

# EARLY LANGUAGE CONTACT BETWEEN TOLAI, PIDGIN AND ENGLISH IN THE LIGHT OF ITS SOCIOLINGUISTIC BACKGROUND (1875-1914)

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## 0. INTRODUCTION

In most parts of Papua New Guinea Pidgin enjoys high prestige today (Wurm 1977:539ff, Sankoff 1972:33ff). So much the more surprising is that the Tolais, who have been in contact with Europeans for the longest time, hold it in rather low esteem. Salisbury remarks (1967:46) that:

for a Tolai to speak Pidgin is very comparable with an English speaker speaking Pidgin; they regard it as a substandard or "bad" version of the "real language" (tinata tuna).

During six months fieldwork in 1978 on Pidgin and English influence on Tolai, I only heard Tolais using Pidgin among themselves in quarrels or when parents were scolding their children. It is regarded as a severe offence, if a Tolai addresses another Tolai in Pidgin, for this would imply treating him as a stranger. This negative attitude towards Pidgin obviously dates back to the beginnings of contact with Europeans and natives from other regions.

## 1. THE SPREADING OF PIDGIN IN THE BISMARCK ARCHIPELAGO

The first Pidgin expressions were brought to the Bismarck Archipelago by traders and whalers. In 1875, when the Methodist missionary George Brown landed at Molot on the Duke of York Islands, he met a few natives who knew already some Pidgin and could serve as interpreters (Threlfall 1975:33, 35). The most important of them, To Pulu, is also mentioned by Powell (1883:58), who visited the archipelago in 1878: "I am King Dick", he said, coming on board. "Where is the captain?" (he spoke really very good English).

But on the Gazelle Peninsula Pidgin was less known. Strauch, who went on the S.M.S. "Gazelle" to New Britain in 1875 reports of his attempt to collect words on Matupit:

Though the natives have been in touch with foreigners on various occasions, they hardly had a noteworthy knowledge of English words, but their patience and intelligence made it possible to take up a rather long series of words (Strauch 1876:406).

When George Brown went to Matupit and Nodup in that same year he had to take Duke of York men with him as interpreters.

The next stage of the development of Pidgin began when European companies were established on the Duke of York Islands and the Gazelle Peninsula:

- 1875 Fa. Godeffroy on Mioko (Duke of York Islands)
- 1877 Fa. Robertson and HERNSHEIM (later HERNSHEIM & Co. on Makada (Duke of York Islands)
- 1878 Fa. Farrell on Mioko (Duke of York Islands),  
Fa. HERNSHEIM moves to Matupit
- 1883 Fa. Farrell establishes the first plantation at Ralum (New Britain, near Kokopo).

By 1883 the knowledge of Pidgin had rapidly increased on Matupit. HERNSHEIM wrote to the linguist Schuchardt (1883:6/154), that though seven years ago (i.e. 1876)

no native understood any European languages, now probably everybody and particularly the children spoke that English in question. He had often even heard natives using this jargon among themselves, when talking about the white men and their matters.

The recruitment of labourers for the German plantations on Samoa started in 1879. In that year 33, in 1880 nine, in 1882 103, in 1883 216 labourers were recruited from the Bismarck Archipelago (Moses 1973: 102, quoted after Mühlhäusler 1975). After 1884, the year of the German annexation, about 250 labourers were sent to Samoa each year. When returning home after three years, they brought back with them the knowledge of Pidgin and helped to spread it throughout the entire archipelago, for, except the Tolais, they were often re-employed on the now increasing number of plantations on the Gazelle (Schnee 1904:133). According to Schnee (1904:370) in 1893 one thousand labourers were recruited and employed in the archipelago itself, i.e. mainly on the Gazelle. The figures for the following years are:

1898	1500 labourers
1901	2500
1902	3323
1903	3435.

At the turn of the century, Pidgin was the usual means of communication in the German capital Herbertshöhe (Hesse-Wartegg 1902:99), and in every village along the coast of New Ireland (Stephan/Graebner 1907:20) up to New Hanover (Schnee 1904:123) and Sandwich Island (Hesse-Wartegg 1902:115) were people who understood Pidgin. Though it is reported that married people from different districts only communicated in Pidgin (Schnee 1904:305), the ethnographers Stephan and Graebner found that it was impossible for them to talk with the natives about topics other than those concerning the relations between natives and Europeans (Stephan and Graebner 1907:20). This leads to the assumption that until then Pidgin was still a very restricted means of communication.

## 2. THE SOCIOCULTURAL SETTING ON THE GAZELLE

Since the linguistic changes due to language contact cannot be understood unless the nature of the contact between the speakers of the relevant languages is known, the relations between Tolais and Europeans, Tolais and other natives and the Europeans among themselves have to be described first. The Tolais, who were living in the political and economic centre of the archipelago, were in contact with

1. other recruited labourers and Europeans on Samoan plantations,
2. recruited labourers from New Ireland and Buka and European traders and government officials on the Gazelle.
3. missionaries on the Gazelle.

Since the implications of the first kind of contact have already been dealt with elsewhere (Mühlhäusler 1975, 1976a, 1976b, Mosel and Mühlhäusler forthcoming), the following investigation will only be concerned with the second and the third type and will examine in addition the relations between traders and missionaries.

The contact of Tolais with government officials, businessmen and recruited labourers from New Ireland and Buka substantially differed from that with the missionaries, as the former kind of contact took place outside the Tolai village, when Tolais worked occasionally with Europeans or met foreigners at the markets, whereas the place of contact with the missionaries was within the village. This two-fold kind of contact had important consequences for the development of Pidgin and Tolai.

### 2.1. TOLAIS, GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS, TRADERS AND RECRUITED LABOURERS

The relationship between Tolais and government officials, traders and labourers was not very close. Tolais did not like working regu-

larly on plantations on the Gazelle for several reasons:

1. The traditional village life required the presence of men and women during numerous feasts.
2. It occurred that plantation workers were beaten, which was regarded as a severe offence by the selfconfident Tolai (Bley according to Hesse-Wartegg 1902:165).
3. In Tolai society it was mainly the women who did agricultural labour, so that Tolai men shrank from doing work on plantations near their villages as it was thought disgraceful for men (Parkinson 1887:92).
4. Since Tolais themselves owned coconut trees, they could easily exchange copra for the few desired European goods such as steel axes. Their economical autonomy and self-sufficiency made it unnecessary for them to do hard work on the plantations. Once the labourers had been imported, a second source of income was the sale of vegetables for their subsistence. Zöllner (1891:298) mentions that a large amount of vegetables was also shipped to the New Guinea mainland (compare Epstein 1969:21).

The Tolais liked, however, to do occasional work as messengers, boat drivers, craftsmen, interpreters and companions on expeditions, and did not object to being recruited as police boys. The German police troop consisted of 70-100 natives from the Gazelle, New Ireland and Buka (Schnee 1904:15, 131, 114, 233; Hesse-Wartegg 1902:105, 165, 154, 155; Schafroth 1916:86f).

But even as members of the police troop, the Tolais did not seem to get on well with the Europeans. Friederici (1911:95) reports on the complaint of a "public official declaring vehemently that he would do anything to rid his police group of every To person in it". But he himself assures us, that he only had the best of experiences:

I would like to stress that I disagree firmly with this opinion which is so widely held in the colony, although it may have elements of justification in some respects. On several occasions I have had quite fine To boys as my companions.

This different experience is not surprising, if one takes into account the Tolais' attitude towards work.

## 2.2. TOLAIS AND MISSIONARIES

While the traders had difficulties in getting accepted by the Tolais and many trading posts were attacked by Tolais, even after the German government had been established (Schnee 1904:79, 158), the missionaries

had greater success. By 1877, only two years after George Brown had landed in Molot, already eleven mission stations were founded on the Gazelle, seven on the Duke of York Islands and five in New Ireland (Threlfall 1975:43). The missionaries, mostly South Pacific Islanders, settled in the villages and were fully supported by the villagers. Since the Tolais had suffered a lot from payback-killings and cannibalism before, the missionaries were welcomed as those who brought the guaranteed peace. The Catholic missionaries followed the Methodists in 1881 and established mission stations and schools as well.

### 2.3. TRADERS AND MISSIONARIES

The relations between traders and missionaries were marked by mutual antipathy. At the beginning of recruitment, the traders took advantage of the natives' ignorance. The natives did not know what the three year contract really meant, i.e. how long they would be bound to stay in Samoa (Parkinson 1887:29), how far away Samoa was from their home and under what conditions they would have to live. When the missionaries started to explain to the natives the full meaning of the contract, recruiting became more difficult. Secondly the missionaries probably were afraid that their work would be less effective, if a great deal of young people stayed away from home for three years and became influenced by Europeans other than church workers.

The recruiter Wawn complains (Wawn 1883/1973:205):

When the boats returned, they brought three recruits, who had been obtained with some difficulty, owing to the opposition of the mission teachers stationed there. Had it not been for them, the boats would have been loaded with recruits. A great number of the younger men were only restrained by force, through the influence of the teachers.

And the German judge Schnee states (Schnee 1904:316):

...the expansion of the Christian mission activity acts as a hindering factor in the enlistment of workers, as they try to keep the converted natives together in Christian communities.

The recruiters on the other hand were heavily accused by the missionaries of supplying the natives with firearms and alcohol and thus reducing the efforts of the mission. Later, when trade with weapons and alcohol was forbidden by the Germans, the reputation of the traders in the missionaries' eyes did not improve. When in 1880 the station of the Forsayth Company was attacked at Kabaira and three whites were killed (Schnee 1904:80), the Methodist missionary Danks sided with the Tolais (Epstein 1969:19).

### 3. LANGUAGE ATTITUDES AND LANGUAGE USAGE

#### 3.1. THE MISSIONARIES

The missionaries first communicated in Pidgin (cf. p.163), but started to learn the vernacular as soon as possible. The Methodist missionary Brown, who was fluent in Fijian and Samoan, quickly mastered the language of Molot and prepared a school primer, the first printed copies of which reached Molot from Sydney in 1879. The first attested Scripture translations in Tolai were made by Danks in 1885. Brown and Danks wrote a dictionary including a grammar of the Duke of York language in 1882, and Rickard a Tolai grammar and dictionary in 1885.

The Catholics followed the example of the Methodists. In 1897 Bley published "Grundzüge der Grammatik der Neu-Pommerischen Sprache an der Nordüste der Gazelle-Halbinsel", i.e. a grammar of the North-coast dialect. The first Catholic dictionary was written by Abel in 1899.

In the beginning both Tolai and the Duke of York language were used as mission languages by the Methodist church, but at the synod in 1896 Tolai was made the lingua franca for the whole district and used in all schools. About 1900 it was reported that Tolai was understood everywhere on the Duke of York Islands and in Southern New Ireland, and that literacy was widespread. Schnee states:

One can make oneself understood with these dialects (i.e. that of the Methodist mission centre Raluana, and the Volavolo dialect used by the Catholic church - U.M.) everywhere in the Gazelle Peninsula, except in Baining and Taulil, even in the Neulauenburg group (i.e. Duke of York Islands) as well as in Süd-Neumecklenburg (South New Ireland) (Schnee 1904:315).

...it was of substantial help that to some extent actual written correspondence could be carried on. Thanks to the missionaries a considerable number of the natives could read and write. Even the old kanaka had adopted this difficult art (Schnee 1904:102).

Little is known of the missionaries' attitude towards Pidgin. But it may be assumed that whoever had once learned Tolai (which was considered to be difficult (Schnee 1904:316) was proud to use it, wherever he could. Gertrud Wenzel, a Methodist missionary in Raluana from 1914 to 1920 told me, that she and her husband, Albert Wenzel, never spoke Pidgin in Raluana.

The Catholic missionary Kleintitschen regarded Pidgin as a "vulgar mixture of English words and some Kanaka expressions" (1906:179).

#### 3.2. THE GERMAN GOVERNMENT, TRADERS AND SETTLERS

When the German government realised that it was impossible to prevent the spread of Pidgin by the introduction of German, it considered making Tolai the lingua franca of the colony:

It would be most desirable, if this language could replace Pidgin English as the colloquial language in the Europeans' communications with the natives and among the natives themselves who speak a different language, because Pidgin is an inferior language and moreover impairs the basically German character of the colony (Schnee 1904:315).

But the arguments against Tolai outweighed those in its favour:

1. It was doubted that Tolai would quickly find acceptance by those natives who did not speak a closely related language (Schnee 1904:306, Friederici 1911:96, Zöllner 1891:421).
2. The German settlers objected to the introduction of Tolai, since Pidgin already was a very practicable means of communication (Kleintitschen 1906:179), and they were not willing to invest any effort in learning the language of the Tolais who in their eyes were nothing else than savages.

### 3.3. THE TOLAIS

The average Tolai villager did not know Pidgin well, so that communication between Tolais and government officials, who only knew Pidgin, was said to be difficult:

The transactions always had to be carried out in the native language, because Pidgin English was only spoken to a small degree among the natives and no other language was spoken at all. At the beginning, until I could make myself understood in the native language to a certain extent, the transactions presented the greatest difficulties for me. There were just a few young Pidgin English speaking policemen who served as translators for me. They themselves came from the Gazelle Peninsula (Schnee 1904:101).

Since this statement concerned the experiences Schnee had as a judge, it may not be concluded that Pidgin was hardly known. On the contrary, it must be assumed that those Tolais involved in trading with Europeans did speak Pidgin pretty well.

The attitude of the Tolais towards Pidgin was determined by two facts:

1. Pidgin was primarily the language of those poor natives who had to work on the plantations, whereas the Tolais could make profit from their own land. The language of the wealthy and powerful Europeans was not Pidgin but English or German, which the Tolais were clever enough to realise. Consequently, Pidgin did not enjoy prestige, but was only regarded as an inferior though necessary means of communication. It was the *tinata vok*, the '*work language*' or *tinata livuan*, the '*inter-language*', i.e. the language that functions as means of communication between different speech-communities.

2. The efforts of the missionaries and the government officials to learn Tolai and the fact that the Bible was translated into their language and not into Pidgin (which would hardly have been possible at that time), filled the Tolais with pride for their language as being superior to Pidgin and possibly to all other natives' languages.

Fry (1977:869) thinks that the name *tinata livuan* was given to Pidgin, because the Tolais felt that structurally it lies between Tolai and English. But this is not the case. During fieldwork in 1978, I asked many Tolais to explain why Pidgin is called *tinata livuan* and I always got the above rendered explanation. Since Tolai and Pidgin are different in structure (see Mosel forthcoming), it is not surprising that I did not hear Fry's interpretation.

#### 4. LINGUISTIC EVIDENCE

Theoretically there are five possible procedures for expressing cultural innovations:

1. derivations from already existent wordstems,
2. circumlocutions,
3. extension of old designatives to imported objects or concepts,
4. onomatopoeica for objects that are characterised by a particular sound,
5. loanwords.

All five possibilities of expression were used in Tolai from the beginning of contact with Europeans. Evidently the first four did not result from the contact between Tolais and plantation workers, since these, apart from a very few exceptions (e.g. Parkinson), did not speak Tolai and thus could not have influenced it. But the missionaries did, and when translating the Bible with the assistance of Tolais, they tried to render all terms which originally had no Tolai counterparts by Tolai formations.

While the Methodist church made extensive use of Tolai formations, the Catholic church introduced more loanwords, e.g.

Methodists		Catholics	Biblical meaning
mon	<i>'native boat without an outrigger'</i>	pot	<i>'boat'</i>
gem	<i>'native pudding made from grated taro and expressed coconut milk'</i>	bret	<i>'bread'</i>
bo na varvai	<i>'good story, speech'</i>	evagelio	<i>'Good News'</i>
varpam	<i>'contempt, defiance'</i>	pekato	<i>'sin'</i>



However, not only the translation work, but also the mere fact that the missionaries lived among the people, was responsible for the invention of Tolai designations for cultural innovations. To conclude, the missionaries' work and the Tolais' antipathy to Pidgin were the extralinguistic motives, on account of which the Tolais resisted the infiltration of Pidgin words.

But nevertheless the creation of new designatives would not have worked so well, if Tolai did not provide some very practicable devices for deriving instrumental nouns, abstract verbal nouns and agent nouns and if there had not been already a simply productive means to form circumlocutions.

Examples:

a) Instrumental nouns are derived by reduplication of verbal bases denoting the instrument used for the action expressed by the verbal base, e.g.

Traditional Terms

tautau	<i>'sticks, which are rubbed together in order to produce fire'</i>
tau	<i>'to rub together, to produce fire'</i>
konokonon	<i>'gullet, throat'</i>
konon	<i>'to swallow'</i>

New Terms

tatata	<i>'radio'</i> (no longer used today, but replaced by English radio)
tata	<i>'to speak'</i>
papapa	<i>'tin or bottle opener'</i> (still in use)
papa	<i>'to open'</i>

Verbal nouns can be derived from verbs by (1) reduplication and (2) the affix /-in-, -un-, ni-/ (the distribution of the allomorphs is phonologically conditioned).

(1) Old Terms

komkom	<i>'the application of the kom-magic'</i>
kom	<i>'to apply the kom-magic'</i>
vavaongo	<i>'lying, lie'</i>
vaongo	<i>'to lie'</i>

New Terms

vavaki	<i>'installation, institution'</i>
vaki	<i>'to make sit down, make exist'</i>
nurnur	<i>'(Christian) belief, faith'</i>
nur	<i>'to believe, to be confident'</i>

(2)	Old Terms
vinarubu	'fight(ing)'
varubu	'hit or kill each other, fight'
tinata	'speech, language'
tata	'to speak'
	New Terms
kinorguvai	'conference'
kor-guvai	'to be in a crowd together'
tinavua	'progress, development'
tavua	'to flourish, grow'

Apart from some verbs like *varubu* 'to fight' the verbal nouns of intransitive verbs derived by *var-* do not formally differ from the verbs, e.g.

varbalaurai	'to be on one's guard; guard'
	(balaure (tr) 'to guard, protect, take care of')
varmari	'to love; love (mari (tr) 'to love')

In modern Tolai *var-* seems to have become a device for deriving verbal nouns from transitive verbs without an intransitive verb being derived from the verbal base, e.g.

vartakun	'accusation'	takun (tr)	'to accuse'
varpilak	'election'	pilak (tr)	'to elect'

Whether this type of derivation goes back to the beginnings of contact, or whether it is a recent development, is not known yet.

Agent nouns are formed by *tena* + verbal noun 'expert in doing something' or *lup* + verbal noun 'somebody who likes to do something very much' e.g.

	Old Terms
tena vinarubu	'fighter' (varubu 'to hit each other')
lup vavaongo	'liar' (vavaongo 'lying'; vaongo 'to lie')
	New Terms
tena tutumu	'secretary' (tumu 'to draw, write', tutumu 'writing')
lup minomo	'drinker, drunkard' (momo 'to drink', minomo 'drinking')

b) The most common type of circumlocutions is to modify a noun by a following noun or verbal noun in order to indicate what the noun referent is used for; the modifying noun is connected with the headnoun by the connective particle *na*, e.g.

	Old Terms
pal na tarai	'house for men, men's house'
rat na en	'basket for fish'

## New Terms

pal na kunukul	'house for trading, store' (kukul 'to trade'. kunukul 'trading')
pia na pal	'place for houses, town'

## c) Extension of old designatives:

	Old Meaning	New Meaning
tumu	'to draw'	'to draw, write'
rat	'basket'	'basket, bag'
mal	'loin-cloth'	'loin-cloth, waist-cloth (laplap) clothes in general'

## d) Onomatopoeica:

pumpum, pedepededet 'motor-bike'

Both words are now replaced by motobaek.

Until the first Scripture translations and other written material have been studied in detail, it is impossible to estimate the role of the missionaries in the creation of new Tolai expressions or to what extent these expressions were invented by the Tolais themselves. But whoever invented the new Tolai terms, they were easily accepted, and most of them are still used today. Thus one can even hear mechanics speaking of a kiki na vinavana 'seat for going', i.e. 'car'. The older Tolais are still proud of their language and often criticise young people using so many fashionable English words.

## e) Loanwords:

The Tolais' antipathy toward Pidgin could not prevent Pidgin words from being introduced into Tolai. However, the total number of those of possible Pidgin or English origin is rather small, and those which unmistakably can be identified as Pidgin loans are very few. Since Tolai originally lacks the phoneme /s/, /s/ is reflected by /t/ in Tolai (today only old people substitute /t/ for /s/).

Pidgin	Loanword in Tolai	English
banis	banit	'enclosure'
paus	paut	'suitcase'
pusi	puti	'cat'
pato	pato	'duck'
bulumakau	bulumakau	'cow'

In some cases, however, it is evident that for semantic or formal reasons English words were directly borrowed by Tolai as a result of the Tolais' contact with the European missionaries. The fact that English loans were rendered differently in Tolai and Pidgin, shows that .

to some extent these two languages developed separately under the influence of English, e.g.

Pidgin		Tolai	
buk	'book'	buk	'book, letter'
pepa, pas	'letter'		
ritim	'to read'	lukbuk	'to read'
kolos	'clothes'	mal	'clothes'
meriblaus	'woman's blouse'	kolot	'woman's blouse'

In Pidgin transitive verbs are marked by the transitive marker *-im*. But none of the corresponding English loans in Tolai shows *-im* or a Tolai transitive marker. In Tolai English loans are handled as transitive verbs, the intransitive counterpart of which is derived by reduplication, e.g.

Pidgin		Tolai		English
itr.	tr.	tr.	itr.	
kuk	kukim	kuk	kukuk	<i>to cook</i>
sut	sutim	sut	susut	<i>to shoot</i>

If Tolai borrowed these verbs from Pidgin, one would expect that *kuk* and *tut* were intransitive in Tolai and should be marked by a Tolai transitive marker, when used transitively, or that they were neutral to transitivity and intransitivity.

A few Pidgin verbs show a similar pattern to that of Tolai verbs and some linguists assume that this might be the result of substratum influence. However, even the English verb 'to wash', which has been borrowed by both languages, is realised differently:

Pidgin		Tolai	
wasim (tr)	'to wash something'	wuas	'to wash something'
waswas (itr)	'to wash oneself'	vuvuas	'to do the washing'

In some cases the phonological form of English loans in Tolai shows that they were directly borrowed from English and not from Pidgin. Pidgin and Tolai have in common that consonant clusters are not permitted in word-initial or word-final position. Usually in both languages English clusters are broken up by an epenthetic vowel, if in word-initial position the cluster consists of /s/ + C, or in word-final position of C + /s/; additionally in Tolai /s/ becomes /t/:

Pidgin	Tolai	English
danis	danit	'dance'
sipai	tipai	'spy'

The English word 'box', however, is regularly rendered as bokis in Pidgin, but in Tolai as bok. English 'spoon', Pidgin sipun becomes in Tolai as expected tipun; pun, which is probably a direct loan from English, is also attested.

#### German Loanwords

Whether the few German loanwords in Tolai have been borrowed directly or through Pidgin into Tolai cannot be decided on linguistic data.

Tolai	German	English
tepelin	Zeppelin	'plane'
tuka	Zucker	'sugar'
beten	Becken	'dish'
kol	Kohl	'round cabbage'
gumi	Gummi	'rubber'

#### Fijian Loanwords

The Fijian missionaries of the Methodist church introduced a few Fijian loanwords. Some of them are used by Methodists only such as

tui	'king'
kalou	'God'
talatala	'minister'
marama	'minister's wife'

but others like

dinau	'debt'
lotu	'church'
matanitu	'government'

are also used among Catholics.

#### Tolai Loanwords in Pidgin

Some Tolai words underwent phonological changes, when they were transferred into Pidgin. For instance, Tolai virua /birua/ 'piece of human flesh, victim' has become birua, i.e. the bilabial fricative was changed to the corresponding stop. The change of /b/ to /b/. must have resulted from the Europeans' and New Irelanders' misinterpretation of /b/, for this phoneme is absent in their languages. Their inadequate pronunciation was then taken as the norm. A second example is the Tolai word murup 'cassowary', which has become muruk in Pidgin. One would expect that Tolais speaking Pidgin would retain the original pronunciation of virua and murup. But they do not. Unfortunately we do not know if this was the case from the beginning. If it was, however, we have a strong proof that the Tolais learned Pidgin as a

foreign language and consequently accepted the realisation of their own loanwords in Pidgin as the norm of that foreign language.

Words which have been borrowed from closely related languages and differ from their Tolai counterparts, are not mixed with them in the Tolais' pidgin, e.g.

Pidgin		Tolai	
balus	'pigeon, plane'	balu	'pigeon'
liklik	'little'	ikilik	'little'
susu	'breast, milk'	u	'breast, milk'

## 5. FURTHER DEVELOPMENT

The development of Tolai between 1914 and the present has not been studied yet. Today the Tolai lexicon is heavily influenced by English, whereas Pidgin plays a marginal role. Many Pidgin words, e.g. *paus* 'suitcase', *bulumakau* 'cow' have been replaced by their English counterparts, and those which are still used frequently belong mostly to the semantic field of work, negative cultural innovations and sex. In contrast to their source language several Pidgin loans are used only in a pejorative sense in Tolai, e.g.

Pidgin		Meaning in Tolai
longlong	'ignorant, drunk'	'drunk'
raun	'to walk around'	'to walk around, in order to meet boys or girls respectively'
painim	'to find, look for'	'to look for a sexual partner'
rabis	'poor, worthless, rubbish'	'sex'

Other typical Pidgin loanwords in Tolai are *sipak* 'drunk', *sipit* 'to speed (as being drunk)', *voksip* 'to work on a ship'.

## 6. CONCLUSION

1. Unlike the people of the Duke of York Islands, the Tolais did not know Pidgin before companies and mission stations were established in the Gazelle.
2. The negative attitude of the Tolais towards Pidgin still maintained today results from two facts:
  1. The Tolais felt superior to those natives who worked on the plantations on the Gazelle, whereas they themselves could make profit from their own gardens and could afford to do only sophisticated jobs.
  2. It was their language into which the Bible was translated and which consequently became the *lingua franca*.

3. Since Tolai provided a highly flexible system for word derivation, there was no need for loanwords to designate cultural innovations.
4. These extra and inner linguistic factors listed above were responsible for the small number of Pidgin loanwords in Tolai.
5. Due to the contact with missionaries English loanwords were directly transferred into Tolai.
6. Tolais regarded Pidgin as a foreign language and learned it as such.

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