

6.3 CURRENT USE AND EXPANSION OF TOK PISIN: TOK PISIN IN THE MASS MEDIA

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6.3.0 INTRODUCTION

The use of Tok Pisin in periodical publications and radio broadcasting has been expanding since World War II, and a distinct form of the language as used in these media has emerged (Siegel 1983). This Media Tok Pisin can be defined as the journalistic variety used in the mass media for news reports, announcements, editorials, educational features, and letters. It is found mainly in newspapers and in radio broadcasts read from prepared scripts. Thus, it almost always involves the written channel.

This chapter presents a brief history of the use of Tok Pisin in the mass media and then goes on to describe the linguistic features of Media Tok Pisin (MTP). The first section contains examples of Tok Pisin from earlier printed materials. The second section contains examples from contemporary sources, mainly *Wantok* newspaper (number:page) and scripts of broadcasts from Radio Morobe (RM).

6.3.1 HISTORY OF TOK PISIN IN THE MASS MEDIA

In this section, the medium of published periodicals is discussed first, then radio broadcasting.

6.3.1.1 The development of written Tok Pisin

The earliest examples of Tok Pisin in the mass media were not meant to be used for communicative purposes by speakers of the language. Rather, they were for the amusement of European readers, samples of what was generally thought to be a strange and comical form of broken English. The use of what Hall (1955a: 58) calls "quasi-English" spelling, reflects these attitudes. This following example from the *Rabaul Times* (11/3/1927) is typical:

(1) A KANAKA LAMENT

Rain he no come boy he no got kai-kai, no got water, no got sweet potato, no got yam, no got taro, Gott dam, he no good. All time go along Kong-kong buy 'em rice, one bag 10 mark. Me no got mark no catchem rice, then me kai-kai coconut all time. Me no like. Old fellow coconut tree he die too. Small fellow all same. Banan he too lik lik. Pawpaw he fall down. Me can burn him. Why rain he no come? I tink byme-bye me die finish...

S.A. Wurm and P. Mühlhäusler, eds *Handbook of Tok Pisin (New Guinea Pidgin)*, C-70-517-533. *Pacific Linguistics*, C-70, 1984.

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The development of Tok Pisin into a written language to be utilised by its Melanesian speakers began in the 1920s. Catholic missionaries in Alexishafen (Madang) and Vunapope (Rabaul) realised that Tok Pisin was not merely broken English but an independent language. Since it had become a valuable lingua franca among the diverse linguistic groups of New Guinea, it would be a useful medium for teaching literacy and spreading the gospel. Thus, these missionaries started serious linguistic studies of Tok Pisin and developed orthographies. By the early 1930s, Tok Pisin was being used in educational books on Manus Island (Mühlhäusler 1979c:125-237).

The first Tok Pisin periodical was published by the Alexishafen mission, *Frend bilong Mi*, a monthly magazine of stories and songs which began publication in 1935. It continued, except for the war years, until 1952. From the Vunapope mission came the monthly journal *Katolik: Buk long Tok Pitsin*, published in 1940-41. It continued after the war as the *Katolik Nius*.

The Methodist and Lutheran missions also began publishing materials during the 1930s. Although all the various missions developed orthographies for their publications, they did not standardise these orthographies among themselves. Thus, each mission used a different system (see Wurm, Writing systems and the orthography of Tok Pisin (2.5) in this volume). Some of the differences between the systems used in early publications can be seen in Figure 1:

current standard	1 Catholic (Alexishafen) 1935	2 Catholic (Vunapope) 1940	3 Methodist (Rabaul) 1936	4 Lutheran (Madang) 1938
antap <i>up, above</i>	ontop	antap	on top	antap
arere <i>next to</i>	arere	harere	-	-
bikpela <i>big</i>	bigfelo	bikpela	biq fela	big fela
bilong <i>of</i>	bilong	belong	bilog	beloŋ
bihain <i>behind</i>	bihaind	bihain	biaind	bihain
dispela <i>this</i>	disfelo	despela	dis fela	-
diwai <i>tree</i>	divai	divai	diwai	-
giaman <i>lie</i>	gamon	gijaman	qaman	geman
graun <i>ground</i>	graund	giraon	qraun	geraun
gutpela <i>good</i>	gudfelo	gutpela	qud fela	-
helpim <i>hear</i>	hirim	harim	hirim	harem
helpim <i>help</i>	helpim	halipim	helpim	helpem
husat <i>who</i>	huset	husat	usdat	husat
kisim <i>take</i>	kichim	kisim	kesim	-
long <i>to, at</i>	long	long	alog	loŋ
olgeta <i>all</i>	olgeder	ologeta	oltugeta	olgetta
olsem <i>like</i>	olsem	olosem	olsem	olsem
orait <i>O.K.</i>	orait	olrait	olrait	-
painim <i>look for</i>	fiandim	painim	faindim	-
pinis <i>finished</i>	finish	pinis	finis	-
planti <i>plenty</i>	plenti	palanti	plenti	planti
ples <i>village</i>	ples	peles	ples	-
pret <i>afraid</i>	fred	poret	fred	fred
samting <i>thing</i>	samting	samting	samtig	samtiŋ
sapos <i>if</i>	supos	sopos	supos	-
save <i>know</i>	save	sabe	savi	sawe
tasol <i>only</i>	tasol	tasol	dasol	tasol
tumas <i>very</i>	tumas	tumas	tumats	tumas
wanem <i>what</i>	wotnem	vonem	watnem	wanem
wantaim <i>with</i>	wantaim	vantaim	-	wontaim
wara <i>water</i>	water	vara	wota	-
yu <i>you</i>	yu	ju	iu	ju

1 *Frend bilong Mi*
2 *Katolik: Buk long Tok Pitsin*
3 *A Methodist hymn book and catechism in Pidjin English*
4 *Siŋ siŋ buk*

Figure 1: Comparison of spelling from four mission publications

6.3.1.2 World War II

Written Tok Pisin was first used for mass communication when World War II struck New Guinea. Millions of propaganda leaflets written in Tok Pisin were dropped all over New Guinea by both the Allies and the Japanese (Mühlhäusler 1979c:95). Because of the educational efforts of the missions prior to the war, many people could read these leaflets. But during the war many more people were exposed to written Tok Pisin than had been before. Furthermore, the war was the first time that the written language was used extensively for communication outside religious spheres.

The leaflets used a variety of orthographies, some based on those of the missions as illustrated in Figure 1, others mixtures. Here are two examples from the Allies (from McDonald, ed. 1976b):

(2) MAN BILONG LIKLIK BUKA NAU BIK BUKA

Yu harim tok bilong guvmen.

Yu save, disfelo Japan im ino masta i olsem kanaka. Im tu i save wokim poison. Ol i laik bakerup im yufelo.

Im i laik rausim olgeter stron felo man nau gifim bel long ol meri nau susa bilong yu. Olsem behain nau olgeter giraun nau coconus nau saksak i bilong pikanini bilong Japan ...

[PEOPLE OF SMALL BUKA AND BIG BUKA

Listen to what the government says.

You know this Japanese is not like the whitemen, but like natives. He also knows sorcery. He wants to harm you all.

He wants to get rid of all the strong men and get your wives and sisters pregnant. Thus, all land and coconuts and sago will belong to their children.]

- (3) Nau dasol bikpapa balus bilog iumi iqat por insin iqo log Kavieng na painim manua bilog lapan istap log pasis. Ol manua i laek sutim balus bilog iumi dasol ino inap. Ol i porpaia natig ...

[Just now our four-engine planes went to Kavieng to get the Japanese warships which were in the passage. The warships tried to shoot down our planes, but they couldn't. They missed ...]

The following is an extract from a leaflet dropped by the Japanese (McDonald, ed. 1976b):

(4) TOKTOK LONG OLGETA MAN

LONG TAIM BOLONG NIPPON

TENNO-HEIKA (naim bolong bikpala King bolong Nippon) em i bikpala King bolong olgeta peles bolong lapan, em i gat gutpala tingting na sori tumas long iupala olgeta long dispala peles long ol pasin bilong ol Ingilis na ol Amerika. Nau em King bolong Nippon i salim ol Manovo na ol soldia bolong en i kam long dispala peles bolong iupala, long tikue iupala long pasin nogut ol mekim long iupala ...

[ANNOUNCEMENT TO ALL PEOPLE.

IN THE REIGN OF NIPPON

TENNO-HEIKA (the name of the emperor of Nippon), the emperor of all Japan, sends good tidings and is very sorry for what the English and the Americans have done to you of this place. Now the emperor is sending a warship and soldiers here to take you away from the evils they are doing to you.]

6.3.1.3 The postwar period

The effectiveness of the use of Tok Pisin in written mass communication during the war was realised by education and administration officials. Thus, after the war, they started the first Tok Pisin newspapers. The most important of these were the *Rabaul News* (1946-49) and the *Lae Garamut* (1947-56). Others were the shorter-lived *Lagasai* (Kavieng 1947-48), *Buka News* (1948-49), *Madang Matau* (ca.1948 and 1952) and *Wewak News* (ca.1948). They were all mimeographed weeklies.

The content of these newspapers was clearly intended for indigenous speakers of Tok Pisin rather than for Europeans, as is evident in this passage from *Lagasai* (13/3/1948:3):

- (5) I bin gat trabal i kamap Kavieng long ol neitivs i save ron nabaut long wili-wil insaid long taon, na oli no save lukaut or fasim gud lap-lap bilong ol. Tinktink gut bihain long fasim gud lap-lap bilong iu sapos iu laik ron long wili-wil insaid long taon long Kavieng.

[There has been some trouble in Kavieng with natives riding bicycles in town and not being careful to put on their loincloths well. From now on remember to make sure your loincloth is on securely if you want to ride a bicycle in Kavieng town.]

Although the circulation of these newspapers was not very high, the content reached many people. Baker (1953:196) describes the situation for the *Rabaul News* as follows:

At the beginning of 1950, about 950 copies of the paper were being brought out each Friday night - on a Gestetner. The reading public of these 950 copies was estimated at "at least eighty thousand". An Administration officer told me, "I myself have seen natives in outlying districts gathering in the hundreds to hear one man reading from a single copy."

However, the newspapers used many English words and English spellings of Tok Pisin words (see Hall 1955b:96). According to Mühlhäusler (1979g:12) this reflected a policy of trying to gradually change Tok Pisin to English by introducing an increasing number of English words. It may also reflect the lack of standardised spelling systems. The use of English is evident in the following two examples. The first is from the *Rabaul News* (XI,12:1):

- (6) Bilong harim ol choirs long Semi-final [go] long hap bilong Council yet, na baimbai Kiap i ken makim olsem tiri(3)pela Adjudicators bilong go harim ol, na ol i ken makim ol despela choirs bilong go kamap long final or last raun bilong choir competition.

[In order to hear the choirs in the semi-final, go to the council chambers, and the government officer will choose three adjudicators to go listen to them, and they will choose the choirs who will go into the final round of the choir competition.]

The second example is from the *Madang Matau* (I,1:3 [1952]):

- (7) Colonel Murray i lukim palanti nativeman, luluais, na counsilman bilong palanti peles istop closetu.

[Colonel Murray has seen many natives, chiefs, and councilmen from many nearby villages.]

Furthermore, the different newspapers that did try to follow a standard Tok Pisin orthography still used different systems, as illustrated in Figure 2. National standardisation did not occur until later.

		<i>Lagasai</i>	<i>Lae Garamut</i>	<i>Rabaul News</i>
bikpela	<i>big</i>	bigfala	bigpela	bigpela
dispela	<i>this</i>	desfela	dispela	dispela
diwai	<i>tree</i>	diwai	divai	diwai
graun	<i>ground</i>	giraon	giraon	giraun
gutpela	<i>good</i>	gudfala	gudpela	gudpela
helpim	<i>help</i>	halawim	(h)alivim	(h)alivim
husat	<i>who</i>	usat	husat	husat
kirap	<i>start</i>	kirap	gerap	gerap
kisim	<i>take</i>	kesim	kesim	kesim
painim	<i>look for</i>	fainim	painim	painim
paitim	<i>strike</i>	faitim	faitim	paitim
planti	<i>plenty</i>	plandi	palanti	plandi
ples	<i>village</i>	pleis	peles	pleis
pret	<i>afraid</i>	fret	poret	faret
sapos	<i>if</i>	sapos	sapos	sopos
wanem	<i>what</i>	wanem	onem	wanem
yu	<i>you</i>	iu	yu	yu

Figure 2: Examples of spelling from postwar newspapers, 1948

6.3.1.4 Standardisation

In 1955 the first attempt was made to standardise the language on the national level to avoid variations exemplified in the examples and figures above. The standardisation process is described in detail by Mihalic (1975), Wurm (1975 and this volume), and Wurm, Mühlhäusler and Laycock (1977). But even though the proposed standard orthography was accessible in the official Department of Education (1956) publication and in Mihalic's (1957) *Grammar and dictionary of Neo-Melanesian*, it was still not used consistently in the printed media.

All the regional postwar newspapers had ceased publication by 1959, but they were superseded by other newspapers which were printed rather than mimeographed, and more widely distributed. The first was the Tok Pisin version of *Our News* called *Nius bilong Yumi*. It was put out by the Department of Information and

Extension Services from 1959 to 1982. However, this government publication, as well as others, did not adhere to the newly proposed standard orthography (see Wurm, this volume (2.5)).

Another newspaper printed in tabloid form appeared in 1960. This was the *Pidgin English News*, the weekly supplement to the *Lae New Guinea Times-Courier*. In 1962 it became the *Nu Gini Toktok* which continued until 1970. At that time it had a circulation of over 5000, and was widely distributed throughout the New Guinea region. Unlike the government publications, this newspaper tried to follow the proposed standard orthography, although at times it did use some anglicised spelling and vocabulary.

The *Pidgin English News* and *Nu Gini Toktok* contain examples of what have emerged as features of contemporary Media Tok Pisin: extensive use of bin as a past tense marker and use of husat as a relative pronoun (see section 6.3.2.1). For example:

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>(8) Mista Kapena i tok se em i bin
lukim plenti Hanuabada i drink
wantaim narapela pipal bilong
arapela vilis ...
(4/10/1962:13)</p> | <p><i>Mr Kapena said he has seen many
Hanuabadans drinking with people
from other villages.</i></p> |
| <p>(9) Welfea ofisa Mr Guthrie, husat
i bin lukautim wok bilong
welfea long Sepik na Wewak ...
(4/10/1962:13)</p> | <p><i>Welfare officer Mr Guthrie, who
looked after welfare in the
Sepik and Wewak ...</i></p> |

Note, however, the use of tok se to introduce quotations which is no longer found in the mass media.

Another now uncommon usage is that of baimbai as the future marker. It was used in the *Pidgin English News* but was later replaced with its reduced form bai in the *Nu Gini Toktok*.

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>(10) Na taim mitupela ikam bek baim-
bai mi lusim Misiel long Brisbane
na mi wanpela tasol baimbai igo
ken long Rabaul.
(26/4/1961:1)</p> | <p><i>When we come back, I'll leave
Misiel in Brisbane and I'll
go to return to Rabaul alone.</i></p> |
|--|---|

In 1962, another periodical began publication using the standard orthography. This was the monthly church magazine, the *New Guinea Lutheran*, from Madang. It is still being published, but has been the *Niugini Luteran* since 1974. This periodical made use of a modified standard orthography which was later used for the Tok Pisin translation of the New Testament, published in 1968. This orthography was subsequently adopted by all religious organisations in the country, but not by the government.

Other Tok Pisin periodicals which started in the 1960s were *Wastaua* (1963), a monthly Tok Pisin version of the Jehovah's Witnesses publication *The Watchtower*, and the weekly *United Nations Nius na Nots long Tok Pisin* (1967), put out by the U.N. Information Centre for Papua New Guinea, Port Moresby. Periodicals which combined English and Tok Pisin material were *Kumul* (1966), quarterly, Police Association of Papua and New Guinea; *Bougainville Copper Bulletin* (1967), bi-monthly; *Kundu* (1968), monthly, Catholic Press, Vunapope; and *Nius long Gavman bilong Australia* (1969), quarterly, Department of External Territories, Canberra.

6.3.1.5 The period since 1970

The new decade saw the end of the *Nu Gini Toktok* but the establishment of two other widely distributed newspapers using Tok Pisin, both of which are still running. One is the political party newspaper, *Pangu Pati Nius*. The other is the more important *Wantok*, then published fortnightly, now weekly, with a circulation of over 10,000. The importance of this publication is summed up in its style book, *Stail buk bilong Wantok Niuspepa* (n.d.:2):

It is imperative for us at Wantok to write and spell correct Tok Pisin because unofficially we are considered the norm for usage and spelling throughout the country. Whether we like it or not, we are setting the standards for Tok Pisin writing, simply because no one else writes and prints as much material as we do in Tok Pisin. And what we write is spread all over the country.

Section 6.3.2 contains examples of writing from *Wantok* and a further description of its policies.

6.3.1.6 Tok Pisin in radio broadcasting

The first radio broadcasts in Tok Pisin were made during World War II in 1944 from a station set up by the Allies in Port Moresby. Until the end of the war, there were approximately one and a half hours a day of broadcasts for the indigenous people of Papua New Guinea (Toogood 1978:285).

After the war in 1946, the Australian Broadcasting Commission (ABC) started the Port Moresby station, 9PA. However, Tok Pisin was used only for news broadcasts twice a day. Programs aimed at Papua New Guineans were generally in simple English, prepared by the Department of Education.

In 1956, responsibility for these programs was taken over by the Social Development Branch of the Department of Native Affairs. At that time there were still only a little more than seven hours a week of broadcasting meant for Papua New Guineans. Of this time, 30 per cent was in Tok Pisin, 30 per cent in Hiri Motu, 16 per cent in English, and the rest in various indigenous languages (Mackay 1976:13-14).

The number of hours of broadcasting in Tok Pisin increased with the establishment of district short wave stations. The first at Rabaul began operating in 1961, and others soon followed (see Figure 3). By 1973 there were stations in 12 districts and approximately 75,000 radio receivers in the country (Toogood 1978:287). The daily listening audience was approximately 340,000 (Mackay 1976:165).

In December 1973, the National Broadcasting Commission (NBC) was established, paving the way for more Papua New Guinean programmers and announcers, and more use of Tok Pisin, especially on the district level.

Today Tok Pisin is heard extensively on 15 of the 19 provincial radio stations. Nine of these broadcast in Tok Pisin almost exclusively. Five use Tok Pisin along with various indigenous languages. One uses it in addition to English and Hiri Motu (see Figure 3). Although English remains the main language of the national service, Tok Pisin is used not only in news broadcasts, but also in some interviews and advertisements. It can also be heard in the broadcasts of parliamentary debates and sporting events.

Province	location	year started	languages used*
Central	P. Moresby	1973	TP E HM
Chimbu	Kundiawa	1973	TP
East New Britain	Rabaul	1961	TP LL
East Sepik	Wewak	1963	TP
Eastern Highlands	Goroka	1971	TP LL
Enga	Wabag	1977	TP LL
Gulf	Kerema	1964	HM
Madang	Madang	1971	TP
Manus	Lorengau	1975	TP
Milne Bay	Alotau**	1972	E HM
Morobe	Lae	1971	TP
New Ireland	Kavieng	1973	TP
North Solomons	Kieta	1968	TP
Northern	Popondetta	1972	E HM LL
Southern Highlands	Mendi	1973	TP LL
West New Britain	Kimbe	1973	TP
West Sepik	Vanimo	1976	TP
Western	Daru	1965	E HM
Western Highlands	Mt. Hagen	1966	TP LL

*TP = Tok Pisin, E = English, HM = Hiri Motu, LL = Local indigenous languages. Note: LL are used by more stations now than in 1975.

**The Milne Bay station was previously at Samarai, est. 1967.

Figure 3: Provincial radio stations
(based on Mackay 1976:167-175)

6.3.2 THE LINGUISTIC FEATURES OF CONTEMPORARY MEDIA TOK PISIN

This section describes the linguistic features of the variety of Tok Pisin used in the mass media (MTP). It shows how some of these features represent an innovative force on the language as a whole, while others represent a conservative force. It also looks at the influence of English.

6.3.2.1 The innovative side of Media Tok Pisin

Many of the distinctive features of MTP, in comparison with spoken varieties, can be attributed to differences between oral (face to face) communication and mass communication in general (see Siegel 1981 and Akinnaso 1982). The language used in mass communication must be more explicit because of the lack of information communicated by aural and visual cues in face to face communication. For example, in both writing and broadcasting visual cues such as gestures, facial expressions, posture, and distance are missing. And in writing prosodic cues such as intonation and pitch are lacking. Furthermore, because of the distance involved in mass communication, it cannot rely on information from familiar setting or shared cultural knowledge of speakers and listeners. This explicitness comes through a wider vocabulary and increased grammatical complexity.

Such lexical and grammatical expansion, however, has also been reported for creolised varieties of Tok Pisin, for example, in Mühlhäusler 1977b and Sankoff 1977a. Thus, it is not always easy to distinguish innovations of the mass media from those of creolisation.

One feature of MTP, however, that does clearly distinguish it from other varieties is the frequent use of long complex sentences. While most writing in Tok Pisin has avoided such complexity, MTP, especially in *Wantok*, has not. Here is an example:

- (11) Primia Andrew Komboni bilong Wes Sepik i bin tok, bihain long lukluk raun bilong ol long ol boda developmen projek bai ol i bringim kamap sampela long ol samting ya ol i ting i bikpela tru long ai bilong gavman na pipel bilong Papua Niugini long taim ol i holim bikpela kibung bilong olgeta primia long insait long Papua Niugini long Madang long Mun Me long dispela yia yet.

West Sepik Premier Andrew Komboni said, after their tour of development projects along the border, that they would bring up some of these issues which they think are important to the government and people of Papua New Guinea when they hold the Premiers' Conference in Madang in May this year.

(466:2)

Another distinct feature of MTP is the frequent use of two optional subordinate clause markers: the relative pronouns *husat* and *we*. In other written Tok Pisin and in uncreolised spoken varieties, clauses postmodifying a NP are generally unmarked, as in the following examples:

- (12) I gat planti mama i no bihainim pasin tumbuna.
- (13) Mi save dispela ples yu go longen.

There are a lot of mothers who don't follow tradition.

I know [the place] where you're going.

(233:7)

(1973:139)

In MTP *husat* *who* is used as a relative pronoun to introduce the relative clause modifying the NP head which is the subject of the embedded sentence. Some examples are:

- (14) Nau PNG i gat Gavana Jeneral, Sir Tore Lokoloko, husat i makim kwin insait long PNG.
- (15) Ol man husat i gat dispela sik bilong bia i ken ringim ALKOHOLIKS ANONIMAS long Mosbi ...
- (16) Ol lain husat bai kam long dispela woksop bai kisim moa skul long accounting.

Now PNG has the Governor General, Sir Tore Lokoloko, who represents the queen in PNG.

Men who are suffering from alcoholism can ring Alcoholics Anonymous in Port Moresby ...

Those who will come to this workshop will learn more about accounting.

(RM 21/5/1981)

This construction has also been adopted by those writing letters to the editor in *Wantok*:

- (17) *Planti taim mi save harim long redio olsem, man husat i save miksिम tok inglis wantaim tok pisin.* (269:4) *Many times I hear on the radio men who mix English with Tok Pisin.*
- (18) *Mi laik bekim pas bilong brata ya, Y. Have, husat i bin rait long Wantok Niuspepa long wik i go pinis ...* (466:6) *I'd like to answer the letter of brother Y. Have, who wrote to Wantok Newspaper last week ...*

The use of this construction is also found in other public media. For example, the following announcement was heard over the public address system at Port Moresby's Jackson Airport (25 August, 1981):

- (19) *Narapela singaut i go long pasindia Dama husat bai i go long flait 826. Inap yu go long sekin kaunta.* *Another call for passenger Dama, who is going on flight 826. Can you go to the check-in counter.*

Mühlhäusler (1977b:573) reports a similar construction sometimes found in creolised Tok Pisin which he says is 'anglicised'. However, the English derivation of this construction has now been obscured. In example (17) above, the writer uses the *husat* relative construction in a letter complaining about people mixing English and Tok Pisin. Furthermore, the MTP *husat* can refer to certain [-human] nouns, unlike the English *who*, as in the following examples:

- (20) *East New Britain em wanpela long ol tripela Provinces husat i bin kisim ful pawa bilong em yet.* (RM 29/6/1981) *East New Britain is one of the three provinces which has got complete power for itself.*
- (21) *Dispela liklik sik bilong Melbon Kap tasol i paulim planti wok manmeri insait long biktaun bilong PNG husat i gat haus bet.* (442:2) *This 'Melbourne Cup fever' has fouled up many working people in the cities of PNG which have horseracing betting shops.*

The [-human] nouns which can be relativised with *husat*, however, might be considered [+human] collective nouns in Tok Pisin: for example, *provins province*, *biktaun city*, *kantri country*, and *kampani company*. Other [-human] nouns are usually relativised with *we* in MTP as follows:

- (22) *Long dispela wik yumi harim ripot bilong Odita Jeneral we i soim olsem planti ol bikman na ol gavman dipatmen i nogat gutpela risen long spendim pablik mani.* (437:2) *This week we heard the Auditor General's report which showed that many leaders and government departments don't have good reasons for spending public money.*

- (23) Dispela wanpela wik campaign we
bai stat long narapela wik
Mande, bai go wantaem long soim
piksa bilong malaria ...
(RM 30/6/1981)
- This one week campaign, which
will start a week from Monday,
will include showing films about
malaria.*
- (24) Ol dispela pis i ken daunim ol
kain kaikai we ol manmeri i
save givim long pik o kakaruk
na pato.
(469:4)
- These fish can reduce the food
which people give to pigs or
chickens and ducks.*
- (25) Yalamet Community Village
organisation i papa long haus
we han bilong bank bai i stap.
(RM 30/6/1981)
- The Yalamet Community Village
organisation owns the house where
the bank branch will be.*
- (26) Pater Lini i tok olsem kantri
bilong em i no sainim wanpela
tok orait we em i ken kisim ol
ranaweman i go long Vanuatu.
(437:3)
- Father Lini says that his country
hasn't signed any agreement by
which he can take refugees into
Vanuatu.*
- (27) Long tupela yia olgeta, rait ai
bilong Kanat Mbuseh i bin pas
olgeta i stap inap long mun
Oktoba we em inap lukluk gen
long tupela ai bilong em.
(445:4)
- For two full years Kanat Mbuseh's
right eye was completely blind
until October when he could see
again with both eyes.*

When *we* is used as an adjunct of place, the relative clause can also be of the "pronoun-retention type" (Comrie 1981:140), for example:

- (28) I gat planti ples balus we Des
7 balus na ol liklik balus
nabaut i save pundaun long en.
(469:3)
- There are many airstrips where
the Dash 7 and other small planes
land.*

Two authors have reported examples of the use of *we* in relative clauses in spoken creolised Tok Pisin: "em i bin krosim pikinini we i no winim praimer i skul *he was cross with the child who did not complete primary school*" (Mühlhäusler 1977b:572) with a human NP head; *we* is otherwise restricted to relative clauses with non-human heads or ones which have an adverbial function.

Another way of marking relative clauses in creolised Tok Pisin has been reported by Sankoff (Sankoff and Brown 1976, Sankoff 1977a) and cited by many linguists (although it is not widespread). This is 'ia bracketing', setting off the boundaries of a relative clause with *ia* (or *ya*). Again, this construction is not found in MTP.

However, other examples of increased grammatical complexity reported in creolised Tok Pisin are also features of MTP. These are mainly in the development of obligatory grammatical categories of tense, aspect, and number. First

is the use of *bai* as an obligatory future marker (Sankoff and Laberge 1973). Here are some examples from MTP:

- (29) *Ol i tok bai ol i lusim mani*
long wanem pe bilong balus bai
go daun.
 (469:2) *They say they'll lose money*
because the air fares are going
down.
- (30) *Bai i gat ol lain blong lukluk*
tu bai istap long dispela
woksap ...
 (RM 30/6/1981) *There will also be some observers*
who will be at the workshop.

Second is the use of *bin* as a marker of past tense, which, according to Mühlhäusler, was popularised by radio announcers (reported in Dutton 1973:79). This usage is especially common in news reports (as is the perfective in English) both on radio broadcasts and in *Wantok*, for example:

- (31) *Tasol bihain long dispela taim*
planti pipel i bin toktok planti
long senisim dispela. Long taim
ol i bin autim Somare long gav-
man long 1980, planti pipel na
ol primia i bin toktok strong
long senisim kain gavman em
kantri i gat nau.
But after this time many people
discussed changing this. When
they ousted Somare from the
government in 1980, many people
and the premiers emphasised
changing the kind of government
we have now.

Third is the increasing tendency to mark all plural nouns, especially animate nouns, with the plural marker *ol* even when plurality is expressed by other quantifiers (Mühlhäusler 1977b, 1981a). This can be seen in examples (20) and (22), and in the following:

- (32) *Ol tripela kampani hia ...*
 (100:13) *These three companies ...*
- (33) *Ol sampela soldia long Mosbi i*
pait gen ...
 (437:4) *Some soldiers in Port Moresby*
fought again ...
- (34) *... sik i no ken kamap long*
planti ol pipol ...
 (RM 30/6/1981) *... the disease won't affect*
many people.
- (35) *Mr Moromoro itok ol dispela ol*
senis inap long igo daun long
ol high skuls ...
 (RM 30/6/1981) *Mr Moromoro says these changes*
can go down to the high schools ...

Another way of marking plural has appeared in urban and anglicised varieties of spoken Tok Pisin: the use of the English plural marker *-s* (Hall 1955b:99; Mühlhäusler 1979f:237, 1981a:58-60). This usage is commonly heard on radio broadcasts, as pointed out by Lynch (1979:5): "Thus one hears, on the radio especially, *ol ministas, ol tisas, ol studens* and so on." Some examples from scripts of radio news broadcasts, in addition to (20) and (35) above, are: *ol posters* and *developments* (RM 30/6/1981). In the printed mass media, however, this usage is avoided.

In addition to grammatical expansion, MTP is also characterised by lexical expansion, as many new lexical items are introduced to deal with the increased scope of topics in the mass media. Many new words have been coined from Tok Pisin elements, such as ranaweman *refugee*, grismani *bribe*, stapwok *strike*, and wansolwara *fellow Pacific Islander* (see also Laycock 1977b). However, most new items are straight borrowings from English, despite efforts to limit them, described in the next section.

The use of synonym pairs in the mass media to introduce new lexical items has been described in detail by Mühlhäusler (1979g). New items are paired with a more familiar word or expression using *o or*. This is one of the most salient features of MTP. Two examples are:

- (36) Madang i gat nupela Haus Tambaran o Kalsa Senta. *Madang has a new Haus Tambaran or Culture Centre.*
(375:5)
- (37) Tasol i no long ol paket o karamap we planti pipel i save laik long baim. *But it's not in packets or coverings in which many many people like to buy it.*
(442:3)

In many instances, however, a new item is introduced without the benefit of explanation or synonym pairs, for example:

- (38) Nek bilong ol meri long gras-rut level i bin kamap bikpela na strong tru ... *The voices of the women at the grass-roots level came out really big and strong.*
(469:2)

This is especially frequent in news broadcasts where there is wholesale introduction of English words. For example, the following can be found in the script of one broadcast (RM 30/6/1981): teknikol edukesen *technical education*, karikum *curriculum*, kolis stadis *college studies*, institusen *institution*, ol agency *agencies*, woksop *workshop*, and ol energy project *energy projects*.

6.3.2.2 The conservative side of MTP

The preceding section showed grammatical and lexical innovations which may be the result of the greater scope of use and required explicitness of language used for mass communication. On the other hand, such language in some aspects is more conservative than other varieties.

First, there is the influence of the written channel. When a language is standardised and written, it is also to some extent frozen in time. The orthography that is developed for a language may be phonemic at first, but because of standardisation it does not change to reflect the phonological changes that are taking place in the spoken language. Thus, the oral and written codes begin to diverge.

For example, morphophonemic change resulting from phonological reduction in varieties of spoken Tok Pisin has been reported by several authors (Hall 1955b:99, Sankoff and Laberge 1973:36, Aitchison 1981:203). The most detailed account is Lynch (1979). He shows how long is realised as /lo/ or /l:/, bilong as /blo/, mitupela as /mitla/, and the resulting changes in NP morphology.

He also shows how *save* and *laik* have become aspect prefixes /sa/ and /la/. These changes, and others of a similar nature, are not reflected in written Tok Pisin. Thus, published mass media have no part in promoting such changes.

Second, there is the influence of standardisation and planning. The standard Tok Pisin used in the mass media is based on rural rather than the urban sociolect (Mühlhäusler 1975e, 1979f). Because of the influence of English, western culture, and creolisation, the urban sociolect is becoming more unlike the rural standard. Thus, at least for speakers of urban Tok Pisin, the language of the mass media represents a conservative influence.

The policy of *Wantok* is outlined in the *Stail buk* (p.13):

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

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

(39) rural	urban	English
bungim	kolektim	<i>collect</i>
pasin	kastem	<i>custom</i>
meri	gel	<i>girl</i>
gat	hevim	<i>have</i>
kamapim	groim	<i>grow</i>
stapwok	straik	<i>strike</i>
paitim	nokim	<i>knock</i>
stretim	levelim	<i>level</i>
lusim wok	risain	<i>resign</i>
tok nogut	swea	<i>swear</i>

The published mass media are more conservative than the broadcasting media as far as the use of rural Tok Pisin is concerned. The use of the urban or anglicised -s plural in radio broadcasts has been described above. This use is proscribed in the *Stail buk* (p.12): "It is incorrect to add an 's' to Tok Pisin words as a pluraliser. E.g. ol gels." Furthermore, although news broadcasts are read from scripts written largely in standard orthography, pronunciations may reflect some of the phonological changes of creolised Tok Pisin as described above. The non-standard spelling blong in example (30) is probably indicative of its pronunciation.

The use of many English words in news broadcasts has also been described above. But in the same broadcast the rural alternatives in the following list were used rather than the urban ones:

(40) rural	urban	English
sumatin	studen	<i>student</i>
bungwantaim	konpresn	<i>conference</i>
sindaun	laif	<i>way of life</i>
han	brens	<i>branch (of a bank)</i>
hamamas	hepi	<i>happy</i>

Thus, at least the attempt is being made to use some rural forms that might not otherwise be heard by urban listeners.

The policies of *Wantok* have also helped to keep the written language from diverging too far from the spoken. As mentioned in section 6.3.1.3, newspapers are often read out to large groups. Thus, the number of people exposed to the written Tok Pisin of newspapers is far greater than circulation or literacy figures would indicate. *Wantok* is well aware of this fact, as stated in the *Stail buk* (p.6): "The basic assumption behind all Tok Pisin writing is that it is going to be read aloud." The following suggestions are made:

The best norm to follow in Tok Pisin writing is this: write each sentence in such a way that a Pisin speaker can pick it up and read it aloud correctly the first time he sees it. The writer ... must write it the way a Pisin speaker would SAY it. (pp.6-7)

After a direct quotation is finished, it is good to continue with some word that lets the listener (more than the reader) know that the direct speech is ended. E.g. Em i tok, "Mi go nau." Orait, nau em i kirap i go. (p.9)

Another example of *Wantok's* policy is the decision made at a staff meeting in 1979 to use *ya* more frequently in order to make the written Tok Pisin more like the spoken (Siegel 1981:28). It is used as a general deictic marker or for emphasis. Most often it serves to focus on a NP which has already been referred to, as in example (11), or one which is followed by an appositive, as in example (18). Other examples are (44) below and the following:

(41) Nau yumi lukim: ol memba ya ol
i lida o nogat?

(436:2)

*Now we'll see: are these members
[of parliament] leaders or not?*

(42) Yupela mas bungim Mista Somare
na miting wantaim em na toktok
long tupela minista ya, Tony
Bais na Pita Lus.

(446:6)

*You all must meet Mr Somare and
hold discussions with him and
these ministers, Tony Bais and
Pita Lus.*

Attempts to keep written Tok Pisin like the spoken can also be seen in the use of interjections and conversational colloquial language, especially captions to photographs:

(43) Oloman! Ol meri tu i no isi
isi. Ol i sanap klostu klostu
long ples bilong bet.

(442:2)

*Man! The women too didn't hold
back. They crowded around the
betting place.*

(44) Aiyo yupela, em Titus Tilly, na
em wanpela kameraman bilong
Wantok Niuspepa ya. Lukim em,
baga ya i kaikai tang nating.
Wok bilong ol meri ya lusim
stap bro.

(466:1)

*Oh, you all, this is Titus Tilly,
and he's a cameraman for Wantok
newspaper. Look at him, the bugger
is biting his tongue for nothing.
Leave the women's work alone,
brother.*

6.3.2.3 The influence of English

The large number of English words used in news broadcasts has been mentioned in the preceding section. In addition, despite attempts to use mainly rural vocabulary in *Wantok*, many words from anglicised urban Tok Pisin are coming in. For instance, some words formerly considered urban become widely known enough to be considered rural, and thus used in newspapers. The following examples are listed in the *Stail buk* (p.14): *skwata squatter*, dropout *dropout*, *wimins klap women's club*, and *pilaia player*. But also, use of the recommended rural alternatives is far from consistent. For example, in the following list the urban alternatives are commonly used:

(45) rural	urban	English
bosman	menesa	<i>manager</i>
gohet	progres	<i>progress</i>
kibung	miting	<i>meeting</i>
as	risen	<i>reason</i>
tok gris	edvetaismen	<i>advertisement</i>
mak	boda	<i>border</i>
opisa	eksekyutiv	<i>executive</i>
askim	eplikesen	<i>application</i>

Finally, even in *Wantok* there is more English text being used. Current editions contain an English supplement from the College of External Studies. And more and more advertisements are using English. For example, *Wantok* 115 (30/4/1975) had ten advertisements, all completely in Tok Pisin. *Wantok* 466 (30/4/1983) had 23 advertisements, seven completely in Tok Pisin, ten completely in English, and six using both languages.

As pointed out by Piniâu (1975a:93), most of those literate in Tok Pisin also have a great deal of exposure to English since English has been the main language of education. It could be that with increased mass education along with urbanisation, the importance of Tok Pisin, at least in the printed mass media, will diminish. However, with the establishment of rural Tok Pisin schools, *Wantok* may continue to be an important means of communication, especially in rural areas. And Tok Pisin will almost certainly continue as the most important language of radio broadcasting in rural areas.

To summarise, in the mass media at present there is a balance between the use of standard rural Tok Pisin and the introduction of innovations from anglicised urban Tok Pisin. If this balance can be maintained, the mass media will play a major role in keeping these two varieties mutually intelligible.

