2.6 ETYMOLOGISING AND TOK PISIN[1]

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> 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:

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Anglo-Saxon
baelig, baelg *bag, skin*

Middle-English
bali, bely

Modern English
belly

Proto-Pidgin English
belly

South Seas P.E.
[belly]

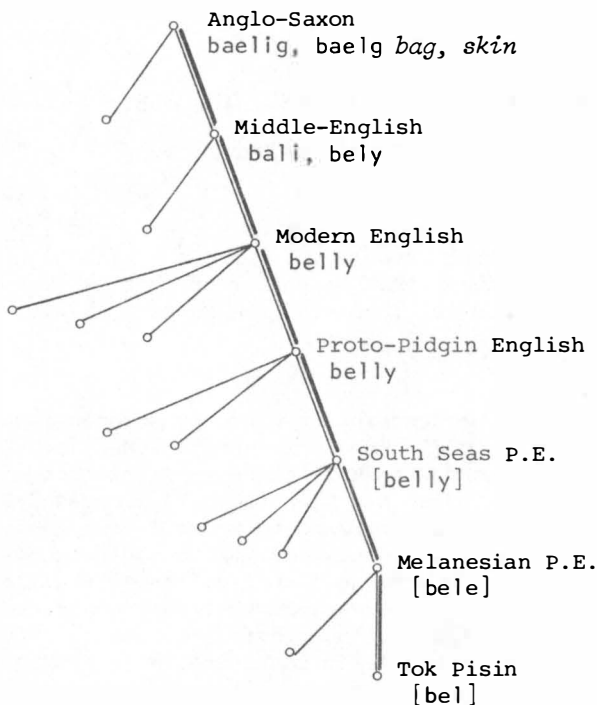Melanesian P.E.
[bele]

Tok Pisin
[bel]

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):

```
                    PROTO-PIDGIN ENGLISH
                    (17th century English)


                                  Chinese
          American
          Indian PE                  Chinese
                                       PE                South Seas
                                                            PE
                                                                       Melanesian
        West African                                                   languages
        languages
                                              Australian
          Central Atlantic                       PE              Melanesian
              PE                                                     PE
                                            New Zealand
      West African      Caribbean Negro          PE                Neo-Melanesian
         PE                   PE                                    (= Tok Pisin)

              Gullah      West Indian
                           Creoles               British
                                                 Solomon
                  Taki-Taki                      Islands
                                                   PE
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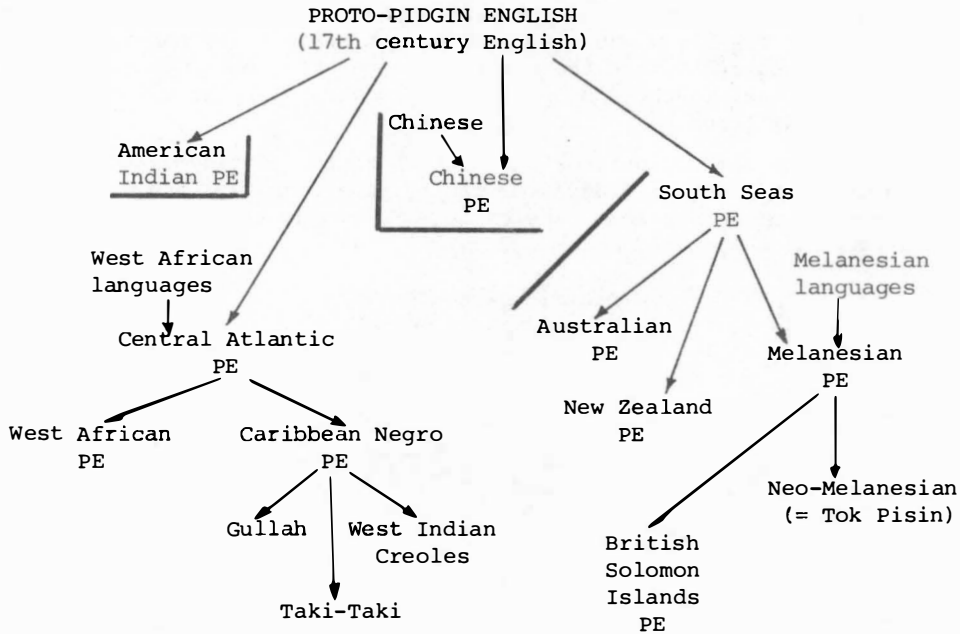
Table 2

    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 develop-
mental 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:


```
                    Pacific Jargon English
                                                    Chinese Pidgin English

Queensland Plantation                               Tolai and related
Pidgin                                              languages
                            SPP

English                                             German

                            TP
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  ───────────────►   direct linguistic influence
  - - - - - - - - ►   indirect or weak linguistic influence
  ◄──────────────►   mutual influence between varieties
         TP  = Tok Pisin (New Guinea Pidgin English)
         SPP = Samoan Plantation Pidgin English
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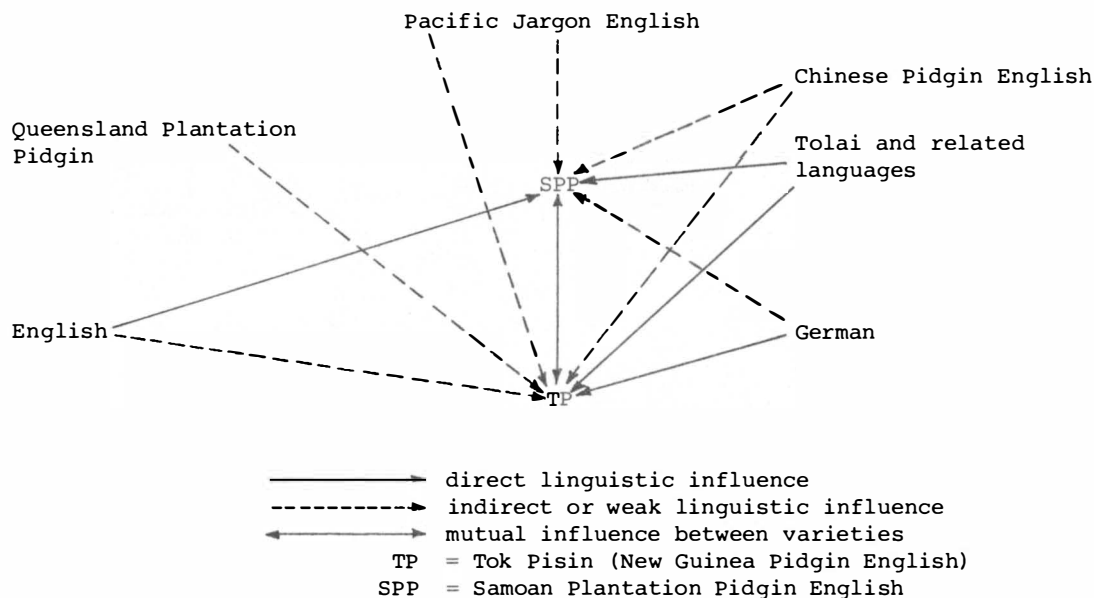
Table 3

Linguistic influences on Tok Pisin around 1900[2]

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: bala                         English: belly
    belly, seat of emotions

      Samoan Plantation Pidgin ⎤
                               ⎬        bele
      Early Tok Pisin          ⎦
            │
      Present-day Tok Pisin              bel[3]
```

belly, seat of emotions

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 conflations). 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
ais	*Eis*	*ice*	*ice*
anka	*Anker*	*anchor*	*anchor*
as	*Arsch*	*arse*	*arse, reason, origin*
bet	*Bett*	*bed*	*bed, shelf*
gaten	*Garten*	*garden*	*garden*
hama	*Hammer*	*hammer*	*hammer*
mas	*Mast*	*mast*	*mast, flagpole*
rip	*Riff*	*reef*	*reef*
sadel	*Sattel*	*saddle*	*saddle*

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 un-
> predictable ways. One thing seems clear, however: pidgin-
> ization 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) occured 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 *thatched roof*	*on top*	antap *on top, roof*
bala *belly, bowels*	*belly*	bel *belly, seat of emotions*
bulit *sap*	*blood*	blut, bulut, bulit *blood, sap, glue*
rokrok *frog*	*croak croak*	rokrok *frog*
yat emphasiser	*yet*	yet emphasiser, *yet*
noko *midrib of sago*	*nock, node*	nok *midrib of sago or feather*
momo *to drink*	*more more*	momo *lots* (mostly used in connection with drink)

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 Yakamul 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 *to push through*	*lock*	lokim *to lock with a key*
tak *to take*	*take*	tekimwe *to take away*
tun *to cook, bake*	*turn, done*	tanim *to stir food*
dur *dirty*	*dirty*	doti *dirty*
kap *to carry, take*	*carry*	karim *to carry, take*

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 lan-
> guage(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	*roof, thatch*	Tolai: etep Mioko: atip	*kunai grass thatch*
buai	*betelnut*	Tolai: buai Label: buai Lamassa: buai Pala: buei Mioko: bue Molot: bua	*betelnut*
bulit	*sap, glue*	Tolai: bulit Mioko: bulit Molot: bulit	*sap of certain trees, glue*

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 under-stood. However, we can assume a considerable amount of discon-tinuity 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
tortoise shell	trausel	*tortoise*
billy can	briken	*billy can*
guard of honour	katuana	*guard of honour*
that's all	tasol	*but; that is all*
I do not know	aidono	*to not know*

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 *animal, 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
card	kas	*playing cards, luck*
	kat	*(identification) card*
monkey	manki	*young boy, unmarried man*
	monki	*monkey*
nail	nel	*fingernail*
	nil	*nail, thorn*
pillow	pilo	*pillow*
	pero	*wooden headrest*
German		
Hobel plane	hobel	*carpenter's plane*
	hoben	*screwdriver*

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	hirim	*to hear*
	smelim	smelim	*to smell*
		pilim	*to feel*
		listenim	*to listen to*
banis	banis	banis	*bandage*
		fenis	*fence*
peles	ples	ples	*place*
		viles	*village*
Sande	Sande	Sande	*Sunday*
	wik	wik	*week*
		holide	*holiday*
peim	peim	peim	*to pay*
	baiim	baiim	*to buy*
		spentim	*to spend*

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 influ-
> ence of English, especially in response to ridicule or dis-
> approval 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	*poor, destitute*	*rubbish, worthless*
baksait	*back*	*backside*
pisop	*to depart quickly*	*to piss off*
sarap	*to be silent, quiet*	*to shut up*

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   *He said: tomorrow the patrol*
> kiap bai kam   *officer will come*

is interpreted as

> em i tok, olsem tumora   *He said that the patrol officer*
> kiap bai kam   *will come tomorrow*

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
archbishop	as-bisop *authoritative bishop*
Ash Wednesday	as-trinde *important Wednesday*
yesterday	as-tete *origin of today*

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 re-
garded 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 var-
ieties 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 pencil	blaistik or plastik	(blai) *stick* *plastic* (when used to refer to a biro)
Schubkarre wheelbarrow	supkar	*shove car*
Walfish whale	welpis	*oil fish*

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 sikinpoks *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 *primary school* was reinterpreted as
prai meri skul *school for frying girls* and contrasted with
prai man skul *school for frying boys*.

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:

luslain *to take leave*	mekim olsem sip i lusim lain man i lusim lain	*ship casting off the mooring lines* *man leaving the labour line*
paip smel *clay pipe*	paip i gat gutpela smel paip ol i wokim long smel	*the pipe has a good smell* *pipe made out of cement*
slingsut *slingshot*	yu sutim siling longen sling bilong sutim pisin	*you shoot shilling pieces with it* *sling for shooting birds*

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 paiawut *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 Paliau 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 lit-
> erature 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.

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	*all right, healthy*	*to be equal to the white man in terms of knowledge, goods, etc.*
kastem haus	*customs house*	*a shed for receiving and handling goods in trade with other villages*
King Berra	*Canberra*	*mythical king of the land of cargo*
mep	*map*	*graveyard*
prais	*price, prize*	*reward, cargo*
star	*star*	*turnstile in the village gate having reference to heaven*

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 possible 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	gloss	English etymon	Etymons listed in:			
			WMR	SM	M71	ST69
kan	*female genitals*	*cunt*	--	--	--	?
kok	*male genitals*	*cock*	cock	--	--	E*
sit	*ashes, faeces*	*shit*	?	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 readier 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 applic-
able) 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 was 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	*Chinese cabbage*
Kai Choi	Kai Toi	*Chinese mustard*
Kai Lum	Kai Lun	*Chinese broccoli*
Lau Pak	Lau Pak	*turnip*
Ong Choi	Kangkung (Kango)	*Chinese watercress*
Pak Choi	Pak Toi	*Chinese cabbage*
Sung Choi	Sala, Lesis	*lettuce*

Chinese names	Pidgin names	English names
... Tao	Tao	*beans of several kinds*
See Kua	Sika	*a kind of squash*
Tung Kua	Tung Ka	*'winter' melon*
Wu Tau	Taro bilong Saina	*taro*
Yin Sai	Min Tai	*Chinese celery*

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   =  Wörterbuch mit Redewendungen 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	*Amboss*	SM,M57	*anvil*
bank	*Bank*	WR,SM,M71	*bench, pew*
baisange	*Beisszange*	Ali,Manus	*pincers*
bigelaisen	*Bügeleisen*	Ali	*flat-iron*
borim	*bohren*	SM,M71	*to drill something*
ele	*Elle*	Ali	*yardstick*
faden	*Faden*	Ali	*thread*
gumi	*Gummi*	ST,M71	*rubber, tube*
harke	*Harke*	WR	*rake*
hobel	*Hobel*	ST,M71	*plane*
kail	*Keil*	DA,ST,M71	*wedge*
kele	*Kelle*	M57,M71	*trowel*
kit	*Kitt*	ST,M71	*putty*
klama	*Klammer*	SM,Smythe(n.d.)	*clamp*
kupus	*Kuhfuss*	KU,BR	*crowbar*
laim	*Leim*	ST,M71	*glue*
laten	*Latten*	WR	*batten, board*
maisil	*Meissel*	DA,M71	*chisel*
meta	*Meter (das)*	ST,M71	*yardstick*
nit	*Niete*	KU	*rivet*
pendel	*Pendel*	KU	*pendulum*
reken	*Rechen*	WR	*rake*
sapfen	*Zapfen*	KU	*pin, pivot*
sange	*Zange*	H55b,KU,DA	*pliers*
sere	*Schere*	Ali,Alexishafen	*scissors*

Tok Pisin	from German	source	English
sikmel	*Sägmehl*	Vunapope	*sawdust*
slos	*Schloss*	Dagua,Manus	*padlock*
spais	*Speis*	BR	*mortar, cement*
sparen	*Sparren*	Dagua,M71	*rafter*
swinge	*Zwinge*	Manus,M71	*clamp*
supkar	*Schubkarre*	ST,M71	*wheelbarrow*
ter	*Teer*	WR	*tar*
wasawage	*Wasserwaage*	Vunapope,Dagua	*water-level*

(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	*ABC*	Ali	*a,b,c*
balaistip	*Bleistift*	BR,DA,M57	*lead-pencil*
bilt	*Bild*	WR	*picture*
blok	*Block*	Manus	*pad of paper*
gripel	*Griffel*	DA,ST,M71	*slate-pencil*
karaide	*Kreide*	KU,DA,ST	*chalk*
malen[5]	*malen*	ST,M71	*to paint, draw*
nul	*Null*	DA	*zero*
peder	*Feder*	DA	*pen*
punk	*Punkt*	DA,KU	*full stop, point*
singen[5]	*singen*	WR,M71	*to sing*
sule	*Schule*	Ali,Vunapope	*school*
stima	*Stimme*	SM	*melody, tune*
strafe	*Strafe*	ST,M71	*punishment*
tafel	*Tafel*	DA,KU,Manus	*blackboard*
tinte	*Tinte*	DA,BO	*ink*
tok doits	*Deutsch*	Dagua,Ali,Manus	*German language*

(3) terms used in the domestic context

ananas	*Ananas*	ST,M71	*pineapple*
auto	*Auto*	Ali,Manus	*motor car*
bonen	*Bohnen*	BR,DA,BO	*beans*
buter	*Butter*	BR,DA,WR	*butter, avocado*
dose	*Dose*	Ali	*tin, box*
esik	*Essig*	DA,ST,M71	*vinegar*
gabel	*Gabel*	BR,KU,H55b	*fork*
guruken	*Gurken*	BR,DA,Rabaul	*cucumber*
hebsen	*Erbsen*	KU,ST,M71	*peas*
kane	*Kanne*	WR	*jug*
katopel	*Kartoffel*	Ali,Vunapope	*potato*
kese	*Käse*	DA	*cheese*
kuken	*Kuchen*	KU,DA	*cake*
malsait	*Mahlzeit*	Krämer-Bannow 1916	*'bon appetit'*
puskoman	*Putzpomade*	WR,DA	*boot polish*
saitung	*Zeitung*	BR,DA	*newspaper*
sarang	*Schrank*	H59,M71	*cupboard, shelf*
sim	*Zimt*	KU	*cinnamon*
sirsen	*Kirschen*	M57,M71	*cherries*
soken	*Socken*	ST,M71	*socks*
spaisesima	*Speisezimmer*	Ali	*dining room*

Tok Pisin	from German	source	English
spigel	*Spiegel*	Ali,Manus	*mirror*
spinat	*Spinat*	SM,VB	*spinach*
tepik	*Teppich*	KU,M71	*carpet, rug*

(4) mission and doctrinal terms

baikten	*beichten*	Ali,Dagua,WR	*to confess*
balsam	*Balsam*	DA,WR	*balm*
beten	*beten*	ST,M71	*to pray*
bruder	*Bruder*	ST,M71	*religious Brother*
buse	*Busse*	SM,VB,WR	*penance*
eremit	*Eremit*	DA	*hermit*
grisgot	*Grüss Gott*	WR,M71	*bless you*
haiten	*Heiden*	ST,M71	*heathen*
kapela	*Kapelle*	SM,WR	*chapel*
kelek	*Kelch*	KU	*chalice*
kirke	*Kirche*	Dagua,WR	*church*
ministran	*ministrant*	SM,WR	*choir boy*
palmen	*Palmen*	M57,M71	*palm tree*
pater	*Pater*	ST,M71	*religious Father*
pirista	*Priester*	BR,BO	*priest*
segen	*Segen*	SM,WR,Dagua	*blessing*
svesta	*Schwester*	DA,Dagua,Manus	*religious Sister*
vairau	*Weihrauch*	KU,DA	*incense*

(5) terms used in the police force

gever	*Gewehr*	SM,H66,Ali	*rifle*
hauman	*Hauptmann*	Detzner 1921,Reinecke 1937	*captain*
kostik	*Kopfstück*	H55b,M71	*bridle*
popaia	*vorbei*	ST,M71	*to miss (target)*
ros	*Ross*	WR	*horse*
sadel	*Sattel*	SM,M71	*saddle*
selban	*Zeltbahn*	SM	*large canvas*
senkipia	*Seitengewehr*	BR	*side-arm*
sutman	*Schutzmann*	Reed 1943,DA	*constable, guard*

(6) commands and terms of abuse

donabeta	*Donnerwetter*	KU,DA,Vogel 1911	*blast!*
donakail	*Donnerkeil*	KU,DA	*blast!*
dumekerl	*dummer Kerl*	Manus	*stupid fool!*
dumkop	*Dummkopf*	Angoram,Dagua	*idiot!*
haltmunt	*halt den Mund*	Reed 1943,Manus	*shut up!*
javol	*jawohl*	BR,BO	*yes!*
pasmalauf	*pass mal auf*	Reed 1943,Ali	*take care!*
papelu	*verflucht*	SM,H66,WR	*damn!*
raus	*raus*	ST,M71	*get out!*
rintfi	*Rindvieh*	Ali,Manus	*cattle!*
saise	*scheisse*	Ali,Manus,Dagua	*shit!*
sapkop	*Schafskopf*	Ali,Marienberg	*sheep brained idiot!*
sisan	*stillgestanden*	BR,WR	*stand still!*

(7) nautical terms

Tok Pisin	from German	source	English
bakabor	*Backbord*	Reed 1943,WR	*port side*
kiliva	*Klüver*	KU,DA,M71	*jib sail*
kuter	*Kutter*	SM	*cutter*
sluk	*Schluck*	H43	*whirlpool*

(8) certain names of animals

bifel	*Büffel*	H55a,SM,WR	*buffalo*
binen	*Bienen*	ST,M71	*bees*
esel	*Esel*	H55b,M57,ST	*donkey*
fros	*Frosch*	WR	*frog*
kakalak	*Kakerlake*	ST,M71	*cockroach*
kamel	*Kamel*	DA,ST	*camel*
lewe	*Löwe*	KU	*lion*

(9) terms belonging to other semantic fields

akas	*Akazie*	SM,M57	*acacia*
bensin	*Benzin*	BO	*petrol*
bogen	*Bogen*	KU,M71	*arch*
boksen	*boxen*	DA,ST,M71	*to box*
brait	*breit*	ST,M71	*wide, width*
brus	*Brust*	H66,M57,WR	*chest*
doktal	*Dr Hahl*	Stephan and Gräbner 1907	*the German governor Dr Hahl*
gip	*Gift*	M57,M71	*poison*
kapsel	*Kapsel*	KU	*capsule*
kaputim	*kaputt*	Smythe(n.d.)	*to ruin*
kaisa	*Kaiser*	WR,Ali,Rabaul	*emperor*
kle	*Klee*	KU	*clover*
krum	*krumm*	SM,M71	*bent, crooked*
langsam	*langsam*	H55b,DA,KU	*to go slow, slow*
lepra	*Lepra*	M71	*leprosy*
links	*links*	H43,M57	*left (side)*
lupsip	*Luftschiff*	Ali	*aeroplane*
mak	*Mark*	SM,M71	*mark, shilling*
milis	*Milch*	SM,M71	*coconut milk, semen*
nets	*Netz*	WR	*fishing net*
pui	*pfui*	M71	*naked*
ros	*Rost*	ST,M71	*rust*
sreg	*schräg*	WR	*sloping, oblique*
stange	*Stange*	Ali	*tobacco stick*
surik	*zurück*	ST,M71	*to flinch back*
tais	*Teich*	ST,M71	*pond, swamp*
trip	*Trieb*	ST,M71	*sprout*
turm	*Turm*	Angoram, Ali	*tower, steeple*
yot	*Jod*	SM,ST	*iodine*

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: *aren't you ashamed?*
tura	form of address: *friend*
mani lasi	*no money, bankrupt*

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 re-placed 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	*God*
hostia	*host*
indulgensia	*indulgence*
komunio	*communion*
konpesio	*confession*
korona	*rosary*
misa	*mass*
pekato	*sin*
prosesio	*procession*
santu	*holy*
trinitas	*trinity*
virgo	*virgin*

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	*water-buffalo*
kapok	*the kapok tree and its fibres*
klambu	*mosquito net*
krani	*clerk; Malay worker*
mambu	*bamboo*
mandor	*overseer*
pinatang	*insect*
sayor	*leaf vegetable*
tandok	*signal*
tiang	*post*

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	*water-buffalo*	kerbau
kapok	*the kapok tree and its fibres*	kapok
klambu	*mosquito net*	kelambu
krani	*clerk; Malay worker*	kerani
mambu	*bamboo*	bambu
mandor	*overseer*	mandur
pinatang	*insect*	binatang (= *animal*)
sayor	*leaf vegetable*	sayur
tandok	*signal*	tanduk (= *horn*)
tiang	*post*	tiang
lombo	*red pepper*	lombok
bliong	*hatchet*	beliung
baret	*ditch, groove*	parit
kasang	*peanut*	kacang (= *pea*)
kambing	*sheep, goat*	kambing
kango	*watercress*	kangkung
tuan[6]	*master, European*	tuan

<div align="center">Table 9</div>

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	*mosquito net*
kasang	galip, pinat	*peanut*
tuan	masta	*European*

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	*my friend*

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 re-cruiting 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	*heap, to heap*	hip
tapak	*leprosy*	leprosi
talambar	*picture*	piksa
ramitim	*to kiss, to lick*	kis long
palar	*flat*	plet
pirpir, pir	*story*	stori
hea	*handle*	hendal
kurbis	*lobster, crayfish*	–
okin	*kangaroo*	–
krani	*clover*	–
muar	*parrot*	–
kungal	*fungus*	masrum
komoskim	*to weld*	weldim
varkia	*to change (dress)*	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	*sago boiled with water*	hatwara
burukin	*dish*	dis
burumbut	*to tread on*	-
kaur	*bamboo*	mambu
kauvas	*friend, gift*	pren

b) items listed by Smythe (n.d.):

Manus Pidgin	gloss	recent replacement
mangang	*to become silent, to be at a loss for words*	sarap
angkau	*false, pseudo*	giaman
bilele	*goat*	meme
guma	*snail*	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	*landlubber*
mantakor	*coastal dweller*
maniani	*slow, steady*
piak	*to fart*

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	*by and by*	(adverb of future time)
bilong	*belong*	(preposition denoting possession)
fela	*fellow*	(the article)
geman	*gammon (?)*	*no good, deceitful*
maski	*?*	*never mind*
pikanini	*pickaninny*	*child, the young*

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	*like, as*
along	long	general preposition
bulmakau	bulmakau	*cattle, meat*
fellow	-pela	adjective suffix, *something*
catch	kisim	*to get, obtain*
come up	kamap	*to appear, become*
lookout	lukautim	*to look for, search*
mary	meri	*woman*
what name?	wanem	*what?*
pull	pulim	*to abduct, force, seduce*
stop	stap	*to stay, remain*
kiki	kaikai	*to eat, food*

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	*carpenter*
malolo	malolo	*to rest, relax*
taro	taro	*taro*
popi	pope	*Catholic*
mumu	mumu	*(to bake in an) earth oven*

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	*arse, stump of a tree*	*arse, buttocks*
belo	*bell, noon*	*bell*
bris	*bridge, wharf*	*bridge*
holimpas	*to rape, hold*	*to grab, hold*
kuk	*to cook, be defeated*	*to cook*
nating	in the collocation: bun nating *skinny*	not used in this meaning instead: bun nomoa
subim	in the collocation: subim wara *to swim*	not used in this meaning
snek	*snake, worm, larva*	*snake*
kisim	*to catch*	(kasem used instead) *to catch*

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 reliable[9] 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	*hoe*
balus	*pigeon*
bembe	*butterfly*
biruwa	*enemy*
bung	*market*
bui	*areca nut*
diwai	*tree*
karamut	*wooden gong*
kulau	*unripe coconut*
kuria	*earth tremor*
kwalip	*edible nut*
liklik	*small*
luluai	*war leader*
meri	*woman*
marimari	*to care for*
marsalai	*evil spirit*
pato	*duck*
pipia	*rubbish*
pukpuk	*crocodile*
purpur	*flower*
tambaran	*ghost*
ubian	*fish net*

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 influ-
ence 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 Plantagengesellschaft. 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 un-
reliable, 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 evi-
dence 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	*taboo*	*holy*
ruru	*to fear, respect*	*to honour*
vinamut	*silence, peace*	*retreat*
vartovo	*to teach; lesson*	*doctrine*
tematan	*member of a different tribe*	*heathen*
kurkurua	*beads, necklace*	*rosary*

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:

kiau	Tolai, Mioko, Molot and Lamassa
liklik	Mioko and Molot
diwai	Mioko and Molot
susu	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
atap	Mioko	*roof, thatch*
balus	other	*pigeon*
birua	Tolai, Mioko	*human flesh*
bung	Tolai, Mioko, other	*assembly, market, meet*
garamut	Tolai, Mioko, other	*slit gong, signal*
guria	Tolai, Mioko, other	*earthquake; to shake*
kakaruk	Tolai	*chicken*
kambang	Tolai, Mioko, other	*lime*
kapul	Tolai, Mioko, other	*tree kangaroo, possum*
kaur	Tolai, Mioko, other	*bamboo*
kivung	Tolai, Mioko	*meeting*
kulau	Tolai, Mioko, other	*green coconut*
kumul	Tolai, Mioko	*bird of paradise*
kunai	Tolai	*alang alang grass*
kundu	Tolai, Mioko, other	*drum*
lang	Mioko, other	*fly*
longlong	Mioko, other	*crazy, drunk*
matmat	Mioko	*cemetery*

item	origin	gloss
muruk	Tolai, Mioko, other	*cassowary*
pekpek	other	*to defecate; faeces*
pukpuk	Tolai, Mioko	*crocodile*
tambu	Tolai, Mioko, other	*taboo, sacred*
tumbuna	Tolai, Mioko	*ancestor*

<center>Table 13</center>

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	*to be apart from*
aila	*tree with edible nuts*
aitan	*timber tree*
amamas	*to rejoice*
amberai	*timber tree*
ambusa	*dolphin*
arang	*pandanus*
arovar	*to steer around*
baibai	*decorative palm*
bar	*vegetable*
baubau	*native pipe*

bilo	*half coconut shell used as ladle*
bilum	*netbag*
bong	*lever*
buk	*boil, swelling*
bumsikis	*capsize*
bunim	*north wind*
butoma	*navel*
dadap	*tree with edible leaves*
demdem	*snail*
erima	*kind of tree*
epa	*stingray*
haphap	*hoe*
hum	*kind of tree*
galimbong	*sheath containing coconut blossoms*
gam	*large cowrie shell*
gingin	*small cowrie shell*
kakang	*barbed wire*
kais	*left*
kalapa	*sorry! (interjection)*
kalop	*wooden headrest*
kapupu	*to break wind*
karakum	*red ant*
karanas	*coral rubble*
karapa	*maize*
kaut	*tube used by men in producing a pony tail*
kavang	*betel palm flower sheath*
kokeru	*rooster*
konda	*paper money*
korvo	*stingray*
krakon	*vine*
kru	*sprout, brain*
kusai	*to deceive*
labula	*timber tree*
lepas	*receipt, docket*
lim	*flower sheath of palm tree*
malambur	*kind of fish*
mami	*type of yam*
mangas	*kind of tree*
melisa	*barracuda*
moran	*python*
morso	*kind of reef fish*
mukmuk	*roasted sago*
nar	*hardwood tree*
ngae	*to be unfit*
oben	*screwdriver*
papai	*mushroom*
pep	*base of sago palm leaf stalk*
pipi	*turkey*
plangis	*hatchet, scone axe*
por	*dugout canoe*
rabun	*ridge of house*
salamon	*ceremonial rattles*
samsam	*to shuffle*
sewa	*range, target*
sikau	*wallaby*

sporam	*hidden reef*
sugu	*cigarette*
tauka	*squid*
top	*cork bark*
uruai	*to heave to*

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.

APPENDIX: The sources of the Tok Pisin lexicon

Time	African	Chinese	Fijian	German	Hiri Motu	Latin	Malay	Mainland Melanesian	Mioko	Pacific PE	Portuguese & Spanish	Samoan & SPP	Tolai
1860													
1870													
1880													
1890													
1900													
1910													
1920													
1930													
1940													
1950													
1960													
1970													
1980													

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