tenable and that instead linguists should concentrate on identifying areas where the language is, temporarily or intrinsically, less than adequate for the purposes in which it is to be used by its speakers. Making such qualitative judgements about a language may seem an unpleasant task to many linguists but it would seem to be only once the qualitative aspects of a given communication system have been explored that rational decisions about language planning can be made.

6.8.2.3 Determining systematic adequacy

6.8.2.3.1 Introduction

The notion of systematic adequacy in the lexicon is closely linked to that of lexical simplicity. The various aspects of lexical simplicity have been discussed, in much detail, by Mühlhäusler (1974). Generally speaking, they relate to the fact that the optimisation of perception underlying second-language expansion strategies strongly favours regular lexical patterning, and hence greater learnability; many have commented upon it, including the following:

It is possible to teach native adults to read and write in Pidgin in a short time, even teaching on a part-time

basis, whereas English takes years, even under intensive teaching conditions. Without Pidgin, large numbers of New Guinea people would not learn to read and write at all. The choice for them is literacy in Pidgin or no literacy at all. (Groves 1955:ii)

The view that lexical and other simplicity is language family specific is also found in Wurm's comments (1969:41):

One of these ... concerns the grammatical and semantic structure of English. Undoubtedly, they are as alien to the formal and semantic setup of the linguistic background of the indigenes as Pidgin is akin to it.

I feel that it is best to keep language-independent simplicity apart from that which is language-dependent, and I propose to discuss the two separately.

6.8.2.3.2 Language-independent simplicity

Language-independent simplicity refers to the optimisation of existing lexical rules as well as certain basic inherent properties of lexical items. The following considerations will be briefly discussed here:

- a) the absence of semantic co-occurrence restrictions
- b) rule optimisation

(a) A closer analysis of the lexicon of old languages such as English shows that many apparently simple words can be used only if a number of complex co-occurrence restrictions are observed. Pioneering work in this area has been carried out by the Swiss scholar Leisi whose work unfortunately has not received the widespread acknowledgement it undoubtedly deserves. An important insight (in particular in Leisi 1966) into the nature of unmotivated words is his introduction of the distinction between 'einfacher Wortinhalt' (simple content of words) and 'komplexer Wortinhalt' (complex content of words). Although one gains the impression that this difference should be conceived of as a scale rather than a dichotomy, it is important to distinguish between words with simple content, where only conditions within the object designated are relevant, and others of complex content where conditions outside the object designated are relevant for its use. This can be illustrated with the Tok Pisin word *win* and English *wind*. English *wind* refers to air, but only when the air is in movement (condition for correct application of this term), *air* can be used without regard to movement, and *breath* is used in connection with respiratory processes involving animates. Tok Pisin *win* on the other hand can be used in all three cases, as in *win i kamap long solwara wind came from the sea*, *i nogat win long taia there is no air in the tyre* and *ol man i save pulim win people can breathe*. In other words, a number of semantic co-occurrence conditions applying to *wind* are not relevant to the correct application of the Tok Pisin term *win* (cf. also *win gas* as in *wanpela botol gas o win bilong stov a bottle of gas or wind for the cooker*). It should also be noted that, when used in sentences, English will express these distinctions twice, once in the noun and once in the predicate (as in *the wind is blowing*), thus exhibiting a greater degree of redundancy.

There are numerous other examples of Tok Pisin words using a single context-free lexical item where English imposes complex selection restrictions on the various translation equivalents, thus contributing greatly to learning and decoding difficulties. Let us consider a few more:

i) rop and baklain

The distinction between rop and baklain is one that has caused difficulties to English-speaking learners of Tok Pisin. The following table gives an indication of their use:

baklain	<i>rope</i>
rop bilong su	<i>shoelace</i>
rop bilong bunara	<i>bow string</i>
rop bilong bus	<i>liana</i>
rop bilong blut	<i>vein, artery</i>
rop bilong dok	<i>lead</i>
rop bilong diwai	<i>root of a tree</i>

ii) smok

Substance, shape and appearance are the dimensions along which English speakers distinguish between such words as *smoke, steam, fog, smog* and *dust*. Again, few of these distinctions are made in simple lexical items in Tok Pisin:

smok bilong paia	<i>smoke</i>
smok bilong wara	<i>steam</i>
smok bilong solwara	<i>(sea) spray</i>
smok bilong graun	<i>dust</i>

The expression smok bilong bus *mist, fog* found in prewar dictionaries is now commonly subsumed under the simple lexical item sno. *Exhaust fumes*, on the other hand, are still referred to as smok bilong kar.

iii) spet

Similar parameters are relevant to the distinction between *saliva, scum, foam*, etc. - distinctions which are not realised in simple lexical items in Tok Pisin:

spet (bilong man)	<i>saliva, spittle</i>
spet (bilong wara or bia)	<i>foam</i>
spet (bilong bia)	<i>scum</i>

(Note that the specification given in brackets is optional and not normally found in natural discourse.)

iv) blut

Tok Pisin blut (derived from German *blut blood* and Tolai bulit *sap* can be rendered by a number of simple words in English, including:

(retpela) blut (bilong man)	<i>blood</i>
(wetpela) blut (bilong man)	<i>pus</i>
blut (bilong diwai)	<i>sap (of a tree)</i>

v) arere

A number of English nouns refer to the periphery of a locality. Leisi (1966:36) has pointed out that the conditions for the application of many such words in English are also determined by its material properties. Thus the distinction between *brim, rim, edge*, etc. is characterised by a number of conditions which are not found in Tok Pisin arere:

arere (bilong hat)	<i>brim of a hat</i>
arere (bilong buk)	<i>margin of a book</i>

arere (bilong wara)	<i>edge (bank) of a river</i>
arere (bilong klos)	<i>hem of a dress</i>
arere (bilong aiglas)	<i>rim of spectacles</i>
arere (bilong kantri)	<i>boundary of the country</i>
arere (bilong rot)	<i>road side</i>

Tok Pisin also tends to have considerably fewer restrictions on verbs. A good example illustrating this is:

vi) helpim

Whereas in English the object of *help* has to be human or at least animate, in Tok Pisin virtually any object can be chosen, as in:

helpim ol misin	<i>to help the missions</i>
helpim haus long nupela plang	<i>improve the house with new boards</i>
helpim tok bilong mi	<i>to support my arguments</i>

Even greater economy is exemplified in my last example:

vii) pundaun

Whereas in English the size, consistency and shape of a falling object limits the choice of verbs that can appear with it, Tok Pisin has only one verb, *pundaun*. Compare:

man i pundaun	<i>the man fell down</i>
balus i pundaun	<i>the plane crashed</i>
Jack na Jill i pundaun long maunten	<i>Jack and Jill tumbled down the hill</i>
hap mani i pundaun	<i>the money chinked</i>
bikpela bek kabora i pundaun long graun	<i>the copra bag fell on the floor with a thud</i>

In all the above examples greater systematic adequacy is associated with lexical items being chosen for purely referential rather than contextual or grammatical reasons. This fact must be related to the observation, discussed in the preceding section, that pidgin languages can make a small lexicon go a very long way.

(b) The second aspect of lexical simplicity is that, in addition to there being few and very general rules, what rules there are are exploited in full. Contrary to what is often claimed about the simplicity of early pidgins, rule optimisation is largely absent in them and only emerges as pidgins approach the endpoint of their development. Thus, language planners will get their best ideas about rule optimisation from expanded or creolised Tok Pisin.

Rule optimisation is manifested in two ways; (1) in the form of lexical redundancy rules governing the interpretation of simple lexical items and (2) in the generality of rules of derivation, compounding and word-formation.

An example of (1) is the redundancy rule which states that the name of a locality can be extended to mean 'someone who lives in/originates from this locality'. In the initial phases of development, this rule was restricted to the names of countries (e.g. *Ostrelia Australia, Australian, Inglan England, English person, Amerika America, American*); subsequently it was extended to simple lexical items referring to localities such as *nambis beach, coastal dweller, ailan island, islander*, and in the more recent past it has also been found with complex words referring to localities (e.g. *bikbus dense bush, someone who lives in the deep bush* or *biktaun city, city dweller*).

An example of (2) is the development of nominal compounds ending in *-man*. No compounds ending in the agent suffix *-man* *person, doer* are found before 1920, though several lexical phrases of the form *man bilong V_{intr}* expressing 'someone who usually does what is referred to by the verb' are documented for the mid-1920s, including:

man bilong singaut	<i>noisy person, beggar</i>
man bilong slip	<i>sleepy, lazy person</i>
man bilong stil	<i>thief</i>

The only word-level items at this point are *sutman policeman* and *fulman joker*. Most commonly nouns with an agentive meaning are fully lexicalised. Typical examples from Brenninkmeyer's 1924 vocabulary are *kuskus clerk, writer, ridima redeemer, kamda carpenter* and *kundar acolyte*. In the mid-1930s the authors of the *Wörterbuch mit Redewendungen* remark (p.53) that "*-man* as the suffix of verbs forms agent nouns" (author's translation). However, only a few word-level items are listed:

wasman	<i>watchman</i>
sikman	<i>patient</i>
daiman	<i>dead, dying man</i>
stilman	<i>thief</i>

Phrase-level items listed in the *Wörterbuch* include:

man bilong toktok	<i>talkative person</i>
man bilong save	<i>wise, knowledgeable person</i>
man bilong pait	<i>warrior, fighter</i>
man bilong pret	<i>fearful person</i>

The only additional items culled from Kutscher (n.d.) are:

rabisman	<i>destitute person</i>
lesman	<i>loafer</i>

It is interesting to note that Kutscher does not list *thief* as *stilman*, as in the *Wörterbuch* (n.d.), but as *man bilong stil*. Hall (1943a:21) observes on compounds of the type verb + noun: "The nouns *maen man* and *boj native, non-European* used in this kind of compound have almost the function of suffixes forming *nomina agentis*." However, next to the only new example that Hall provides, *stiaman steersman*, which incidentally can also be interpreted as a locative compound, one continues to find a very large number of verbs which cannot be followed by *-man*. In fact, no additional word-level items are documented until 1957. At this stage Mihalic lists the following additional examples:

saveman	<i>wise person</i>
trabelman	<i>troublesome person, fornicator</i>

Other forms are only documented as phrase-level items. Mihalic (1971) lists some new word-level items:

holiman	<i>saint</i>
sinman	<i>sinner</i>
paniman	<i>joker</i>

The author's observations confirm that the trend towards word-level derivations continues and that a number of items which were recorded as phrase-level items in Mihalic 1971 are now being supplemented by word-level items, examples being:

paitman	<i>fighter, warrior</i>
pretman	<i>easily frightened person</i>

bilipman *believer*
 haitman *someone who hides or remains unseen*

In the most recent past this extension of rule generalisation has had two interesting consequences. Firstly, the -man compounding rule is now used to produce names for people associated with a certain locality, a job previously reserved for the already discussed lexical redundancy rule. This usage is very marked among younger speakers as can be seen in the following lines from Bede Dus Mapun's well-known poem 'O meri wantok' (1972).

Yu lukim Astreliaman i draivim kar
 Yu lukim Amerikaman i draivim trak
 Yu lukim Ingranman i ronim mota baik

You see the Australians drive cars
You see the Americans drive trucks
You see the English run motorbikes

The addition of -man to lexical items that were previously signalled by stems must be seen to be a reflection of the very strong tendency in the development of expanded Tok Pisin towards greater constructional iconicity. Whereas in earlier forms of the language the same form appears in many meanings and functions, in its later stages the principle of 'one form - one meaning' is increasingly adhered to.

Rule conflict as the result of extension of two similar rules is likely to become increasingly common in Tok Pisin and poses an interesting problem for language planners. As I have just suggested, the choice between one or another rule is often not free but subject to metaprinciples such as iconic encoding. This means, of two rules doing the same job, one may be better, more natural or more viable than another.

Rule conflict is also exhibited in the second consequence of rule extension. It is well known that for most of its linguistic development Tok Pisin did not admit words containing more than two morphemes. However, among younger speakers today one increasingly finds more complex compounds such as:

earlier form	recently documented form	gloss
man bilong woksave	woksaveman	<i>work-know-man = specialist</i>
man bilong mauspas	mauspasman	<i>mouth-obstructed-man = dumb person</i>
biktaun, or man bilong biktaun	biktaunman	<i>city dweller</i>

The last example illustrates the conflict between optimisation of production (biktaun with only two syllables being the preferred form) and optimisation of perception (biktaunman, which meets the principle one form - one meaning). It reminds us that maximum generality and mathematically measurable simplicity are not the only criteria to be considered when it comes to planning real-life languages for real-life speakers.

6.8.2.3.3 Language-dependent simplicity

Having considered language-independent simplicity we now have to turn to the much less well-defined notion of language-dependent simplicity. This notion implies that a language should exhibit typological consistency at all levels.

Applied to Tok Pisin this means that, since through prolonged areal contact it has become increasingly absorbed into a Melanesian or pan-New Guinean Sprachbund one should expect many typological similarities. Such similarities tend to be most pronounced at the semantic level than at any other level, though even here it would be dangerous to simply call Tok Pisin a Melanesian language.

An area which illustrates the problems to be faced by language planners is that of body terms and body term metaphors. The two words *ai* and *han* may serve as an illustration. To present-day Europeans *eye* is above all an anatomical or biological concept, on the other hand it is evident that the same word is used by 'primitive' peoples not only in the anatomical sense but also to refer to *sun* (or *stars*), *flame of fire*, or *water hole* (cf. Holmer 1966). In Tok Pisin, the word *ai* can be found in many senses that are totally non-English:

<i>ai</i> (bilong botol)	<i>lid</i>
<i>ai</i> (bilong haus)	<i>gable</i>
<i>ai</i> (bilong pensil)	<i>pencil point</i>
<i>ai</i> (bilong sua)	<i>head of a sore</i>
<i>ai</i> (bilong susu)	<i>nipple</i>

The same is true for *han* in relation to English *hand*. Its basic meaning in Tok Pisin is *arm, hand, sleeve, branch, foreleg of an animal*. It can also appear in a number of other phrases where it has no correspondence in English. The point is that the very general meanings of Tok Pisin words are often due to its being related to the semantic pattern of Oceanic languages rather than English.

There are various consequences arising from this. Firstly, any proposals to extend the meaning of a word should be carefully examined to determine whether they are in agreement with the semantic possibilities of the language. Adding a new meaning to a word is more than just a convention. Secondly, to replace some of the meanings of words like *han* and *ai* with loans or new creations will affect the semantic structure of Tok Pisin. The introduction of such words and phrases as *lid bilong botol*, *gebol bilong haus*, *poin bilong pensil* or *nipel* is completely uncalled for.

On the other hand, one cannot blindly assume that the semantic patterns of Tok Pisin are Oceanic only, since the language is in an ambivalent position, between an indigenous and European way of thinking. The culture associated with it is in many ways very far removed from the traditional ways of life and a recent study of body term metaphors (Todd and Mühlhäusler 1978) has clearly demonstrated that a sizeable proportion of this semantic field was probably independently developed from the internal resources of Tok Pisin.

6.8.2.3.4 Other factors relating to systematic adequacy

Language planners proposing new lexical material have to consider, apart from the areas just discussed, various other aspects of systematic adequacy in a number of other respects, including the following:

- a) Potential confusion with established items. The danger of confusion is greatest in the case of new homophones or near-homophones, polymorphemic loans whose morphemes are homophonous with existing items (Sadler 1974b:7), and in those cases where the meaning of existing items is expanded in accordance with an English model.

- b) Compatibility with existing morpheme and word structure conventions. As observed by Laycock (1969:13) "many English words do not fit well into Pidgin pronunciation and orthography."
- c) The status of innovations with regard to the derivational lexicon of Tok Pisin. This point concerns the decision whether a new item should be a lexical base or a derived lexical item.
- d) Compatibility with existing semantic field organisation. In some areas of lexical semantics the introduction of a single new item may result in the restructuring of a whole lexical field.
- e) Reduction of non-functional lexical idiosyncrasies. This last point needs some further consideration.

Tok Pisin is, to a very significant extent, the result of unplanned growth. This is reflected, for instance, in the large number of competing rules at all levels of grammar. At the syntactic level, for instance, one finds at least three different ways of signalling relative clauses and complement clauses. At the morphological level, similar competing rules are found, for instance, with Tok Pisin predicative adjectives. Their idiosyncratic behaviour has been discussed by Wurm (1971a:22-23 and 52-56), Dutton (1973:98-99 and 157-158) and Mühlhäusler 1982a:419-425). Tok Pisin adjectives fail to meet the basic requirement of systematic adequacy (one form - one meaning) on the following grounds:

- a) there are no consistent criteria for choosing *-pela* (the adjective suffix);
- b) the positional potential of many word bases is very restricted;
- c) there is an acute shortage of attributive adjectives.

A hypothetical solution to these problems would involve the following decisions on the part of the language planner:

(a) To restrict the use of *-pela* to monosyllabic attributive adjectives. This convention would lead to the following changes:

present-day Tok Pisin	proposed forms	gloss
bikpela moran	bikpela moran	<i>big python</i>
fri kantri	fripela kantri	<i>free country</i>
hamas(pela) sumatin?	hamas sumatin?	<i>how many students?</i>
liklik wansiling	liklik wansiling	<i>small sum of money</i>

Another irregularity is that many adjectives used as predicative verbals undergo some changes in semantic information. The difference between those that do and others that do not change semantic features could be signalled, as is done in some fluent second-language varieties, by adding the suffix *-wan* *one* to adjectives which appear in predicative position without changing semantic information, as in:

present-day Tok Pisin	proposed forms	gloss
trausis i klin	trausis i klinwan	<i>the trousers are clean</i>
haus i bikpela	haus i bikwan	<i>the house is big</i>
spia i sap	spia i sapwan	<i>the spear is sharp</i>
bris i longpela	bris i longwan	<i>the bridge is long</i>

Adjectives which change their meaning in predicative position, in particular those which receive a non-static verbal interpretation, would be signalled by zero, as in:

predicative adjective		deadjektivised verbal	
strongwan	<i>strong</i>	strong	<i>to be stubborn, insist</i>
draiwan	<i>dry</i>	drai	<i>to dry up</i>
bikwan	<i>big</i>	bik	<i>to become large, grow</i>

(b) The position of attributive adjectives either before or after the noun they modify is not predictable by general rule in present-day Tok Pisin, though there are some regularities, such as that which specifies that negative adjectives beginning with no- usually follow the noun, as in:

man nogut	<i>a bad man</i>
man noles	<i>an eager man</i>

However, some speakers use the form em i nogut man *he is a bad man*. Arguing, as does Wurm (1978), that forms found in some variants of Tok Pisin could be used in language planning to increase either systematic or referential adequacy, the author suggests that the use of these negative adjectives in prenominal position should be encouraged.

Moreover, adjective bases listed by Wurm (1971a:55) and Mihalic (1971:18) as following the noun, are found in some varieties of Rural Tok Pisin to precede it, as in:

maupela banana	<i>ripe banana</i>
trupela tok	<i>true statement</i>
slekpela taia	<i>slack tyre</i>
daunpela wara	<i>deep river</i>
hevi kago	<i>heavy cargo</i>
doti pik	<i>dirty pig</i>

The tendency for new adjective bases to appear in prenominal position can also be observed in urban varieties, as in:

jeles lusman	<i>spiteful loser</i>
spesel mailo	<i>special Milo = beer</i>
stupit man	<i>stupid man</i>
rural pipel	<i>rural people</i>
yusles toktok	<i>useless talk</i>

The recognition of language internal developmental tendencies is by far the best basis for language planning, as it virtually closes the gap between prescription and prediction. The use of information from more advanced (creolised) varieties of the language as the basis for prescription is also involved in the following point.

(c) There is a shortage of attributive adjectives in Tok Pisin since they cannot be derived from other word bases or derived lexical items. This restriction does not affect its referential adequacy but it does affect stylistic flexibility as well as increasing syntactic complexity, since many attributive adjectives of English can only be rendered by a relative sentence in Tok Pisin. Compare:

pikinini we i les no ken gohet	<i>lazy children will not prosper</i>
em i skelim ol bek i pulap	<i>he weighed the full bags</i>
draiwa i piksim taia i slek	<i>the driver fixed the flat tyre</i>

Some relaxation of the constraint on the use of predicative verb bases and derived verbals as attributive adjectives is already evident. Thus, I have recorded:

solpela kaikai	<i>salty food</i>
welpela rot	<i>slippery road</i>

New attributive adjectives which could be introduced include:

present-day Tok Pisin	proposed innovation	gloss
usket i bus	buspela usket	<i>unshaven chin</i>
man i sak	sakpela man	<i>shark-like person</i>
ston i gol	golpela ston	<i>golden stone</i>
kaikai i suga	suga kaikai	<i>sweet food</i>

This then concludes our discussion of systematic adequacy of Tok Pisin. In appealing to this criterion one should remember that:

- a) Tok Pisin, like other natural languages, is not a closed but an open system. It cannot be expected that mechanical procedures will ever yield satisfactory solutions and, in many cases, no decision as to what is right or what is wrong can be made. Hence, systematic adequacy must be seen as a set of guidelines rather than strict rules.
- b) Systems do not have to be static. In fact, a recognition of Tok Pisin's dynamically changing character makes it possible for language planners to bring their prescriptions into line with the predictions made by theoretical linguists.
- c) Since systematic adequacy is closely related to learnability it is a particularly important factor in planning second languages such as Tok Pisin.

6.8.3 EXPANDING THE LEXICON OF TOK PISIN

6.8.3.1 Introduction

Having established some of the central theoretical issues underlying lexical planning, I will now turn to the practical question as to how such knowledge can be applied to the actual planning process. I hope I have made it clear why Tok Pisin's status as a second language calls for maximal reliance on internal word-formation processes and minimal reliance on borrowing. Put differently, when items borrowed from English and other languages enter the language in an uncontrolled fashion, planners should be concerned primarily with

- a) suggesting ways how existing word-formation mechanisms can be exploited more fully, and
- b) integrating recently-borrowed material into the language, thus making it amenable to its productive rules.¹

Task a) will be discussed with respect to the four principal areas of lexical enrichment - extension of meaning, multifunctionality, compounding and reduplication - whilst only a few remarks will be made about task b). A better understanding of some of the examples adduced here can be achieved by referring to the descriptive account of the Tok Pisin lexicon given elsewhere in this volume (4.5).

6.8.3.2 Extension of the meaning of lexical bases

Given the large semantic loads carried by many Tok Pisin words, this solution must be handled with great care. However, the extension of meaning can be used successfully to create a more idiomatic and colourful language. This process can be observed and has been discussed in detail by Brash (1971). The semantic range of many words has not yet been exhaustively described and the language planner's main task will be to make the marginal meanings better known. During my fieldwork in Papua New Guinea I have noted numerous examples of how speakers extend existing meanings to refer to new concepts. Thus, Tok Pisin *mau ripe* is used in the phrase *natnat i mau pinis the mosquito is full of blood*. The word *mama mother* is used to refer to something very big: *em i gat mama bilong smok he has a very long cigarette*. *Memba* not only means *member* but also *subscriber*. It is also used as a verb: *mi memba long niuspepa I subscribe to a newspaper*. Healey (1975:39) also provides a good example:

The word 'pasindia' I understand arose out of the custom of young Highland girls travelling along the Highlands Highway as passengers in vehicles without paying fare and thus the word 'pasindia' has now been extended to mean in Pidgin a free-loader or someone who doesn't pay his way, a lodger, a non-paying guest within the wantok system.

The word *grile tineas*, *scales of a fish* has come to mean *not planed properly* among carpenters, e.g. *dispela plang i grile this board is not yet smooth*.

Sek from *cheque* is used for both *cheque* and *bank account*: *moni i stap long sek means the money is in the bank account*. A number of these extended meanings are regionally restricted but they could be promoted and gain general acceptance.

In extending the range of meaning of existing items one has to beware of certain factors. First, it is easy for someone who studies semantic potential outside the context of use to come up with solutions which run counter to the wider semantic patterns of the language. Second, etymological considerations, i.e. the meaning of an item in its original source language, should not be given too much prominence. Thus, the extension of the meaning of *blu blue* in Tok Pisin to include that of *having failed or lost* is perfectly legitimate because of the widespread game of tossing matchboxes, which is lost when the blue side shows up. On the other hand, to extend the meaning of *blu* to cover that of *sad* or *conservative*, as in English, would seem inappropriate. The best course here is to systematically observe spoken forms of the language and collect those usages which would seem worth promoting to a wider group of users. Caution is called for, however, as the use of the same word in many meanings violates the principle that ease of learning is greatest when there is a one-to-one relationship between form and meaning. This objection does not apply to the same extent in two cases which will now be discussed: a) the lifting of collocational restrictions, and b) the use of grammatical categories to make up for lexical shortages.

6.8.3.2.1 Lifting of co-occurrence restrictions

As an illustration of this phenomenon has already been given above, only a brief exemplification will be given here. What is involved is the observation that many lexical items in older languages such as English are indeed not a sign of great referential power, but of a multiplicity of unmotivated, arbitrary restrictions on the use of words. This means old languages have a tendency to not only segment the semantic space into a very large number of lexical concepts/

meanings but, in addition, to use different forms for the same concept in differing semantic environments. The conditions for the correct use of lexical items are highly complex and consequently an early victim of pidginisation. Whereas English has a large number of lexical items for indicating a subset or portion of an entity, Tok Pisin has only one, hap. Compare:

hap suga	<i>lump of sugar</i>
hap gol	<i>nugget of gold</i>
hap bret	<i>morsel of bread</i>
hap tok	<i>unit of speech</i>
hap graun	<i>clod of earth</i>
hap diwai	<i>block of wood</i>
hap bret	<i>slice of bread</i>

Another example is stik:

stik bilong savol	<i>shovel handle</i>
stik bilong wokabaut	<i>walking stick</i>
stik bilong diwai	<i>tree trunk</i>

Stik can also be used to translate terms such as *bar, wand, rod, staff* or *perch*. Note that in all instances disambiguation through phrase formation is possible.

These examples raise another question which has often received confused answers, that of the 'metaphorical' nature of pidgin languages. Compare the following two quotations on the lexical item gras: "Gras from *grass*. It very seldom is used to mean grass but is one of the common words you will pick up quite early. It means *hair, fur, feathers*." (Murphy 1966:40). Another note on this item is given by Hall (1966:90ff): "English *grass* appears in Pidgin as /gras/, but refers, not only to the green plant, but to anything that grows outward from a surface in a blade-like shape; so *hair* is, quite logically, /gras bilon hed/, and *beard* is /gras bilon fes/."

It would seem, from such quotations, that Tok Pisin speakers have metaphorically extended the meaning of a lexical item. This is true only from the point of view of an English speaker. In actual fact, the semantic space occupied by the literal meanings of *hair, fuzz, feathers, grass, mould*, etc. in English is occupied by just one literal meaning in Tok Pisin. What is a literal meaning and a metaphorical meaning can be determined only within a given language, not by comparing languages. It would make little sense to accuse English of a metaphorical use of the word *uncle* because, unlike Tok Pisin, it is used to refer to both maternal and paternal uncles. An immediate consequence of these remarks is, that any use of metaphorical extension of a meaning should be in conformity with the role of metaphor in that language and not be influenced by conventions in another language. English metaphors frequently cannot be integrated into the semantic system of Tok Pisin.

What has been said about collocational restrictions for noun bases also holds for verb bases. The selection of the English verbs in the following examples is dependent on special semantic properties of either subject or object nouns, whereas such conditions do not apply to Tok Pisin. Compare:

kaikai	<i>to eat, feed</i>
kaikai gras, kunai	<i>to graze</i>
kaikai lip	<i>to browse</i>
kaikai smok	<i>to smoke</i>
pundaun (v.intr.)	<i>to crash</i>
	<i>to smash</i>

to tumble down

to fall

(one of the conditions for correct choice of the verb being the size and consistency of the subject)

singaut	<i>to call, make a noise</i>
laien i singaut	<i>the lion is roaring</i>
meme i singaut	<i>the goat is bleating</i>
dok i singaut	<i>the dog is barking</i>
belo i singaut	<i>the bell is ringing</i>
kakaruk i singaut	<i>the rooster is crowing</i>

In all these cases, the referential power of Tok Pisin is perfectly comparable to that of English, though obviously there are stylistic advantages to having additional collocationally restricted lexical material.

6.8.3.2.2 Use of grammatical categories for lexical expansion

The boundary between syntax (grammar) and lexicon can differ from language to language such that the job carried out by one of these components in one language is done by another component in the next language. A good illustration is the use of syntactic circumlocution instead of separate lexical bases. However, whereas circumlocution tends to be ad hoc and furthermore cumbersome for the decoder (and consequently not tolerated for long in a language like Tok Pisin where ease of perception takes precedence over ease of production), the use of grammatical categories such as aspect, tense, number, etc. for lexical enrichment is efficient from both the viewpoints of referential adequacy and systematic adequacy. Let us illustrate this with a number of verb types:

(a) Aspect markers of inception and completion

Tok Pisin verbs tend to be neutral with regard to whether the action referred to has just begun or is completed. Where disambiguation is needed the verb is either preceded by laik i 'inception' or followed by pinis 'action completed'. Most grammars of the language remark on the stock examples dai *to be unconscious* against dai pinis *to be dead* and painim *to look for* as against painim pinis *to find*. However, the system is widely used with many other verbs, for instance those in the following list:

neutral form		form marked for completion	
promis	<i>to promise</i>	promis pinis	<i>to honour a promise</i>
kamap	<i>to approach</i>	kamap pinis	<i>to arrive</i>
harim	<i>to hear</i>	harim pinis	<i>to understand</i>
banisim	<i>to round up</i>	banisim pinis	<i>to have enclosed</i>
dring	<i>to drink</i>	dring pinis	<i>to drown</i>
bagarapim	<i>to damage</i>	bagarapim pinis	<i>to ruin</i>
brukim	<i>to attempt to break</i>	brukim pinis	<i>to break</i>
rere	<i>to prepare oneself</i>	rere pinis	<i>to be ready</i>
sindaun	<i>to sit down</i>	sindaun pinis	<i>to hatch, sit on eggs</i>

More examples are to be found in Mühlhäusler 1979c and in Wurm, Mühlhäusler and Laycock 1977.

It can be noted that, with half the number of lexical items, the referential adequacy of Tok Pisin is comparable to that of English.

(b) Non-intentional and intentional actions

Tok Pisin verbs typically are neutral between expressing intended and unintended actions, a fact which has led to considerable misunderstandings between Papua New Guineans and Europeans particularly with verbs such as *giaman* *to be mistaken*, *to lie* or *hepi* *to be happy* or *to celebrate* in a construction such as *Anzac de em i de bilong man i hepi long soldia indai long woa Anzac day is a day where people celebrate (not are happy about) the soldiers who died in the war.* Whilst the simple verb stem is frequently used on its own and disambiguation relies on textual and contextual clues the use of *wok long* 'durative marker' makes it clear that one is dealing with an intended action. Compare:

neutral form		form marked for intended action	
<i>amamas</i>	<i>to be happy</i>	<i>wok long amamas</i>	<i>to rejoice in, celebrate</i>
<i>bulsitim</i>	<i>to misinform</i>	<i>wok long bulsitim</i>	<i>to deceive</i>
<i>bamim</i>	<i>to run into,</i> <i>accidentally hit</i>	<i>wok long bamim</i>	<i>to deliberately run</i> <i>into, to bump</i>
<i>lukim</i>	<i>to see</i>	<i>wok long lukim</i>	<i>to look at</i>
<i>hirim</i>	<i>to hear, perceive</i>	<i>wok long hirim</i>	<i>to listen</i>

(c) Some dialectal forms

Wurm (1971a:33) observes that in some varieties of Highlands Tok Pisin the choice between the preposition *long* and the transitivity marker *-im* determines whether "the action directed towards an object is carried through entirely with full results", as in *grisim* *to flirt with someone impressing the person*, or whether "the action is understood as being aimed at an object, without necessarily reaching the point of being carried out in full and achieving a complete result", as in *gris long* *flirt with someone without necessarily making an impression*. Numerous examples of this construction are given by Wurm. It would seem, however, that the referential function of this mechanism partially overlaps with the *pinis* 'completion marker' construction mentioned under (a), and thus may be a less suitable candidate for a device of lexical expansion in a future standardised Tok Pisin.

6.8.3.3 Complex lexical items

6.8.3.3.1 General remarks

In contrast to most other pidgins and many creoles, Tok Pisin has a highly developed system of word formation. Not only is there a set of more than 50 different programs for the derivation of new words (described in Mühlhäusler 1979c), but in addition, these programs are sufficiently diverse to cater for systematic as well as referential adequacy. This can be illustrated with the following data.

Tok Pisin has a number of ways of referring to people associated with certain activities, localities or properties. The programs accounting for complex words in this area are:

- a) Compounding involving the ending *-man* *person*, as in *saveman* *knowledgeable person*, *stilman* *thief* or *haitman* *person who hides, sneaky customer*.
- b) Compounds of the type *V + N*, such as *tanimtok* *turn talk = interpreter* or *baimboi* *buy boys = labour recruiter*.

- c) Categorially shifted nouns referring to a place becoming the name of its inhabitants, such as *nambis beach*, *coastal dweller* or *maunten mountain*, *mountain dweller*.
- d) 'Exocentric' compounds of the type N + N, such as *blakskin a blackskinned person* or *wetpus someone with a white scarf*, *paramount chief*.

In describing different kinds of people the diversity of programs not only enables users and planners of the language to choose the one appropriate for stressing certain semantic properties of the person described, but moreover to choose items of greater or lesser length (morphological complexity) to signal the centrality or marginality of the concept referred to. An example might be the name for *park ranger*. It is unfortunate that Tok Pisin *pak park* is homophonous with the verb *fak fuck* in some varieties. Leaving this consideration aside, the following solutions emerge:

<i>pak</i>	<i>park, someone who looks after a park, ranger</i>
<i>pakman</i>	<i>park man = ranger</i>
<i>bosimpak</i>	<i>someone in charge of a park, ranger</i>

One can now argue that the first solution is too short for a name referring to a rather unusual profession, that the second would be appropriate if it was not for the possible confusion with *fakman fucker*, and that the third solution is therefore the most satisfactory as regards systematic adequacy plus social acceptability. Having made these general remarks, I will now turn to the main classes of word formation processes in Tok Pisin.

6.8.3.3.2 Multifunctionality (MF)

The use of lexical bases in more than one grammatical function is perhaps the most important single mechanism with which the lexicon of Tok Pisin can be extended. From the point of view of economy, the presence of patterns of multifunctionality can lead to a significant reduction in the number of lexical bases needed. The importance of MF for vocabulary planning has been stressed by Tauli (1968:109):

In an ideal situation it should be possible to derive certain semantic and grammatical categories from any word, if necessary. This refers especially to the conversion of word class, e.g. it should be possible to derive, if necessary, from every substantive, an adjective and a diminutive, from every adjective an abstract substantive and a privative, from every verb a *nomen actionis* and a *nomen agentis*.... Languages differ regarding possibility and easiness in deriving verbs from nouns, particularly in the most economic way, by zero or direct derivation, i.e. using the bare noun stem without any derivational suffix.

Pidgins typically belong to the type of language in which direct derivation or multifunctionality can be easily executed. A full account of the MF patterns available in Tok Pisin is given by Mühlhäusler (1979c). However, there are a number of areas which deserve special discussion here.

First, it is a well known fact that Tok Pisin, like other pidgins, lacks abstract nouns. The majority of English abstract nouns appear as verbs or

adjectives in Tok Pisin and it is only in the recent past that things have begun to change. Still, the basic principle remains that abstract nouns are not 'good' nouns,² but secondary derivations from other word classes. This means that language planners should avoid introducing abstract noun bases such as fan *fun* or kondisen *condition*.

Let us briefly consider the grammar underlying the fact that, in the words of Hall (1943a:23), "Almost any verb may be used as a noun, indicating the performance of the act denoted by the verb". This process is governed by the following rules and restrictions:

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

mi tok *I am talking* mi mekim tok *I utter talk*
mi tokim yu *I am telling you* mi mekim tok long yu *I address talk at you*

(b) Transitive verb bases which never appear without *-im* retain *-im* in the derived abstract noun, as in:

mi laik askim *I would like to ask*
mi laik mekim askim *I would like to put a question*

(c) There are regular correspondences between aspect in the basic verb phrase and certain verbal auxiliaries in the derived expressions involving abstract nouns. These are:

aspect marker used with adjective or verb base	auxiliary selected in syntactic derivation	function
wok long + adj/V	mekim + N	performative
laik + adj/V	painim + N	inchoative
∅ + adj/V	gat + N	neutral

Consider the following examples:

i) mekim *to make*

em i wok long hambak *he is humbugging*
ol i wok long toktok *they are talking*
ol i wok long kivung *they are gathering*
em i wok long promis *she promises*

em i mekim hambak *he talks humbug*
ol i mekim toktok *they make talk*
ol i mekim kivung *they hold a meeting*
em i mekim promis *she makes a promise*

ii) painim *to experience*

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

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

em i painim sik *he contracted a disease*
yu painim bagarap *you met with an accident*
man painim indai *he met his death*

iii) gat to get

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

mi kros	<i>I am angry</i>
mi les	<i>I am tired</i>
klos i doti	<i>the garment is dirty</i>
mi gat kros	<i>I exhibited anger</i>
mi gat les	<i>I showed (signs of) laziness</i>
klos i gat doti	<i>the clothes show (signs of) dirt</i>

Knowledge of regularities such as those just outlined will help language planners to assess whether the introduction of a new abstract noun is really necessary or whether it could simply be expressed by either an existing verb or verb-derived noun. In the following table, the suppletive innovations could have easily been avoided:

verb base	derived abstract noun	suppletive abstract noun	gloss
askim	(mekim) askim	kwesten	<i>to ask/question</i>
bekim	(mekim) bekim	ansa	<i>to answer/answer</i>
tingting	(gat) tingting	aidia	<i>to think/idea</i>
hariap	(mekim) hariap	spit	<i>to hurry/speed</i>

Whereas abstract nouns contribute little to the referential power of Tok Pisin, there are a number of other types of multifunctionality (zero derivation) which greatly increase the size of its lexicon. As an exhaustive account of these is given by Mühlhäusler (1979c:349-375), only a few representative examples will be mentioned here:

Example 1: Derivation of an intransitive verb from a noun to express the meaning 'to do what is typically done by N', as in:

noun base	derived intransitive verbal
witnes <i>witness</i>	witnes <i>to be a witness</i>
boskru <i>crew member</i>	boskru <i>to be a crew member</i>
bos <i>boss</i>	bos <i>to be in charge</i>
draiwa <i>driver</i>	draiwa <i>to be a driver</i>
jas <i>judge</i>	jas <i>to be a judge</i>
kundar <i>acolyte</i>	kundar <i>to be an acolyte</i>
memba <i>member</i>	memba <i>to be a member, subscribe</i>
papa <i>father</i>	papa <i>to be the owner of</i>
pasindia <i>freeloader</i>	pasindia <i>to sponge</i>

A comparison between the Tok Pisin and English examples illustrates a considerable saving in lexical bases without loss in referential power in the former language.

Example 2: Derivation of intransitive verb from noun to express the meaning 'to engage in an activity such as is typically carried out in the locality referred to by N', as in the following examples:

noun base		derived intransitive verbal	
gol	<i>goal</i>	gol	<i>to be in goal (football)</i>
bung	<i>gathering place</i>	bung	<i>to come together</i>
ami	<i>army</i>	ami	<i>to do military service</i>
haiskul	<i>high school</i>	haiskul	<i>to go to high school</i>
kivung	<i>gathering</i>	kivung	<i>to gather</i>
klap	<i>club</i>	klap	<i>to meet at the club</i>
kot	<i>court</i>	kot	<i>to hold a court</i>
opis	<i>office</i>	opis	<i>to work in an office</i>
linik	<i>clinic</i>	linik	<i>to hold a clinic</i>
skul	<i>school</i>	skul	<i>to go to school</i>
sua	<i>shore, beach</i>	sua	<i>to go ashore, land</i>
maket	<i>market</i>	maket	<i>to hold a market</i>
arere	<i>edge, boundary</i>	arere	<i>to lie in waiting, ambush</i>
blok	<i>a planted block of coconut palms or space between</i>	blok	<i>to work in a block, work together</i>

Example 3: Nouns referring to afflictions or body parts can become intransitive verbs meaning 'to suffer from or to be conspicuous because of N', as in the following examples:

noun base		derived intransitive verbal	
grile	<i>ringworm, tinea</i>	grile	<i>to have ringworm, a rough surface</i>
gris	<i>fat</i>	gris	<i>to be fat</i>
kambang	<i>mould</i>	kambang	<i>to be mouldy</i>
kaskas	<i>scabies</i>	kaskas	<i>to be scabious</i>
masel	<i>muscle</i>	masel	<i>to be very strong</i>
mosong	<i>fluff</i>	mosong	<i>to be fluffy</i>
ros	<i>rust</i>	ros	<i>to be rusty</i>
susu	<i>breast</i>	susu	<i>to be grown up (of girls)</i>
sua	<i>ulcer</i>	sua	<i>to be ulcerous</i>
tais	<i>swamp</i>	tais	<i>to be swampy</i>
kru	<i>sprout, creeper</i>	kru	<i>to be sprouting</i>

The above three examples illustrate zero derivation in the strictest sense, i.e. no formal changes occur with the lexical item. There are numerous other instances where different word-class membership is signalled by word-endings such as -im. It is customary to also deal with such cases under the heading of multifunctionality. A few examples are:

Example 4: Nouns referring to adornments or alienable properties can become transitive verbs ending in the transitivity marker -im. Examples of such ornative verbs include:

noun base		derived transitive verbal	
bilas	<i>adornment</i>	bilasim	<i>to adorn, decorate</i>
kala	<i>colour</i>	kalaim	<i>to colour in</i>
pen	<i>paint</i>	penim	<i>to paint</i>
sadol	<i>saddle</i>	sadolim	<i>to saddle</i>
kraun	<i>crown</i>	kraunim	<i>to crown</i>
nem	<i>name</i>	nemim	<i>to name</i>

Example 5: Perhaps the best known case of multifunctionality, because of its early appearance in Tok Pisin and its great productivity, is the derivation of verbs from nouns referring to instruments. A selection of forms follows:

noun base		derived verbal	
ain	<i>iron</i>	ainim	<i>to iron</i>
baira	<i>hoe</i>	bairaim	<i>to hoe</i>
bilo	<i>half coconut shell</i>	biloim	<i>to bail out, ladle</i>
blok	<i>pulley</i>	blokim	<i>to raise with pulley</i>
bombom	<i>torch</i>	bombomim	<i>to catch fish with torch</i>
bros	<i>brush</i>	brosim	<i>to brush</i>
bulit	<i>glue</i>	bulitim	<i>to glue</i>
dril	<i>drill</i>	drilim	<i>to drill</i>
glas	<i>thermometer</i>	glasim	<i>to take someone's temperature</i>
glu	<i>glue</i>	gluim	<i>to glue</i>
hama	<i>hammer</i>	hamaim	<i>to hammer</i>
huk	<i>hook</i>	hukim	<i>to catch with a hook</i>
kom	<i>comb</i>	komim	<i>to comb</i>
laim	<i>glue</i>	laimim	<i>to glue</i>
lok	<i>lock</i>	lokim	<i>to lock</i>
spun	<i>spoon</i>	spunim	<i>to spoon</i>
skel	<i>scales</i>	skelim	<i>to weigh</i>
skru	<i>screw</i>	skruim	<i>to join with screw</i>
susu	<i>punt</i>	susuim	<i>to move with a punting pole</i>
swit	<i>switch</i>	switim	<i>to switch on or off</i>
spaten	<i>spade</i>	spatenim	<i>to dig with a spade</i>
wais	<i>vice</i>	waisim	<i>to hold in a vice</i>
wara	<i>water</i>	waraim	<i>to clean with water</i>
winis	<i>winch</i>	winisim	<i>to raise with a winch</i>
wilwil	<i>mincer</i>	wilwilim	<i>to mince</i>
win	<i>wind, breath</i>	winim	<i>to blow out</i>

Again, a comparison between the young 'natural' Tok Pisin and the old 'cultural' English reveals many more irregularities (suppletion) in the latter.

6.8.3.3.3 Compounding (CP)

A second type of motivated word is the compound, i.e. a word combining two existing lexical bases into a new lexical item, as in *aslo* from *as* *origin, foundation* plus *lo law = constitution*. There exist, in present-day Tok Pisin, a large number of patterns (programs) for generating compounds out of existing lexical bases. Again, these are listed in full in Mühlhäusler 1979c:375-404, and only a few examples will be given here. Compounds in Tok Pisin are manifested either as single stress words or, as is the case in many of its Melanesian contact languages, as dual stress lexical phrases, the difference being illustrated by *wanhaus someone living in the same building* as against *haus blut menstrual hut*. There is a growing tendency for Tok Pisin compounds to be of the former type and language planners should make use of this trend.

Compounding, like multifunctionality, illustrates the baselessness of accusations that Tok Pisin cannot express abstract concepts. In actual fact, Tok Pisin has a number of mechanisms capable of signalling, in a systematic way, subtle differences which are usually fully lexicalised in English. Let me illustrate this with compounds and lexical phrases involving *wok activity* and *pasin manner*.

Example 1: Lexical phrases with wok

Lexical phrases having wok as their first element correspond to a number of English abstract nouns having endings such as *ion*, *ism* or *ure*, for example: wok balus *work aeroplane* = *aviation*, wok turis *work tourist* = *tourism*, wok didiman *work agricultural officer* = *agriculture*. The advantage of having a single pattern rather than a large number of programs doing the same job is obvious; it increases the simplicity of the lexicon and thus makes new terms readily learnable. Now compare the following list:

Tok Pisin	gloss	English
wok skul	<i>work school</i>	<i>education</i>
wok balus	<i>work plane</i>	<i>aviation</i>
wok gaden	<i>work garden</i>	<i>agriculture</i>
wok kot	<i>work court</i>	<i>justice</i>
wok dokta	<i>work doctor</i>	<i>health</i>
wok prin	<i>work print</i>	<i>printing</i>
wok nes	<i>work nurse</i>	<i>nursing</i>
wok ami	<i>work army</i>	<i>defence</i>
wok brotkas	<i>work broadcast</i>	<i>broadcasting</i>
wok lukaut	<i>work look after</i>	<i>trusteeship</i>
wok marimari	<i>work pity</i>	<i>charity</i>
wok bembe	<i>work cargo magic</i>	<i>cargo cult</i>
wok tisa	<i>work teacher</i>	<i>teaching</i>
wok sori	<i>work sorry</i>	<i>penance</i>

The high productivity of this type of compounding is illustrated by some recent innovations in Urban Tok Pisin, including:

wok at	<i>art, the arts</i>
wok politik	<i>politics</i>
wok miteroloji	<i>meteorology</i>

However, a study of Urban Tok Pisin also reveals a large number of suppletive forms, particularly in written language, including:

edikesen	<i>education</i>
eviesen	<i>aviation</i>
agrikalsa	<i>agriculture</i>
jastis	<i>justice</i>
helt	<i>health</i>

It is in such cases that language standardisation and prescription will be most needed if Tok Pisin is to remain an easily-learnt second language. Finally, I would like to point out that all of the above phrases can be functionally shifted to become verbs, as in:

ol i wok brotkas	<i>they do broadcasting</i>
ol i wok gaden	<i>they do gardening</i>
ol i wok bembe	<i>they perform cargo activities</i>
ol i wok prin	<i>they are in the printing business</i>

Abstract nouns borrowed from English, on the other hand, cannot be shifted so easily, as is illustrated in:

*ol i agrikalsa	<i>they do gardening</i>
*ol i brotkasing	<i>they do broadcasting</i>
etc.	

A further advantage is that these phrases resolve an ambiguity inherent in English terms such as *charity*, which can be interpreted as either 'the activities involved in, or stemming from, a certain attitude' or 'the attitude itself'. In Tok Pisin, this contrast is signalled by the choice between wok or pasin, as in wok marimari *the practical aspects of charity* as against pasin marimari *the attitude of being charitable*.

Example 2: Compounds ending in pasin

Abstract nouns consisting of verb or adjective bases plus pasin are numerous in Tok Pisin. The relevance of these items to language planning has also been discussed by Laycock (1969:9):

Other abstract nouns, those indicating manner, can be created by extending the use of the suffix -pasin, from English *fashion*. From isi *slow* we can have isipasin *slowness*, from daun we can have daunpasin *humility*, and so on.

Examples include:

dringpasin	<i>alcoholism, drinking</i>
paitpasin	<i>warfare, fighting</i>
gutpasin	<i>virtue</i>
stilpasin	<i>thievishness</i>
jelespasin	<i>jealousy</i>
proutpasin	<i>pride</i>
bikhetpasin	<i>stubbornness</i>
smatpasin	<i>smartness</i>
sikipasin	<i>cheekiness</i>

Again, when new terms are introduced this pattern often is not utilised. Thus, terms such as divosen *devotion*, are found alongside maritpasin *marital rights*, sempasin *impurity* and haidenpasin *idolatry*. More recent 'suppletive' items include kalsa *culture*, (politikal) ektiviti *political activity*, divelopmen et *development aid*, prensip *friendship*, ol Grup Dainemik *Group Dynamics* and timwok *teamwork*, all found in recent editions of *Wantok* newspaper.

Having dealt with the ways Tok Pisin can cope with the demands for more abstract expressions, I will now turn to some instances where compounding provides new concrete nouns.

Example 3: Compounds ending in -man

These compounds signal 'someone associated with, characterised by or engaged in the activity expressed in the first part (noun, adjective or verb) of such a compound'. They have been around in Tok Pisin for a long time and new ones are added continually. Unfortunately, there has recently been a trend to borrow words from English, as is illustrated in the following table:

motivated form (if available)	recent innovation	English
saveman bilong kainkain wok, woksaveman	speselis	<i>specialist</i>
tokman	spika, spoksmān	<i>speaker</i> <i>spokesman</i>
wokman	woka(s)	<i>worker</i>
sikman	pesen	<i>patient</i>
peman	ridima	<i>redeemer</i>
stuaman	stuakipa	<i>storekeeper</i>
	redio enaunsa	<i>radio announcer</i>
	ensinia	<i>engineer</i>
hetman	sip	<i>chief</i>
	skul liva	<i>school leavers</i>
	sitisen	<i>citizen</i>
pasindiamasta ³	turis	<i>tourist</i>
	greduet	<i>graduate</i>
kamman	ekspetriet	<i>expatriate</i>
	plama	<i>plumber</i>
	fama	<i>farmer</i>
pesman	lida	<i>leader</i>
	menesa	<i>manager</i>

The bulk of the innovations listed in the second column were found in mid-1974 editions of *Wantok*. Since only actually-documented items are listed in the leftmost column, one may gain the impression that the lexicon of Tok Pisin is unable to handle new concepts. This is not the case however, and most, if not all, of these gaps are accidental ones. It is easy to construct new terms which correspond with existing rules of word-formation as, for example, *famman farmer*, *plamman plumber* or *ensinman for engineer*.

In standardising and planning Tok Pisin, such forms should be encouraged and suppletive forms played down or eliminated.

Example 4: Compounds beginning with *bik big, important*

The importance of the adjective base *bik big* in providing new compounds has been discussed in Wurm, Mühlhäusler and Laycock 1977. Since that paper was written, I have collected a number of additional data supporting this view. Again, recent innovations in official and urban varieties are often suppletive to this pattern, thereby increasing the overall lexical complexity. Compare:

Tok Pisin	gloss	recent innovations	English
bikdua	<i>big door</i>		<i>gate</i>
bikrot	<i>big road</i>	menrot	<i>main road</i>
bikgraun	<i>big ground</i>	menlen	<i>mainland</i>
biksan	<i>big sun</i>		<i>drought</i>
biktisa	<i>big teacher</i>	profesa	<i>professor</i>
bikgavman	<i>big government</i>	stetgavman	<i>state government</i>

The last example, found in a recent edition of *Wantok*, illustrates how this program can be used to introduce new concepts which are relevant to the discussion of new political developments in Papua New Guinea. At the same time, the synonym *stetgavman*, found in the same edition of *Wantok*, illustrates the dependency on English models.

Example 5: Compounds with ples and haus

Tok Pisin has two ways of signalling places of cultural importance, either by means of a lexical phrase with haus for buildings and their parts or with ples for open spaces. Again, with both types, a fair amount of suppletion has appeared in recent years calling for standardisation and planning in this area of the Tok Pisin lexicon. Examples of the two types include:

(a) ples

motivated form	unmotivated form	English
ples klia		<i>clearing</i>
	so graun	<i>show ground</i>
ples balus	epot	<i>airport</i>
ples daiman	matmat	<i>cemetery</i>
ples daun		<i>valley</i>
ples kunai		<i>grassland</i>
ples kik	putbol pild	<i>soccer field</i>
ples hait		<i>hide-out</i>
ples singsing		<i>dancing ground</i>

(Additional examples can be found in Mihalic 1971:158.)

(b) haus

haus kaikai		<i>dining room</i>
haus win		<i>garden house, summer house</i>
haus wok	woksap	<i>workshop</i>
haus sik	hospitel	<i>hospital</i>
haus pekpek	toilet	<i>toilet</i>
haus pos	pos opis	<i>post office</i>
haus marit	marit kwata	<i>married quarters</i>

I do not feel that it is necessary to multiply the number of examples here. This has been done elsewhere (e.g. Laycock 1969 and Wurm, Mühlhäusler and Laycock 1977). Additional data would only support the assertion that insufficient use is made of patterns of word-formation and that many new loans result in both synonyms and suppletive forms.

One must keep in mind, however, that linguistic efficiency is not the only factor governing the extension and change in structure of a vocabulary. There appears to be the desire (mentioned by Hall 1956a) among many Papua New Guineans to replace 'childish or primitive' compounds with loans from English. It could, however, be better if words used only infrequently or in a very specialised context were loans from English rather than specially-coined compounds.

6.8.3.3.4 Verb serialisation

Verb serialisation could also be called a special case of compounding, though in its nature it tends to be grammatical rather than lexical and thus warrants a separate heading.

The only observation that verb serialisation is an important mechanism in Tok Pisin and in the simplification of its lexicon is found in Wickware 1943:113: "It frequently requires two verbs in pidgin to do the job of one in English. Thus *pull it down* becomes *pull im he-come down* and *stop the machine* is *make-im die machine*." The extent to which it is found in pidgins and creoles has become

better known in recent years, although its implications for both grammatical theory and the theory of pidgin formation are not yet well understood. Documentations of verb serialisation can be found in Agheyisi 1971 (for Nigerian Pidgin English), Voorhoeve 1975 (for Sranan) and Williams 1971 (for Krio), whereas Givón 1979 gives a theoretical evaluation of this problem. Some instances of verbal serialisation have been discussed earlier in Mühlhäusler 1979c:400-404. Here I shall investigate how this mechanism affects the adequacy of the Tok Pisin lexicon and how it can be used in vocabulary planning.

It can be shown that the exploitation of existing rules of verbal concatenation can result in a drastic reduction in the number of verb bases needed in the lexicon of Tok Pisin. The examples best known in the literature are those involving the direction markers *i go* 'direction away from the speaker' and *i kam* 'direction towards the speaker', as in:

<i>kisim i go</i>	<i>take it away</i>
<i>kisim i kam</i>	<i>bring it</i>

For speakers of Rural Tok Pisin, verbs such as *tekewe*, from English *take away*, do not imply a movement away from the speaker but merely *to remove*; in Tok Masta and Urban Tok Pisin the meaning coincides with that of English. The same is true for such anglicised suppletive forms as *pasim sol* *pass the salt* (heard from a European speaker).

The following list, extracted from the more comprehensive account given by Mühlhäusler (1979c), illustrates how Tok Pisin successfully expresses complex verbal ideas by means of verbal chaining.

Tok Pisin	gloss	English
<i>lainim soim</i>	<i>teach show</i>	<i>to demonstrate something</i>
<i>lukluk save</i>	<i>see know</i>	<i>to recognise</i>
<i>kotim pasim</i>	<i>sue obstruct</i>	<i>to arrest</i>
<i>kamdaun pairap</i>	<i>come down crash</i>	<i>to crash down</i>
<i>bruk lusim</i>	<i>break leave</i>	<i>to break away, secede</i>
<i>stil harim</i>	<i>be hidden listen</i>	<i>to overhear</i>

It is noted that verbal concatenation not only replaces complex verbs but also complex prepositions. The lack of prepositions in Tok Pisin is possibly a direct reflection of the importance of verbal chaining. Compare the following:

Tok Pisin	gloss	English
<i>plai raunim</i>	<i>fly surround</i>	<i>to fly around something</i>
<i>ron lusim</i>	<i>run leave</i>	<i>to run away from</i>
<i>brukim daunim</i>	<i>break lower</i>	<i>to break down something</i>

Further research into this phenomenon is needed before more concrete suggestions for language planning can be given.

6.8.3.4 Reduplication

In Tok Pisin, as indeed in many other languages, the principal function of reduplication is that of modifying the stylistic aspects of lexical items rather than providing a means of repairing referential inadequacies.

The use of reduplication (and repetition) is still restricted mainly to informal styles and this fact needs to be taken into consideration by language planners:

Vocabulary planning should take notice of the expressive meaning of reduplication, but it could be used to a rather limited extent in coining new words whose meaning is linked with rhythmic movement or other items mentioned above. A more extensive application of reduplication in modern languages would make a primitive impression. (Tauli 1968:97)

Reduplication has in the past been singled out as one of the features which show the 'childish' character of Tok Pisin, particularly common among those who regard it as a variety of English.

Since Tok Pisin serves as a means of identification, considerations such as primitiveness of linguistic structure and childishness of expressions may become relevant, and it may be desirable if certain reduplicatives were no longer obligatory lexicalised. The current tendency to replace *tingting to think* with *ting* and *toktok* with *tok* may have its origin in the desire of certain speakers to avoid certain words "which they consider to carry a connotation of inferiority" (Hall 1955b:93).

Keeping this factor in mind, the vocabulary planner may consider the careful promotion of reduplication in a number of areas. The restriction imposed on programs of reduplication, namely that they are to apply to word bases and not to derived members of a word class, could be relaxed to create forms such as: *brumbrumim to sweep thoroughly* or *kirkirapim to arouse heavily, stir up*. Some creolised varieties already show such a tendency and the proposal to extend the use of reduplication in this way is therefore unlikely to encounter much difficulty.

The function of lexicalised reduplication as a means of reducing homophony is another field which vocabulary planners might consider. The rapid increase in English loans in recent years has led to a dramatic increase in the number of homophones, a development which is potentially detrimental to the language (cf. remarks by Laycock 1969:8). One of the solutions is to introduce certain stems in their reduplicated form. Two conditions must be fulfilled before this can be done:

- a) There must be a real danger of ambiguity. This occurs mainly where homonyms share word-class membership and certain semantic properties.
- b) The duplicated stem must belong to an informal style of speech and, if possible, contain semantic features which make duplication appropriate.

Some examples in which these conditions appear to be fulfilled are: *hos horse* or *hose*, *kap carp* or *cup* and *buk swelling, boil* or *book*. New forms such as *hoshos horse* and *kakap carp* would fit well into the group of animal names which already have reduplicated stems, such as *sipsip sheep*, *meme goat*, *kotkot raven*, *pukpuk crocodile*. *Buk swelling* is already heard frequently in the reduplicated form *bukbuk*, as in: *skin bilongen i bukbuk nabaut his skin was covered in swellings, insect bites*.

Language planning could also be applied to the spelling of duplicated lexical items as no fixed conventions are yet available. I suggest that duplicatives should be spelt together in the case of a phonological word, i.e. a form having a single main stress. Thus, lexicalised duplicatives (e.g. *pekpek faeces*, *singsing traditional dance*, *saksak sago*) and items in which reduplication expresses plurality or intensity, should be spelled as one word, whereas, for instance, repetition of verbs to express duration should be written separately.

6.8.3.5 Implementation

There can be little doubt that the derivational lexicon of Tok Pisin has considerable power and that the referential needs of its speakers could be met without great reliance on borrowing from outside sources. Indeed, as can be seen in the more conservative rural varieties of the language, this is how the lexicon of Tok Pisin grew until relatively recently. In the urban varieties, on the other hand, one can observe a heavy reliance on English as a source of lexical growth and, in many cases, even existing established words are being replaced by more prestigious loans. Forms borrowed from English undoubtedly meet a number of needs other than referential requirements, in particular that of signalling the speaker's familiarity with modern (i.e. expatriate) modes of arguing and life. However, indiscriminate borrowing is costly since it renders the language more difficult to learn and in that it promotes sociolectal divisions, a highly undesirable feature for a lingua franca. There are thus good reasons for reversing or at least arresting this trend.

The best way to implement suggested changes is by means of a mechanism which is already available to speakers of the language and which in the past has been used countless times to introduce new lexical items. Whilst admittedly many of these newly introduced items were loans, there is no reason why one should not introduce internally generated lexical material in this way. I have called this mechanism 'systematic synonymy' and given a more detailed description elsewhere (Mühlhäusler 1979g).

It was observed as early as 1943 that synonymous terms tend to coexist even in idiolects: "Often, both a word or phrase formed within Pidgin itself and a term borrowed directly from English or some other source may exist concurrently." (Hall 1943b:192f). Hall gives the examples *poket*, *baktrausis* *pocket* and *braunpela*, *olsem graun* *brown* among others. My own observations also indicate that coexistence of synonyms in one and the same speech act is extremely frequent. Often, this synonymy is introduced by a speaker in the form *item o item*, as in *mi gat bikpela o impoten nius* *I have got important news* (example from an unpublished letter to *Wantok* newspaper) in which both the urban *item impoten* and the rural *item bikpela* are used simultaneously. The advice given to learners of Tok Pisin by Healey (n.d.:57) is: "If necessary use the nearest word or expression for the meaning you want, say it again or say it in another way if it is necessary to get the meaning across. Don't be afraid to repeat anything if it is necessary." The following examples illustrate how this is done in spoken and written Tok Pisin:

ol ofisa i bin RISAIN o LUSIM WOK BILONG OL	<i>the officers resigned or left their job</i>
em i wok long planim KASANG o PINAT	<i>he was busy planting peanuts</i>
em i kisim gut RES o MALOLO	<i>he takes a good rest</i>
yumi mas PREVENTIM o STOPIM	<i>we have to prevent or stop</i>
taim bilong DE BIHAIN o LAS DE	<i>on the last day</i>
gavman i LARIM o EKSEPTIM ol	<i>the government let or accepted them</i>
tupela painim WE o ROT bilong	<i>they (du.) are looking for a way or road (= method)</i>
bodi bilongen i HELTI o NOGAT SIK	<i>his body is healthy or has no sick- ness</i>

i tambu tru long PASINDIA o MAN NATING NATING	<i>no passengers or uninvited people</i>
ol bai KAMAP o PAS long eksam husat bai stretim dispela WARI o HEVI	<i>they will reach or pass the exam which will relieve this worry or concern</i>
dispela tok CHEQUE or PAS BILONG MANI bilong man i stap long HAUS MANI o BANK	<i>this expression 'cheque' or letter of money for somebody's money in the money house or bank</i>
kisim ol PROTAK o SAMTING YUMI MEKIM BILONG SALIM	<i>get products or something we produce in order to sell</i>
REPRENDUM o VOT BILONG OL PIPEL YET bilong makim de bai inde- pendens kamap	<i>a referendum or vote of the people themselves to determine the day of independence</i>
AIDENTIFIKESEN KAT o wanpela PEPA I GAT POTO NA OL STORI bilong wanwan	<i>identification card or a paper which has the photograph and description of individuals</i>
NEVI o AMI I SAVE PAIT LONG SOLWARA	<i>the navy or army which fights at sea</i>

If people encounter such new words often enough in official and public registers of the language it would seem likely that they would eventually also gain a wider acceptance in everyday speech. The success of *Wantok* newspaper in promoting certain lexical and grammatical innovations is an encouraging sign.

It is impossible to mention the many problems involved in implementing language policies and in making the results of language engineering acceptable. Those engaged in the business of standardising and expanding Tok Pisin would do well to regularly consult such specialist publications as the *Language Planning Newsletter* or *Language Problems and Language Planning*.

6.8.3.6 A practical example and conclusions

I hope to have demonstrated, in this chapter, that referential inadequacy is a relative term, dependent on the developmental stage in which a pidgin finds itself and that, furthermore, languages such as Tok Pisin have a considerable potential for repairing referential deficiencies from internal resources. However, as I have already suggested and as will indeed be illustrated in the second half of this chapter, actual planning practice has frequently underestimated or ignored this potential. A good example is the language of politics.

When Tok Pisin was first used as a parliamentary language in the late 1960s, it was hopelessly inadequate from the referential point of view. When I visited the Parliament in 1976, most referential inadequacies had been repaired, but at a cost. Most new expressions were loans from English and thus hard to understand for the occasional visitors to the House and for the voters back in the villages. The following list of expressions were noted in the Parliament and subsequently discussed with a group of students of the University of Papua New Guinea on the occasion of a Tok Pisin workshop in September 1976: *konstitusen constitution*, *praim minista prime minister*, *amenmen amendment*, *ekspendisa expenditure*, *disait to decide*, *risponsibel responsible*, *pis peace*, and *invesmen investment*.

The participants in the workshop noted that all of these terms either run counter to the grammar of Tok Pisin or are infelicitous for other reasons. Some of the objections were:

- a) The principle that no phonological word should consist of more than three syllables is violated by *konstitusen*, *ekspendisa* and *risponsibel*. New word bases such as *invesmen*, *they said*, are 'bad' because no derivational affixes can be added.
- b) Abstract nouns are typically derived from verbs in Tok Pisin, but this principle is violated by *amenmen* and *invesmen*.
- c) Homophones are dysfunctional. *Pis* can already mean *piece*, *fish* and *piss*; the possible confusion of *westim waste* and *investim invest* has been mentioned earlier.
- d) Semantically complex concepts are typically expressed by means of compounds in Tok Pisin. This principle is violated by *konstitusen* and *disait*.
- e) Suppletive forms are uneconomical. Next to *praim minista* one finds *sif minista chief minister*, *asbisop archbishop* and *nambawan kiap chief patrol officer*.

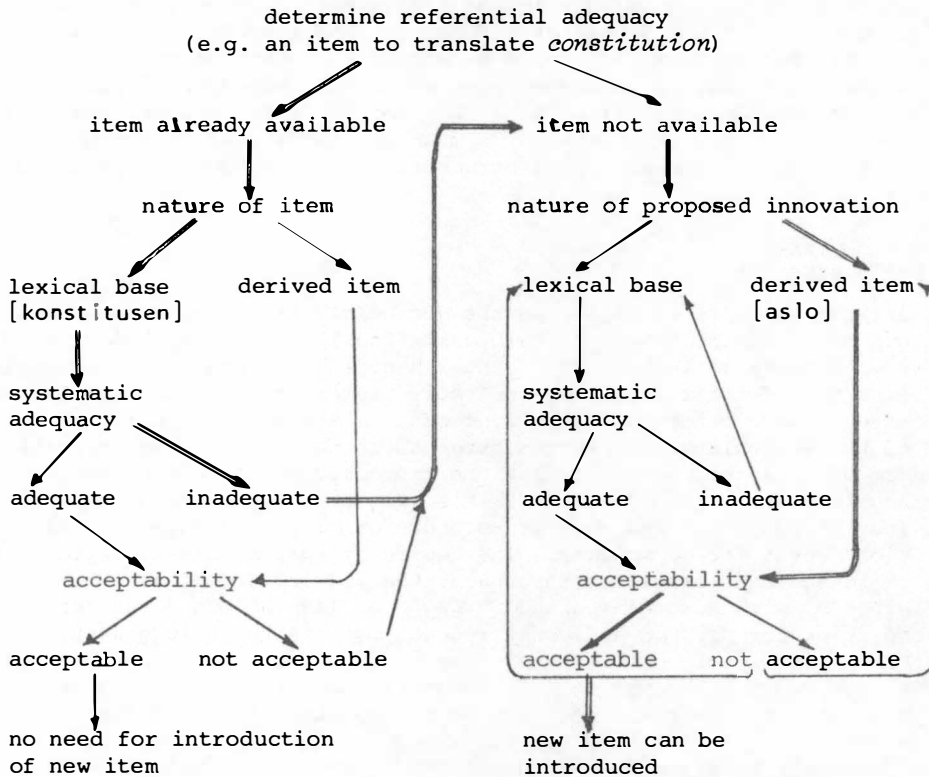
In view of these deficiencies a number of proposals were made. Some of them are similar to proposals arising out of an earlier workshop held by Lynch (1975). Special attention was paid to the internal word-formation potential of the language. These proposals include:

- a) *Konstitusen* should be replaced by *aslo fundamental law*. The prefix *as-* *foundation*, *origin* (from English *arse*) is used in many other expressions, including *asples home village*, *astingting basic idea*, and *asbuk basic reference book*.
- b) *Praim minista* should be replaced by *nambawan minista*. This expression would conform to similar ones such as *nambawan dokta head doctor*, *nambawan gavman administrator* and *nambawan luluai paramount chief*.
- c) *Amenmen* expresses a verbal concept and should therefore be encoded as a verb base. The basic idea is already expressed in Tok Pisin *stretim to straighten*, *correct*. The verbal compounds *tokstretim* and *wokstretim* would express the idea of *to make a verbal amendment* and *to improve by physical labour* respectively. Note that these proposals would also render superfluous the recent loans *impruvmen improvement* and *koreksen correction*.
- d) *Ekspendisa* also expresses a verbal concept. Again, the existing verb *spenim to spend* and the possibility of deriving the reduplicated form *spenspenim to spend money in a number of areas* makes borrowing superfluous.
- e) *Disait* in Tok Pisin as in English has two meanings: first, that someone is making decisions for others; and second, that a decision is arrived at jointly. Only the latter meaning is appropriate in the context of a democratic parliament. Because one is dealing with a complex concept, a verbal phrase was suggested: *bungim ting to bring together thoughts, to be in the process of making a decision*. As the concept of completion is typically signalled by the completion marker *pinis, to have arrived at a decision* would be *bungim ting pinis*.
- f) *Risponsibel* expresses a nominal concept. As its semantic structure is complex, it is best rendered by a compound noun such as *asman originator man*. This word is already documented for some varieties of Tok Pisin.

- g) It was argued that 'peace' is a simple and basic concept and should therefore be represented by a simple stem. The word *sana* was suggested, as this is the word for *peace* in Prime Minister Somare's home language and the title of his biography which is widely read in Papua New Guinea.
- h) *Invesmen* is a verbal concept. The existing verbal phrase *putim mani* to *put money* was suggested as a good alternative.

The adoption of such proposals as these would mean that Tok Pisin could meet all referential requirements of parliamentary transaction. At the same time, parliamentary and political language would become more transparent to the average Papua New Guinea villager allowing more involvement in national politics. The transparency of the planned forms is a result of the fact that they conform to the patterns of word formation already established in expanded Rural Tok Pisin. Thus, language planning is seen as a predictive process; that is, once Tok Pisin is seen as a dynamic and developing system, future natural developments can be predicted with fair accuracy. In contrast to borrowing, the character of the language remains intact.

The procedures underlying the decisions about political vocabulary can be expressed in terms of a general flowchart. With regard to the choice between *konstitusen* and *aslo* as terms to express *constitution* this would look as follows:



The double arrows indicate the steps involved in the hypothetical decision to replace an existing base *konstitusen* with a newly developed compound *aslo* *fundamental law, constitution*.

We are led to conclude then that language planning and engineering can be seen as a rational operation (determination of referential and systematic adequacy) as well as a culture dependent matter of preference (determination of acceptability). Whereas the former aspects can be derived readily from our knowledge of the developing linguistic structures of Tok Pisin, insights into the latter are still deficient. It is important that the knowledge of expatriate technocrats be supplemented with indigenous knowledge as to what is most appropriate and acceptable for the users of Tok Pisin.

6.8.4 THE HISTORY OF VOCABULARY PLANNING IN TOK PISIN

6.8.4.1 Introduction

I have postponed the discussion of the history of vocabulary planning to the end of the present chapter because I felt that readers would benefit, in their evaluation of the historical processes, from a knowledge of the more general issues involved. Much of what will be said will seem of a rather negative nature. However, it is not intended to ridicule the inefficiency and misguidedness of many earlier attempts to enrich the lexicon of Tok Pisin, but rather to demonstrate the need for a principled framework for vocabulary planning if such errors are to be avoided in the future. Whatever speakers of Tok Pisin may know about their language, such knowledge is not sufficient to prevent them from serious misjudgements at the levels of referential and systematic adequacy as well as that of acceptability. It could be argued that many of the lexical enrichments that took place in the past were not deliberate acts of planning. This must be conceded in a number of instances and the term vocabulary planning (henceforth VP) must therefore be taken to mean any individual or communal attempts to influence the inventory or structure of the lexicon of the language.

6.8.4.2 Early attempts

The earliest attempts to influence the vocabulary of Tok Pisin date back to the jargon stage of the language, before its stabilisation as a pidgin. Much of its core vocabulary is the result of English speakers' intuitions concerning the simplification of their language, and their preference for unmarked lexical items. However, these cannot be taken as conscious attempts to influence the structure of the vocabulary. Conscious attempts at this early stage probably took the form of 'pranks', in particular the introduction of rude terms and jocular circumlocutions. One purpose of this was to ridicule the unsuspecting indigenes (by introducing terms such as coconut for *head*, sodawater for *sea* and motorcar belong Jesus for *aeroplane*). The desire by some Europeans to teach the indigenes childish terms continued throughout the history of colonial domination, as is reflected by such European-coined *bons mots* as lamp belong Jesus for *moon*, water belong stink for *perfume* and, most recently, mixmaster belong Jesus Christ for *helicopter*. I suspect that the use of underpants instead of independence may have its source in a European joke. However, such crude additions to Tok Pisin did not catch on and the terms just mentioned have all but disappeared in standard varieties - although they may continue to exist in Tok Masta. The lesson can, however, be drawn from such anecdotal material; namely that the alleged childishness and mental inferiority of the Papua New Guineans is a colonial fabrication. Moreover, this tendency to talk down to the natives is not yet dead, and great care has to be taken in VP to avoid the pitfalls of such an attitude.

The second attempt to influence the nature of the lexicon was that of the German administration and settlers to 'relexify' Tok Pisin in order to bring its vocabulary closer to German. This policy, although seriously proposed in a number of places, was never fully implemented. At one time the proportion of German words in Tok Pisin must have been considerable, but it appears that few were the result of conscious interference and that the majority of German loans were ad hoc innovations conditioned by the fact that English was withdrawn as a target language during the German days. The same is true for most Tolai words introduced at the time, although some administrative terms (such as *luluai village chief*, *tultul assistant village chief* and *kukurai native judge*) stemmed from conscious efforts to provide new concepts on the part of the German administration.

6.8.4.3 Language planning by the Catholic missions

More important, and decidedly an act of conscious language planning, were the efforts undertaken by the missions. Höltker (1945:58ff) praises these efforts stating "Durch den Einfluss der Mission ist dieses PE nicht mehr der ordinäre 'Jargon' der schwarzen Arbeiter, vielmehr in gewissem Sinne schon eine 'kultivierte' Sprache." (As a result of mission influence this Pidgin English is no longer the crude jargon of the black workers but, in a certain sense, already a civilised language.) The difficulties encountered by the missions were quite substantial and the success of their VP was limited. A discussion of the practical difficulties is found in Mead 1931:150:

But perhaps the oddest adaptations of pidgin English have been those of Christianity, which it is, in some ways, ill fitted to describe. After all, it is primarily a work- boy language, a language used between masters and the members of a "lower race".... The gentler doctrines of Christianity, in pidgin, become obscured or smothered under words which are coined by missionaries and have no native equivalent to give them body. Such a word is *mele*, for merry in the sense of Christian gladness.

Missionary VP dates back to German colonial times, although its full impact was felt only in the 1930s. Like most other attempts to deal with VP, it is characterised by a number of weaknesses, the most important of which is a lack of co-ordination. Two considerations were the main guidelines for missionary language planning:

- a) to rid the language of expressions with obscene connotations or etymologies;
- b) to increase its referential adequacy in the domain of religious discourse.

It is interesting that different missions used different methods and that no attempts were made, prior to the *Nupela Testamen* translation in the 1960s, to create a unified mission language.

6.8.4.3.1 Removal of obscene expressions

For a long time the main criticism of the missionaries against Tok Pisin was that it is replete with crudities and obscenities. One expression in

particular annoyed the missions, goddam, which according to a number of sources was a very frequent vocabulary item before 1930. Thus, Friederici reports:

If a Melanesian exclaims: "God dam! He savvee too much!" when he refers to another Melanesian who is magnificently decorated as to look like a negro from Washington or Virginia, he will always create amusement. But it made me really sad when I heard a man from Lamassa, while he was building a mon (Boat), muttering: "God dam, work belong kanaka he no good!" (quoted from McDonald, ed. 1977:22)

Mead (1931:151) comments on the initial effort of the missions to remove crude expressions from the language:

When the missionaries preach and translate the Bible into pidgin, they make some effort to smooth out the crudities of the language, but in the hands of the boys these all crop up again. Pidgin without continual "goddams" and "bloodys" is inconceivable to the boys.

While the missionaries did manage to drastically reduce the incidence of goddam, their success in other areas of the lexicon was more limited. This, it would seem, was in part due to the fact that many of those engaged in lexical planning were not native speakers of English and, as a consequence, often unaware of the obscene connotations they wanted to get rid of. The discrepancy between program and practice is illustrated in missionary etymologising.

We can identify numerous attempts, conscious as well as unconscious, on the part of missionary lexicographers to find an innocuous source for Tok Pisin words derived from English four-letter words or, failing this, to simply classify such words as of unknown origin.

A good example of diachronic purism in etymologising is the derivation of *bagarap* to *be ruined, tired* from English *bankrupt*, in the *Wörterbuch mit Redewendungen* (around 1935), or from a non-existent *beggared up*, as is done by Schebesta and Meiser (1945), who comment on their etymology: "In English to beggar is transitive but here the effect is taken." The correct derivation from English to *bugger up* does not appear before Mihalic 1957. Similar purified etymologies are found for other lexical items. Compare:

lexical item	gloss	English etymon	etymons listed in:			
			WMR	SM	M71	ST69
kan	<i>female genitals</i>	<i>cunt</i>	-	-	-	?
kok	<i>male genitals</i>	<i>cock</i>	<i>cock</i>	-	-	E
sit	<i>ashes, faeces</i>	<i>shit, soot</i>	?	not listed	E	E

WMR = *Wörterbuch mit Redewendungen* (n.d.), SM = Schebesta and Meiser 1945, M71 = Mihalic 1971, ST69 = Steinbauer 1969.

Such etymologising can have side effects, in particular when used as the basis of a quasi-etymological writing system. Thus, in devising a standard spelling system for Tok Pisin the Alexishafen authors of the *Wörterbuch mit Redewendungen* suggest that it should closely follow English pronunciation.

However, whilst they spell Tok Pisin [han] *hand* as hand they do not restore the final consonant in [kan] *female genitals*, since its English origin is not acknowledged. The evaluation of such mission concern for the acceptability of the language varies from writer to writer, but there appears general agreement that mission successes in this area were strictly limited. Two typical comments are: "Attempts have been made to 'purify' the language to suit the taste of ladies and missionaries, but with no result." (Wickware 1943:113) and "When those earnest and devout persons translate the Scriptures or religious hymns into Pidgin, they eschew the vulgar or profane words." (Clark 1955:9).

Finally, on this point, it should be noted that mission attempts to purify the language were restricted to terms with sexual connotations. No efforts of missionary language planners to replace terms of discriminatory character with more egalitarian terms are known to the author.

6.8.4.3.2 Concern for referential adequacy

At the time when the Catholic missions began to seriously look at Tok Pisin as a mission language, its two most immediate deficiencies were in the spheres of doctrinal terminology and education. The history of the numerous attempts at standardising and enriching the language is discussed in Mühlhäusler 1979c and will not be repeated here. From the point of view of vocabulary planning, the following features are of particular interest:

(a) As the missionaries, for the most part, were native speakers of German, reliance on English as a source of borrowing is rare. Instead, we find a large number of direct loans from German, some of which are still in use and indeed have become part of present-day standard varieties. The following German loans were current in the mission language of the 1920s and 1930s:

Tok Pisin	from German	English
baikten	<i>beichten</i>	<i>to confess</i>
balsam	<i>Balsam</i>	<i>balm</i>
beten	<i>beten</i>	<i>to pray</i>
bruder	<i>Bruder</i>	<i>religious Brother</i>
buse	<i>Busse</i>	<i>penance</i>
eremit	<i>Eremit</i>	<i>hermit</i>
grisgot	<i>Grüss Gott</i>	<i>bless you</i>
haiten	<i>Heiden</i>	<i>heathen</i>
kapele	<i>Kapelle</i>	<i>chapel</i>
kelek	<i>Kelch</i>	<i>chalice</i>
kirke	<i>Kirche</i>	<i>church</i>
ministran	<i>Ministrant</i>	<i>choir boy</i>
palmen	<i>Palmen</i>	<i>palm tree</i>

A similarly large number of German expressions is found in the domain of teaching which, at the time, was almost entirely in the hands of the missions. Examples include:

Tok Pisin	from German	English
abese	<i>ABC</i>	<i>a,b,c</i>
balaistip	<i>Bleistift</i>	<i>lead-pencil</i>
bilt	<i>Bild</i>	<i>picture</i>
blok	<i>Block</i>	<i>pad of paper</i>
gripel	<i>Griffel</i>	<i>slate-pencil</i>

Tok Pisin	from German	English
karaide	<i>Kreide</i>	<i>chalk</i>
malen	<i>malen</i>	<i>to paint, draw</i>
nul	<i>Null</i>	<i>zero</i>
peder	<i>Feder</i>	<i>pen</i>
punk	<i>Punkt</i>	<i>full stop, point</i>
singen	<i>singen</i>	<i>to sing</i>
sule	<i>Schule</i>	<i>school</i>
stima	<i>Stimme</i>	<i>melody, tune</i>
strafe	<i>Strafe</i>	<i>punishment</i>
tafel	<i>Tafel</i>	<i>blackboard</i>
tinte	<i>Tinte</i>	<i>ink</i>

(b) Many missionaries had a good knowledge of indigenous vernaculars. This was particularly pronounced in Rabaul and Vunapope, where Tolai was widely used as a mission lingua franca. It is interesting to observe that many indigenous words were borrowed into mission Tok Pisin, frequently with deliberate changes in meaning, as in:

Tok Pisin	meaning in source language	doctrinal meaning
tambu	<i>tambo</i>	<i>holy</i>
ruru	<i>to fear, respect</i>	<i>to honour</i>
vinamut	<i>silence, peace</i>	<i>retreat</i>
vartovo	<i>teach, lesson</i>	<i>doctrine</i>
tematan	<i>member of a different tribe</i>	<i>heathen</i>
kurkurua	<i>beads, necklace</i>	<i>rosary</i>

(c) Different denominations, and indeed different missions of the same denomination, did not cooperate in developing a standard religious language. Compare the following solutions to particular referential problems advocated by different missions:

Alexishafen Tok Pisin	Vunapope Tok Pisin	Rabaul Tok Pisin	gloss
God	Deo	God	<i>God</i>
kilim	mekim dai	kilim	<i>to kill</i>
brukim pasin bilong marit	pilai nogut	mekim trabel long meri	<i>adultery</i>
lai	giaman	giaman	<i>to lie</i>

In many cases it is difficult to locate the geographic origin of individual mission innovations. Thus, the following table will illustrate the profusion of terms in use in one or another locality. The following abbreviations are used in referring to their linguistic origin: E = English; G = German; L = local languages; CP = compounding; Ex = extension of meaning; LA = Latin; PH = phrase formation.

gloss	terms used by different Catholic missions		
<i>acolyte</i>	ministran(G)	altaboi(CP)	kundar(L)
<i>incense</i>	wairau(G)	insens(E)	smel smok(CP) smok smel(PH)
<i>church</i>	kirke(G)	sios(E)	haus lotu(PH)
<i>cross</i>	diwai kros(PH)	kruse(LA)	bolo(L)
<i>to believe</i>	bilip(E)	nurnur(L)	tok i tru(PH)
<i>heart</i>	bel(Ex)	hat(E)	liva(Ex)
<i>procession</i>	prosesio(LA)	varvaliu(L)	

gloss	terms used by different Catholic missions		
<i>rosary</i>	roseri(E)	kurkurua(L)	corona(LA)
<i>holy</i>	holi(E)	santu(LA)	takondo(L)
<i>to pray</i>	pre(E)	beten(G)	raring(L)
<i>sin</i>	sin(E)	pekato(LA)	
<i>hell</i>	hel(E)	imperno(LA)	bikpaia(CP)
<i>to forgive</i>	pogivim(E)	larim(Ex)	lusim(Ex)
<i>virgin</i>	vetsin(E)	virgo(LA)	meri i stap tambu(PH)
<i>ascension</i>	goap bilong Jesus(PH)	asensio(LA)	

(d) The different missions varied in their preference for sources of innovations, though none of them appears to have made consistent use of the internal mechanisms of word-formation available at the time.⁴

6.8.4.3.3 The question of systematic adequacy

It would seem worthwhile to briefly look at some questions of systematic adequacy in early mission language planning, in particular a) the use of compounding, b) the possibilities for functional shift and c) the conventions for extending the meaning of existing items.

(a) Lexical phrases and compounds

As has been mentioned in the first part of this chapter (6.8.3.3.3), lexical items containing the meaning *man*, *person* usually have *-man* as their ultimate component. This method of compounding has not been used much by missions, the only examples of any importance being *peman pay-man = redeemer*, *wasman watch-man = elder* and *sinman sin-man = sinner*. For the first two terms *ridima* and *elda* are also used. A number of unmotivated simple words were introduced including *konfesor confessor*, *martir martyr*, *haiten heathen* and *profet prophet*. The fact that some of these words are semantically complex (i.e. it would have been necessary to use clumsy circumlocutions rather than compounds to express them by means of existing Tok Pisin vocabulary) can be regarded as a justification for introducing them as simple unmotivated items. The same is true for the item *angel*. Here *ensel*, *engel* and *angelo* replaced *master belong God reported by Churchill (1911)* were found.

Lexical items containing the concept of *place*, *locality* are usually phrases in Tok Pisin, consisting of the base *ples* and a base characterising this place. The items *ples antap heaven* and *ples daun earth* are examples of the successful creation of terms using this mechanism. They have since been replaced by *heven* and *graun*. The former change was motivated by a need to distinguish between *heaven* and *sky*. Margaret Mead (1931:148) has pointed out that this became necessary after the introduction of air traffic in New Guinea.

The boys who rode above the clouds looked around for God and did not see him, and so would scratch their heads perplexedly upon alighting and remark: "Now missionary he talk God he stop on top. Now me look-em look-em look-em. God he no stop. I think this fellow talk belong missionary he gammon, that's all."

Examples of terms which were introduced as simple lexical items are *hel*, *imperno hell*, *purgatorio purgatory* and *paradis*, *paradais paradise*, the latter replacing the rather vague term *bikpela gaden big garden* reported by Churchill (1911).

Lexical items containing the concept *talk* or *speech* are normally expressed in phrases containing tok *talk* and missionary innovations such as tok tru *truth*, tok profet *prophecy* and tok sori *contrition* reflect the spirit of the language. Yet this cannot be said of what is probably an equal number of other terms, such as konpesio *confession*, parabel *parable*, voto *vow*, konsekrasio *consecration* and revelesen *revelation*.

A fourth example is that of lexical items containing the semantic element *holy*, the original meaning of tambu *taboo* having been extended to cover that of *holy* in which a number of phrases were introduced, often replacing simple words in the target languages. Examples are kap tambu *chalice*, tebol tambu *altar*, buk tambu *Bible*, wara tambu *holy water* and ponde tambu *holy Thursday*. However, it appears that the extension of meaning of tambu was not a fortunate choice and that the original meaning of *forbidden* was still strongly present, this being reinforced by terms such as mit tambu taim *meat taboo time = lent*. Thus the above phrases have been replaced by unmotivated loans from English: kalis *chalice*, alta *altar*, baibel *Bible* or loan translations of English phrases: holiwara *holy water* and holi ponde *holy Thursday*.

These examples illustrate that missionary language planners did not fully succeed in providing new terms in the spirit of Tok Pisin structures. It appears that this can be explained partly in terms of incomplete understanding of these lexical structures and partly by the semantic complexity of some of the new concepts.

Other attempts to introduce new terms include the establishment of new classes of compounds and phrases previously not found in the Tok Pisin lexicon. An example is the creation of the terms olsave *omniscient* and olstrong *omnipotent*. These terms appear to be calques from the German words *allwissend* and *allmächtig*, based on a misinterpretation of Tok Pisin ol (interpreted as *all* instead of 'third person plural'). These terms have since been replaced with strong olgeta and save olgeta samting. The same misinterpretation of ol resulted in olsantude *All Saints Day* for which pestode bilong olgeta santu is now used. The expression velmarit *wild marriage = concubinage* appears to be a calque from German *wilde Ehe*. Marit nating is now used more commonly for this concept.

(b) The functional possibilities of new items

The importance of functional shift for the missionaries' vocabulary work has been stressed by Borchardt (1930:22):

It is very easy to form verbs from substantives and adjectives and also from other forms, but to do so requires a good knowledge of the character of the language, otherwise mistakes may occur - and when religious matters are dealt with - it is most important that these shall be avoided.

In spite of such laudable programmatic statements, it appears that for the majority of missionary language planners, the functional flexibility of new terms was seldom a consideration in their choice. Thus, many new lexical bases were impervious to functional change, both because of phonological complexity and for semantic reasons. First, in a number of instances, two terms (a noun and a verb) were introduced where one is sufficient, the second being derived from the first by means of functional shift. These cases are not numerous, but include konfirmasio *confirmation* - strongim *to confirm*, unksio (and even extrema unksio *unction* - velim *to give the unction* and, more recently, prea *prayer* - pre *to pray*. In all these cases it would have been sufficient to form abstract nouns from the verb. This would also have brought out the fact that the ideas conveyed by these terms are basically verbal.

A tendency to introduce nouns for basically verbal ideas is reflected in terms such as *asumsio Assumption* (for which another proposal *liptimapim Maria* seems to be more appropriate), *koleksio collection*, *benediksio benediction*, *prosesio procession* and *konpesio confession*. Moreover, the fact that these nouns have more than two syllables makes them impervious to functional shift to form transitive verbs. Forms such as **benediksioim to bless* and **koleksioim to collect* do not fulfil the conditions for syllable structure in Tok Pisin.

More in the spirit of the language are the following examples where the verbal idea is rendered by a verb: *kilim bel abortion* (the choice of *kilim* instead of the already available more neutral *rausim* must be seen as an effort to introduce a moral judgement); *pasim bel contraception*; *mekim trabel adultery*; *daunim em yet humility*. There are also a number of deverbalised abstract nouns such as *traim temptation*, *amamas glory* and *marimari mercy*.

Thus, with compounding and phrase formation, the system of functional shift was only made use of by the missions in a haphazard way and many new terms entered the language as anomalies and exceptions.

(c) Extension of meaning and other considerations

The process of missionary language planning was a long and cumbersome one. Many difficulties were found, not so much in the provision of adequate terms, but in ascertaining that the concepts associated with them were understood. The danger of misunderstanding was greatest in those cases where existing words were given an additional meaning. Attempts to find an adequate term for *soul* are an interesting case in point. The terms used include *bel*, *tewel*, *sol*, *win* and *spirit*. All of them proved, for various reasons, of limited usefulness. *Bel*, related to English *belly*, refers not only to the seat of emotions, but also to the part of the body. This, together with the possible literal and figurative meaning of *wasim to clean*, results in an unfortunate ambiguity in the following hymn:

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

Tewel also embraces the meanings *shadow* and, for some speakers, *devil*. The limited inventory of distinctive sounds in Tok Pisin has resulted in a profusion of homophones. Thus, in *sol*, the English words *salt*, *shoulder* and *soul* have fallen together. *Win* can refer to *air*, *wind*, *breath* and *gas* and *spirit* to *methyated spirits*.

The introduction of *kros* in *diwai kros crucifix* may have led to misunderstandings, since *kros* means *angry* and *diwai kros* could have been interpreted as *tree of anger*. A similar case is *Pam Sande Palm Sunday*, where, instead of using one of the available words for *palm* - *baibai* or *palmen*, a new homophone was created.

In spite of much good will, European ways of thinking often resulted in unsatisfactory Tok Pisin terms. There is no need to distinguish between *buse penance* and *strafe punishment* since the difference can be expressed in Tok Pisin by using different verbs with the same term. Mihalic (1971:369) is right in glossing both *buse* and *strafe* as *penance* (together with other synonyms such as *bekim*, *penans* and *wok sori*). European (in this instance German) thinking is also reflected in the translation of *to make the sign of the cross* as *mekim em yet long diwai kros (to appoint oneself as angry tree)*, the reflexivity reflecting German *sich bekreuzigen*.

The expression *givim bel long Jesus* has been correctly criticised since its meaning in Tok Pisin is *to impregnate Jesus* (outside wedlock) and not, as intended *to surrender oneself to Jesus*. The correct version of *I surrender myself to Jesus* would be *mi givim bel bilong mi long Jesus*, with the compulsory possessive pronoun.

It would be wrong to regard criticisms such as the ones made here as simply an academic exercise. As pointed out by writers such as Lawrence (1964), there was a considerable price to pay for inefficient means of communication, in particular the development of numerous cargo movements. After discussing numerous examples of how mission terminology became interpreted by the practitioners of cargo cults, Lawrence concludes (84-85):

This oblique language increased the complexity of the situation. It could be used in conversations with European missionaries without their being aware of its hidden implications and - although some of them suspected what was going on in the natives' minds - the extent to which their teachings had been misrepresented. As a result, they unconsciously allowed the people to assume that they confirmed the truth of the new doctrines. Either they or the sincere and disinterested native mission helpers had only to fail to correct an equivocal sentence, or innocently make a statement capable of two meanings, to substantiate the Third Cargo Belief in its entirety. No stronger proof was necessary. In fact, during the 1920's, relations between natives and missionaries, although on the whole extremely amicable, were nevertheless based on complete mutual misunderstanding.

6.8.4.4 Other vocabulary activities in the interwar period

Until the outbreak of the Second World War the missions, and in particular the Catholic mission, were the only agencies concerned with VP and the development of Tok Pisin. Other agencies, in particular the government, were impeded by a number of factors:

- a) the lack of a viable language policy;
- b) European colonial attitudes towards the indigenous population;
- c) misconceptions about the nature of Tok Pisin.

(a) Lack of language policies

The Australian administration between the wars was not characterised by strong decisions; in fact, its policies signalled a return to the *laissez-faire* attitudes of the first years of German administration, particularly in language matters. There was little desire to promote the universal acceptance of English as a *lingua franca* in the Territory of New Guinea, partly because of lack of funds, but also because there was "a body of opinion which objects strongly to the thought of natives being taught a European language." (Reed 1943:274). On the other hand, the linguistically complex situation and "white lethargy" (Reed 1943:274) prevented a local language from becoming the official *lingua franca*. Instead, Tok Pisin was used by government officers, planters and recruiters throughout the territory, although their insufficient knowledge of it resulted in a less than optimal use of this medium. In the late 1930s the situation had

reached a point at which it became obvious that the government had to take some action. Two quotations from contemporary publications reflect this view: "A handbook of Pidgin would be invaluable to everybody, providing it was comprehensive, and was compiled by someone who had a real knowledge of the matter." and "If there were some official code we might some day be able to standardize the language and so make it an easier medium than it is now." (*Rabaul Times*, editorial, 17 December 1937).

Similar remarks are found in Reed 1943:274:

Official acceptance and support of Melanesian pidgin, has behind it the logic of its daily use - by government officers, planters, recruiters, and missionaries, and by all those natives with whom Europeans have dealings of whatever kind. All that is needed is government sanction (to enable the taking of legal evidence in this medium) and a program of teaching to control the growth and purification of the language.

The reason for this increased demand for standardisation was the development of regional dialects of Tok Pisin on the one hand: "Even Pidgin is dialectal, that spoken in some districts differs slightly from that in others" (*Rabaul Times*, 17 December 1937), and the poor performance of most Europeans on the other: "It is probable that an imperfect knowledge of Pidgin by newcomers is a more fruitful source of trouble with native labour than any other" (*Rabaul Times*, 17 December 1937) and "Pidgin is so much a language that there are only two white masters of it in the Mandated Territory of New Guinea. That is, there are only two who speak it so fluently that if they were out of sight they would be mistaken for kanakas." (Shelton-Smith 1929). In yet another editorial in the *Rabaul Times* (8 November 1935) the government is urged to take firm steps concerning the language question: "Which is it to be: Pidgin English or Plain English? Let the authorities decide one way or the other and have done with this medley of mutilated, murdered phrases which is neither one thing nor the other." However, it was only the outbreak of the war with its increased pressure for communication which resulted in phrase books and grammars being made available to the general public (such as Murphy 1943 and Hall 1943b).

(b) European attitudes

The colonial attitudes determined not so much what innovations were added to the Tok Pisin lexicon but rather those which were not. Examples of such innovations are few, the best known being the distinctions between *masta* and *boi*, *European* and *native*, and *misis* and *meri*, *Europeecn woman* and *native woman*; these were already in use in German days. New distinctions stressing the relative social position of speakers were also introduced:

Europeans have consciously attempted to inculcate in the natives - free villagers as well as indentured workers - special forms of etiquette and address which show deference to themselves. And here they may have been not without some small measure of success. In the matter of speech, for instance, most whites insist on natives' using such forms of address as "Yes sir" or "Yes, Master." The few who do not insist on such verbal trappings of supremacy offer no alternatives; so it is safe to assume that this pattern will prevail. (Reed 1943:290)

More important than these verbal trappings of colonialism is the prevalent reluctance among the Europeans to introduce new terms into Tok Pisin. This reluctance was based on two factors, one being the feeling that:

... there is a decided danger in allowing house-servants to obtain too large a vocabulary of the English language in that English-speaking Whites enjoy no privacy in their conversations in the home, and there is often the danger, especially at meal times, of conversations being overheard and partially understood, resulting in scraps of gossip - mutilated and distorted - being passed on with damaging results. (*Rabaul Times*, editorial, 8 November 1935)

The second factor was the belief that the indigenes either were inherently ignorant or at least should be kept so. An interesting case study of the result of this negative vocabulary planning is Scott's account of agricultural problems and Pidgin (Scott 1977). He states that: "The language of agriculture thus grew around the needs of the foreigners as he saw them, and around the felt needs of the natives whose horizons were limited by what the foreigners wished to teach them - and this was very little." (p.724) and "The native farmer needed little pidgin to fulfil his limited role in the commerce of the country: a role limited by his own ignorance and the dominance of the foreigners." (p.724). Scott notes that, instead of providing an adequate terminology to enable the native farmers to take part in decision-making and to cope with new technologies: "as techniques became more complex ... the farmer became even less involved in decision making for he did not have the knowledge to make the decisions, nor the words to convey his decisions to the didiman." (1977:727). This appears to indicate that the growth of the lexicon was kept at an artificially low level through the patronising attitudes of the colonial power and its agencies (cf. Noel 1975:78).

(c) Misconceptions about the nature of Tok Pisin

I do not want to go into much detail here, since this topic has been adequately dealt with in a number of places (e.g. in Hall 1955a). The misconceptions most prevalent were that Tok Pisin was not a language in its own right but a bastardised form of English and that it was therefore legitimate to freely introduce constructions and vocabulary items from English if needed. A second notion was that Tok Pisin was inadequate for any sophisticated purpose of communication anyway and that the very structure of the language made it impossible to discuss matters of any complexity. These and other misconceptions, together with European attitudes towards the indigenous population, were instrumental in retarding the growth of the language.

One can only guess at the cost caused by the government's neglect to develop Tok Pisin into an efficient medium of communication, though I suspect it is considerably greater than the amount of money spent on unrealistic attempts to make the country English speaking.

6.8.4.5 Tok Pisin in the Second World War

The increased need to communicate with and give directions to indigenes was responsible for increased interest in Tok Pisin during the war and resulted in a number of dictionaries and a scientific description of the language (Hall 1943b). Thus, rather than adding new constructions and vocabulary to the language, this period can be regarded as one of stocktaking and consolidation. A number of

terms referring to military activities were added, but these items entered the language for reasons other than conscious efforts of VP.

6.8.4.6 Developments from the end of World War II to the end of the 1960s

6.8.4.6.1 General remarks

The discussion during these years was centred around a number of questions of which the most important were:

- a) the choice of a language (lingua franca) for Papua New Guinea;
- b) functional limitations of Tok Pisin;
- c) standardisation of spelling;
- d) United Nations attitudes.

These questions have been dealt with elsewhere (see chapter on external history (2.2)). However, it is interesting to observe that the question of VP was regarded as marginal and basically a non-problem. There appears to have been general agreement that new lexical items could be freely introduced from English if new communicative needs arose. This was in fact done in numerous cases, particularly in school primers and practical handbooks prepared by the government and the missions.

The only conscious efforts to influence the growth and nature of the vocabulary were made in Tok Pisin newspapers. These efforts were derived from the idea that Tok Pisin could be used as a stepping stone or transitional stage in preparation for a general spread of English. The idea of changing the character of the language by gradually relexifying it - an idea which, as we have seen, had already been given serious consideration in German times - was put into practice by some newspaper editors, in particular Mr Waiiau Ahnon.

An experiment conducted by Mr. Waiiau Ahnon brought results which possibly give a good indication of what linguistic theoreticians will encounter when, and if, efforts are later made to replace Pidgin with orthodox English. He tried putting more orthodox English words into his newspaper to replace cumbersome Pidgin expressions. The result was that the natives were seriously confused, and the experiment had to be abandoned. (Baker 1966:332)

Mihalic's criticism of this experiment is along similar lines:

The widespread belief that it is possible gradually to turn Melanesian Pidgin into English by the introduction of English words takes no account of the fact that the vocabulary represents only one part of the language. The grammatical structure and phonetics still remain those of Melanesian Pidgin, and at best the result could be never more than another Pidgin. The belief is not only wrong, but dangerous; as by introducing English into Melanesian Pidgin in this way, the native finally reaches a confusion point, where he does not know whether he is speaking Melanesian Pidgin or English. (Mihalic 1971:6)

Hall(1955b:93) mentions two factors involved in conscious efforts to change the nature of the Tok Pisin vocabulary:

- a) "the desire of some groups among the more sophisticated non-Europeans to avoid previously existent Neo-Melanesian words or expressions which they consider to carry a connotation of inferiority."
- b) "the desire of some speakers of English to 'improve' Neo-Melanesian by bringing it closer to English."

However, it appears that the main factor in bringing about vocabulary change has not been conscious VP, but the poor knowledge of Tok Pisin of most English speakers. Both Healey (1975) and Freyberg (oral communication) suggest that the development of a 'relexified' anglicised variety of the language is directly related to the opening up of the Highlands. Here, the normal process of language transmission between members of the indigenous population over a long period of contact, was replaced by one in which the Highlanders acquired their Tok Pisin from European settlers with a limited knowledge of English. "A majority of expatriates spoke none or very bad Pidgin and insinuated English words into the language to cover their lack of knowledge." (Healey 1975:38). However, these developments did not affect the longer-established Tok Pisin-speaking areas with minimal contact, but resulted in the development of regional (Highlands) and social (Urban) varieties.

The ambivalent attitude of the administration to Tok Pisin prevented the development of any clearcut policy for its future and its enrichment took place in a very ad hoc way. New terms entered the language by the back door as it were, and no official attempts were made to reduce the ever-increasing number of synonyms and homonyms. The first signs of a fundamental change could be observed in 1969, which has been referred to as "a peculiarly great year for Pidgin" (Laycock 1970b:45). Its importance is due to (a) the seminar on 'Pidgin and nation building' in Port Moresby in March, and (b) the appearance of a large number of publications on Tok Pisin, some of which bear direct relevance to the problem of its lexicon. Among the papers given at the seminar Laycock's contribution is of particular relevance to VP and was, in fact, the first time that a more general discussion of this topic had been presented. Laycock points out the dangers of random introduction of loans which could result in Tok Pisin losing its status as an independent language. He also indicates why it is difficult for Tok Pisin to absorb a large number of loans from English, the main danger, in his opinion, being the drastic increase in homophones:

Pidgin already has a relatively large number of words where distinct English words have fallen together... To add to this number incautiously could well overload the language with forms that sound the same but have different meanings, and all who have to translate into Pidgin should be aware of this danger - in the absence of a national language committee. (Laycock 1969:8)

At the same time some important proposals are made for future extension of the Tok Pisin vocabulary. While not excluding English words as candidates for borrowing:

... it is expected, too, that the regional languages will continue to provide words for Pidgin, especially for typically New Guinean concepts and objects: names of animals, trees, village and house construction, and magic, to name only a few. (Laycock 1969:8)

The most important source of future innovations, however, lies within the structure of the language itself: "Even more to be encouraged is the creation of new

words from within Pidgin itself, or the expansion of meaning of existing words." (Laycock 1969:9). The instances specifically mentioned by Laycock are compounding and phrase formation and the creation of abstract nouns by means of multifunctionality of lexical bases. Some of Laycock's ideas are further developed in Wurm, Mühlhäusler and Laycock 1977. Such an awareness of the theoretical dimensions of the language planning process was not in evidence in most of the practical suggestions that were made at about the same time. These will now be discussed in greater detail.

6.8.4.6.2 A case study of suggested innovations: Balint's sports dictionary

The rapid functional expansion of Tok Pisin in the late 1960s necessitated a great deal of lexical innovation. Such innovations were carried out mainly in an ad hoc manner by individuals and institutions in different parts of the country or else were suggested by self-appointed language planners, such as Balint. Balint's work in particular illustrates the difficulties facing language planners at the time and the results of undertaking the task of vocabulary planning without the necessary methodological and theoretical equipment. Balint's first attempt is the *English-Pidgin-French phrase book and sports dictionary* (1969). The author (Balint 1973:29) describes the motivation to write such a dictionary:

Gunther's low estimate of the Pidgin lexicon has goaded me into the rash and emotional reaction of compiling in two months an approximately 2,000 word dictionary of sporting terms in Pidgin (Balint 1969). The result is not one I am very proud of, although I still judge Laycock's criticism overly harsh (1970).⁵

The shortcomings of Balint's dictionary are several. First, throughout his book there is a tendency to ignore existing lexical resources, both at the level of lexical bases and that of word formation. As regards the needless introduction of new synonyms or near-synonyms without increasing the referential power of the language, the following terms illustrate this point:

English	Balint 1969	term already expressing the concept
<i>zip, zipper</i>	zipa	pulsen, sen bilong trausis
<i>tape measure</i>	tep mesa	meta
<i>pillow case</i>	pilo kes	skin pilo
<i>starch</i>	stats	arurut
<i>clinical thermometer</i>	termomiter bilong klinik	glas
<i>turkey</i>	teki	pipi
<i>fog</i>	planti smok	sno
<i>sheet</i>	klos bilong bet	sitbet

This list could be supplemented with additional examples. Balint not only adds synonyms to the unstructured list of lexical items, he also invents entirely new lexical fields. This can be illustrated with his suggestions for a Tok Pisin chess terminology:

English	Balint 1969	terms in general use among chessplayers	
<i>King</i>	king	king	masta
<i>Queen</i>	kuin	kwin	misis
<i>Bishop</i>	bisop	roket	
<i>Knight</i>	hos soldia	hos	
<i>Castle</i>	kasel	ambrela	
<i>Pawn</i>	pon	soldia	

A second violation of VP is the increase in the number of Tok Pisin homophones, a violation often combined with the unnecessary replacement of existing words, as can be seen from the following table:

English	Balint 1969	Tok Pisin terms already expressing the concept	homophones
<i>bright</i>	brait	i lait	brait <i>wide, width</i>
Remark: The expression em i brait tumas <i>this is too fancy</i> in Balint's gloss is more likely to be interpreted as <i>this is too wide</i> .			
<i>jazz</i>	jas	-	jas <i>judge, charge</i>
<i>lining</i>	lain	-	lain <i>line, group, row</i> lain <i>to teach, learn</i>
<i>pants</i>	pen	pens	pen <i>pen, pencil</i> pen <i>paint, colour</i> pen <i>pain, painful</i>
<i>sole</i>	sol	ananit bilong su	sol <i>salt</i> sol <i>shoulder</i> sol <i>soul</i>
<i>pair</i>	pe	(not necessary with inanimates) tupela	pe <i>pay</i>
<i>pear</i>	pe	-	
<i>hat</i>	het	hat	het <i>head</i>
<i>poppy</i>	popi	-	popi <i>Catholic</i>
<i>toothpaste</i>	pes bilong klinim tit	marasin bilong klinim tit	pes <i>face</i> pes <i>first</i>
<i>faucet, tap</i>	tep	ki (bilong wara)	tep <i>tape</i>
<i>snack</i>	snek	-	snek <i>snake</i>

Misunderstanding of both English and Tok Pisin is revealed "when *quiver* (in archery) is translated in Pidgin as sek, guria, words which mean *shake, shiver* or *quiver!*" (Laycock 1970b:48).

Balint's intuitions about the nature of word formation in Tok Pisin appear to be similarly deficient. Fundamental ignorance of existing devices is reflected in the phrases *apel diwai* for *apple tree* and *stroberi bus* (!) for *strawberry bush*. It is not just the order of elements which is wrong in these examples but also the more fundamental fact that in Tok Pisin the same simple lexical item is used to refer to both trees and the fruit of trees. Thus, *bata* refers to either *avocado pear* or *avocado tree* and *kokonas* *coconut* and *coconut tree*. Forms such as *diwai kokonas* or *kokonas diwai* belong to Tok Masta (cf. the erotic poem quoted by Hall (1943a:83) which starts *klostu long as bilong kokonas tri*).

A number of other compounds and phrases fall short of the requirements of VP for other reasons. First, there are cases where motivated English words have become unmotivated lexical units in Tok Pisin. These include *krispruf* *crease-proof*, *gesmita* *gas meter* (a term of no use in Tok Pisin anyway) or *andawe* *underwear*. Other compounds and phrases consist of Tok Pisin bases, but do not follow accepted patterns of compounding or phrase formation. Examples include:

Balint 1969	expected form	gloss
antapkot	kot antap	<i>top coat</i>
grasdraia	masin bilong draiim gras	<i>hairdryer</i>
laplap let	let bilong holim soken	<i>garter belt</i>
buk bokis	bokis (or bet) buk	<i>book case</i>
susubotu	botol susu	<i>feeding bottle</i>

The translation *bell flaua* (*belly flower*) for *hyacinth* is as unacceptable as *lusim-mi-noken* for *forget-me-not*. *Belo-klok* for *alarm clock* may violate the principles of word formation in Tok Pisin, but is still more acceptable than the European joke *klok i gat bel* *pregnant clock*. Monstrosities such as *glas gumi pepa* *glass rubber paper* for *wax paper* have been surpassed only recently by creations such as *mansavetanimtok* *interpreter* proposed by Balint at the 1973 conference on Tok Pisin.

A last point of criticism in the area of systematic adequacy concerns what I have referred to above as 'the complex content of lexical items', in particular unmotivated lexical items. In other words, there can be no rationale for introducing *londri* and *londriim*, *laundry* and *to launder*, when there is already a semantically less complex term in Tok Pisin, namely *wasim*. The condition for the use of *londriim* is that the object of this verb has to be a garment or a piece of material. *Wasim* does not impose this condition, and Tok Pisin speakers would therefore be forced to use *londriim klos* *to launder the clothes* and *wasim plet* *to wash the plates*. This constitutes a considerable increase in the complexity of the vocabulary and a heavy burden for the learner of the language. However, this is not the only example found in Balint's sports dictionary. Others include *kusen* *cushion* supplementing *pilo* *pillow*. Again the conditions for the use of the items *pillow* and *cushion* in English are fairly complex and it appears that the Tok Pisin word *pilo* is perfectly adequate to cover the meaning of both. A similar case is the introduction of the item *leis* for *shoelace*. The existing expression *rop bilong su* appears to be fully adequate. Moreover, this item is homophonous with items such as *les* *lathe* and *les* *lazy, tired*. It must be borne in mind that *rop* should be translated as *string* (among other meanings) and not *rope*, *baklain* being used for this.

As would be expected, Balint is also guilty of a gross violation of the requirement of adequacy in his lexical planning. This is seen, for instance, in his tendency to reiterate colonialist jokes about Tok Pisin. Thus, the age-old and stale alleged translation of *piano* has not failed to make an appearance in Balint's dictionary in the form *bikpela bokis bilong kraik taim yu paitim na kikim*

em. Next to the introduction of Tok Pisin words for *gas-meters* and *rabbi*, we find some hilarious new circumlocutions such as *tebol bilong putim ol sikerap bilong bodi table for putting scrapings of a (dead) body for vanity table*, *mi laikimkainkainbilas bilong tumbuna I want all sorts of ancestral adornments for I prefer a conservative style* or *mi laik lukim buk i gat makmak I want to see a book with spots⁶ for May I see a pattern book*. These terms, should they become necessary, would probably need to be borrowed from another language, e.g. English, in the form *konsevetiv* and *buk paten* respectively. Until this becomes necessary, more adequate circumlocutions could be easily found, e.g. *klos i mas gat stail bilong bipo the clothes must have the style of earlier days for conservative*.

In summing up, one can say that it is fortunate that this attempt to enrich the Tok Pisin lexicon has not had - as had some missionary language planning - the results intended by its author, and that the language is in a much healthier state than the contents of this work might suggest. I have concentrated on the general part of the dictionary rather than on the section devoted to sporting phrases which:

... is filled with Pidgin definitions for technical sporting terms such as 'anti-dazzle rule', 'cross court pass', 'eastern cut-off', 'fog formation' and 'slalom'; some of the definitions make sense, but most have no currency outside this book. (Laycock 1970b:48)

6.8.4.6.3 Language planning for official purposes

At about the same time as Balint produced his sports dictionary, two minor developments took place at a more official level. The first one concerned the need for more referential adequacy in the context of the newly set up House of Assembly. The problems encountered and the solutions found or proposed are discussed by Hull (1968). The former Senior Interpreter and translator of the Standing Orders remarks (p.23):

I personally believe that Pidgin can cope with any situation to be found in the House. Of course its vocabulary will have to be greatly increased but this can be done with the present resources of Pidgin. If translation and/or interpretation is thought out carefully, employing legitimate Pidgin vocabulary whenever applicable and only introducing English words when absolutely necessary, using Pidgin orthography and grammatical patterns, I see no major difficulty confronting the parliamentary interpreter in his work.

Last year I translated the Standing Orders of the House into Pidgin. It took a long time and a lot of thought but was not so difficult. I had to introduce about fifty new words or phrases but, with the aid of a short glossary at the beginning of the Orders, these new words cause little problem to the reader.

A look at the list of proposed terms for the draft of the Standing Orders reveals a heavy bias towards English terms, an apparently unnecessary one in at least some instances. The Tok Pisin explanations provided, together with the newly introduced terms, often suggest a better solution, as in:

administrata - nambawan gavman tru bilong Papua na NuGini

In this example, nambawan gavman would have been sufficient, with the added advantage of wide currency throughout the nation. As has been the case with other attempts at language planning, the greatest weakness of Hull's proposals are found in the area of systematic adequacy. Thus, he uses a number of English derivational suffixes, which are both unproductive and not meaningful in Tok Pisin. Examples are: administrate, ofisel, regulesin, siting and stending. Even whole phrases, such as liv ov ebsens, are introduced as simple unmotivated lexical items.

Again, the principle outlined by Hull that English words should be introduced only "when absolutely necessary" is certainly violated in the pair *mosin motion* - *muvim to move*. Here it would have been perfectly sufficient to introduce the verb only, and derive the abstract noun by means of a regular functional shift, to yield either *mosen* - *mosenim* or *muv* - *muvim*. For the same reason, the item *eleksen* is suppletive. In Rural Tok Pisin this concept is generally expressed by means of the deverbalised abstract noun *vot election* from *votim to vote*.

This tendency to borrow complex English lexical items wholesale continues. However, although they may provide a short term working solution for members of the House of Assembly and the better educated classes, such terms fail to fulfil the communicative requirements of involving the largest possible number of people in the democratic processes which are supposed to be the foundation of the new government.

The lack of concern for systematic adequacy in Hull's proposals is not surprising, though one could argue that it contributed to communication problems in the new national assembly.

A second area of official activity was the removal, in 1969, of some of the most blatantly discriminatory terms and their replacement with more neutral ones:

The New Guinea Administrator, Mr. Hay, believes the time has come for radical changes in the Pidgin mode of address. In memoranda to government departments, Mr. Hay concedes that "Pidgin is a dynamic language ... but ... it's possible that some of the more educated Papuans and New Guineans are now offended by ... some of the Pidgin words." The New Guinea News Service, digging around among P-NG government departments, reports these words, and Mr. Hay's "instructions" for alternatives:

Man instead of "Kanaka".

Gel or woman instead of "meri".

Domestik instead of "manki masta".

Man or Mister instead of "masta" (depending on context of sentence): man instead of "boy" (except to describe what, by age, is obviously a boy.)

Government radio stations and field officers are expected to use the new terms assiduously.

(*Pacific Islands Monthly*, September 1969:1)

A more general discussion is found in the foreword to Healey (n.d.). In the December issue of the same year *Pacific Islands Monthly* reported some reactions to this decree. It was symptomatic that many of those Europeans who had been guilty of changing the character of the lexicon of Tok Pisin were opposed to this already overdue adjustment.

The younger New Guineans, especially university students, applauded the Administrator ... but many in the older generation, particularly some Europeans, just couldn't understand the government trying to "legislate" the language. One European MHA pencilled the following:

The academics say it's so
the academics say it's so.
Those frightful words in Pidgin
- they simply have to go.

Masta will be Mister,
And 'ars' will now be 'bot'
and soon we'll make decisions
on other parts we've got.

The academics say it's so
the academics say it's so.
The latest list of orders
really make us sick.
Instead of manki mastas,
they've all become domestics.

The academics say it's so
the academics say it's so.
They're playing a little word game,
finding words to fit,
Now we're saying 'rubbish, nonsense'
instead of plain 'bullshit'.

Among those resisting this move was the author of the above mentioned sports dictionary: "I refuse to use "domestic", that pious euphemism decree (!) to replace "hausboi" by the Administrator, L.W. Johnson." (Balint 1973:29).

Apart from these efforts, little was done by the administration to lay down guidelines and provide suggestions for the standardisation and extension of the vocabulary. Instead, new items continued to be introduced into Tok Pisin in a haphazard way. It would seem that the Australian administration was reluctant to get involved in a potentially explosive debate. However, the lack of involvement by this and subsequent governments has taken its toll.

6.8.4.6.4 Ad hoc innovations by individuals: the case of cookery terminology

A study of Tok Pisin cookery terminology is interesting for two reasons. First, it illustrates the different cultural patterns of the parties involved in the creation of the language, particularly those between European and indigenous modes of food preparation. Secondly, it also illustrates the changing dietary habits of Papua New Guineans as a result of culture contact and cultural borrowing. Changes in diet are probably the most important heritage of European colonisation.

Remarks on cookery terminology can be found in Mühlhäusler 1979c and Heitfeld 1982, the latter paying particular attention to the semiotic structures exhibited in Tok Pisin. However, a study of this area must also consider the fact that the domestic situation has for a long time been one of the main spheres of contact between Europeans and Papua New Guineans. In fact, for many Europeans, Tok Pisin was just a kitchen language and nothing more. However, it appears that

even prolonged use of Tok Pisin in the domestic context did not contribute much to its stabilisation and standardisation. Nor was Tok Pisin adequate for anything but relatively basic communication in this situation. It may have been the realisation of referential inadequacies in the domestic context which prompted a number of Europeans to enter the field of vocabulary planning by compiling household and cookery terms. These works include Balint's *English-Pidgin-French phrase book and sports dictionary* (1969), *Pidgin English kuk buk* by Laurel Levi (1964) and Lilke's *Buk bilong kuk* (1972).

The difference between the three books to be compared lies, first of all, in their organisation. Balint's terms are basically a list of phrases which form part of a dictionary containing lexical items and 'useful' phrases from other fields of discourse. Levi's booklet is a collection of recipes in Tok Pisin with an extensive glossary as its second part. Lilke (1972) does not include a separate glossary but introduces new terms in the recipes. The authors of all three publications are concerned primarily with putative or genuine shortcomings in the area of referential adequacy and seem, on the whole, little concerned with questions of either systematic adequacy or acceptability.

As regards the referential needs of Tok Pisin, two observations need to be made. First, the three authors propose different solutions in a significant number of cases, thus contributing to the growing trend of regional and social compartmentalisation of the language. Examples include:

Balint	Lilke	Levi	gloss
senwits wantaim wilwilim slais stek mit	liklik mitkek		<i>hamburger</i>
tseri	cherries		<i>cherries</i>
sikerap bilong abus		masin long brukim abus	<i>meat grinder</i>
coco, soklet	chocolate	koko	<i>cocoa</i>
sadain		talai	<i>sardine</i>
tsiken		kakaruk	<i>chicken</i>
muli jus		muliwara	<i>lemon juice</i>
spinek		kabis	<i>spinach</i>
	sos	grewe	<i>gravy</i>

A second observation concerns the authors' ignorance of the existing inventory of Tok Pisin root and complex words and the resulting tendency to needlessly introduce non-functional synonyms. Here follow some examples. The following abbreviations are used: B (Balint); L (Lilke); and LE (Levi):

terms introduced	already existing terms	gloss
grin pepa(B)	grinpela lombo	<i>green pepper</i>
teki(B)	pipi	<i>turkey</i>
vejetebel(B) vegetables(L)	sayor, kumu	<i>vegetables</i>
tuna(L)	atun	<i>tuna</i>

terms introduced	already existing terms	gloss
oista(B)	kina	<i>oyster</i>
wusta(LE)		
tseri(B)	sirsen	<i>cherries</i>
cherries(L)		
galip bilong	kasang	<i>peanut</i>
graun(LE)		
bakim paura(L)	bekpaura	<i>baking powder</i>

As regards systematic adequacy, no overt signs of concern for this parameter are encountered in any of the texts. Instead, a large number of proposed new terms or variants of existing terms violate and upset established systematic aspects of Tok Pisin. This is manifested at a number of levels, the first being the treatment of Tok Pisin spelling. Instead of heeding readily available sources for standardisation of Tok Pisin spelling, all three authors exhibit a great deal of idiosyncratic behaviour. Lilke's booklet is the worst of all, closely followed by the other two. It is bad enough to introduce the plural suffix -s into Tok Pisin, but it is worse to carry over incorrect plurals, as in Lilke's recipes *recipes*. Forms such as *hashee* (a bastard form derived from German *Haschee* and English *hash*), fritters *fritters*, chocolate-desert *chocolate dessert* and caramell-cream *caramel cream*, could lead to the conclusion that it would have been better if this book had never been printed or put on sale to unsuspecting Papua New Guineans.

The danger of overloading Tok Pisin with homophones has already been illustrated. Again, like previous language improvers, the three contributors to Tok Pisin cookery terminology do not seem to have exercised much caution in this area. Consider the following list:

suggested		existing Tok	
innovation	gloss	Pisin homophone	gloss
salat(L)	<i>salad</i>	salat	<i>stinging nettle</i> <i>abortive</i>
bakim(L)	<i>baking</i>	pakim	<i>to fuck</i>
piit(B)	<i>peach</i>	pit	<i>edible cane</i>
pok(B)	<i>pork</i>	pok	<i>fork</i>
rous(B)	<i>roast</i>	raus	<i>get out!</i> <i>to throw out</i>

The last example, a particularly unnecessary innovation for a reason discussed below, could create serious confusion, and the instruction rousim mit *roast the meat* could easily be interpreted as *throw away the meat*. The difference in spelling (as is the case with bakim and pakim) does not reflect a difference in pronunciation.

At the level of simple lexical items, systematic adequacy is violated in a number of ways by all three authors. This is particularly obvious in their treatment of complex semantic content of lexical items.

Healey (1975:39) suggested that "for example, *game*, *beef* and *mutton* would be handy words to include in the Pidgin vocabulary as there really isn't a simple way now to distinguish varieties of meat and their source." I have pointed out

elsewhere (Wurm, Mühlhäusler and Laycock 1977) that most languages can manage perfectly well without this lexical distinction and that the alleged ambiguity could be easily overcome by distinguishing, for instance, between sipsip *sheep* and mit bilong sipsip *mutton*. We find, however, that Balint felt that the language was deficient in this respect and consequently added biif *beef* and pok *pork* to the long list of dysfunctional words. Balint also felt the need to distinguish between kakaruk *poultry* and tsiken *chicken*. The dictionary also contains the terms slais *slice* and louv *loaf of bread*. The existing expressions wanpela hap bret *a piece of bread* and wanpela bret *a loaf of bread* would seem perfectly adequate and if there is any danger of a confusion of *piece* and *slice* a circumlocution such as hap bret ol i katim *a piece of bread which is cut* = *slice* could be employed.

This insistence on introducing simple lexical items with complex semantic content such as *slice*, *pork* or *loaf* goes hand in hand with a neglect of already established instances of such lexical items in Tok Pisin, confirming the ethnocentric approach to the problem at hand. Thus, Lilke equates English *to grease* with Tok Pisin grisim, although grisim only refers to the act of adding coconut milk to a dish; *to grease* would have to be rendered as welim long gris or a similar phrase. The distinction between *forelegs* and *hindlegs* of animals is expressed in Tok Pisin by han and lek respectively. Nevertheless Levi renders both *leg of lamb* and *shoulder of lamb* as lek bilong sipsip.

As can be expected from their record so far, all three authors also violate existing patterns of word formation. Virtually incomprehensible innovations are Balint's suggestions antap raun *top round*, sikerap bilong abus *meat grinder* (instead of an existing wilwil or masin bilong wilwilim mit), wilwilim sosis *Bologna sausage*, bata milik *buttermilk* (milis or milik is only used to refer to *coconut milk* or *semen*, cf. Mihalic 1971:135); haphap pi *split pea*; kiau sani sait ap egg *sunny-side up*; and mit bilong yangpela bulmakau tan tumas for *stewing veal*. Lilke's tebolspun *tablespoon* and tispun *teaspoon* would have been more adequately rendered as bikpela spun and liklik spun, as is done in Levi's booklet. Lilke does generally not attempt to translate the names of recipes but merely gives English or German terms such as *Nürnberger Plätzle*, *Lemon-Snow* or *Baked Maccaroni*.

Finally, I want to briefly consider the problem of acceptability of suggested innovations. This is diminished by one or more of the following factors:

- a) the introduction of culturally irrelevant material;
- b) the introduction of new terms that sound like existing taboo forms; and
- c) in the case of Lilke, the mixing up of Christian doctrine with cookery.

As regards the first point, several examples can be mentioned. Thus, there is little doubt that gasmeters do not belong to the standard equipment in a Papua New Guinea kitchen, and Laycock (personal communication) suggests that there is not a single such instrument in the whole of the country. I would also like to see a Tok Pisin-speaking household in Papua New Guinea that possesses a *Spätzle machine*, *Spätzle-masin* (Lilke 1972). For the information of my readers, *Spätzle* are a southern German variety of home-made noodles, the translation *Swabian dumpling* given in Cassell's *New German dictionary* being not fully adequate. There is a satisfactory way of making *Spätzle* with a chopping board and a knife - but this method is not mentioned by Lilke. It is hoped the future programs of development aid will do away with the deplorable lack of *Spätzle-masins* in Papua New Guinea.

To move on to the second point: it is generally advisable not to have lexical forms for edible entities or ways of food preparation which are homophonous

with taboo body parts or bodily functions. This maxim is violated in a number of instances. Whilst Lilke manages to avoid the pitfall of translating *to skin a banana* as *skinim banana to pull back the foreskin of a banana*, she introduces baking powder *fucking powder* instead of an uncontroversial *paura bilong bek* or *bekpaura baking powder*, and baking-dis *fucking dish* instead of *dis bilong bek* or *dis bilong tanim kek baking tin*. Another deplorable example in this category is Balint's *milik semen* instead of *susu milk*. Mercifully, none of the writers attempts a translation of *ox tongue in aspic*, which no doubt would have taken the form *tang bilong bulmakau long aspik ox tongue in a pig's bum*.

A last point regarding acceptability relates to the implementation of new lexical items and new knowledge in general. It is symptomatic for a society where most publishing is controlled by Christian missions, that few publications are free from mission propaganda. Such attempts to control language and its use are not universally welcomed. As regards our analysis of new cooking terminology, Lilke's remark that "olgeta samting God i wokim i gut pela na i nogat samting blong rausim sapos yumi tenkyu long God. Long wanem? Em i kamap holi long tok blong God na long prea." (I. Timothy, 4:4&5) may put cannibals at ease but members of other churches such as the Seventh Day Adventists may take offence.

It can be argued that the vocabulary extension found in the few books just discussed is fairly marginal to the language, and that most of the blunders will have little effect. Since none of these writers have access to the mechanisms for the spread and reinforcement of new lexical items, their suggestions can be regarded as mere proposals. The situation is different in those cases where VP has been undertaken by government agencies or other bodies in control of media.

6.8.4.6.5 Latter day mission vocabulary planning: Sadler's proposals

Involvement by Protestant missions with Tok Pisin is a very recent phenomenon and gained impetus only in the mid 1960s, when it became clear that previously used mission *lingue franche* such as Kâte were not a viable alternative to the ever-expanding Tok Pisin. A fuller account of the developments leading to the adoption of Tok Pisin by Protestant mission bodies is given by Renck (1977) and Neuendorf (1977). Much of the vocabulary planning took place at Kristen Pres in Madang and reflects the views of figures such as Adler and Freyberg (whose ideas will be briefly commented upon in a later section). The only explicit account of language planning of the Madang type is given by Sadler (1974a and 1974b) who studied Tok Pisin under the auspices of the Lutheran missionaries in the Madang area. It must be pointed out, however, that Sadler's views do not necessarily stand for any official mission policy. Rather, they reflect attitudes and gut feelings prevalent at the time. The general impression gained from a study of Sadler's two booklets is that the writer has strong ideas about prescriptive linguistics in general and the purity of Tok Pisin in particular. His message is not 'leave Pidgin alone' but 'do something to preserve the structure of conservative, rural Pidgin'. Borrowing of English words is regarded as undesirable in virtually all cases. The writer appears to be convinced that the word formation mechanism provided by Tok Pisin is sufficient to ensure an effective vocabulary.

Unfortunately, Sadler's insights into word formation processes of Tok Pisin are very superficial. His study is not based on an assessment of the referential and systematic power of the Tok Pisin vocabulary, and sociolinguistic considerations of vocabulary growth are ignored. As it is, Sadler's attempt remains a strange mixture of sound insights and unrealistic proposals.

Sadler's two booklets, though similar in their structure and message, will now be discussed separately and some of their main merits and weaknesses will be pointed out.

Sadler 1974b is the manuscript of a paper presented at a meeting of the Tok Pisin Sosaiti in July 1974. He sets out to argue that the development of Tok Pisin has been taken out of the hands of the majority of its speakers and that the few educated urban New Guineans are the most powerful innovators. Their efforts to enrich the vocabulary to cope with the ever-increasing needs for communication consist mainly of borrowing new terms from English without consideration for the structure of Tok Pisin or the referential needs of those who have no access to English. There are two aspects to Sadler's argument: first, that the proliferation of new loans result in the non-understanding on the part of those who do not know English, and second, that they destroy the linguistic structures of Tok Pisin. Unfortunately, these claims are not supported by evidence other than anecdotal material. In my chapter on variability (3.2), I have tried to demonstrate the validity and limitations of this view.

Sadler's concern for retaining the purity of Tok Pisin for its own sake rather than because of loss of communicative capacity or social adequacy of the language is a view held mainly by expatriates, as I have tried to show elsewhere (Mühlhäusler 1982b) and one which only partially overlaps with indigenous attitudes. Equally extreme is Sadler's belief in the capacity of rural Tok Pisin speakers to extend their vocabulary and with it their range of concepts. As was demonstrated by the case of agricultural vocabulary above (cf. also Scott 1977), this ability is very restricted indeed and Tok Pisin tends to lag behind the societal and technological changes affecting rural communities.

Having made his initial points, Sadler presents a number of instances of what he refers to as 'reckless borrowing' together with proposals as to how a corresponding term could have been coined using Tok Pisin's internal resources only. This mere listing of examples and counterexamples, though providing some insights into the extent of the phenomenon, fails to arrive at significant generalisations. It has been shown above that given enough circumlocution almost anything can be said, and Sadler's examples demonstrate this. Sadler fails to draw attention to the weakness which is inherent in many of his proposals, namely the lack of precision and brevity. It may be argued that a descriptive phrase such as *wok bilong kamapim diwai* provides some idea of what *forestry* is about, and that *man bilong narapela kantri* somehow describes an *expatriate*. However, such circumlocutions simply fail to provide the degree of exactitude required for such technical terms. The same is true for *man i mekim hanwok* and *hanwok* for *artist* and *art* respectively. Such circumlocutions can serve to introduce new terms, but for them to become fixed lexical items would lead to a drastic increase in the complexity of Tok Pisin surface structure.

As pointed out by Tauli (1968:84): "Compounds with long components are cumbersome and inconvenient, particularly when frequent in speech." They also put considerable strain on the speaker's short-term memory and tend to prevent rather than promote the development of new concepts.

Another alleged instance of reckless borrowing is the introduction of loans "which are made up of syllables which are established words having meanings unrelated to their use in the loans" (Sadler 1974b:5). Thus, Sadler objects to the use of *praimer* *primary* because it contains the words *meri* *girl*, *woman* and *praiim* *to fry*, to *sitisensip* *citizenship* because this loan contains *si* *sea* (the correct translation is *waves*), *ti* *tea*, *sen* *chain* and *sip* *sheep* (again this is not correct: *sip* is *ship*, the word for *sheep* being *sipsip*). These objections

seem absurd since these loans could not be interpreted as compounds by speakers of Tok Pisin because, even if the syllables were interpreted as morphemes, the loan could not be associated with any existing program of compounding. New words such as *praimer* are correctly interpreted as undividable wholes and it had not occurred to any of those speakers whom I tested that *praimer* has got anything to do with *prai* and *meri*. My suggestions that *praimer* *skul* was a school for girls and **praiman skul* therefore should be a school for boys were universally rejected. Similarly, nobody who uses English would attempt to interpret *con-sternation* as a compound consisting of the morphemes *to con*, *to stir* and *nation*. In fact, if Sadler was consistent in his approach he would have to reject a large number of polysyllabic words such as *bulmakau* (because of *pul* *to paddle*, *fin* and *makau* *telapia*) and point out the danger of this word being interpreted as *fin of a telapia*. The only really problematic area are some words which contain syllables which as free morphemes have certain undesirable connotations. The proposed new name for Papua New Guinea, *Pagini*, was rejected by some speakers because it sounded too much like *pakim mi fuck me*. These examples are marginal, however, and there seems to be no reason to object to terms such as *sitia steer* on the grounds that it could be confused with *sit ia this shit*. Given Sadler's objection, however, I cannot see how he can propose two pages later that the extension of the meaning of an established word should be used as a means of enriching the vocabulary, since such a step would only contribute to the dreaded ambiguity in polysyllabic words and compounds.

The paper ends with a list of processes which can be used to provide new terms for Tok Pisin. However, since Sadler merely presents a list and does not provide any rules for the creation of new lexical items, nor for their semantic interpretation, his examples do nothing more than vaguely suggest some potential of the language.

In sum then, this attempt at providing a rationale for VP in Tok Pisin must be regarded as very unsatisfactory.

Sadler's second paper (1974a), a much enlarged version of his first one, suffers from similar limitations. The booklet, titled *Tok Pisin: a handbook for writers* is concerned with laying down recommendations to those engaged in writing for a wider audience. He again is at pains to point out that loans are generally unintelligible to the average speaker of Tok Pisin. However, he does not give any clearcut evidence as to why this claim should be regarded as valid. He ignores the fact, for instance, that with the introduction of primary schools in many remote areas and with increased urbanisation, English terms, which were meaningless some years ago, now appear to have become part of the established vocabulary of Tok Pisin. The fact that between 1945 and 1971, 465 new words were added to dictionaries is of little significance (p.12) if it is not supported by observations about the actual use of such words. It can no longer be expected that every speaker of the language should know all its words. In recent years, a number of special registers have developed and the vocabulary used in some contexts is known to a very small number of speakers, for instance in motorcar maintenance, agriculture or technical education. A general discussion of registers in Tok Pisin is given by Wurm and Mühlhäusler (1982). The terminological innovations in many special registers are basically list-like appendices to the lexical core and have little effect on established lexical structures. If homophones arise in such specialised contexts, there is little danger of confusion. Unfortunately, a distinction between the core everyday vocabulary and special registers is not made by Sadler.

The bulk of this booklet is devoted to word formation processes in Tok Pisin. Sadler distinguishes 13 procedures "that people of this nation have been

employing for years to identify new ideas and things coming into their culture." (1974a:24ff). As in his previous paper, we find no attempt to formalise any of these procedures. Instead, Sadler presents an ad hoc classification, apparently based on a number of diverse criteria. The shortcomings of this classification are compounded by the fact that the author makes no distinction between stable lexical items and ad hoc circumlocutions. The procedures suggested by Sadler include the following:

(1) Noun plus noun to create a noun

Sadler's examples include a number of compounds containing two noun bases. The way in which these compounds must be interpreted differs from case to case. Hos man *stallion* can be understood in terms of one program, bus naip *bush knife* in terms of another, and ples balus *airfield* in terms of yet another. Some of the examples are clearly non-instances of the noun plus noun type compound, including tokman *spokesman*, wokman *worker* and sutman *policeman* (but glossed by Sadler as *hunter*, a meaning which is normally not associated with this compound). In these three examples the first component must be interpreted as a verb.

(2) Verb plus im plus noun to create a verb

The examples include paitim han *to applaud* and karim pen *to suffer*. It is basically a group of more or less fixed collocations of verbs and noun objects which in English can often be translated by a single verb, a process which should not be referred to as 'to create a verb'.

Again, many of Sadler's translations are inadequate or incomplete, a fact related to his failure to see that the meaning of phrasal compounds in Tok Pisin is often highly context-dependent, particularly if they are ad hoc formations. Thus, whilst baim kot can take the meaning of *to bribe* as in the gloss given by Sadler, it can also mean *to pay a fine*.

One of the principles of successful VP is that planners should be aware of ongoing developments and make predictions about the acceptability of proposed forms in the future. This means, for our particular examples, that the introduction of new verb + noun lexical phrases appears to run counter to a general trend in Tok Pisin to replace lexical phrases with compounds or simple stems, particularly for verbs referring to culturally central activities, as can be seen from many examples. Thus, lukim buk *to read the book, look at the book* or *to read* has been replaced by rit *read* in its lexical meaning and rait now has replaced earlier putim mak (long pepa) *to put a mark on the paper*.

Thus, apart from slowing down the development of a new type of compound formation, Sadler's innovations also run the risk of being regarded as anachronisms.

(3) Noun plus verb to create a noun

Examples include tok hait *secret*, ples bung *meeting place* and ples kik *football field*. In fact, Sadler has grouped a number of lexical phrases together because of apparent surface similarity. It is not clear to me why tok hait *secret* appears in this group as we are dealing with an abstract noun, derived from the verbal expression tok hait *to tell a secret, speak in a secret register of the language*. Again, a semantic analysis of the above examples soon indicates a number of different relationships underlying similar surface forms.

(4) Adjective plus noun to create a noun

Examples are *raunwara lake*, *bikrot highway*. The example *liklik dokta medical assistant* is likely to be rejected by members of this profession, *medikal assistan* replacing *liklik dokta* just as *medikal odeli* has replaced *doktaboi*. Whilst these proposals do not violate any existing rules of Tok Pisin grammar, they are not acceptable for social reasons and should therefore not be promoted.

(5) Numeral plus noun to create a noun, adverb or adjective

The lumping together of superficially similar compounds into single categories is particularly unfortunate here since the programs underlying compounds consisting of numeral + noun are very diverse. Without an understanding of the underlying regularities it is impossible to correctly interpret the differences between compounds such as *wantok speaking the same language*, *wanlek having one leg only*, *wansiling small amount of money*, *wantaim together* and *tutaim twice*.

(6) Repeat a word (reduplicate) to create a noun, verb, adjective or verb

The term 'create', which appears out of place with most of the other categories listed by Sadler, would seem to be appropriate for reduplication, since a great number of underlying regularities can be easily demonstrated in this field (cf. Mühlhäusler 1975c). However, the examples chosen by Sadler are mainly lexicalisations, i.e. instances of reduplication in which the meaning of the derived item cannot be recovered from the meaning of the basic item and a knowledge of the program applied, as in: *wil wheel* - *wilwil bicycle*, *luk see* - *lukluk look* and *isi quietly* - *isi isi carefully*.

(7) Noun plus *im* to create a verb

The examples listed here are instances of transitive verbs derived from nominal bases. Again, a number of different lexical programs underlie forms such as *glasim to examine*, *grisim to flatter* and *ropim to string*.

(8) Verb plus *ap*, *apim* or *aut* to create a verb

This group of verbs, though subject to unitary treatment in English, is by no means a homogeneous class in Tok Pisin. I do not want to go into details here but for most users of the language there is no connection between *go* and *goap* as is suggested by Sadler (1974a:27). *Goap* is commonly pronounced [kwap] and often spelled *kuap*.

(9) Simply extend the meaning of a word to a related one and use an object to indicate the new meaning

The semantic area covered by Tok Pisin words tends to be greater than that for the average word in English. Any extension of meaning therefore has to be very carefully examined if ambiguity and vagueness are to be avoided. This method may be adequate for certain purposes, but it is hardly a way to overcome the referential inadequacy of some parts of the Tok Pisin vocabulary. The degree to which the meaning of lexical items can be extended is by no means obvious and Sadler's remark that "to logically extend the meaning of a known word is an honourable procedure in vocabulary-building" (1974a:5) is a fairly empty statement. The extension of meaning as observed in established Tok Pisin lexical items follows many abstract patterns which can be described by means of semantic redundancy conventions. The fact that these conventions are quite different from those of English is an indication that extension of meaning does not follow some language independent logic.

(10) Use bilong between two nouns to create a noun

Examples for this group include rop bilong blut *blood vessel*, gras bilong solwara *seaweed* and similar noun phrases. Sadler does not indicate whether this is an alternative method to noun plus noun compounding (1), and what conditions of the nouns determine the choice between them. It would be necessary to discuss the status of phrasal constructions such as rop bilong banana against rop banana, masin bilong lait against masin bilong kirapim lait and masin lait. However, since only some superficial properties of such groups are taken into account and since statements about their interpretation are missing, no answers to these problems are found.

(11) Use i gat to create a noun or adjective

This is yet another example of using circumlocution in the business of vocabulary planning. Note that no nouns or adjectives are 'created' in man i gat sik *patient* or i gat bel *pregnant*. All that can be said is that certain phrasal constructions in Tok Pisin can often be translated by English adjectives or nouns. As above in (2) the problem of literal/contextual versus lexical meaning is not dealt with. Ples i gat wara can be translated as *wet place* or *swamp*, according to which interpretation is chosen.

(12) Use long to create a verb

What is meant here is that a Tok Pisin verb plus a prepositional phrase can often be translated by a single verb in English, e.g. brukim long tamiok as *to chop* and lus long wara *to drown*. Incidentally, lus long wara can also mean that somebody is just temporarily lost in the water. The disambiguation can be attained by adding the completion marker pinis. The use of pinis, however, is not mentioned by Sadler, although it is one of the more consistent and regular processes for providing equivalents to two English verbs by using a single verb stem in Tok Pisin.

(13) Use i to create an adjective

Again, nothing is created by inserting i. Cases such as nek i drai *thirsty* are instances of fixed collocations containing an adjective which translate other adjectives in English. It simply confirms what we already knew, namely that the range of meaning of Tok Pisin adjectives is often wider than that of their English cognates.

In conclusion then, Sadler's attempt at 'wordsmithing', though quantitatively considerably more extensive than those of any of his various predecessors, provides no qualitative improvement. Next to haphazard guesses at the referential needs of the language, one finds an astonishing insensitiveness to what might be acceptable to the speakers of the language and, above all, and in spite of all programmatic statements to the contrary, a constant violation of the principle of systematic adequacy. This latter shortcoming appears to be derived from Sadler's view of Tok Pisin as a static entity rather than a dynamically changing one, and his lack of analytic linguistic skills. Sadler's suggestions again illustrate the point that language planning cannot be left in the hands of intelligent laymen but should be carried out by professionally trained planners. The role of laymen and speakers of the language is that of providing the data language planners should be concerned with, but hardly the solutions to their various linguistic needs.

6.8.4.7 The ongoing language planning debate

6.8.4.7.1 Introduction

By the beginning of the 1970s two points had become clear:

- a) that the lexicon of Tok Pisin would not automatically adapt to the needs of the speakers of the language;
- b) that ad hoc language planning activities were no long-term solution if the unity and efficiency of the language was to be preserved.

It is in the light of such realisations that a second conference on Tok Pisin was convened in Port Moresby in September 1973. Although its topics were by no means restricted to standardisation and included discussions of Papua New Guinean society, literacy and creative writing, the question of providing standards for Tok Pisin was a pivotal one.

The increasing role of English as a lexifier language and the resulting possibility of linguistic compartmentalisation of Tok Pisin were discussed in papers by Bickerton and Mühlhäusler. As regards vocabulary planning proper, the creative powers of Tok Pisin were documented by a number of expatriate participants whilst the important role of Tok Pisin in nation-forming was stressed by Papua New Guineans at the conference. All papers have been published by McElhanon (ed. 1975), as a special supplement to *Kivung*. The immediate result of the conference was the establishment of a subcommittee on language standardisation, chaired by Mühlhäusler. It was felt that the following two principles should serve as guidelines for language planning:

- a) "The need for a standardized form of Pidgin which would be intelligible in all parts of the country. This would probably begin by drawing heavily on Rural Pidgin. At the same time it would be necessary to take into account the developing Urban Pidgin and the probability that it will become increasingly important."
- b) "The need to avoid English as the sole source of innovations into Pidgin and more especially the need to guard against anglicization of the structure of Pidgin."

Unfortunately, no official involvement in language planning resulted from these initiatives and language planning continued in the hands of individuals. An attempt by Healey to bring the various interests together in a Tok Pisin Sosaiti did not bring the results hoped for. A more successful attempt to bring the question of language planning and Tok Pisin to public attention was Tom Dutton's inaugural lecture as Professor in the Department of Language at the University of Papua New Guinea. The spirited response to his proposals as to how a non-English policy should be implemented is collected in McDonald (ed. 1976). The many documents brought together by McDonald exhibit a considerable division of opinion and one which is associated with social and regional origin of the respondents: opposition to Tok Pisin is particularly pronounced among the advocates of an independent Papua.

At the time those interested in language planning did not realise the very strong trend toward regionalisation within independent Papua New Guinea. Whereas in pre-independence days regional mobility and job transfers were widespread, this is now becoming less and less common and there are signs, discussed by Laycock (1982b), that this lack of interregional contacts has led to the re-establishment of regional languages other than Tok Pisin.

The danger of provoking secession has often been mentioned as one of the reasons why the government never officially involved themselves with language planning issues. It is too early to ask the question of the wisdom of such a decision and its social and political costs. The following conclusions are therefore tentative rather than definite statements.

6.8.4.7.2 Conclusions

- (1) Language and vocabulary planning for Tok Pisin was at no time in the hands of a unified official body. This accounts for the ad hoc character of most attempts in this area.
- (2) Individual attempts at vocabulary planning were marred by a number of factors, including:
 - a) insufficient theoretical knowledge
 - b) insensitivity to indigenous views on the matter
 - c) lack of coordination
 - d) insufficient knowledge of Tok Pisin
- (3) The cost, in both economic and social terms, of inadequate language policies is not known at present but has probably been quite considerable.
- (4) It appears that, in spite of all practical shortcomings, there are no principled reasons why Tok Pisin could not be developed to become the national language in all domains of communication.

This chapter has highlighted many negative developments, misunderstandings and misjudgements. However, whatever damage has been caused is probably not irreversible. Instead, it would seem to be more desirable than ever to review the entire question of language and communication in Papua New Guinea and arrive at a rational and politically justifiable solution. To what extent Tok Pisin will figure in such a solution remains to be determined.

NOTES

1. This second task reflects the general principle that what is marginal or unnatural will undergo fewer linguistic rules than what is central and natural. Thus, poorly integrated borrowed material is frequently impervious to word-formation processes and hence significantly increases learning difficulties for second-language learners.
2. There appear to be interesting neurolinguistic reasons for this. Whereas concrete nouns are associated with the right hemisphere of the brain, abstract nouns and verbs belong to the left hemisphere. Note that the presence of abstract nouns implies that of concrete nouns, but not vice versa.
3. The component masta *European* rather than man *person* is chosen because at this stage tourists are typically Europeans.

4. It has to be kept in mind that the power of Tok Pisin's word-formation component was considerably less in the mid-1920s than it is today, but even the available power appears to have been consistently underutilised by the missions (cf. also Mühlhäusler 1982b).
5. It would seem, however, that Laycock's criticism of the book being "full of non-Pidgin, pseudo-Pidgin, and the best collection of Pidgin howlers to come to the hands of this writer for a long time" and that "a monumental ignorance of New Guinea conditions is shown" was not very far off the mark.
6. This could also mean *I want to see a tropical ulcer with spots*. Balint does not realise that *makmak pattern* refers to patterns of fur and skin, etc. but not to dressmaking patterns.

6.9 THE FUTURE OF TOK PISIN

Don Laycock

The past of Tok Pisin - its origins and development, and the debates it has engendered - have been discussed at length in this volume and will not be repeated here, except insofar as a brief recapitulation of the attitudes to the language over the last 40 years are necessary to an understanding of how Tok Pisin is coping with the present and projected needs of its speakers.

The future of Tok Pisin, however, is not so easy to predict. It is possible only to list the currently observable trends, on the assumption that there will be no dramatic reversals. An essential aspect of such predictions as are made is a reliance on the continuation of the Melanesian habit of making no firm decisions on matters that can safely be allowed to look after themselves. Tok Pisin is one such matter.

The history of Tok Pisin from the end of World War I to the present¹ can best be seen as a history of attitudes (for which see Wurm 1977a, and Wurm's paper on policies and attitudes in this volume (2.3)). From about 1955 - the date of Robert A. Hall's polemic defence of Tok Pisin, in response to United Nations pronouncements that its use was not to be encouraged in Papua New Guinea - to the present, most persons actively concerned with Tok Pisin as a field of study have been involved in the Great Pidgin Debate. The debate was carried on in scores of newspapers and periodical articles in the 1950s and 1960s, with a subtle change of emphasis in the 1970s. On the one side were the linguists, who were concerned to make the point that Tok Pisin was as valid a language as any other, and capable of serving all administrative and educational purposes (with perhaps some manipulation - Laycock 1975) in a country that was rapidly moving towards independence. Ranged against the linguists were the administrators, the educators and many Papua New Guineans, who continued to see Tok Pisin as a makeshift hangover from the colonial period that had no future in the administrative and educative future of Papua New Guinea, and that should be replaced by English as soon as possible.

Point by point the linguists' claims were gradually conceded - all but one or two. Opponents of Tok Pisin became ready to see the language as a valid one for certain limited purposes of communication - but none were prepared to support any moves to make it a national language, and/or to attempt to develop a primary school syllabus in which Tok Pisin would play a significant part. The linguists had to shift ground, and tackle the educational problems squarely as a separate issue; the clearest case, largely on economic grounds, was put by Dutton (1976a) in his inaugural lecture as Professor of Language at the University of Papua New Guinea. The reactions to this - largely a counter-blast - were collected by McDonald (1976a).

And at that point the Great Pidgin Debate came to a close. The war was over; the last shots had been fired. The many papers appearing in the volume edited by Wurm in 1977 are simply those of the war correspondents, reporting on the history of the conflict.

S.A. Wurm and P. Mühlhäusler, eds *Handbook of Tok Pisin (New Guinea Pidgin)*, 665-668. *Pacific Linguistics*, C-70, 1984.

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665

The reasons for the ceasefire are complex, but it is possible to see them all as a direct consequence of Papua New Guinea's attainment of independence in 1975. The role of expatriate observers, especially those not resident in Papua New Guinea, became increasingly irrelevant. But, more importantly, any plans for regularising the future status of Tok Pisin ran foul of the Melanesian habit of deferring decisions until a crisis developed, or until the road ahead became apparent to all. (In the case of Tok Pisin, and the associated linguistic and educational problems in Papua New Guinea, the crisis is not yet apparent to all - and it may never be.)

An additional factor has been the increasing regionalisation of administration. The rise in power of provincial governments has meant a decrease in the power of the central government in Port Moresby - and an increasing reluctance to pass legislation binding on the whole country of Papua New Guinea.

Regionalisation has also brought about an increase in regional solutions to linguistic problems - in particular, an increased use of local languages and *lingue franche*. I estimate that within five to ten years, virtually all officials at provincial government level will be from that province, and the officials (and missionaries and teachers) in the smaller centres will be almost all local people, using local languages for their work. The need for using Tok Pisin must necessarily dwindle.

Tok Pisin in Papua New Guinea today, within a decade of independence, is accepted at all levels as a useful language; but it may never have any status or prestige. It carries no stigma; conversations are carried out in the most appropriate language for the subject of discourse, and for the participants, whether this be English, Tok Pisin, Hiri Motu, or one of the vernaculars. Tok Pisin is still the major language for relaxing in, in the bar or club after the day's work is over;² it is still the major contact language for outsiders of any description - government officials from other areas, and expatriates - in rural situations; and it is still the first language of a large number of households. Nevertheless - and I believe this to be significant - Tok Pisin seems very rarely to remain the *only* language of an individual. Not only do many of the first-language Tok Pisin speakers eventually learn one or more of the vernacular languages spoken by their parents, or the predominant language of the area in which they are working, or else a regional *lingua franca* like Jabêm or Hiri Motu, but also such speakers are usually in a favourable position to attend school from an early age, and to acquire competence in English. Creolisation of a language does not necessarily produce a community of native speakers.

Organisations consisting of individuals from all over Papua New Guinea, such as the police and defence forces, still run internally on Tok Pisin; but the administration, and contact with expatriates, is carried on in English. Records of village government are kept in Tok Pisin - but the increasing availability of acceptable orthographies for vernacular languages will probably mean a decline of Tok Pisin in this area also. Schools and churches use English, vernacular languages, and Tok Pisin, according to local needs. In other words, Tok Pisin continues to serve a Melanesian community in a Melanesian way: used where it is useful, and abandoned where it is not.

It is therefore quite possible that Tok Pisin may be very close to reaching its maximum expansion. It is still expanding in rural areas, and among migrants from rural areas to the towns. But the townspeople are increasingly learning English, as are large numbers of rural children. The decline of an indentured labour system, or any exploitation of a labour pool which carries people from their villages into other language areas, means that more and more Papua New

Guineans - except for government officials - will be staying at home in their own villages, and carrying on their daily activities in the vernacular. Regionalisation has seen an increase in the use of the large regional languages. Only in areas of extreme linguistic fragmentation, such as the Sepik, Manus, Madang and Morobe, does it seem likely that Tok Pisin will continue to play a major administrative role. (And there remains the possibility that one or more of the provincial governments may give some formal recognition to Tok Pisin, if no other linguistic solution is obvious.)³

A further area of decline of the use of Tok Pisin is as a contact language between Europeans and Papua New Guineans. The change from colony to independent nation in Papua New Guinea has meant considerable changes in the nature of expatriate employment, and in relations between the races. There are now comparatively few expatriates working in Papua New Guinea for whom a knowledge of Tok Pisin is essential; probably the majority of expatriates working in towns do not bother to learn the language at all. The sociolect identified by Mühlhäusler (1975e) as Tok Masta is also virtually dead in present-day Papua New Guinea. Tok Masta was the fluent but anglicised variety of Tok Pisin spoken by long-resident administrators, agricultural officers, and businessmen - a group which has largely departed from the country. In place of this old Tok Masta one can find a superficially similar variety spoken by the new generation of expatriate advisers and businessmen to unskilled labour lines, and in rural communities; but, as this variety no longer carries any prestige, is unsupported by a white power structure (Sankoff 1976b), and, in addition, lacks the fluency and self-satisfaction of Tok Masta, it is more readily characterised as bad Tok Pisin. As such, it is resented by many Papua New Guineans, and this resentment carries over to a general resentment against being spoken to in Tok Pisin by whites they do not know. As a consequence of this attitude, many conversations are carried on in halting English, when they could be better conducted in fluent Tok Pisin.⁴

When the occasions for the use of a language decline, it appears to follow that the language must decline also. Therefore, it would seem that in the future Tok Pisin has nowhere to go but down. But this will not happen as a result of contamination from English; the fears expressed by Bickerton (1975a) that Tok Pisin will disappear in a linguistic continuum between it and English seem groundless, as the two languages fall more and more into distinct slots: Tok Pisin as the socialising language across linguistic boundaries, and English as the elite administering language of a government network. There is no doubt that Tok Pisin speakers at all levels will use more English words in their Tok Pisin - 'yumi mas allocatim planti resources i go long dispela hydroelectric development project' is the type of phrase that can be commonly heard - but the heavily anglicised varieties of Urban Pidgin are, for most of Papua New Guinea, as dead as Tok Masta.⁵ But Tok Pisin will decline because, however appropriate it may seem as a solution to linguistic problems on a national level, there are other ways of solving the linguistic dilemma at regional levels. In a modified form, what we are likely to see is a return to the local solutions of the precontact era - at least until such time as English is widespread enough to serve as a truly national language.

This does not mean that Tok Pisin will die a rapid, or even an easy, death. There are still children being born who will never really acquire English; and if they move from their own linguistic areas, the only language that will serve them is Tok Pisin. But it does mean that, in perhaps 50 years' time, Tok Pisin will most likely be being studied by scholars among a small community of old men.

Since this paper is full of predictions, I venture to make another. When the decline of Tok Pisin begins to be apparent to all, I predict that there will

be a revival of interest in the language - a resurgence of Tok Pisin creative writing, courses of study at the universities, and a strong vocal minority who wish to keep the language artificially alive (as has happened with Hawaiian Pidgin). But this is only likely to happen at a stage when Tok Pisin is no longer serving any useful function.⁶

As scholars with a soft spot for Tok Pisin, we may regret these trends, but it is no longer our problem. As expatriates, we all share a common disability - the ability to see too clearly, and too far ahead (and this paper is no exception). But what we saw in the pre-independence era was the way things should have gone in an ideal world, without taking into account Melanesian attitudes - especially the pragmatic tendency to let problems find their own solutions. A dramatic new policy on the part of the Papua New Guinea government could upset these predictions - but, in view of the Melanesian tolerance, even preference, for diversity (Laycock 1982a), this seems unlikely.

NOTES

1. Much of the remainder of this article first appeared as Laycock 1982b. Some expansion, and some changes of emphasis, have been added in this version. A more optimistic view is taken by Mühlhäusler (1977c).
2. Bars in towns like Rabaul and Lae tend to have a regional clientele, so that local languages again predominate.
3. I have heard informal reports that official recognition has been given to Tok Pisin in the Morobe Province, but have not seen any documentation of this.
4. In 1980 an expatriate in Rabaul remarked to me that he always used English when first addressing Papua New Guineans wearing shoes, and Tok Pisin to those persons who were barefoot. I do not think this remark was intended to be racist, and it does contain a certain amount of astute social observation; nevertheless, it is not recommended as a guideline.
5. Even radio broadcasters have largely given up the extremely anglicised Tok Pisin of a few years ago, perhaps because of complaints from listeners, and certainly because of the increasing use of provincial stations. And it is only as a joke today that one is likely to hear such linguistic mixtures as *yumi mas tok long grass-roots level nau or yu no ken putim cart before the horse* - that is, as a relaxed form of speech among speakers at home in both English and Tok Pisin.
6. For an account of creative writing in Tok Pisin, see Laycock 1977a, and the article, in this volume, on Tok Pisin as a literary language (6.2). Again, the beginnings were too soon, and too expatriate-dominated, and have had little follow-up. *Wantok* newspaper was founded in 1970, since it seemed obvious that there should be a Tok Pisin newspaper; but it is only in the last few years that it has started to circulate in the villages, away from the mission stations and schools.

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INDEX

Note that Tok Pisin is used as a main heading and that most topics referring directly to Tok Pisin are entered thereunder as subheadings.

- Abaijah, Josephine 489, 669
 Abelam 208, 539, 541, 544, 547, 548, 552, 554
 Adler, Max K. 444, 669
 Adler, Richard 656, 669
 adlexification 78, 89
 Administrative College 176
 Adzera 542, 544, 553, 554
 African languages 183, 199, 218, 457, 462, 463, 471
 African pidgin 79
 Afrikaans 351
 Agheyisi, Rebecca N. 166, 445, 628, 669
 Ahnon, Waiiau 645
 ai 611
 Aitchison, Jean 530, 669
 Akinnaso, F. Niyi 525, 559
 Algeo, John T. 6, 669
 Ali 543-546, 548, 549, 552
 Allen, Bryant 497
 American Indian Pidgin English 44, 179, 472
 Anderson, Carl 507
 Anderson, John M. 700
 Andreoni, G. 555, 669
 Anglo-Saxon 178
 Arabic 307
 arere 607, 608
 as 191, 198
 Atlantic pidgins and creoles 210, 463
 Aufenanger, Heinrich 264, 669
 Aufinger, Albert 28, 194, 197, 262, 263, 267, 269, 270, 273, 669
 Australasian English 209
 Australian Aboriginal creoles 480
 Australian Aboriginal languages 578
 Australian Academy of the Humanities 4
 Australian Broadcasting Commission 20, 524
 Australian English 135, 182, 184, 210, 452, 468
 Australianeese 280
 Australian National University 3, 4, 33, 175, 254
 Australian Pidgin English (see also Australian Aboriginal Pidgin) 44, 179, 472
 Austronesian languages 65, 68, 167, 169, 306, 307, 459, 540, 542, 543, 545, 546, 548, 550, 551, 554-556
 Āyiwo orthography 174
 Baar, William van 19, 31, 201, 669, 670
 baby-talk 453
 Baessler, Arthur 444, 670
 bai 24, 109, 112, 155, 261, 338, 376, 278, 387, 388, 407, 529, 544-546, 552, 554, 569
 Bailey, Beryl L. 483, 670
 Bailey, Charles-James N. 136, 177, 252, 447, 456, 469, 565, 572, 670
 baimbai 24, 94, 109, 110, 112, 116, 155, 261, 376, 387, 388, 473
 Baining 22
 Baker, Sidney J. 27, 63, 501, 521, 645, 670
 Bálint, András 31, 32, 102, 283, 580, 585, 587-589, 601, 647-650, 652-656, 664, 670
 Balkan languages 555
 Bantu 199
 Bariai 543, 544, 548, 550, 552
 Barok, Sâcnemac 32, 686
 Barry, Sy 507
 Bateson, Gregory 27, 91, 183, 500, 561, 670, 679
 Bauer, Anton 5, 23, 28, 32, 670, 671, 688
 Bazaar Malay 46-48
 as lingua franca 48
 Beach-la-mar 16, 30, 43, 209, 286
 beche-de-mer trade 37
 Bee, Darlene 24, 54, 82, 91, 247, 297, 302, 671, 682
 Beier, Ulli 504
 Bélanger, Monique 688
 Bell, Henry L. 27, 241, 245, 258, 262, 536, 671
 Bennett, J.A. 6, 581, 689, 690
 bi 188, 189

- Bible Society 174
 Bichelamar 6, 43, 44, 166, 211, 461, 475, 477
 Bickerton, Derek 15, 28, 29, 235, 238, 273, 444, 447, 449, 451, 460, 462, 463, 478-480, 482, 572, 662, 667, 671, 681, 689
 bioprogram 478-481
 Biggs, Bruce G. 132, 671
 big men 6
 bik 626
 bikos 406
 bilingualism 6, 131, 248, 540, 553, 555
 Biliso Osake 508
 bilong 96, 116, 138, 339, 343, 344, 346, 356, 357, 366, 367, 406, 407, 410, 473, 530, 545, 549, 661
 bin 129, 249, 378, 387-389, 473, 569
 bioprogram (see Bickerton, Derek) 481
 bipo 387, 404
 Biskup, Peter 18, 206, 671
 Bislama 37
 Bisnis English 582
 Black, Maria 568, 671
 Blanche Bay languages (see Tolai) 97
 Bley, Bernhard 18, 671
 Bloomfield, Leonard 120, 444, 453, 671
 Blount, Ben G. 695
 Blum, Hans 48, 671
 blut 607
 Boas, Franz 562
 Bodmer, J. 444
 Boiken 297
 Bola 544, 547
 Bollée, Annegret 178, 188, 672
 Boluminski, Franz 279
 Borchardt, Karl 18, 19, 22, 30, 107, 121, 201, 209, 255, 273, 427, 559, 640, 672
 Bork, Hans Dieter 672
 borrowing 283
 Boschmann, Roger 508, 672
 Bosco, John 547, 672
 Botha, Rudolf P. 566, 577, 672
Bougainville Copper Bulletin 523
Bougainville Nius 507, 691
 Brash, Elton 28, 237, 253, 261-263, 266, 509, 615, 672
 Brenninkmeyer, Leo 22, 30, 93, 94, 96, 97, 117, 182, 191, 201, 255, 459, 460, 475, 483, 569, 609, 672
 Bright, William 679
 British and Foreign Bible Society (see also Bible Society) 672
 Broken English 19, 37, 38, 40, 52, 85, 236, 237, 241, 517, 518, 557
 Brouwer, Leo 287
 Brown, George 83, 672
 Brown, Penelope 24, 29, 95, 115, 153, 245, 415, 417, 528, 696
 Browne, Bob 508, 572
 Bryan, M.A. 556, 700
 Bryning, Peni 504
 Buang 541, 544, 552
 Buin 231, 298, 301, 303-307
Buka News 521
 bulmakau 473
 Bulu 543, 544, 551, 552
 Busch, Wilhelm 502
 Bush Pidgin (= Bush TP) 28, 37, 234, 236, 241-244, 246, 247, 252, 285, 287, 313, 573
 Bwakolo, Patrick 174, 703
 Cameroons (or Cameroonian) Pidgin English 118, 199, 464, 476
 Canale, Michael 688
 Capell, Arthur 28, 555, 673, 704
 Cape York Creole 472
 Cape York Pidgin 473, 475
 Carell, Victor 497, 675
 Caribbean creoles 462
 Caribbean Negro Pidgin English 44, 179, 472
 Carle, Rainer 673, 689, 697
 Carr, Elizabeth B. 6, 210, 673, 689
 Carrington, Lois 22, 26, 176, 305, 673, 676, 678, 688, 699, 704
 Cassidy, Frederic G. 6, 32, 86, 181, 214, 581, 673
 Cates, Ann F. 508, 673
 Cates, Larry E. 508, 673
 Catholic mission, Alexishafen 19, 30, 31, 169, 196, 207, 255, 281, 518, 519, 638, 687
 Catholic mission, Rabaul 30, 31, 181, 255, 638
 Catholic mission, Vunapope 518, 519, 638
 Central Atlantic Pidgin English 44, 472
 Chambers, J.K. 673
 Chamorro 555, 556
 Chatterton, Percy 282-284, 673
 Chiat, Shulamuth 568, 671
 child language 557, 558

- China Coast Pidgin English 455, 472, 474
- Chinese 17, 77, 199, 200, 237, 452, 457, 471, 472
- Chinese Pidgin English 5, 29, 43, 44, 47, 48, 79, 89, 179, 180, 199, 200, 218, 471, 472, 477
- Chomsky, Noam 23, 177, 428, 448, 449, 453, 479, 570, 673, 674
- Chowning, Ann 297, 304, 306, 539, 541, 542, 553, 674
- Christian Leadership Training College 174
- Churchill, William 16, 30, 37, 38, 80, 86, 87, 197, 201, 452, 500, 639, 674
- Clark, Donald H. 637, 674
- Clark, Ross 27, 29, 56, 97, 182, 210, 217, 470, 472-476, 674
- classical grammars 568
- Clyne, Michael G. 53, 219, 239, 454, 539, 540, 555, 674, 689
- Coastal Malay 7, 219, 254
- Coastal Pidgin (= Lowlands, = Mainland Pidgin; Tok Pisin) 206, 257, 258, 573
- code switching 271
- Coelho, Francisco Adolpho 455
- Cogen, Cathy 698
- College of External Studies 533
- Comrie, Bernard 528, 674
- contact situations 37, 38
- Conversational New Guinea Pidgin* 3, 21, 175, 537
- Cook, Walter A. 575, 674
- Corder, S.P. 445, 450, 674
- Coulthard, R.N. 552, 697
- Counts, Dorothy A. 500, 674
- cranberry formative 193
- Creative Training Centre at Nobonob 174
- creoles 286, 446, 462, 478-480
- creolisation 5, 9, 22, 24, 25, 28, 36, 40, 41, 51, 52, 65, 67, 74, 106, 148, 450, 478-480
- cross-linguistic communication 241
- Dahmen, Johannes 30, 201, 273, 580, 675
- Daiber, Albert 16, 17, 101, 675
- Da Kine Talk 6
- Das Gupta, J. 702
- Dean, Beth 497, 675
- DeBose, Charles E. 454, 676
- DeCamp, David 105, 447, 567, 572, 675, 676, 682
- Dempwolff, Otto 675
- Dennis, Jamie 446, 675
- Department of District Administration 603
- Department of Language, UPNG 15, 662
- Department of Linguistics, R.S.Pac.S., ANU 3, 4, 33, 254
- Department of Native Affairs 524
- descriptive grammars 574
- descriptive linguistics 567, 568, 574
- Deutsche Handels- und Plantagen-gesellschaft 42, 90
- dialect geography 252
- DIES (Department of Information and Extension Services) 174, 508, 522, 523
- Dietz, Thomas A. 26, 171, 604, 675
- Dingwall, William Orr 23, 675
- Dinneen, Francis P. 562, 675
- Disney, Walt 507
- Divine Word missionaries 19, 169, 255, 687
- Djuka 462, 463
- Dreyfuss, Gail Raimi 32, 248, 675
- Duffield, A.J. 197, 675
- Duke of York Islands language 97, 195, 215
- Dutch 68, 71
- Dutton, Thomas E. 3, 6-8, 18, 20, 21, 26, 29, 33, 42, 77, 130, 175, 270, 343, 360, 362, 365, 374, 376, 377, 382, 383, 386, 387, 390, 391, 470, 476, 487, 489, 497, 498, 500, 502, 506, 510, 529, 535-537, 541, 612, 662, 665, 675-677, 690, 704
- dynamic linguistics 447
- East Papuan Phylum 298, 301
- Edmondson, Jerold A. 390, 676
- Edwards, Jay 177, 181, 183, 676
- Emenyo 240
- em 93, 97, 110, 130, 246, 338, 343, 344, 349, 352, 374, 396, 418, 545, 550-552
- em nau 405, 406
- em tasol 329, 330
- Enga 230
- Enga Nius* 507
- Enga Provins Nius* 507
- English 8, 18, 19, 30, 39, 40, 44, 49, 54, 60, 62, 64, 65, 67-74, 76-81,

- 85-89, 91, 96-98, 100, 101, 115, 121, 123-125, 130-132, 134-139, 141-145, 147-149, 156, 161, 165-170, 175, 178-187, 189-193, 196-199, 202, 205, 207, 210, 212, 217, 219, 223-231, 234-238, 240-243, 245, 246, 248-251, 253, 258, 261, 271, 273, 277, 278, 280-282, 286, 295, 305, 307, 309-311, 314, 316, 329, 334, 339, 346, 347, 349, 351, 352, 361-363, 365, 366, 368, 374, 378-380, 384, 392, 400, 404, 416, 424-426, 428, 437, 444, 446, 452-454, 457-460, 462, 466-468, 471, 473, 476-478, 480, 483, 488-490, 492, 493, 503, 504, 508-510, 521, 524, 525, 527, 529, 530, 531, 533, 535, 536, 542, 543, 550, 552, 553, 555, 557, 558, 560, 561, 564, 569, 573, 574, 578-580, 584, 585, 596, 597, 599, 601, 603-608, 611, 613, 614, 616, 619, 621, 624-631, 634-638, 640-646, 648, 650, 651, 654-659, 662, 665-668
- American English 69
- Australian English 69
- borrowing 283
- British English 69
- influence on Tok Pisin intonation 309
- influence on Tok Pisin stress patterns 309
- as lexifier language 50, 60, 62, 64, 68, 70, 131, 186-190, 198, 199, 201, 208, 210, 211, 248, 255, 276, 279, 446, 450, 662
- as lingua franca 63
- newspapers 63
- as phonological source 295-297, 300, 302
- phonology 295
- in schools 62, 66, 72
- English-based pidgins 167
- English creoles 6
- Enninger, Werner 690
- Esquire* 507
- etymological fallacy 188, 190
- European languages 558, 569, 574
- Evangelical Alliance of the South Pacific Islands 676
- expanded pidgins 8, 105, 106
- Expatriate Tok Pisin = Tok Masta 75
- Falk, Lee 507
- Fanakalo 199
- Fausel, Erich 676
- fela 109
- Féral, Carole de 118, 676
- Ferguson, Charles A. 78, 82, 87, 241, 454, 676, 702
- Fijian 197, 198, 200, 218
- Firchow, Irwin B. 301, 676
- Firchow, Jacqueline 301, 676
- Fishman, Joshua A. 699, 702
- Flierl, Wilhelm 54
- focus 555
- Fodale, Peter 156, 686
- Fodor, Jerry A. 673, 676
- folk-etymologies 190
- Fonacier, Santiago A. 697
- Foreigner Talk 78, 80, 82, 83, 89, 114, 181, 219, 241, 262, 263, 452-454, 483
- form and function 451
- Franklin, Karl J. 20, 26, 142, 154, 282, 373, 604, 677
- French creoles 178
- French 68, 69, 77, 79, 178, 234, 457, 471, 480, 555, 557, 603
- as lexifier language 188
- French, A. 677
- Frend bilong Mi* 518
- Freyberg, Paul G. 165, 646, 656, 677
- Friederici, Georg 18, 26, 81, 91, 93, 102, 219, 253, 279, 280, 636, 677, 686
- Fritz from Ali I. 104
- Fromkin, Victoria 568, 677
- Gadsup 322
- Gajdusek, D. Carleton 305, 694
- gat 363, 395, 621
- Gaywood, H.C. 502, 677
- Gazelle languages 212
- Gedaged 7, 542
- gen 383, 384
- general linguistics 33
- Genthe, Siegfried 87, 677
- German 6, 8, 17-19, 30, 32, 49, 50, 52, 60, 61, 65, 66, 68, 76, 77, 97, 102, 114, 115, 125, 166, 167, 169, 179, 180, 182-186, 189, 192, 196-198, 200-204, 218, 219, 245, 249, 255, 257, 279, 444, 452, 467, 477, 555, 557, 558, 573, 574, 584, 603, 605, 635, 637, 638, 640, 641, 643, 645, 654, 655
- as lexifier language 50, 61, 192, 199-204, 255, 467

- Giles, H. 699
 Giles, W.E. 475, 677
 givim 395, 396
 Givón, Talmy 83, 138, 449, 450, 628, 677
 Godeffroy, J.C. 45, 46
 Goeschel, J. 670
 Gonzalez, Andrew B. 697, 703
 Goodman, John Stuart 6, 88, 677
 Goodman, Morris 82, 556, 677
 Goodson, Mike 502
 Görlach, Manfred 502, 510, 677
 Government Printer, Port Moresby 174
 Gräbner (Graebner), Fritz 197, 204, 698
 grammar 273
 gras 616
 Great Pidgin Debate 665
 Greek 557, 558, 562, 568
 Green, R.C. 671
 Greenberg, Joseph H. 448, 449, 678
 Groves, W.C. 25, 62, 606, 677
 Gullah 44, 179, 471, 472, 476
 Gumperz, John J. 678
 Gunther, J.T. 26, 601, 647, 678
 gut 264
 Guy, J.B.M. 678
 Guyanese Creole 233
 Gwyther-Jones, Roy 678
- Haas, Mary 190, 678
 Hagen, Gunther von 18, 678
 Haitian Creole 234, 243, 471
 Halim, Amran 676, 678
 Hall, Robert A., Jr 8, 19, 22, 25, 26, 29, 31, 32, 36, 44, 50, 52, 55, 59, 60, 62, 67, 78, 81, 82, 92, 103, 105, 117, 131, 135, 136, 141, 169, 171, 178, 190, 201, 212, 219, 233, 238, 241, 242, 245, 249, 254, 281, 336, 339, 342, 374, 403, 421, 444, 446, 452-455, 457, 458, 463-465, 468, 470, 471, 495, 499, 500, 502-504, 510, 517, 521, 529, 530, 559-561, 565-567, 569, 601, 609, 616, 620, 627, 630, 643-645, 649, 665, 678, 679, 687
 Halliday, M.A.K. 259, 448, 451, 679
 han 611
 Hancock, Ian F. 210, 453, 671, 675-677, 679, 682, 695, 700
 Hannet, Leo 498, 499, 504, 506, 508, 679
 hap 616
- Harris, John 219
 Harris, Roy 258, 273, 465, 679
 Harris, Zellig 570
 Harrison, James A. 186, 679
 Harua 543, 544, 546, 547, 552, 554, 556
 hat 264, 265
 Hattori, Shirô 704
 Haugen, Einar 275, 597, 679
 haus 627
 Hawaiian Creole English 480
 Hawaiian English 472
 Hawaiian Pidgin 6, 210, 474, 668
 Hay, David 651, 652
 Healey, L.R. 20, 26, 50, 53, 60, 133, 262, 273, 282, 571, 615, 630, 646, 651, 654, 662, 680
 Hebrew 307, 557, 558
 Heilmann, Luigi 683
 Heitfeld, Valerie 32, 680
 Heller, K. 674
 helpim 608
 Helton, E.C.N. 17, 19, 31, 55, 680
 Henley, Nancy 240, 699
 Henley, Thomas 49, 680
 Heringer, James T. 25, 400, 680
 Hershheim, Franz 16, 45, 85, 466, 680
 Hesselting, Derk Christiaan 687
 Hesse-Wartegg, Ernst von 16, 101, 680
 hevi 265
 Highfield, Arnold 451, 671, 682, 689, 695, 696, 701
 Highlands languages 234, 478
 Highlands Pidgin (Highlands Tok Pisin) 9, 19, 22, 50, 54, 61, 64, 66, 106, 117, 257, 258, 307, 360, 373, 385, 618, 646
 Hill, Kenneth C. 671, 680, 696, 701, 702
 Hindi 307
 Hiri Motu and Tok Pisin Research Unit, UPNG 33
 Hiri Motu (see also Police Motu) 7, 65, 66, 71-73, 77, 205, 218, 224, 227-230, 239, 254, 464, 478, 489, 490, 492, 508, 524, 525, 535, 666
 as lexifier language 258
 as lingua franca 535
 Hiri Trade Language 6, 7
 Hockett, Charles F. 190, 273, 565, 680
 Hoenigswald, Henry A. 465, 681

- Hogbin, H. Ian 499, 681
 Holm, John 462, 463, 681
 Holmer, Nils 611, 681
 Holmes, Janet 693, 695
 Höltker, Georg 27, 52, 264, 280, 635, 669, 680
 Holzknicht, Susanne 307, 487-493, 542, 681, 692
 Hooley, Bruce A. 23, 156, 381, 560, 570, 681
 Huli 230
 Hull, Brian 27, 73, 283, 650, 651, 681
 Hüllen, Werner 680, 681, 689
 husat 140, 416, 419, 420
 Huttar, George L. 462, 463, 681
 Hymes, Dell 673, 675, 677, 678, 681, 682, 693, 695, 701, 702
- i 25, 94, 95, 110, 154-156, 162, 167, 181, 246, 247, 319, 338, 362, 363, 373-375, 383, 385, 386, 408, 421, 458, 461, 473, 542, 555, 561, 661
 i gat 661
 i go 628
 i kam 628
 i tok 413, 414
 ia (= ya) 153, 261, 417, 528
 Iatmul 297, 298
 Icelandic 560
 -im 93, 125, 126, 134, 135, 246, 258, 336, 343, 358-360, 394, 434, 437, 438, 473, 488, 618, 620, 622, 623, 659, 660
 inap 330, 386, 387, 404, 544, 547, 554
 indigenous languages in broadcasting 524, 525
 Indonesian 4, 71, 207, 555
 inflectional morphology 92
 -ing 135, 339, 340
 Institute of Papua New Guinea Studies 504
 interference 24
 Irian Jaya 236
 Islands Pidgin (Islands Tok Pisin) 255, 257-259, 273, 363, 573
 Isuzu Lu 508, 672
 Italian 68, 555
- Jabêm 7, 666
Jacaranda dictionary ... 582-585, 687
- Jacomb, Edward 87, 166, 681
 Jacques, Norbert 26, 495, 511, 681
 Jamaican Creole 32, 182, 233, 351, 476, 567
 Jamaican English 581
 Japanese 520
 Japanese Pidgin English 6, 55
 Jargon English 43, 45, 47, 48, 80, 82, 87-89, 93, 94, 96, 211, 453, 466
 lexical expansion 89
 lexicon 85
 loss of -s 83
 jargons 35, 38, 39, 80, 83, 88-90, 97, 149, 166, 200, 209, 279, 286, 356, 457
 Jehovah's Witnesses 523
 Jespersen, Otto 101, 444, 471, 681
 Johnson, L.W. 652
 Johnson, Samuel 577
 Johnston, Raymond L. 217, 541, 547, 553, 681
 Jones, Charles 700
 Jones, John D. 81, 682
 Joseph K. of Lorengau 235, 288
 Jung, E. 41, 682
- Kaiep 543-549, 551, 552, 556
 kaikai 616
 Kairiru 543-548, 550-552, 556
 Kais, Kakah 508, 682
 Kakare, Iru 6, 676
 Kanaka language 559
 Kâte 7, 230, 656
Katolik Nius 518
 Katz, Jerrold J. 673, 676
 Kavap, Jerry 504, 507, 682
 Kay, Paul 92, 94, 109, 112, 449, 682
 Keller, Rudi 562, 682
 Kelly, M. 671
 ken 385, 411, 412
Kevin Barry 498
 Kiap Pidgin 54
 Kilenge 543, 544, 550
 Kilham, Christine A. 578, 682
 King (NI language) 583
 kirap 382
 kisim 395, 396, 473
Kivung 662
 Kiwai Island Pidgin English 23, 186, 253
 Koiwai 555
 kol 264, 265

- Kooyers, Martha 297, 682
 Kooyers, Orneal 297, 682
 Korean Bamboo English 6
 Kovave 504, 679, 690, 691
 Kove 541, 544, 553
 Krépinský, M. 555, 682
 Krio 462, 476, 628
 Kriol 5
 Kristen Pres 174, 502, 508, 656
 Kuanua (see Tolai) 18, 298
 Kuman 230
 Kumul 523
 Kundu 523
 Kutscher, P. 30, 201, 205, 208,
 255, 609, 682
 Kwoma 297

 Laade, Wolfgang 7, 682
 Label 185, 214
 Laberge, Suzanne 24, 29, 110, 128,
 151, 154, 155, 338, 376, 387, 388,
 480, 529, 530, 696
 Labov, William 24, 29, 112, 125,
 166, 273, 483, 566, 572, 682
 Lae Garamut 521, 522
 Lagasai 521, 522
 laik 338, 339, 385, 386, 531, 544,
 547, 554, 555, 620
 Laita, Leo 306
 Lakalai 303
 Lamassa 185, 214
 Landtmann, Gunnar 7, 186, 683
 Lang, Adrienne 29, 683
 language acquisition 454, 478, 481
 language change 482
 language contact 283
 language description 561, 562, 564,
 565
 language development 557, 558
 language evaluation 275
 language learning 77
 language mixing 80
 language planning 64, 76, 250, 275
 language policies 72
 language prescription 561-563
 language standardisation 52
 language universals 76, 77, 446,
 448-450, 456, 457, 464, 479, 481-
 483
*Language, culture, society, and the
 modern world* 3, 26
 languages in contact 78, 79
 Latin 68, 179, 205, 218, 255, 335,
 409, 557, 558, 562, 568, 569, 638

 Lattey, Elsa M. 25, 343, 420, 573,
 583
 Laur 214
 Lawrence, Peter 55, 57, 642, 683
 Laycock, Don (D.C.) 3, 9, 15, 19,
 20, 22, 24, 27, 28, 30, 32, 56, 73,
 91, 97, 108, 134, 141, 179, 184,
 217, 219, 223-231, 237, 242, 246,
 247, 255, 256, 261, 270, 271, 278,
 295-299, 301-307, 343, 344, 365,
 369, 440, 448, 455, 468, 495-515,
 522, 530, 539-541, 543, 547, 549,
 552, 554, 555, 559, 560, 566, 567,
 571, 573, 579, 600, 603, 612, 617,
 625-627, 629, 646-648, 650, 655, 664-
 668, 683, 684, 690, 704
 Lazar-Meyn, Heidi-Ann 155, 684
 Lefévre, Claire 243, 684
 Leisi, Ernst 606, 607, 684
 Lejeune, M. 555, 682, 684, 701
 Lent, John A. 700
 Lentzner, Karl August 37, 43, 684
 Le Page, Robert B. 32, 181, 447,
 483, 581, 673, 684, 686, 699
 Leslau, Wolf 684
 Levi, Laurel 653-655, 684
 lexical derivation 190
 lexical expansion 128
 lexicography 577
 lexicology 577
 lexification 88
 lexifier languages 273
 Liefvink, Frans 685
 life cycle of pidgins 36
 Lilke, Eleonore 653-656, 685
 Lincoln, Satoko 55, 685
 lingue franche 6-8, 49, 66, 70-72,
 165, 225, 226, 229, 231, 237, 254,
 257, 272, 468, 666
 linguistic description 567
 linguistic variation 565
 Literature Bureau, DIES 508
 Litteral, Robert 20, 24, 26, 302,
 305, 685
 local languages 638, 666
 London, Jack 685
 long 93, 96, 116, 117, 130, 138,
 258, 259, 339, 360, 365-367, 394,
 407, 408, 410, 414, 435, 473, 530,
 545, 548, 549, 554, 618, 620, 661
 longen 418
 long hap 405
 long wanem 139
 Lowlands Pidgin (Coastal or Mainland;
 Tok Pisin), 19, 61, 258

- Ludtke, H. 670
 Luke, (Sir) Harry 27, 685
 Luksave 507, 508, 691
 Lunt, H.G. 678, 685
 Lutheran Church (ELCPNG) 536
 Lutheran mission, Madang 519, 560, 656
 Luzbetak, Louis A. 171
 Lynch, John D. 28, 32, 109, 337-339, 375, 376, 529, 530, 632, 685
 Lyons, John 188, 563, 685

Macbeth 502
 Macgregor, (Sir) William 78, 686
 Mackay, Ian K. 524, 686
 Madang Matau 521, 522
 Madang Tok Pisin 596
 Mainland Pidgin (Coastal or Lowlands Pidgin; Tok Pisin) 255, 258, 363
 Maisin 544, 555, 556
 Malabang Tok Pisin 149, 151-154, 156-161, 340
 Malay 32, 47, 48, 65, 97, 102, 179, 184, 199, 205-207, 218, 219, 254, 257, 273, 452, 573
 as lexifier language 206, 255, 258
 Maleu 543, 544, 550, 552
 Malkiel, Yakov 177, 197, 686
 Malumalu 25
 -man 609, 610, 618, 625, 639
 Manus Pidgin (Manus Tok Pisin) 30, 31, 209, 255
 Maori 560
 Mapun, Bede Dus 504, 505, 610
 markedness 450
 Markey, T.L. 156, 686, 697
 Marshall (language) 81
 Martinique French Creole 243
 mas 386, 411, 412, 544, 554, 555
 maski 96, 365, 407
 May, Ronald J. 509, 676, 684, 686
 Mbugu 556
 McDonald, Bob 8, 15, 18, 26, 279, 280, 487, 520, 636, 662, 665, 685, 686
 McElhanon, Kenneth A. 7, 32, 662, 669, 671, 673, 677, 679, 680, 683, 685-688, 691, 692, 694, 695, 698, 699, 703
 McEntegart, Damian 447, 686
 Mead, Margaret 27, 50, 51, 58, 127, 277, 280, 286, 424, 467, 599, 635, 636, 639, 686, 687
 Media Tok Pisin 517, 522, 523, 525-533

 Mediterranean Sabir 455
 Meid, W. 674
 Meier, Harri 672
 Meijer, Guus 558, 687
 Meisel, Jürgen 77, 79, 481, 687
 Meiser, Leo 31, 196, 198, 201, 582, 586, 587, 636, 696
 mekim 363, 395, 620
 Melanesian (language(s)) 6, 79, 96, 100, 109, 114, 148, 179, 181, 183-185, 198, 208, 218, 234, 242, 261, 343, 426, 457, 458, 471, 472, 499, 559, 560, 596, 611, 623
 Melanesian Pidgin (PE) 3, 6, 44, 59, 178, 179, 454, 472, 571, 582, 643, 645
 Melpa 230
 Mendi 230
 Methodist mission, Rabaul 519
 Micronesian languages 81
 Middle English 178
 Mihalic, Francis 20, 22, 27, 31, 52, 57, 64, 102, 122, 171, 174, 175, 187, 188, 195-198, 200, 201, 205, 219, 233, 247, 304, 334, 350, 366, 368, 369, 510, 522, 536, 566, 582, 583, 585, 589-593, 609, 613, 627, 636, 641, 645, 655, 687
 Mioko 198, 213-215, 218, 583
 Mission lingue franche 6, 7, 656
 Missions 6, 235, 239, 240, 242, 267, 268, 280
 Mixed languages 79, 179, 471, 555, 556
 mixing 5, 540
 mo 365
 Molony, Carol H. 680, 687, 688
 Molot 185, 214, 583
 Monumbo 199, 207
 Morgan, Raleigh, Jr 25, 687
 Mosel, Ulrike 15, 29, 30, 46, 91, 94, 119, 125, 181, 184, 195, 196, 213, 214, 459, 460, 462, 463, 539, 559, 582-584, 687, 688
 Motu 6, 7, 77, 78, 230, 258, 285, 304, 489
 simplified 7
 Mougeon, Raymond 555, 688
 Mouton, Octave 18, 671
 Moŷiya, Martin 174, 703
 Mühlhäusler, Jackie 219
 Mühlhäusler, Peter 3-11, 15-29, 31-33, 35-40, 42, 44-56, 58-64, 66, 67, 70, 72, 74-167, 177-219, 233-273, 275-289, 291, 306, 307, 335-

- 405, 407-421, 423-440, 443-483,
487, 490, 495, 518, 520, 521, 526-
529, 531, 535, 536, 639, 542, 545,
557-575, 577-593, 595-668, 676,
684, 688-690, 692, 697, 699, 700,
703, 704
- multilingualism 6, 8, 70
- Murphy, John J. 19, 31, 55, 100,
101, 246, 283, 499, 502, 571, 616,
643, 690
- Mussau 254
- Muysken, Pieter 558, 687, 689, 690
- na 318-320, 328, 397-399, 410, 545,
551
- nabaut 357
- Nakanai 303, 541, 542, 544, 547,
553
- Namaliu, Rabbie 508, 690
- nating 356, 382
- National Arts Centre, Port Moresby
504, 508, 509
- National Broadcasting Commission 524
- national language committee 646
- nau 94, 95, 383, 384
- Nautical English 452, 453
- nautical jargon 472
- Ndu Family 301
- Neffgen, H. 102, 690
- Negro Dutch 351
- Negro English 186
- Nelson, Hank 676, 683, 686
- Neo-Melanesian (Tok Pisin) 3, 44,
58, 60, 65, 179, 190, 194, 253,
267, 286, 455, 467, 471, 472, 503,
522, 535, 560, 562, 582, 603, 646
- Neuendorf, A.K. 27, 536, 656, 691
- Neuhauss, Richard 26, 691
- Nevermann, Hans 32, 183, 211, 212,
691
- New Britain Tok Pisin 255
- New Caledonia 6
- New Caledonian Plantation Pidgin
(PE) 43, 477
- New Guinea Islands Pidgin 257
- New Guinea Lutheran* 523
- New Guinea Pidgin (= Tok Pisin) 3,
4, 8, 43, 180, 253, 469, 472, 473,
477, 479, 535, 563
- New Guinea Times-Courier* 523
- New Hebridean Bichelamar 43, 477,
578
- New Hebrides 6
- New Hebrides Pidgin 472, 473
- New Ireland languages 184
- New Ireland
New Britain languages in 300
- New Ireland Tok Pisin 208, 255
- New Zealand Pidgin English 44, 179,
472
- Ngatik Men's language 472
- Nida, Eugene A. 691
- Nigerian Pidgin English 628
- Niugini Luteran* 523
- Nius bilong Yumi* 522, 691
- Nius long Gavman bilong Australia*
523
- no 375, 542, 544, 545, 552, 555
- Noel, John 28, 644, 691
- nogat 401, 402
- nogut 264, 365
- non-Austronesian languages 271, 469,
500, 547, 548, 555
- Norfolk Pidgin 472, 474
- North American Black English 6
- North-Gazelle Peninsula language 559
- Nu Gini Toktok* 507, 523, 524, 691
- number systems 25, 100
- Nupela Testamen* 106, 174-176, 242,
285, 502, 523, 596, 635, 672
- o 250-252, 398, 401, 530
- O'Barr, Jean F. 691, 695
- O'Barr, William M. 691, 695
- Oceanic languages 483, 611
- official languages 8
- ol 113-115, 130, 137, 150-152, 276,
337, 343, 344, 346-351, 354, 355,
383, 473-475, 529, 530, 569, 598,
640
- Olewale, Ebia 26, 535, 691
- olsem 116, 129, 130, 162, 252, 263,
405, 410, 414, 473
- olsem wanem 139
- oltaim 404
- orait 270, 328, 329, 405-407, 545,
552, 553
- Orjala, P.R. 233, 234, 243, 691
- Orken, Mark 58, 239, 467, 468, 691
- Orwell, George 471
- Osake, Biliso 508
- Ostrom, F.R. 31, 691
- Otanes, Fe T. 555, 556, 696
- Our News* 522
- Oxford University 4
- Pacific English 210
- Pacific Islands Monthly* 282, 452, 651

- Pacific Jargon English 37, 43, 86-89, 180, 477
- Pacific Pidgin English 6, 30, 37, 39, 188, 209, 210, 218, 219, 253, 581
- Pacific pidgins 36, 125, 444, 463, 470, 477, 478, 483
- history 472
- painim 395, 620
- pak 619
- Pala 185, 214
- Paliau movement 194, 195, 267, 268
- Pangu Pati 251
- Pangu Pati Nius 506, 507, 524, 691
- Papia Kristang 5
- Papua New Guinea Writing 508, 691
- Papuan languages 234
- Papuan Pidgin English 7, 29, 43, 44, 58, 77, 253, 475, 477
- Papua Pocket Poets 504, 506, 669, 679, 682, 699
- Paradis, Michel 688, 692
- pas 265
- pasin 625
- passives 156
- pastaim 404
- Patpatar-Tolai languages 91, 185, 460
- Paul, Hermann 117, 555, 692
- Pawley, Andrew 24, 109, 303, 428, 692
- pela 93, 246, 247, 336, 337, 351-355, 438, 439, 473, 566, 612
- as marker 93
- Pele Association 268, 269
- Pence, Alan R. 305, 692
- Peruka, Tau 506
- phonological rules 92
- piano 101, 102
- Piau, Julie Ann 487-493, 692
- Pidgin (= Tok Pisin) 63, 175, 223-228, 230, 240-242, 253, 262, 270, 369, 384
- Pidgin Bantu 199
- Pidgin English (see also Tok Pisin, Melanesian pidgins) 5-8, 17, 18, 23, 27, 29, 36, 38, 40-46, 51-53, 55-59, 78, 81, 90, 91, 97, 101, 103, 166, 178, 183, 199, 207, 209, 210, 217, 254, 265, 279, 280, 356, 444, 452-455, 466, 467, 472, 475, 535, 557, 559, 571
- Cape York Peninsula 7
- Queensland 7
- Torres Strait Islands 7
- Pidgin English News* 523
- pidgin expansion 450
- Pidgin Fijian 42
- pidgin formation 454, 455, 457, 463, 481, 482
- common core 457, 458
- Pidgin French 43
- Pidgin German 166, 200
- pidginisation 35, 183, 187, 556
- Pidgin Malay 207
- Pidgin Portuguese 455
- pidgins (see also Tok Pisin) 92, 97, 105, 109, 110, 114, 118-120, 127, 130, 131, 133, 134, 181, 185, 186, 188, 217, 233, 234, 242, 254, 276, 335, 340, 341, 351, 372, 375, 444-455, 457, 463-466, 476, 479, 483, 616
- code mixing 133, 134
- comparison 470, 473, 478, 483
- development 75
- family trees 470-472, 476
- history 39, 465, 466
- identity 465
- lexical features 97
- life cycle 465
- as second languages 75, 341
- pidgins and creoles 5, 8, 35, 65, 78, 124, 125, 136, 148, 150, 156, 158, 177, 178, 188, 233, 234, 243, 248, 273, 305, 390, 415, 421, 443-445, 447, 449, 451, 453-456, 460, 462-465, 469-471, 479-483, 557, 558, 601, 618, 627, 628
- study of 15
- Pidgin seminar 1969 649
- Pigeon English 49
- Pigtel 19
- Pijin (see Solomon Islands Pijin) 6
- Piniau, Sam 27, 286, 287, 533, 692
- pinis 94, 249, 380, 381, 544, 545, 552, 554, 617, 618, 632, 661
- Pishwa, Hanna 24, 693
- Pita Lus 194
- Pitcairn 472
- plantation pidgins 43-45, 500, 573
- plantations 39-43, 90, 91, 99, 149, 199, 200, 207, 211, 240, 243, 254, 457, 466, 467, 475, 500
- Platt, John T. 5, 693
- ples 627, 639
- Plummer, M.C. 283
- pluralisers 475
- Police Motu (see also Hiri Motu) 7, 65, 66, 71, 223-229, 464, 535

- Polynesian 211, 560
 Poroman 507, 691
 Portuguese 65, 68, 210, 218, 219, 446
 Portuguese creoles 455
 Post Courier 283, 287, 489, 508, 669, 693
 Powell, Kirsty 509, 693
 Poye, Clement 489, 693
 predicate marker *i* (see also *i*) 25
 Pride, J.B. 693, 695
 Protestant missionaries, Sepik District 693
 Proto-Pacific Pidgin English 219
 Proto-Pidgin English 29, 44, 178, 179, 472
 pundaun 608, 616, 617

 quantum linguistics 447
 Queensland English 197
 Queensland Kanaka English 475
 Queensland Pidgin English 29
 Queensland Plantation Pidgin 29, 42-44, 47, 180, 477

Rabaul News 521, 522
 Rabaul Pidgin 30
 Rabaul spelling (Methodist) 169
Rabaul Times 279, 280, 306, 467, 517, 643, 644, 697
 racial segregation 237
 Radio Morobe 517
 Radio Wewak 251
 Raka 288
 Ramson, William S. 675, 683, 693
 Rannie, D. 475, 693
Raunabaut 507, 691
 Ray, Sydney H. 30, 693
 reduplication 114, 115, 461
 Reed, S.W. 17, 27, 51, 99, 100, 206, 209, 212, 286, 426, 559, 642, 643, 693
 regionalisation 666, 667
 regional languages 662
 registers 127, 259
 Reinecke, John E. 15, 27, 29, 37, 38, 41, 43, 50, 87, 286, 444, 452, 501, 693
 relexification 455, 456, 464
 Renck, Günther L. 27, 536, 656, 693
 Réunion Creole 480
 Rew, Alan 285, 694
 Ribbe, Carl 85, 694
 Robertson, Frank 16, 452, 694
 Robins, R.H. 557, 564, 694

 Robson, R.W. 16, 47, 694
 Rodatz, Herr 279
 Rodman, Robert 568, 677
 Romaine, Suzanne 447, 567, 686, 694
 Romance languages 555
 Roosman, Raden S. 32, 184, 205, 219, 694
 rop 607, 649
 Roper River Creole 472
 Roper River Pidgin 474
 Ross, Malcolm 254, 417, 539-556, 694
 Rotokas 301
 Roulet, E. 674
 Rowley, Charles D. 48, 694
 Rubinstein, Donald 306, 694
 Ruhen, Olaf 27, 694
 Rumanian 555
 Rural Pidgin (= Rural Tok Pisin) 28, 29, 64, 73, 128, 142, 143, 145, 146, 163, 175, 189, 190, 235, 236, 241-243, 245-252, 257, 376, 283, 306, 310, 311, 314, 351, 373, 378, 403, 404, 426, 468, 531, 533, 566, 573, 598, 613, 628, 630, 633, 651, 656, 657, 662
 creolised 160, 161
 Ryan, Peter 55, 56, 695

 -s 135-137, 529, 531, 598, 654
 Sadler, Wesley 20, 21, 284, 403, 559, 566, 571, 611, 656-660, 677, 695
 Salisbury, R.F. 6, 29, 42, 45, 54, 90, 99, 114, 179, 240, 242, 285, 695
 Samarin, William J. 89, 105, 127, 259, 284, 444, 695
 Samoan 149, 211, 218, 477, 583, 584
 Samoan Plantation Pidgin (= PE) 8, 15, 27, 37, 43, 46, 47, 66, 89, 93, 96, 102, 120, 124, 149, 180, 211, 218, 253, 254, 261, 466, 472, 475-477, 583
Samol 503
 Sanches, Mary 695
 Sandalwood English 472
 sandalwood trade 37
 Sankoff, Gillian 24, 25, 28, 29, 62, 92, 94, 95, 109, 110, 112, 115, 128, 151-155, 162, 245, 288, 338, 376, 378, 387, 388, 415, 417, 421, 449, 464, 469, 480, 526, 528-530, 541, 543, 552, 572, 667, 682, 695, 696
 Sapir, Edward 689

- sapos 96, 153, 405, 406, 545, 551, 552
- Saragum, E. 290
- Saramaccan 462, 463
- Saussure, Ferdinand de 177, 563, 564, 696
- save 155, 338, 339, 381, 387, 531, 544, 547, 548, 553, 554
- Saville-Troike, Muriel 696
- Sayer, Edgar S. 696
- Scarr, Deryck 677
- Schachter, Paul 555, 556, 696
- Schebesta, Josef 19, 22, 31, 196, 198, 201, 264, 582, 585-587, 636, 696
- Schellong, Otto 47, 87, 452, 696
- Scherer, K.R. 699
- Schnee, Heinrich von 18, 91, 696
- Schneider, G.D. 5, 696
- Schnitzer, M.L. 603, 696
- Schuchardt, Hugo 37, 43, 81, 186, 455, 466, 471, 558, 687, 696, 697
- Schwartz, Theodore 194, 267, 268, 697
- Scott, Jerrie 446, 675
- Scott, Robert P. 27, 28, 281, 536, 604, 644, 657, 697
- se 95, 116-118, 162, 414
- Sebeok, Thomas A. 697, 703
- second-language learning 77, 453, 558
- second language teaching 558
- Seiler, Walter 7, 205, 206, 254, 697
- Sengseng 541, 544, 553
- Sepik Pidgin 307
- Sepik-Ramu Phylum 297, 301-303, 306
- Sera 542-552, 554-556
- Seventh Day Adventist missionaries 254
- Shakespeare, William 502
- Shelton-Smith, W. 53, 102, 186, 197, 643
- Siane 242, 285
- Siassi 5
- Sibayan, Bonifacio P. 597, 703
- Siegel, Jeff 261, 305, 490, 507, 517-533, 564, 697
- Sievert, John F. 174, 510, 687
- Silverstein, Michael 185, 561, 697
- Simons, Linda 697
- Sinclair, J. McH. 552, 697
- singaut 617
- Skinner, B.F. 453, 673
- Slavonic languages 68, 555
- Smeall, Christopher 25, 154, 373, 698
- Smith, Geoffrey 26, 62, 698
- Smith, Ian 698
- Smithies, Michael 307, 681
- smok 607
- Smythe, W.E. 182, 201, 204, 209, 698
- Soaba, Russell 509, 698
- Solomon Islands Pijin (Pidgin, PE) 6, 43, 44, 179, 472, 473, 477, 504, 578
- Somare, Michael 633
- Sommer, Bruce A. 676
- Sophocles 502
- South Seas Jargon 472
- South Seas Pidgin (= PE) 44, 178, 179, 463, 472
- Spanish 68, 210, 218, 555, 556
- Speiser, Felix 87, 698
- spet 607
- Sports dictionary* ... 647-650, 653, 655, 664
- Sranan 463, 471, 628
- Staalsen, Philip 26, 297, 698
- stabilised pidgins 38, 39, 90, 91, 102
- Stammbaum 44, 177
- Stampe, David 186, 698
- Standard Neo-Melanesian orthography 1956 201
- stap 155, 362, 379, 380, 382, 383, 473
- Steinbauer, Friedrich 183, 188, 196, 201, 219, 602, 603, 636, 698
- Steinberg, Danny P. 165, 698
- Stentzel, Christine 338, 698
- Stephan, Emil K. 197, 204, 698
- Stewart, William A. 234, 698
- stik 616
- Stölting, Wilfried 687
- Strange, David 26, 698
- stret 545, 548
- stratum influences 80, 124, 247, 453
- Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) 20, 174, 502, 508, 570
- Surinam creoles 462
- Swadesh list 473
- Swedish 77
- synchronic and diachronic studies 564, 565, 580
- Tagalog 4, 555, 556
- taim 403, 404, 545, 551, 552

- Taki-Taki 44, 179, 472
 tambu 640
 Tamosan, D. 699
 tasol 95, 344, 398, 401, 545, 551
 Tauli, Valter 275, 597, 604, 619, 629, 657, 699
 Tawali, Kumalau 506, 699
 Taylor, Andrew 7, 699
 Taylor, Talbot 570, 699
 Terebu dialect of Kaiep 549
 Tetaga, Jeremiah E. 24, 109, 306, 699
 texts 136
 theoretical linguistics 568
 Thomas, H.S. 20, 699
 Thompson, Robert W. 455, 699
 Thorne, Barrie 240, 699
 Thurnwald, Richard 22, 41, 94, 96, 699
 Tividele 103
 Todd, Loreto 5, 32, 36, 103, 105, 181, 199, 264, 426, 468, 476, 611, 685, 699, 700
 tok baksait 263
 tok bek 263
 Tok Boi 3, 18, 60, 240, 286, 467, 559
 Tok bokis 195, 262, 263, 267, 268
 tok buk 50
 tok hait 262, 263, 267, 269
 tok mainus 263
 Tok Masta 22, 23, 28, 50, 53, 54, 61, 75, 80, 236, 241-243, 245, 252, 285-287, 305, 573, 628, 649, 667
 impoverishment 245
 Tokome, Johnbili 508, 700
 tok piksa 28, 260, 262, 263, 267
 tok pilai 262, 263, 265, 266
 Tok Pisin (see also New Guinea Pidgin, Neo-Melanesian, etc.)
 throughout 3ff.
 abstract nouns 429, 436
 adequacy for cultural concepts 69, 70
 adjectives 99, 264, 353-356, 366, 458-460
 adjectives, attributive 352-355, 393, 394
 adjectives, comparison 365, 366
 adjectives, intensification 365, 366
 adjectives, predicative 393, 394
 in administration 72, 73, 172, 173, 243, 281, 282, 491, 642, 644-646, 652
 Tok Pisin (cont'd)
 adverbial sentences 403
 adverbial sentences of manner 405
 adverbial sentences of place 404, 405
 adverbial sentences of time 403, 404
 adverbs 368-370
 adverbs, adverbials 376
 adverbs of affirmation 369, 370
 adverbs of indeterminacy 370
 adverbs, interrogative 370
 adverbs, manner 377
 adverbs of negation 370
 adverbs, place 376
 adverbs, time 376
 age at which learnt 238
 age group variation 243
 age of speakers 239
 in agriculture 27
 anaphoric pronouns 420
 anglicised 64, 80, 131, 132, 134, 136, 139, 140, 142, 145, 148, 236, 243, 247, 252, 261, 262, 280, 284, 295, 297, 300, 302, 305, 310, 311, 347, 403, 467, 468, 527, 533, 628, 646, 662, 667, 668
 animal classification 427
 in the army 27, 205, 258
 aspect markers 338, 361, 377-384, 389, 617
 attention-getters 371
 attitudes 16, 17, 26, 28, 65-74, 131, 172, 175, 279, 284-286, 288-291, 487-493, 600, 642-644, 646, 657, 661, 663, 665-668
 attitudes, current 487
 attitudes, expatriates' 487, 488, 492, 493
 attitudes, Papua New Guineans' 488, 490, 493
 attitudes, rural 488, 491
 attitudes, urban 488, 489, 491, 492
 backslang 269, 270
 Bible translation 176, 280, 501, 502, 636, 637
 bilingual dictionaries 578-580
 bilingualism 578
 borrowed phrasal verbs 144
 borrowing 145, 185, 271, 283, 614
 borrowing of English grammar 248
 borrowing of English vocabulary 248
 in broadcasting 63, 67, 106, 242, 251, 380, 490, 517, 524-531, 533
 broadcast lessons 20

Tok Pisin (cont'd)

bush varieties (see Rural Tok Pisin)
 82, 90
 calques 181, 188
 cardinal numbers 351, 460
 cargo cults 267, 268
 causal sentences 406
 causatives 123-126, 360, 361, 390
 census 223-231
 census data 223-231
 change and development 24
 characteristics 10
 Christmas carols 501
 circumlocution 101, 102, 603, 604,
 647-661
 classes 488, 493
 code mixing 132-134, 136, 137, 271
 code switching 132-134, 148, 575
 colour terms 425
 comic books 502
 comic strips 507, 508
 commands 364, 365
 communication breakdown 575, 602,
 603
 communicative efficiency 282, 284
 comparatives 140
 complementation 116, 117, 408-411
 completion markers 380, 381
 compounding 130, 193, 431, 432,
 618, 619, 623-628, 638-641, 647,
 657-661
 concession sentences 407
 conditional sentences 140, 405,
 406
 conferences on (see also specific
 conferences) 26
 conjoining 298, 400-402, 404
 conjunctions 371
 consonant system 108
 contemporary uses 666-668
 cookery terminology 652-655
 core phonology 295, 297, 299, 302,
 304, 305
 countables 146
 counting system 100
 courses 668
 courses for Papua New Guineans 21,
 673
 court evidence 103, 491
 in creative writing 73, 495, 668
 creolisation 148-155, 157-160, 162,
 163, 165, 238, 252, 276, 288, 313,
 340, 349, 443, 468, 526-528, 531,
 598, 608, 613, 629, 666

Tok Pisin (cont'd)

creolisation, developments in in-
 flexional morphology 150
 creolisation, developments in phon-
 ology 150
 creolisation, syntactic developments
 152
 creolised, abstract nouns 159
 creolised, aspect marking 155
 creolised, complementation 153
 creolised, lexical developments 156
 creolised, lexical expansion 157-
 159
 creolised, passivisation 156
 creolised, predicate marking 154
 creolised, reduplication 159
 creolised, relativisation 153
 and creolistics 443-483
 crosslectal communication 249, 250,
 262
 cultural changes 67, 70
 deictic marker *ya* (see also *ia*) 357
 demonstratives 97, 352
 derivation 620-622
 derivational restrictions 123, 127
 description 21-23, 559, 563-565,
 567, 568, 572, 574, 575
 descriptive models 574
 development 36, 37, 43, 44, 66,
 464, 469, 481, 597, 613
 developmental patterns 573
 diachronic development 29, 37
 diachronic purism 196
 dialect geography 253, 254, 256
 dialect literature 176
 dialects 3, 643
 dictionaries 19, 20, 31, 32, 52,
 170, 187, 190, 195, 217, 577-593
 dictionary making 30
 dictionary samples 585-591, 593
 diphthongs 303, 311
 direction markers 376, 377, 390
 direct speech 412-414
 discontinuity 464, 466, 469
 discourse structures 575
 distributive numerals 352
 divergence of meaning 190
 diversification 28, 237
 diversity 30
 doublettes 187
 durative markers 383
 during WW2 27, 55-58, 63, 66, 106,
 644
 early features 83-85

Tok Pisin (cont'd)

early grammar 94
 early lexicon 83, 85-89
 early morphology 82, 83
 early phonology 91
 early pronunciation 80-82, 91
 early syntax 83, 85
 early writings on 16, 17
 in education 16, 25, 26, 67, 489,
 492, 533, 535, 536, 665
 effect on vernaculars 107, 539-556
 embedding 95, 115, 117, 125, 129,
 130, 139, 168, 402-404, 408, 409,
 411-413, 417-420
 emphasis markers 352, 357, 396
 emphatic pronouns 344
 encyclopaedic dictionaries 580
 enumeration 100
 epenthetic vowels 109
 ethnography of speaking 26
 etymological dictionaries 581
 etymological research 217
 etymologising 85, 89, 97, 177-219
 European influences 243
 European writing in 495, 500-503
 evaluation of lexicon 597
 in everyday communication 26, 33
 exclamations 371, 372
 exclamations of astonishment 372
 exclamations of encouragement 372
 exclamations of sympathy 372
 expansion 49, 105-107, 109, 128,
 163
 extension of meaning 615, 641
 external history 35, 37, 40-64
 favoured by political leaders 72
 first-language speakers 149, 150,
 153, 154, 165
 as first language (see also creol-
 isation) 29, 41, 62, 65, 186, 230,
 234, 238, 239, 252, 275, 313, 337-
 340, 349, 378, 443, 468, 480, 488,
 492, 535, 604
 folk-etymologies 190-195
 folk literature 495-498
 folk taxonomies 426, 427
 functional shift 640, 641
 future 665-668
 Gazelle origins 583, 584
 and general linguistics 443-449,
 451-460, 462-469, 471-483
 geographical spread 58, 67
 geographic origin 46
 Gestalt meanings 193

Tok Pisin (cont'd)

good and bad 275-291
 in government publications 250, 305
 grammar 18, 23-25, 52, 233, 343,
 344, 357, 373, 450, 458, 481, 482,
 562, 619-621
 grammars 19, 20, 22, 23, 50, 52,
 170, 557-575
 grammatical categories 111, 112,
 115, 128, 191, 350, 373
 grammatical categories for lexical
 expansion 617
 grammatical development 33
 grammatical expansion 191
 grammatical properties 164
 grammatical study 557
 grammatical transference 539-555
 greetings 371
 historical dictionaries 580, 581
 historical influences 42
 historical origins 3, 29, 30
 history 35, 36, 443, 463, 466-468,
 481, 482
 history, internal 35
 history of language planning 645
 history of orthographies 169
 history of study 15
 history of vocabulary planning 634,
 635, 646, 647, 649-662
 homophones 141, 142, 168, 182, 278,
 600, 629, 641, 646, 648, 654-656
 idioms 181, 261, 329
 inclusive and exclusive 343
 indefinite pronouns 345
 indigenous writing in 503, 504
 indirect speech 412-414
 inflectional morphology 335-340
 influences ca 1900 477
 influences ca 1975 478
 innovations 62, 144, 146, 533, 580,
 612, 614, 624, 626, 643, 646, 647,
 655, 657-659
 intelligibility, historically 75
 intensification 438
 internal development 75-166
 interpreters 49, 57
 interrogative pronouns 344, 345
 intonation 309-334
 intonation, answers 315, 326-328
 intonation, declarative statements
 315-318, 320-323
 intonation, emphatic-emotional 321,
 322
 intonation, orders and commands 316,
 328

Tok Pisin (cont'd)

- intonation, questions 315, 323-326
- intonation, special cases 328-330
- intransitive verbs 361, 362
- irrealis 406
- jargon stage 76, 80, 82, 163, 634
- judgements 275-280, 282, 284, 286, 288-291
- judgements, indigenous 284
- kinship terms 101, 424, 425
- language acquisition by children 29, 33, 51, 238
- language change 29
- language data 563, 564
- language-dependent simplicity 610, 611
- language engineering 283, 284
- language-independent simplicity 606, 607
- language mixing 276
- as language of self-identification 73
- language planning 4, 28, 165, 255, 281, 288, 536, 564, 595-664
- language planning by Catholic missions 635, 637-642
- language planning: implementation 630
- language policies 255, 642, 663
- learning 10, 20
- lectological models 572
- lexical adequacy 601-603, 605, 606, 608, 611-614, 618, 629, 631, 633, 634, 649, 655, 657, 660
- lexical borrowing 603
- lexical change 140, 141, 143-146
- lexical conflation 181-184
- lexical derivation 188, 192, 431
- lexical diffusion 123
- lexical expansion 119-127, 131, 431, 432, 530, 614, 617
- lexical innovation 603
- lexical misunderstanding 245, 246
- lexical productivity 101, 119, 120
- lexical redundancy 427, 428, 431, 608, 609
- lexical simplicity 606, 608
- lexical suppletion 145
- lexical system 423-440
- lexical transference 539-555
- lexicography 30, 32, 187, 188, 195, 198, 208, 577-585
- lexicology 30, 32
- lexicon 5, 17, 18, 25, 29, 52, 68, 97, 98, 100, 101, 119, 121, 167,

Tok Pisin (cont'd)

- 181, 185, 186, 193, 194, 240, 255-257, 282, 290, 304, 393, 423, 595-664
- lexifier languages 218, 255
- in light industry 240
- limerick in 504
- as lingua franca 48, 55, 65, 70, 272, 278, 467, 469, 518, 535, 540, 543, 600, 630, 642, 645
- linguistic change 443
- linguistic development 260
- linguistic hierarchy 260
- literacy 52, 243, 518, 533
- as literary language 9, 27, 28, 175, 495-515, 668
- loans 658
- in Local Government Councils 271, 500
- in local government 72, 106
- Lutheran Mission orthography 174
- Lutheran Mission system 173
- majority language 73, 74
- markers 93, 97, 104, 105, 112, 128, 129, 136, 338
- materials in standard orthography 175
- meat of animals 430
- media use 107, 261, 490, 517-533
- metaphor 263-269, 271
- misconceptions about its nature 644
- missionary grammars 569
- mission influences 61
- as mission lingua franca 19, 27, 52, 72, 106, 243, 491, 501, 638, 645, 656
- mission orthographies 305
- modal verbs 384, 385
- models of description 568, 572
- modes of transmission 239
- morphological change 135-138
- morphological naturalness 277
- morphological redundancy rules 428, 429
- morphology 92, 110, 111, 124, 335
- morphosyntactic phenomena 164
- motives underlying early work on 15
- multifunctionality 431, 434-437, 619-623, 647
- multilevel syncretisms 181
- multilingual dictionaries 578
- multiple-based sentences 397-399
- multiple etymologies 181, 185
- names for age groups 425
- names for body parts 426

Tok Pisin (cont'd)
 names for fingers 425
 narrative style 270
 as national identifier 27, 106
 as national language 8, 27, 72, 73, 489, 490, 663, 665
 as national unifier 73
 in nation forming 662
 nativisation 47, 49, 50, 66, 106
 nature of 665
 negation 375, 376
 new conjunctions 139
 new prepositions 138, 139
 newspapers 63, 64, 67, 106, 242, 250, 490, 507, 517, 521, 523, 524, 531, 532
 nominal compounding 432-434
 nominal modifiers 348
 notional dictionaries 581
 noun phrases 342, 354
 nouns 342, 346
 nouns introducing proper nouns 347
 nouns, abstract and concrete 347
 nouns, animate 348
 nouns, animate and inanimate 346
 nouns, countable 349, 350
 nouns, countable and uncountable 346
 nouns, distribution 350
 nouns, inanimate 349
 nouns, locality and time 357
 nouns, modifiers 351
 nouns, of measurement 347
 nouns, proper and common 346
 nouns, quality and occupation 357
 nouns, quantifiers 351
 nouns, uncountable 349, 350
 number markers 348, 349
 numbers of speakers 9
 number systems 426, 460
 object sentences 409, 411
 obscenities, insults, curses 280, 281, 289, 372, 636, 637, 658
 as official language 16
 oral 9, 530, 563, 564
 ordinal numbers 351, 352
 orthography 9, 52, 167-176, 305, 501, 502, 517-524, 530, 531
 orthography, administration attitudes 173
 orthography, mission attitudes 173
 as parliamentary language 27, 67, 73, 251, 282, 283, 491, 631-633, 650, 651

Tok Pisin (cont'd)
 passive 381
 pejorative meanings (see also obscenities) 189
 periphrastic constructions 394-396
 personal pronouns 343
 phonemic additions 249
 phonological change 107, 108, 134, 135, 142, 186
 phonological redundancy rules 428
 phonology 5, 24, 80-82, 92, 107, 109, 167, 168, 295-299, 301-307, 309, 311-334, 460, 530
 pitch 314, 324, 328, 331-333
 planning 531
 plant names 427
 plural marking 113-115, 447
 plurals 98
 plural s 248-250, 276, 339, 483
 poems 504-507, 511-515
 police force 240
 in politics 28, 67, 73
 possessive pronouns 346
 postnominal modifiers 355-358
 post-pidgin 131, 132, 134, 135, 137-139, 143, 145, 147, 148, 163
 postwar 59, 61, 62, 66
 post-1953 59
 potential decline 667
 predicate marker i (see also i) 84, 373-375
 predicative adjectives 361
 prenominal modifiers 354, 355
 prepositions 366-368, 463
 present-day differences from former Pidgin 75
 present-day support for 72
 prestige variety 50, 52
 prewar oral language 63
 in prisons 239
 production of primers and readers 170
 professional status of speakers 240
 pronouns 96, 97, 343, 344
 pronunciation 186
 propaganda leaflets 520
 Protestant mission vocabulary planning 656-658
 publications 28, 251, 517, 531, 646, 656
 publishing 502
 purpose sentences 407
 quantifiers 350, 352
 quantitativist models 572

- Tok Pisin (cont'd)
- questions 397
 - Rabaul spelling (Catholic mission) 169
 - reborrowing 186, 189, 190
 - reciprocal pronouns 346
 - reduplication 152, 161, 181, 186, 247, 277, 278, 340, 350, 357, 366, 431, 437-440, 599, 600, 628-630, 660
 - reflexive pronouns 96, 345, 397
 - regional varieties 3, 50, 67, 173, 252, 254-259, 272, 304, 645
 - registers 28, 110, 132, 147, 262, 263, 658
 - relative sentences 414-420
 - relexification 30, 43, 76, 77, 141, 456, 463, 467, 645, 646
 - research 15, 33, 163
 - rhetoric 271
 - rule conflict 610
 - rule extension 610
 - rule optimisation 608
 - rural varieties (see Rural Tok Pisin) 80, 90, 102
 - in schools 62, 72, 106, 131, 170, 172, 238, 239, 665
 - second-language speakers 149, 150, 153, 154, 159, 165
 - second-language teaching 18
 - as second language 9, 24, 26, 29, 41, 111, 165, 186, 234, 238, 239, 252, 272, 276, 277, 288, 338, 349, 375, 378, 443, 468, 480, 482, 483, 535, 570, 575, 596-598, 603, 604, 612, 614, 624
 - secret languages 194, 195
 - semantic redundancy rules 430
 - semantics 5, 187, 424, 425, 427, 611, 612, 615, 616, 654, 660
 - sentence structure 372-402, 406, 407, 412, 461, 462
 - sex-related language differences 240
 - social acceptability 277-279, 284, 600
 - social context 27
 - social function 10
 - social varieties 3, 235
 - sociolects 28, 50, 175, 236, 238, 241, 244, 247, 250, 252, 309, 630, 646
 - sociolects, linguistic properties 244
- Tok Pisin (cont'd)
- songs 495-500
 - sound system 92
 - source languages 29, 646
 - speaker's sex 240
 - spelling 28, 31, 167, 168, 176, 281
 - spelling, Alexishafen 169
 - spelling, Department of Education 170
 - spelling, English influences 168
 - spelling, German influences 169
 - spelling, influences from vernaculars 168
 - spelling, mission influences 168
 - spoken by Papuans 285
 - stabilisation 76, 90, 91, 93, 94, 96, 97, 99-102, 105, 107, 163
 - standardisation 28, 250, 256, 531, 662
 - standardisation of grammar 33
 - standardisation of spelling 170, 645
 - standard orthography 309
 - standard orthography, attitudes to 172
 - standard orthography 1956 171-173, 176
 - standards 662
 - status 28, 65, 67, 68
 - stress 309-313, 316-321, 324
 - structural innovations 127, 128
 - structuralist descriptions 233
 - structuralist grammars 569, 570
 - studies 15, 23, 25-27, 29, 30, 32, 33
 - study of speech errors 33
 - stylistic variation 127, 259, 261-263
 - subject sentences 408, 411
 - substratum influences 5, 24, 28, 33, 77, 119, 124, 125, 188, 234, 244, 247, 255, 295-299, 301-306, 309, 377, 424, 458-463, 467, 468
 - superstratum influences 121, 459
 - SVO order 93
 - synchronic etymologies 186
 - synonym pairs 250
 - syntactic change 111, 138, 140, 276
 - syntax 17, 93-95, 98, 99, 102, 104, 105, 111, 341-421
 - systematic adequacy 633, 634, 639, 649, 651, 653, 654
 - systematic synonymy 630, 631

- Tok Pisin (cont'd)
- taboo register 600
 - tagmemic grammars 570
 - tags 371
 - teaching 15, 535-537
 - teaching materials 4, 17-22, 535, 536, 645
 - technical vocabulary 658
 - tense-aspect system 24
 - tense markers 129, 377, 378, 387-389
 - texts 21, 22, 103-105, 128-130, 132, 133, 135, 137, 139, 143, 147, 148, 154, 160-163, 235, 236, 250, 251, 258, 261, 266, 269-272, 288, 290, 384
 - theoretical issues 443-483
 - theories of origin 463
 - transformational generative grammars 570, 571
 - transitive verbs 358-360
 - translations 510-515, 602
 - translators 172, 174
 - types of dictionaries 578
 - unlearning 239
 - unstable varieties 76
 - urban varieties (see Urban Tok Pisin) 33, 131
 - used by females 40
 - used by secondary and tertiary students 73
 - variation 28, 90, 233-273, 565, 566, 568, 573-575, 596
 - verbal modifiers 365
 - verbal paradigm 363, 364
 - verb chaining 138, 144, 391-393, 461-463
 - verb derivation 434-437
 - verb phrases 358, 461
 - verb serialisation 390, 391, 393, 462, 627, 628
 - verbs 358-361, 389
 - verbs of allowing and forbidding 411, 412
 - verbs of becoming 363
 - verbs, imperative 364, 365
 - verbs, interrogative 364
 - vocabularies 30, 31, 50
 - vocabulary origins (see lexifier languages) 32
 - in vocational training 73
 - voiced and voiceless stops 168
 - vowels 107, 108, 302, 303, 310
 - in war propaganda 56, 57, 66, 106
 - wh-questions 25
- Tok Pisin (cont'd)
- word classes 146, 342
 - word formation 32, 618
 - word order 84, 93, 94, 118
 - word pairs 250, 251
 - word play 191, 193
 - writing systems 167-176
 - written 63, 67, 168, 261, 285, 518, 530, 531, 563, 564
 - written, early 103
 - WW2 to 1960s 645, 646
 - Tok Pisin conference 1973 649, 662
 - Tok Pisin intonation, declarative statements 319
 - Tok Pisin Orthography Committee 1969-70 174, 175
 - Tok Pisin Research Unit, UPNG 15
 - Tok Pisin Sosaiti 657, 662, 695, 699
 - Tok Pisin workshop 1976 631
 - tok skul 50
 - Toktok bilong Haus ov Asembli* 507, 691
 - Tok Vaitiman 286, 467
 - Tolai 6, 8, 29, 42, 65, 66, 76, 91, 96, 99, 102, 114, 119, 123-126, 158, 179-181, 184, 187, 188, 195-198, 212, 213, 218, 219, 230, 239, 246, 255, 261, 298, 300, 304, 307, 458-463, 467, 469, 477, 542, 560, 561, 583, 585, 635, 638
 - as lexifier language 214, 215, 255
 - as mission lingua franca 638
 - as substratum language 213
 - Tomasetti, W.E. 700
 - Toogood, Alexander F. 524, 700
 - Topping, Donald M. 556, 700
 - Torres Straits Creole 479
 - Torres Straits Pidgin 43, 125, 475-477
 - Townsend, G.W.L. 257, 700
 - Trade languages 6
 - traim 382, 383
 - transformational linguistics 446, 447
 - Trans-New Guinea Phylum 297
 - Traugott, Elizabeth Closs 138, 445, 700
 - Tripela liklik pik* 245
 - tru 329
 - Trudgill, Peter 673
 - Tryon, D.T. 6, 581, 689, 690, 700, 704
 - tu 400, 545, 548
 - Tucker, A.N. 556, 700
 - tultul 49, 57, 317

- Tumleo 207, 543, 544, 548, 552
 Turner, George W. 23, 27, 101, 253,
 560, 562, 700
 Twi 182
- UNESCO 444
United Nations Nius na Nots 523
 universals of pidginisation 456
 University of Papua New Guinea (UPNG)
 73, 205, 258, 261, 266, 271, 503,
 504, 508, 631, 662, 665
 UN Trusteeship Council mission 59,
 172
 Urban Creole in Haiti 234
 Urban Tok Pisin (Urban Pidgin) 24,
 25, 28, 50, 60, 62, 64, 67, 73,
 136, 137, 141-143, 145, 146, 162,
 163, 175, 189, 190, 234, 236, 238,
 241, 243, 244, 247-252, 271, 276,
 287, 305, 306, 310, 311, 314, 339,
 347, 351-353, 364, 366, 382, 404,
 406, 426, 468, 529, 531, 533, 573,
 574, 598, 603, 613, 624, 628, 630,
 646, 657, 662, 667
 Urcland, P.S. 689
 Usarufa 24, 91, 247
- Vader, John 58, 700
 Valdman, Albert 451, 671, 676, 682,
 687, 689, 695, 696, 700, 701, 703
 Valkhoff, Marius 181, 701
 Vendryes, J. 701
 verb chaining 421
 vernaculars 149, 165, 237, 373,
 488-492, 666
 as lexifier languages 50
 as phonological source 297-299,
 304
 in schools 62
 substratum influences 313
 Vogel, Hans 45, 701
 Vogt, Hans 555, 701
 Voorhoeve, C.L. 701, 704
 Voorhoeve, Jan 52, 628, 701
 Vorster, Jan 454, 701
- Walker, Roland 555, 701
 Walsh, David S. 701
 Walsh, Michael J. 704
 wan 612, 613
 wantaim 138, 366-368, 545, 548-550,
 552, 554
 Wantok 175, 242, 250, 251, 285,
 287, 289, 290, 305, 306, 490, 503,
 507, 508, 517, 524, 526, 529, 531-
 533, 625, 626, 630, 631, 668, 683,
 687, 691, 701
 Wantok Publications 174
 Wari, Kila R. 506, 507
 Wari, Ralph 497
 Washabaugh, William 116, 117, 701
 Wastaua 523
 we 153, 261, 417, 419, 420, 474,
 476
 Wedgwood, Camilla H. 18, 26, 253,
 702
 Wegener, G. 677
 Weinreich, Uriel 539, 540, 702
 Wendtland, J. 48, 702
 West African languages 179, 462,
 464, 472
 West African Pidgin English 5, 18,
 118, 183, 468, 469, 472, 477, 573
 West Indian Creoles 44, 179, 455,
 462, 468, 472, 479
Wewak News 521
 whaling 37
 Whinnom, Keith 38, 87, 90, 166, 702
 White, Paul 678
 Whiting, John W.M. 504, 679
 Whorf, B.L. 596
 Wickware, F.S. 390, 627, 702
 Willey, Keith 497, 499, 702
 William from Lumi 128
 Williams, Wayne R. 628, 702
 Wivell, Richard 546-548, 556, 702
 wok 623-625
 wok long 618, 620
 Wolfers, Edward P. 28, 253, 458,
 509, 603, 702
 wonem 416
 Wood, R. 177
 Woolford, Ellen B. 23, 25, 32, 95,
 115, 117, 152-154, 373, 381, 390,
 410, 421, 570, 573, 702
 word meanings 177
 word origins 177
Wörterbuch met Redewendungen ...
 122, 182, 196, 199, 201, 281, 609,
 636, 669
 Wurm, S.A. 3-11, 19, 22, 26-29, 32,
 33, 42, 61, 65-74, 91, 99, 109,
 110, 117, 127, 128, 142, 154, 167-
 176, 189, 233, 247, 261, 270, 275,
 276, 283, 284, 286, 295, 307, 309-
 334, 342, 352, 360, 364, 365, 367,
 373, 374, 377, 383-386, 388-391,
 399, 405-408, 413, 415, 459, 487,
 490, 495, 500, 518, 522, 523, 535,
 539, 557, 559, 563, 566, 571, 577,

- 597, 604, 606, 612, 613, 617, 618,
636, 637, 647, 655, 658, 665, 671,
673, 676, 678, 680, 683, 684, 686-
693, 696, 697, 699-704
Wu, David Y.H. 199, 237, 702
- ya (see also ia) 24, 97, 161, 162,
198, 244, 245, 344, 349, 357, 396,
415, 417, 418, 532
Yabêm 230
Yakamul 184, 208
Yaliali 287
Yangol 161
- yes and no in Tok Pisin 25, 181
yet 344, 345, 545, 548
Yoruba 462
Young, Robert A. 23, 704
yumi 56
- Zgusta, Ladislav 577, 580, 581,
704
Zinkel, Calvin D. 239, 285, 536,
704
Zobl, Helmut 77, 687, 704
Zölller, Hugo 83, 687, 704
Z'graggen, John A. 15, 30, 31, 584

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