

Lexical Items of Tok Pisin in Papua New Guinea

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Abstract

Newly independent multilingual countries of Asia formulated language policies because of rapid modernization; however, there has been no clear policy in Papua New Guinea. The most popular language in Papua New Guinea, Tok Pisin, is experiencing difficulties in improving its expressive capacity due to Anglicization. This study investigated the present characteristics of Anglicization in Tok Pisin words. Data were collected from *Wantok*, the Tok Pisin newspaper. The results show that words borrowed from English have increased and these words interfere with the grammar of Tok Pisin, which has decreased the expressive capacity of the language.

Introduction

The characteristics of languages in developing countries differ from that of developed countries. According to Coulmas (1993), there are two characteristics of languages in developing countries. One is that most of languages in developing countries do not have enough expressive capacity which is enriched by terms and concepts of a variety of contemporary professional fields. A lack of expressive capacity of their languages is one of the reasons for a low literacy rate in developing countries. And the other is that there are many linguistic varieties and common languages, which have enough expressive capacity, are few.

Papua New Guinea is one of developing countries which may easily be the most linguistically diverse place on earth with upwards of 700 indigenous languages spoken (Rannells 1990) and there are also pidgins based on the indigenous languages, and creoles. Of this great number of languages, Tok Pisin, an English-based pidgin, is the most important lingua franca spoken by more than a million people in this multilingual society. Since Tok Pisin is the most popular language, it is important for the people to extend Tok Pisin into Papua New Guinea as much as possible. Doing so would remove the linguistic barrier preventing the population from participating in general culture. However, there are several issues which threaten expressive capacity of Tok Pisin today. One of the major issues is Anglicization, borrowing from English. Anglicization disrupts grammatical rules and communication of people between urban and rural areas (Romaine 1992).

The purpose of this study is to examine Anglicization in Tok Pisin words. Doing so, it aims to provide several suggestions for the future language policy in Papua New Guinea. In order to examine Anglicization, words of a newspaper written in Tok Pisin, called *Wantok* were analyzed. Lexical items

in written materials were selected for examination because the concept of standardization applies to written rather than spoken varieties of a language (Milroy and Milroy 1985), and few studies of pidgins and creoles have so far been focusing on lexical studies. *Wantok* is the only public newspaper written in Tok Pisin and this has an influence on ways of reading and writing of people in Papua New Guinea. Therefore, I considered that words borrowed from English in *Wantok* reflect Anglicization in Tok Pisin today.

Languages in Papua New Guinea

In order to understand the linguistic diversity in Papua New Guinea, it is important to discuss its geographic characteristics. Papua New Guinea is one of the most sparsely populated countries in the world. The terrain is extremely rugged, with mountains, dense tropical rain forest, and fast-flowing rivers, which have not only cut off the interior of the country from outsiders but have also inhibited internal contact between groups. The capital, Port Moresby, is not connected by road to any other urban area. Accessibility is a major factor which has determined both the rate and extent of development of languages (Romaine 1992).

A brief history of Tok Pisin

The major language families in Papua New Guinea are Austronesian and non-Austronesian (Papuan). Both of them are families of the Pacific basin (Foley 1986). Most Austronesian languages in Papua New Guinea are Melanesian, one of the substrates of Austronesian.

Tok Pisin is one of Melanesian pidgins which is based on Melanesian grammar and English lexicons. Since the 1860s, the practice of recruiting labor by Europeans contributed greatly to the spread of an English-based contact jargon, a Melanesian pidgin.

During the early phases the New Guinea area figures only marginally in the history of Pacific-Jargon English. By 1860, however, the labor trade provided a new impetus for further development of this contact language. The various plantations on the Pacific islands were in any case interconnected into a wider regional system through shipping networks and the labor trade and islanders themselves often moved from one plantation area to another. This created a milieu in which jargon English could develop and stabilize. Mühlhäusler (1979) characterizes the period after World War I as one of expansions for Tok Pisin. The language was considerably expanded by the time, it spread into the interior of the country thereafter. We can notice two important developments on Tok Pisin during the period. One is the standardization of the language, and the other, its spread into towns and its nativization in the urban environment (Romaine 1992).

In order to better understand the linguistic history of Tok Pisin, let us introduce the notion of life cycle of pidgins and creoles. According to Romaine (1992), there are three types of the lifecycle. The following diagram shows the characteristics of each lifecycle.

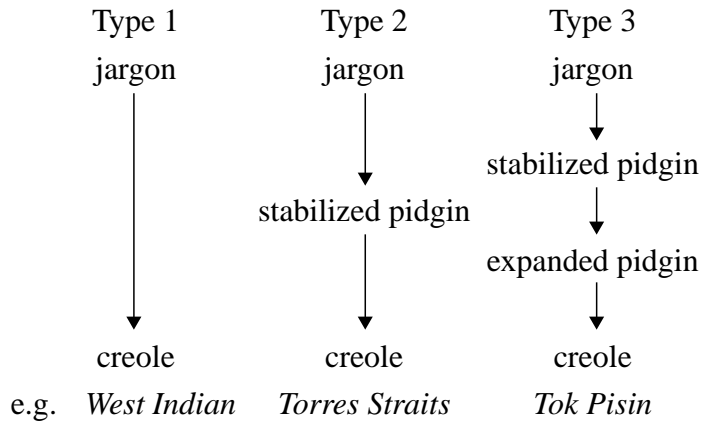


Figure 1 Three types of the life cycle of pidgins (from Romaine 1992: 32)

This diagram shows that the lifecycle varies considerably. Depending on the developmental stage at which creolization (the linguistic development from pidgins to creoles) occurs, different types of changes are necessary before the language can become an adequate first language for a speech community. Mühlhäusler (1980) notes that the cases of creolization which can be observed *in situ* today, most belong to Type 3. Tok Pisin is no exception. The developmental process of Tok Pisin shows the typical form of creolization.

Present characteristics of Tok Pisin

Smith (1986) states that Tok Pisin today is spoken both as a pidgin or second language and as a creole or first language. This means that, although it is hard to make a neat distinction between first and second language speakers, the steady growth in the number of speakers appears to be continuing in the country. At the moment Tok Pisin has official status, along with English and Hiri Moru, an indigenous creole. The designation ‘official’ means that the language is accepted for use in the House of Assembly, where, since Independence in 1975, it is the preferred language for most of people among three official languages (Romaine 1992). Speakers of Tok Pisin number around one and a half million and are rapidly increasing. We see from Table 1 that Tok Pisin has the largest number of speakers.

Table 1 Main languages and population in Papua New Guinea (1990)

Main language	population
Tok Pisin	1099090 (30.7%)
English	1048969 (29.3%)
Motu	214806 (6.0%)
Others	1378338 (38.5%)

(Papua New Guinea Census 1990)

Mühlhäusler (1979) identifies three major sociolects of Tok Pisin: rural Tok Pisin spoken by the majority of people living outside towns, bush Tok Pisin spoken in areas where Tok Pisin has only recently penetrated, and urban Tok Pisin spoken in the major towns since the late 1960s when indigenous people were allowed to reside more freely there. The most widespread variety of Tok Pisin is the rural variety. This is the standard used for Tok Pisin publications such as *Wantok*, the newspaper written in Tok Pisin, and is the most stable of the varieties because it is the major means of communication for speakers of widely divergent language backgrounds. On the other hand, urban Tok Pisin has a diglossic relationship (Ferguson 1959) with English. According to Ferguson's definition, 'diglossia' is stable; however, in this case, the overriding influence of English as the target language gives rise to instability in these varieties of Tok Pisin and to communication difficulties between speakers of rural and urban varieties (Romaine 1992).

Expansion of a written medium

In order to level out of differences which impair communication, standardization of language is essential. One of the most effective methods to standardize languages is expansion of written medium. Romaine (1992) notes that publications may adhere to a standardized orthography. However, most pidgin and creole languages are not written so that standardization is typically not achieved.

In Papua New Guinea, perhaps the most important written materials of Tok Pisin is the weekly newspaper, *Wantok*, which was founded by the Catholics in 1967, and appears only in Tok Pisin. According to the editor of *Wantok*, it has a circulation of over 20,000 and more than 50,000 readers in Papua New Guinea today. It has been in existence since 1970 and now its staff consists entirely of nationals. The policy of *Wantok* is to help rural people to participate in general culture. Therefore, *Wantok* aims at speakers of rural, colloquial Tok Pisin. However, the recent words of *Wantok* are heavily borrowed from English. This borrowing disrupts the grammar of Tok Pisin and interferes with the integration of orthography of Tok Pisin because *Wantok* has a great influence on the way Tok Pisin is written. These issues are main points of the present study.

Lexical studies of pidgins and creoles

Coulmas (1993) notes the general characteristics of lexical items. He argues that languages have to renew words all the time to satisfy needs of communication when a new discovery of a phenomenon, studies and products appear. The important methods to satisfy needs of languages are derivation, compounding, and borrowing. Of these three methods, borrowing can show the situation of languages clearly because it shows the power relation between languages. In the present study, Anglicization is concerned, so I focused attention on borrowing.

A 'borrowing' is a form that has spread from one linguistic variety (the 'source') into another variety (the 'target' or 'replica'). In this sense it is nearly synonymous with 'loanword,' but a borrowing is often really a stem (smaller than a word), and may be a phrase (larger than a word). Thus, the concept of a borrowing is broader than loanword. In addition, analyzing a borrowing involves the social and historical context in which the language contact takes place.

What needs to be emphasized at this juncture is that borrowing of pidgins and creoles is not the same process as that of normal languages because of the power relation between superstrate and substrate. To understand this, we have to think of 'diglossia', a term introduced by Charles Ferguson. It is the co-

occurrence in a community of sharply different H and L ('high' and 'low,' i.e., official versus vernacular) varieties of the same language. A creole continues in a diglossic relationship to its original superstratum language. In this case, the diglossic borrowing patterns are applicable. Diglossic borrowing (from H variety into L variety) is similar to borrowing from a colonial language and is much more straightforward than borrowing from unrelated or distantly related foreign languages. Since the vernacular already shares many cognates with the H variety, phonological and morphological correspondences are usually obvious, and new borrowings can simply follow these correspondences.

When the creole continues to be in a diglossic relationship to its superstratum language, the resulting convergence of the creole with the superstratum language is called 'decreolization'. Bickerton (1980) describes decreolization as a process which occurs whenever a creole language is in direct contact with its superstrate. A characteristic feature of this process is the emergence of a linguistic continuum of varieties between the creole language and the standard language which was the main contributor to the creole's formation. Mühlhäusler (1979) uses the term *restructuring continuum* to explain this process in Tok Pisin. The graph in figure 2 shows the developmental process adding the restructuring process of Tok Pisin.

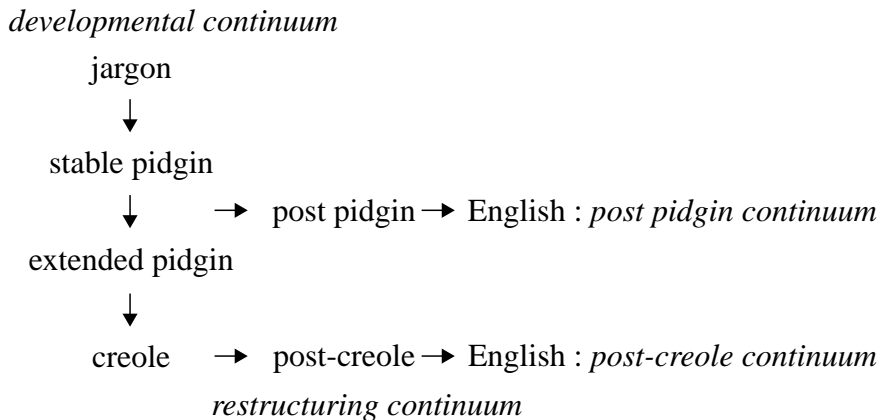


Figure 2 Pidgin-creole developmental and restructuring continuum (from Mühlhäusler 1979: 316)

All languages borrow; however, what is interesting is the extent to which any language can integrate what it borrows without undermining its grammatical and semantic integrity (Romaine 1992). It is commonly assumed that lexical borrowing is of no consequence for grammar, but this is not so. Borrowing has an influence on expressive capacity of the language. Romaine (1992) shows the bleaching of grammatical rules of Tok Pisin. Noun pluralization by suffixation of the English -s has become popular recently. In general, Tok Pisin does not have an inflectional morpheme. Therefore, when the plural marking is needed, the functional morpheme, *ol*, is used.

Descriptive Framework

So far we discussed the main issues of borrowing. In this section, I would like to show the data I collected and the method of the analysis in this study.

The analysis in the present study is based on the newspaper, *Wantok* from 1970 to 2000. I stayed in Port Moresby, the capital of Papua New Guinea from February 15th to March 3rd in 2000 and gathered copies of *Wantok* for thirty years and other written materials such as publications of Catholic churches. I also conducted interviews with the editors of *Wantok*, the general manager of Word Publishing (a newspaper company which publishes *Wantok*), a lecturer who had been studying Tok Pisin in the linguistic department at University of Papua New Guinea, and other people in the city. These interviews provided complementary information for lexical analyses.

Since it was impossible to analyze all the lexical items in *Wantok* for thirty years, all top articles and reader's columns of the first circulation of years from 1970 to 2000 were analyzed except 1970. *Wantok* had started from August 1970, thus the first circulation of August was analyzed in the year.

Classification of word classes

In order to classify words, it is important to look at characteristic features of classes in Tok Pisin. Mühlhäusler (1979) notes that pidgins have long been characterized as lacking grammatical categories. There are two sides of this coin. First, pidgins show extreme multifunctionality, i.e. the same lexical items occur as nouns, verbs, and adjectives. Second, there is a lack of obligatory marking of grammatical distinctions, since neither the inflectional morphemes nor most of the closed-class items of the lexifier language survive in pidgin (Sankoff 1991). We thus find a large number of unmodified nouns and verbs. Therefore, we should know that the grammar of Tok Pisin is different from that of English. Since the description of Tok Pisin's grammar made by Verhaar (1995) is one of the most detailed studies, I would like to apply his word classification to my analysis. Main word classes discussed in his work are nouns, compounds, verbs, and modifiers. I will note some unique points of classification in Tok Pisin.

As for nouns, there is no clear distinction between class and material nouns in Tok Pisin. It will be seen that such overlappings are more common in Tok Pisin than they are in English.

Regarding compounds, package loans, phonological borrowing of compounds from English are frequently used in the recent Tok Pisin.

In the light of verbs, most of the transitive verbs are attached by the suffix *-im* such as *mekim* 'to do', while intransitive verbs are not.

The class called modifiers here has traditionally been called adjectives. The reason why adjectives are not used is that there is no straightforwardly recognizable class of adjectives in Tok Pisin, while no doubt there is a class of modifiers, used either attributively or predicatively.

These points should be considered when words are examined by classes in the present study.

Criterion of new lexical items

Let us consider now the criterion of new lexical items. It is difficult to make a clear criterion with which to determine lexical items which appear in *Wantok* as new ones; however, I used two books which had a great influence on writing expressions of Tok Pisin. The two books are as follows:

The Jacaranda Dictionary and Grammar of Melanesian Pidgin (1971)

The New Testament 'Nupela Testamen' (1969)

The New Testament '*Nupela Testamen*' (1969) was the first major publication to use a new standard

orthography and was the greatest circulation of any book in Tok Pisin (Romaine 1992). *Jacaranda Dictionary* written by Mihalic (1971) is one of the most reliable dictionaries of Tok Pisin and is used as a guidebook for editors of *Wantok*.

Note the time when two books were published. Around 1970 was the critical time when urban Tok Pisin started to decreolize because of Anglicization (Mühlhäusler 1979). Therefore, words appearing in these two books were regarded as the basic lexical items of Tok Pisin in the present study; while, words which do not appear in these two books were regarded as new lexical items.

Evaluation of the method of introducing new lexical items

In this section, I would like to discuss the most appropriate method for the evaluation of introducing new lexical items. Since the main concern of the present study is expressive capacity of Tok Pisin, the language that needs to be enriched by contemporary terms and concepts, it is appropriate to adapt the criterion of systematic adequacy proposed by Mühlhäusler (1979), which determines whether new lexical items fit into lexical structures of the languages. He notes that the lexical item should be a structured system with maximum economy and efficiency. A highly developed derivational lexical item is the principal source of systematic adequacy. In order to examine systematic adequacy of lexical items, there are four criteria: (1) potential confusion with already existing items, (2) compatibility with existing morphemes and word structure conventions, (3) the status of innovations with regard to Tok Pisin's derivational lexicon, and (4) compatibility with the existing semantic field organization. Let us look at each criterion.

(1) Potential confusion with already existing items

In spite of warnings that indiscriminate borrowing of English lexical bases could overload the language with forms that sound the same but have different meaning (Laycock 1969), individuals concerned with the improvement of Tok Pisin's adequacy appear to have paid little heed to this consideration. New homographs will have probability of confusion in actual situations. To take an example, some people would regard the term, *bot* as the basic meaning, 'board' instead of the new meaning, *bot* 'boat'. Some speakers of Tok Pisin may come up with such an interpretation.

(2) Compatibility with existing morphemes and word structure conventions

Laycock (1969) notes that many English words do not fit well into pidgin pronunciation and orthography. The alphabet of Tok Pisin is the Roman alphabet, omitting from those 26 characters the following: *c, q, x, and z*. Mihalic (1971) argues, however, that Anglicism in orthography, if allowed to creep in, will cause great and needless trouble to natives who know no English. The least desirable instances of borrowing are those in which whole lexical phrases from English are simply respelled in Tok Pisin. The chances are that these items are not understood by the majority of Tok Pisin speakers.

(3) The status of innovations with regard to Tok Pisin's derivational lexicon

This point concerns the decision about whether a new item should be a lexical base or a derived lexical item. It is necessary to examine, with regard to proposed items with new referential information, whether such information is already potentially available in Tok Pisin's lexicon. In addition, it must be remembered that the introduction of a single new base can give rise to a number of new derived items. Therefore, innovations which violate the principle that certain semantic features should be expressed in

the surface structure of Tok Pisin lexical items, should be avoided.

(4) Compatibility with existing semantic field organization

In some areas of lexical semantics, the introduction of a single new item may result in the restructuring of a whole lexical field. The pidgin lexicon is highly structured and regular. Borrowing from English, however, is threatening to disrupt the unity of great number of semantic fields in Tok Pisin (Romaine 1992).

These four criteria will now be further discussed together with the data of the present study.

Analyses of new lexical items

In this section, the results of analyses based on the framework discussed in the previous section are described. Descriptive statistics and the evaluation of systematic adequacy were examined.

Descriptive Statistics

There are 463 items introduced as the new lexical items in the selected articles of *Wantok*. The total number of the new lexical items I first selected based on two dictionaries was 1315 items. And then, I eliminated those new items that appeared in the papers more than twice. Finally, applying the framework mentioned in the previous section, I classified 463 items. The following table shows the results of the classification.

Table 2 Number of new lexical items by classes

Nouns	Compounds	Verbs	Modifiers	Others					
Class	207	Package loan	152	Transitive	23	non-pela	26	preposition	1
Quantifier	4	UD	32	Intransitive	4	-pela	0		
material	3	Flat	5						
		Semi package	5						
Total	215(46.4%)	194(41.9%)		27(5.8%)		26(5.6%)		1(0.2%)	

Due to the fact that the number of basic lexical items in Mihalic's dictionary is approximately 1,800 excluding compounds formed by basic items, I should emphasize that the number of new lexical items introduced in *Wantok* for the last 30 years, has increased dramatically.

Table 2 shows that nouns and compounds constitute over 88% of all items.

Characteristics of phonological loanwords

Coulmas (1993) argues that there are two reasons for borrowing, socio-economic and socio-psychological reasons. The former is to promote efficiency of the languages, while the latter is due to the social prestige and fashion regardless of the system of the language.

Since new items occur not only due to lack of words but also because there is a public yearning for English, it is meaningful to look at the semantic fields of new lexical items.

Before describing the results of the examination, I have to mention that three categories are made for this analysis according to the characteristics of items. They are:

- (1) items mentioned in Mihalic's dictionary
- (2) items not mentioned in the dictionary but can be formed by innovation: derivation and compounding
- (3) items referring to new concepts which Tok Pisin does not have.

The results are shown in Table 3.

Table 3 Characteristics of classes

Characteristics	Noun	Compound	Verb	Modifier
1	33 (15.9%)	0 (0%)	7 (25.9%)	2 (7.7%)
2	30 (14.5%)	53 (35.3%)	4 (14.8%)	3 (11.5%)
3	143 (68.8%)	97 (64.7%)	16 (59.2%)	21 (80.8%)

Since type 3 is the most frequent in every class, it appears that the main reason for borrowing is socio-economic. That is, Tok Pisin lacks equivalent lexical items. The numbers of type 1 and 2, however, are not so low. The total number of type 1 and 2 consists of over 30% in each class except for modifiers. Therefore, it is reasonable to think that socio-psychological reasons count as one of the main factors for Anglicization.

Evaluation of systematic adequacy

Based on the evaluation of systematic adequacy proposed by Mühlhäusler (1979), several features of new lexical items in *Wantok* were found.

- (1) The frequent use of some homonymic items, such as *hevi*, has become significant since the 1980s.
- (2) There were several variations of spellings in lexical items. The results indicate that *Wantok* does not have a clear standard for its orthography.
- (3) Due to the introduction of many package loans, there were lexical items which did not appear appropriate for Tok Pisin's grammar.
- (4) Although there were lexical items formed by derivational compounding, their numbers were significantly smaller than those formed by phonological borrowing and they could not express new concepts or ideas such as technical and scientific fields.
- (5) Reconstruction of semantic fields has increased due to new lexical items and changes of meaning will cause confusion among rural people.

In order to better understand these features, the following sections will examine four criteria of systematic adequacy: potential confusion, morpheme and word structure conventions, the status of innovation, and semantic field organization.

Potential confusion

The result of the analysis shows that the frequent use of some homonymic items, such as *hevi*, has become significant since the 1980s due to the introduction of new items in *Wantok*.

Some examples are as follows:

(1) **Bot** (boat and board)

Bot bilong kampani i kamap asde. ‘The company **boat** arrived yesterday.’ (1970)

Kopi Industri Bot ‘Coffee Industry **Board**’ (1986)

(2) **Hevi** (heavy and problem)

Dispela ston i hevi nogut tru. ‘This stone is really **heavy**.’ (1970)

Bai no gat wari tru long dispela helt hevi bihain (1986)

‘There will be no worry about this health **problem** in the future.’

(3) **Prais** (parting gift and price)

Tisa i givim prais long mipela. ‘The teacher gave us a **parting gift**.’ (1970)

Prais bilong kopra i pundaun. ‘Copra’s **price** went down.’ (1982)

The comparisons between original and new meanings of items appear in Table 4.

Table 4 Comparison of homonymic items between original and new meanings

	Meaning	
	Original	New
<i>bot</i>	boat	board
<i>hevi</i>	heavy	problem
<i>prais</i>	prize	price

The result indicates that systematic adequacy is going down because of Anglicization. There may be little misunderstanding for urban people who are good at English; however, there are some possibilities that homonymic items of *Wantok* will confuse readers in rural areas who do not know English. There is another possibility that educated people may not have difficulty with these homonymic items, while people less educated may feel uneasy with these items. Therefore, the increase of homographs influences communication between people in urban and rural areas, and between educated and uneducated.

Morpheme and word structure conventions

In the present study, words with different spellings are regarded as new lexical items. However, strictly speaking, these are not new. The reason why these are picked out is that they show the status of written Tok Pisin today. These phenomena appear even in stable words due to the features of vowels and consonants in Tok Pisin, and the influence of writers’ substrate languages. Mihalic (1971) notes that the ideal orthography for Tok Pisin is a completely phonemic one, where each significant sound is represented by a separate letter; where the same sound will always be denoted by the same letter, and no letter can be used for more than one sound. However, we see from this study that a number of items in *Wantok* have several variations in spelling. Examples of variations are:

mission: *misin* / *misen* (1999)

station: *stesin* / *stesen* (2000)

The main reasons of this phenomenon are the phonological characteristics of Tok Pisin (limited number of vowels and consonants), substrate influences of writers (influence of their mother tongues) and Anglicization. The fact some sounds are described by more than one letter suggests that *Wantok* does

not have an integrated orthography.

In the light of word structure, there are few problems when the new items are borrowed while keeping their word structure intact because borrowing is a natural method to increase words. Phonological borrowing, which is used to form package loans in *Wantok*, however, ignore word-formation rules. One of the most common consequences of phonological borrowing is the destruction of plural marking. In spite of the fact that, *ol* is added for plural marking in Tok Pisin's grammar, recent package loans formed by phonological borrowing have destroyed this rule. Let us look at an example of a package loan which has unacceptable components for the word structures of Tok Pisin.

- (1) *Katolik Wimen's Asosiesen* (1982)
'Catholic **Women's** Association'
- (2) *Pacific Bodi Bildas Intenesenel* (1982)
'Pacific Body **Builders** International'
- (3) *Spots Et Faundesen* (1982)
'**Sports** Aid Foundation'

This example shows that the plural expression for woman is *wimen* instead of *ol meri* and the expression of possession is *-s* instead of *bilong*. The reason is that package loans depend completely on phonological borrowing. The number of these package loans is 152 in this analysis so that there is high probability to destroy word structure.

The status of innovation with regard to Tok Pisin's derivational lexicon

The discussion of systematic adequacy so far has focussed on the demonstration that phonological borrowing has destroyed grammatical structures of Tok Pisin. The present section will deal with the observation of several types of innovation. The typical type of innovation is derivation. In *Wantok*, there are several derivational items. However, they are not as numerous as phonological loanwords. Here are examples taken from *Wantok*.

- (1) Lexical items containing the meaning *activity* are usually lexical phrases involving the item *wok*, as in:

Tok Pisin	Literal translation	Gloss
<i>wokman</i>	work man	labor

- (2) Lexical items containing the semantic element *talk* are usually lexical phrases consisting of *tok*, as in:

Tok Pisin	Literal translation	Gloss
<i>tokman</i>	talk man	spokesman

From these examples, we can see that components of compounds are basic items. This means that lexicons borrowed from English and derivational lexicons are not used to form these compounds. Therefore, it is difficult to explain new phenomena by these derivational compounds.

However, as for verbs, we found many exceptions: e.g. *failim* 'to file,' *emailim* 'to send email.' These phonological changes often occur in technical terms. Dicks Thomas, a sociolinguist at University of Papua New Guinea, says in the interview in 2000, that English lexicons can be assimilated into Tok

Pisin's grammar by phonological changes, especially by adding the suffix *-im*. These innovations are extremely important to maintain Tok Pisin's grammar and to supply new words. More expansion of these methods is hoped. Mühlhäusler (1979)

Semantic field organization

One of the most problematic aspects of Anglicization deals with its impact on semantic field organization. I found several lexical items influenced by this phenomenon in *Wantok*. There are three types of changes in semantic fields of Tok Pisin lexicons: narrowing of meaning, extension of meaning and change of main meaning. In addition to Mihalic's dictionary, *Trilingual dictionary* made by Thomas (1997) is used for chronological comparison in this section. Let's look at the example of most frequent changes of semantic fields, that is, narrowing of meaning.

Romaine (1992) notes that semantic differentiation and narrowing of meaning are typical of the late developmental stages of pidgins. The term, *kaunsil* may be a good example. In Mihalic's dictionary (1971), *kaunsil* has two meanings: 'the council' and 'a member of the council.' On the other hand, dictionary made by Thomas (1997) defines it as 'the council.' This is due to the introduction of *kaunsila* 'a member of the council' in 1973.

The main idea in this section is the semantic differences of verbs between English and Tok Pisin. Examples are as follows:

Wanpela memba i mekim sampela samting long divelopim provins. (1975)

'One member makes something to develop a province.'

Bai Enga i divelop liklik. (2000)

'Enga will develop a little.'

A term, *divelop* 'develop' is used as a preform of a verb, *divelopim* in 1975, but since 1977, the term, *divelop* starts to be used as an intransitive verb. Since then the semantic field of these verbs has been divided according to its transitivity: transitive verb (*divelopim*) and intransitive verb (*divelop*). 'Develop' in English has both transivities, while *divelop* in Tok Pisin has intransitivity only.

What needs to be emphasized here is that all three changes of meaning are possible causes for confusion among readers who can not distinguish meanings of words in Tok Pisin and English. In order to make a clear distinction between them, more opportunities for education of Tok Pisin grammar at schools than now is probably needed.

Present issues and strategies for development

So far we have outlined the critical issues of Tok Pisin words in written materials. It is concluded that phonological loanwords from English are increasing in the newspaper, *Wantok*.

As mentioned above, Tok Pisin is the main language in Papua New Guinea. In order to remove the linguistic barrier in the country, it is essential to enrich Tok Pisin words to meet the need. However, a number of phonological loanwords from English have been decreasing systematic adequacy of Tok Pisin.

The evaluation of systematic adequacy in the present study indicates that these phonological loanwords are the main factors of interference with expressive capacity of Tok Pisin, while inner innovations

(derivations and compounds except for package loans) maintain the grammar. In order to keep the grammar of Tok Pisin intact, adapting inner innovation and avoiding phonological borrowing whenever possible is recommended. The main limitations of Tok Pisin's lexicons are the lack of conventions for the derivation of nomenclatures in the context of technical and scientific discussions (Mühlhäusler 1979). Therefore, the combination of new and basic items such as *failim* 'to file' discussed in the previous section, should be introduced to promote expressive capacity of the language, while keeping its grammar intact.

The present study has focused on the chronological comparison between the present lexical items in written materials and basic items found in the dictionaries. The results of this study coincide with the essential characteristics of Tok Pisin words found today. However, this study only examined selected articles of *Wantok* for thirty years. Therefore, it is for the future research to continue to investigate more written materials such as textbook at schools together with verbal expressions in Papua New Guinea.

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