DEPARTAMENT DE FILOLOGÍA ANGLESA I ALEMANYA

LANGUAGE AND SOCIETY IN PAPUA NEW GUINEA: PIDGNIZATION, CREOLIZATION AND DECREOLIZATION IN TOK PISIN

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Language and Society in Papua New Guinea: pidginization, creolization and decreolization in Tok Pisin

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CHAPTER II.- DESCRIPTION OF TOK PISIN

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PREFACE

As a result of colonialism, pidgins and creoles emerged around the world in order to fulfil the communicative needs of the people who came in contact in the new situation. As those needs disappeared pidgins also gradually disappeared. However, in some areas, as in Papua New Guinea, the need for a common language in such a linguistically heterogeneous society helped the impoverished pidgin evolve into an extended pidgin suitable for use in a wide range of contexts and functions.

This dissertation will analyze the parallel developments of Tok Pisin and the history of its speakers, from the birth of the pidgin as a jargon in the Southwest Pacific until the present moment, when as an extended pidgin with a few thousand creole speakers, faces the challenge of adapting to the modern world. In Chapter I attention will be paid to the relevant events taking place in the southwest Pacific first and in Papua New Guinea later, namely labour trade and plantations, the declaration of a German protectorate in 1884, the changing of colonial powers, World War I and World War II. The current sociolinguistic situation in Papua New Guinea will be described. It has been impossible to get information from institutions in Papua New Guinea, and although numerous requests were made to embassies, the educational authorities or the census office, no answer was ever received from them. Data on population was obtained from the web page Papua New Guinea Online, the CIA World Factbook, and Wantok newspaper, which happened to publish the population statistics for public information,

since elections are approaching. Also, Robert Litteral gave me useful first-hand information about language policies in Papua New Guinea.

After observing the historical development of Tok Pisin through the different stages, hypotheses will be made as to its future development. The intensified contact with the lexifier is making TP develop in that direction. While the percentage of people in contact with English is still low, it is expected to increase as a consequence of the spread of formal education and migration from rural areas to towns, in a country where the percentage of rural population is extremely high at the present moment. A linguistic continuum seems likely to consolidate as a consequence of the influence of English on the urban variety, with rural pidgin occupying the position of the basilect, the urban variety being the mesolect and Standard Australian English the acrolect.

In Chapter II a diachronic analysis will be made of the developments taking place in the different areas Tok Pisin: its instability in the jargon stage, the emergence of norms and the borrowing of lexical items from the substratum and other sources during stabilization, the great productivity of internal resources and the emergence of urban pidgin during expansion and the current post-pidgin stage characterized by a massive borrowing from English.

For the description of the language in previous stages evidence will come from researchers who have had access to the original documents. For the synchronic description of Tok Pisin evidence will be presented from the corpus of texts analyzed, which include traditional stories, formal documents, web pages, transcripts of Radio Australia News and different sections of Wantok newspaper [See Appendix 1]. Most of the documents were found on the Internet with the exception of the issues of Wantok, which were kindly sent to me by a missionary in Lae.

In chapter III the focus will be on different aspects of the lexicon, which will show how Tok Pisin has adapted to its new uses and functions in a new social environment. Lexicon seems to be affected by external influences earlier than the other areas of the language.

In Conclusions the evidence from the analysis of the language in the texts will be presented, showing that English is influencing Tok Pisin lexicon to a great extent, and also, although to a lesser extent, changes are taking place in grammar and pronunciation.

Three Appendixes have been included. The first one contains a corpus of the texts object of analysis with their references. The second Appendix contains two maps of the area relevant to the study of Tok Pisin, i.e. a map of the South Pacific and a map of Papua New Guinea which shows the current division of the country in provinces. The third Appendix is a list of synonyms found in Tok Pisin, whose analysis is the focus of one of the sections in Chapter III.

The list of references at the end of the dissertation follows the MLA style.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1. ORIGIN OF PIDGINS AND CREOLES

1.1. NORMAL TRANSMISSION VS. CONTACT-INDUCED LANGUAGE CHANGE

"The history of a language is a function of the history of its speakers, and not an independent phenomenon that can be thoroughly studied without reference to the social context in which it is embedded" (Thomason and Kaufman 1988:4) What is the history of pidgins and creoles? What is the history of their speakers? What kind of languages are these? Thomason and Kaufman (1988) make a distinction between the genetic relationship observable in the case of normal transmission and the contact-induced language change that takes place when pidgins are created. They argue that pidgins and creoles are languages which have not followed normal transmission, i.e. they have not been passed on from generation to generation in a more or less stable context. Nevertheless, Mufwene (1998:3) disagrees with this view, he argues that "the history of the development of creoles provides no evidence of broken language transmission, only evidence of cases where feature replication was more imperfect and restructuring was

more rapid and extensive than in other communities involving primarily inter-idiolectal contacts and little or no population contacts".

Mufwene considers that nobody teaches another person a language because speakers do not possess the language, instead individuals acquire what they need from the system of the language they have been exposed to in order to communicate with others. For Thomason and Kaufman (1988:6) a genetic relationship cannot be established in contexts where transmission is imperfect. They consider that these languages should not be related to their lexifiers just because the majority of their vocabulary comes from them since this is not the only criterion for establishing a genetic relationship. They conclude that mixed languages cannot be related genetically to the sources from which they have taken their components because "a language can not have multiple ancestors in the course of normal transmission" (ibid. 11). However, Mufwene (1998:3) considers that mixed languages are related both to their lexifiers and to their substrate languages.

The main motivation of speakers of substrate languages is communication. Thomason and Kaufman do not think that they aimed at learning the Europeans' languages, i.e. they did not have a target language as is the case in language learning or language acquisition. On the contrary, Mufwene thinks that "the development of creoles was a byproduct of acquiring a diffuse but nonetheless targeted system with relatively greater ecology-prompted restructuring than in less heterogeneous and more focused settings of language transmission" (1998:7). Besides, he notices that studies on the development of creoles have focused more on the contact between communities than on the contact between individuals (ibid. 6). This kind of contact between individuals who do not have fluency in the language they intend to speak makes language boundaries less rigid, consequently allowing for bigger interference. Mufwene sees language as a

species rather than as an organism where change operates at the individual's level and affects the species (see Whinnom 1971 for the same kind of biological comparison).

Mufwene does not think that creoles can be structurally grouped together as a category, since they present individual variation and their features cannot be identified universally nor exclusively. He considers instead that "there are sociohistorical reasons for isolating creoles in a separate category" (ibid. 9) In his opinion, they are dialects of their lexifiers. He concludes that "the verb 'creolize' and its nominalization 'creolization' mean no particular kind of structural diachronic process, no special kind of restructuring, only the normal kinds of linguistic evolutionary processes observable in various combinations and in various degrees elsewhere; they have simply been branded with special social values in this case." (ibid. 9-10). He considers it is justified to group languages on sociohistorical grounds and make them the subject matter of research. Todd (1990:4) says that "if their history had not been known it is a matter of considerable debate whether they could, on linguistic evidence alone, be distinguished from other mother tongues".

1.2. CONTACT COMMUNITIES

Although pidgins have arisen in contact communities all over the world (see description of these languages in Holm (1988b:552-630) this introduction will only take into account the social contexts favouring the creation of European-based (and more specifically English-based) varieties.

If two languages are involved in a contact situation and the contact ceases to exist, the contact language disappears. If the contact continues one or both groups will learn the other group's language (Todd 1984:3). This is the case of Cocoliche in Argentina. The Italians speaking it have access to the language being pidginized, i.e.

Spanish, and they modify their language in the direction of Spanish. Whereas Spanish-speaking Argentines do not attempt to learn it. Italians do not need Cocoliche in order to communicate with other language groups, they resort to Italian when they communicate with people in their community. More than two languages appear to be necessary for a new language to emerge.

Instances of restricted linguistic contact in Spain are analyzed by García (2002). In the Canary Islands, the Balearic Islands and Gibraltar, different kinds of contact: political, commercial and touristic, have caused certain processes of pidginization to happen, but have not lead to the existence of a pidgin.

Whinnom (1971) considers that a multilingual society is a pre-requisite for the birth of a pidgin. This is the context in which tertiary hybridization takes place. Although Thomason and Kaufman agree with Whinnom to a certain extent, they point out that a pidgin can also develop in a two-language contact situation if there is profound social separation between the two groups involved. "Withdrawal of a TL, in other words, may be social rather than physical" (Thomason and Kaufman 1988:197). Although the physical distance did not always happen, the social distance was always present in a kind of master-servant relationship. The Europeans either did not consider the natives capable of learning their language or did not want them to know it and addressed them in a childish way or restricted its use in their presence. For Mufwene (1998:11) "integration within the native-speaking community is a more critical factor than the demographic disproportion". Alleyne (1971:175) sees the language contact that takes place as one more aspect within the framework of cultural contact, the situation is that of two communities in contact which do not aim at integration.

Another factor in the birth of a pidgin is that "the common people who are to be

the pidgin speakers must come from two or more different and mutually unintelligible language backgrounds, and there must also be a dominant (and usually alien) language which supplies much of the vocabulary" (DeCamp 1971:22).

The need for communication between the different speech communities generally came from trade. Mufwene (n.d., p.1) notices the relevance of the setting where these encounters took place, pidgins emerged in trade colonies, around trade forts or along trade routes. At the beginning, these languages were restricted to this limited domain. However, trade was not the only situation that allowed contact. During colonialism, when European communities became established in Africa, the Caribbean and the Pacific, the contacts between different speech communities took place in the context of trade, plantations, ports, indentured labor or on ships. In the different kinds of contacts that allowed pidgins to arise the main focus is on communication, not only vertical, i.e. between Europeans and natives, but also horizontal, peer communication.

Todd (1990:49) considers that it is likely that the use of the pidgin in domestic and slave situations was a vital factor in its expansion because, in such conditions, the pidgin was the only available lingua franca and thus had to be developed to serve a wider range of communication needs than were required for simple barter". Keesing (1988:100) remarks that the inhumanity of the Labor Trade in the Pacific made islanders become isolated from Europeans and interact more with fellow islanders, and, as a consequence, the English speakers seldom approached the fluency they showed. He notices the very important role of ships in the stabilization of an English jargon in the Pacific. It was on the ships where islanders from many different backgrounds came together and had to create a makeshift language that allowed communication among themselves and not only with the Europeans The same happened on plantations where owners acquired slaves from many different linguistic background in order to prevent

communication among them and, consequently, reduce the risk of insurrection (DeCamp 1971:20) [see Clark 1983:18 for the usefulness of South Seas Jargon among Melanesians]. Singler (1988:28) remarks that the strategy of separating slaves was taken in response to rather than as anticipation to revolts "and in recognition of the role of the African languages in these revolts".

1.3. STRATEGIES USED IN PIDGIN FORMATION

In order to communicate speakers used all kinds of resources at hand, first of all non-verbal, i.e. gestures, and then verbal: their own languages, what they could grasp from the lexifier language and their innate knowledge of language (universals). Thomason and Kaufman (1988:177) notice that "people who come into regular contact with speakers of other languages can and do have well-developed ways of communicating with such people, including simplification of their native languages. This is what Le Page calls 'the learned expectancies of how to behave in a contact situation'". The different theories on the origin of pidgins have placed more emphasis on one or another of these strategies:

The baby talk theory. According to this theory, Europeans addressed natives using a sort of baby-talk, "possibly assuming that the contacted people were incapable of learning the full language" (Todd 1984:22) They reduced the standard language by stripping it off inflections, limiting the vocabulary and so on. Cassidy (1961 in DeCamp 1971:19) refutes this theory based on the early accounts that show that white familes learned the language from slaves and not vice versa.

In Alleyne's opinion (1971:172-173) there is evidence that full morphological systems were used: "the survival of brok, 'to break', lef 'to leave', los 'to lose' shows

that the English verb system with strong preterites was in use in the contact situation", if these forms were in use it is likely that different inflections were also in use".

Furthermore, it seems difficult to accept that Europeans simplified their language in a systematic way (Alleyne 1971:172; DeCamp 1971:19).

The relexification theory. The Portuguese were the first ones to trade along the West African coast[1], they started using a trade language, "a Portuguese version of Lingua Franca" (Todd 1984:23), which they extended later to other parts of Africa, Asia and America. When other Europeans started their colonial expansion they replaced the vocabulary of the Portuguese pidgin by the vocabulary of their languages and created their own pidgins. Todd (1984:26, 1990:36) points out that the relexification theory does not allow for an explanation of the similarities between different pidgins and creoles even if they have not been in contact with European languages.

Alleyne (1971:184) shows his skepticism about a widespread Portuguese pidgin, because that idea is incompatible with the systematic separation of slaves of the same origin in order to prevent revolts.

The nautical jargon theory. According to this theory the jargon used by sailors was passed on to the people in the places where they arrived. This nautical jargon would have provided the basis for the pidgin Todd (1990:30-31) considers that, although attractive, this theory fails to explain the similarities between English-based pidgins and creoles and the other European-based pidgins and creoles.

Substratum theory. Various features of pidgins and creoles have been explained as influence from the substratum – African in the case of Atlantic pidgins and creoles, Melanesian in the case of various pidgins in the Pacific -. " The continuing African

[1] Interesting article by Washabaugh and Greenfield (1983) on the beginning of Portuguese expansion, where they note the importance of an expanding Portuguese nation-state in the plantations of the Atlantic Ocean.

presence during the period of creole genesis meant that substratal input would have been an inevitable part of this process" (Singler 1988:28) The homogeneity of the substratum makes it more likely to have an influence on the pidgins and creoles developing (Keesing 1988, Singler 1988).

Superstrate theory. Also called dialectologist hypothesis. The main influence on creole features comes from non-standard varieties of European languages. Muysken and Smith (1995:10) remark that "in this theory, similarities between creoles hold only for those derived from a single colonial language".

The theory of linguistic universals. This theory considers that pidgins and creoles are like other languages because the processes going on in their development are alike. According to this, contact vernaculars result from the exploitation of linguistic universals. The structures more likely to survive in a contact situation are those common to the languages of all the speakers involved (Todd 1984:27). The less frequent elements are considered to be marked and, thus, acquired later. García (1995a) based on his analysis of features common to American Black English, Hawaiian Creole English, Pidgin English and Interlanguage, draws a list of marked components of English which may account for the common features in these languages.

Todd (1990:46) makes a synthesis of all these theories: "Perhaps it is short-sighted to insist on the absolute authority of any one theory. I have no doubt that in certain places at certain times English speakers did talk to the people they came into contact with as if they were children, and as if they would no understand the full language; that sailors were not averse to sharing their nautical jargon with the people whose way of life they shared, often for months at a time; that relexification did occur; that learners of the pidgin or creole were influenced by the structrures that prevailed in

their own languages; and that, at the same time, a universal process of simplification was at work".

1.4. HOW PIDGINS DEVELOPED

It seems obvious that in the early contact , in the absence of a shared language, gestures and sounds would be the first strategy used for communication. (Bakker 1995:29) [see Cassidy 1971:213 for examples of gestures]. Mühlhäusler (1986:51) considers that this frequently used strategy has been nonetheless neglected in the literature on pidgins and creoles. Although used in the south-west Pacific, silent bartering never developed "into a fully developed sign system. Instead, under the growing pressure for verbal communication, it was added to and eventually replaced by a verbal code, Jargon English." Mühlhäusler points out that it is difficult to assess how successful this kind of communication was, since there might not have been many culture-free signs available to both communities. He cites an example of the recruiting of labourers for the plantations in the Pacific taken from Holthouse (1969:22):

> "Lacking interpreters for the countless native languages of Melanesia, the recruiters resorted to pantomime, often of the sketchiest kind. To indicate to the kanakas that they were being engaged to work for three years, the expression 'three yam' was used – supposed to be the time taken to grow three crops of yams. Reduced to pantomime it often came down to showing the native a yam and holding up three fingers" (Mühlhäusler 1986:52).

Misunderstandings were frequent even at such basic level communication as the one depicted here where many Melanesians would interpret the show of three fingers as meaning two since they work with a substrative system.

When a language for the transactions started to develop, it was not any of the languages the contact communities spoke[2], but a makeshift language that the different groups co-operated to create, where "those with less power (speakers of substrate languages) are more accommodating and use words from the language of those with more power (the superstrate), although the meaning, form, and use of these words may be influenced by the substrate languages" (Holm 1988a:5). The superstrate speakers also adopted those changes. Thomason and Kaufman (1988: 167) emphasize the process of linguistic negotiation that goes on in the new contact communities in order to develop a new means of communication.

Mühlhäusler (1986:56) gives the two opposing views in pidgin and creole studies concerning the role of external or social factors in pidgin/creole formation and structural development: 1) external factors determine the speed of internal development which proceeds on its own (Sankoff and Laberge 1980) and 2) external factors determine grammatical and lexical development. He does not think these are the only two possible explanations, he thinks that "only some structures are directly caused by social/external factors, whereas others are independent developments. He gives some instances of socially caused linguistic structures. At the jargon stage, for example, there is a high variation of individual strategies whose use depends on personality, educational background and cultural-group membership. The role of geographical diffusion is very important in a contact situation where one of the members is a highly mobile group. Also the typical asymmetrical social relationship is reflected in pronoun and address systems. Another important external factor modelling the language is the degree of accessibility to the lexifier language.

[2] Holm (1988:5) points out that nobody learned any of the other groups' languages "for social reasons that may include lack of trust or close contact"

Schuchardt (1883:20) also refers to specific cases of influence of the social context on the language. He notices that in trade languages, as opposed to slave languages the concept of possession was crucial and that "belong" was probably among the most frequently heard words by South Sea Islanders. He points out the change this word underwent: "In Beche-le-mar English it has come to be used in a rather strange way: it has become the marker of the genitive case".

Todd (1990:48) gives some features of pidgins at their early stages: it is possible to deal only with a limited range of subjects, only simple structures can be expressed, e.g. commands, yes/no questions, simple explanations, gestures are used, they are inadequate for sustained conversation. Cassidy (1971:213) gives a detailed description of the first communication needs the people in the contact situation would have. A first necessity was to identify the inside group and the outside group, not only using names but also personal pronouns. Demonstrative pronouns would also be necessary. Among the first relationships needing expression would be statements, questions, commands and requests. The next necessity would be naming things – trade objects and local foods and products –. Apart from these objects, names would also be necessary for basic things and concepts: natural materials, physiography, time, colors, body parts, animals, emotions. Together with nominal ideas, verbal ideas would also have to be expressed: thought, communication (know, say, name, forget), bodily motion (walk, stand, come), physical action (do, give, eat, cut, fasten). These basic ideas would also further be modified, modifying ideas would include: size, quality and condition among others. Cassidy (1971:214) notices that "once pidgins were established, the next step would no doubt be toward refinements or elaborations, to sharpen distinctions and avoid confusion".

In general, definitions of pidgins[3] seem to apply only to the first stages in their development (simplification of structures, reduced number of functions). Mühlhäusler (1986:5), however, gives a more dynamic definition, where the capacity of pidgins for adaptation to broader contexts is clear: "pidgins are examples of partially targeted or non-targeted second-language learning, developing from simpler to more complex systems as communicative requirements become more demanding". In some of the pidgins, the range of functions have widened considerably, e.g. Tok Pisin. Todd (1990:5) distinguishes between restricted and extended pidgins depending on the number of purposes they serve. A restricted pidgin serves the limited purpose of trading and tends to disappear when the contact disappears, whereas "an extended pidgin is one which, although it may not become a mother tongue, proves vitally important in a multilingual area, and which, because of its usefulness, is extended and used beyond the original limited function which caused it to come into being". García (1995b:13) points out that the same restriction of functions applies to interlanguages, which may be used in the context of the school or the tourist resort, their two basic functions being directive and descriptive. Only at an advanced phase are stylistic variation and politeness strategies introduced, as also happens in pidgins.

1.5. PIDGINS VS. CREOLES

However, irrespective of the number of domains where pidgins are used, they are said to be nobody's native language. Thomason and Kaufman (1988:169) interpreted nobody as "no community, i.e. no sizable group of native speakers". Since pidgins are non-native lingua francas, speakers of the different communities continue to use their native vernaculars for their day-to-day interactions. DeCamp (1971:16)

[3] García (Unpublished manuscript) reviews the different etymologies proposed for the term 'pidgin' and suggests a possible Spanish or Catalonian origin for it as a consequence of the important role of Spanish

defined a creole as "a native language for most of its speakers". Mühlhäusler (1986:9) considers that it is difficult to make a clear-cut distinction between native and non-native languages because there are cases such as Nigerian Pidgin English and Tok Pisin that have viable creole communities and at the same time continue to be second languages for the majority of their speakers. Singler (1988:30) says that extended pidgins and creoles cannot be distinguished from one another linguistically, the difference between them is that "an extended pidgin has not undergone nativization to mother-tongue status (or is only now undergoing it). Sankoff and Laberge (1980:209) intended to look at the differences between fluent second-language speakers (parents in their research) and first-generation native speakers (children). They concluded that the presence of native speakers does not create sudden and dramatic changes in a language, "but rather that their presence may be one factor in influencing directions in language change".

Dell Hymes (1971a:79) points out that what counts is the status of the language in the community, i.e. if it is a primary or secondary language. "Autobiographical priority, as first language learned, is a possible route to primary status, but neither necessary nor sufficient" (Dell Hymes 1971a:79). Mühlhäusler (1986:9) agrees with this, using the term "primary language" for the language best mastered, not necessarily the mother tongue, and "secondary languages" for the other languages spoken by the individual.

Romaine (1993:40) points out that Bloomfield might have been the first author to suggest a historical relationship between a pidgin and a creole. Hall carried the idea further by making a pidgin origin essential for his definition of creole and postulates the existence of a life-cycle. Holm (1988:8) considers that if Caribbean and other creoles developed from unstable pre-pidgin jargons, the definition of a creole as a development

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and Catalonian sailors in the Pacific.

from a pidgin is technically wrong. Instead, what should be considered as the origin of a creole is a reduced variety (either a pidgin or a jargon). Mühlhäusler (1986:8) distinguishes three possible origins for creoles to develop from: jargons, stabilized pidgins and extended pidgins. He says that the necessary repair "will depend on the developmental stage at which creolization sets in".

Thomason and Kaufman (1988:149) remark the difference between the contexts where pidgins and abrupt creoles come into being. Pidgins are second languages, which involves other first languages being spoken in the community. However, "in the uprooted and mixed speech communities of the slaves, a person might have few or no people to talk to in his or her native language. Such a person would need a primary language for communicating with his or her fellows, not merely a secondary language to use for limited purposes of intergroup communication". Children play a very important role in the process of crystallization of this creole, since they have to create a new system out of the reduced variety they receive from their parents.

Mufwene points out that creoles, unlike pidgins, developed in "settlement colonies whose primary industry consisted of sugar cane plantations or rice fields, which employed massive non-European slave labor"[4] (Mufwene n.d., p.1). In Holm's (1988:6) view a creole "is spoken natively by an entire speech community, often one whose ancestors were displaced geographically so that their ties with their original language and sociocultural identity were partly broken. Such social conditions were often the result of slavery" (ibid. 180). Alleyne sees creoles as an outcome of acculturation with individual variations in degree and quality conditioned by the closeness of contact with the Europeans, field slaves being furthest removed from contact with Europeans and artisans, freedmen and house slaves, in growing order,

[4] Mufwene notices the case of Melanesian pidgins , associated with plantations, but that actually emerged in trade settings and were then adopted on plantations. (See Keesing 1988)

having the biggest contact. Singler (1988:30) says that "extended pidgins show profound parallels to creoles; there is no a-priory way to distinguish one from the other linguistically". He notices instead, differences caused by the social context: an extended pidgin, unlike a creole is not a consequence of the massive displacement of people. Deriving from this there is a second difference: the ties with the substrate are much stronger in the case of extended pidgins whose speakers are likely to be also speakers of the substrate languages. In situations where a high prestige language comes into contact with many local languages a creole is not likely to develop. Instead, the pidgin will become a second language "which has prestige intermediate between the local languages and the high prestige non-indigenous language" (Grimshaw 1971:434).

1.6. FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS

Todd (1984:16) hypothesizes what Creole Englishes would be like if they had developed in total isolation from English. She thinks that they would have become very different languages from Standard English. However, they have co-existed with English and a post-creole continuum has developed, where the creole or expanded pidgin is modified in the direction of the standard language. This is the process of decreolization.

Mufwene (n.d., pp. 3-4) objects to the term post-creole continuum on the grounds that "if a variety is creole because of the particular sociohistorical ecology of its development, rather than because of its structural pecularities, it cannot stop being a creole even after some of the features have changed. Besides, basilectal and mesolectal features continue to co-exist in these communities, suggesting that Creole has not died yet".

There is still a possible further development beyond a creole, it can become either partially or totally repidginized. Mühlhäusler (1986:9) gives an example of partial

repidginization: "plantation creoles, where first-generation creole speakers are supplemented with raw recruits from elsewhere", and another one of total repidginization: the case of Tok Pisin on Rambutyo Island in the Admiralties, where a first generation of creole speakers gave way to a second generation of speakers of Tok Pisin as a second language, because of the limited usefulness of this language.

Todd (1990:64-65) gives another example that shows that changes do not always go in the same direction, this is the case of London Jamaican: "young black people born in Britain and who control the language norms of their region have recreolised their English, producing LJ [London Jamaican], a creole-influenced English which is different from Jamaican creole and which has prestige in urban centres outside London" (also Romaine 1993:188-203).

1.7. CO-DETERMINATION

The relationship between pidgins and creoles and social factors is not unidirectional in the sense of social structure influencing the language, there is interaction of both elements, i.e. there is also language influence on social development. Grimshaw (1971), giving the point of view of the sociologist, notices that " these languages have had what must be considered as an indispensable role in making it possible for groups of great initial – and sometimes continuing – linguistic diversity, to replace fearful hostility first with halting communication and ultimately with a sense of common identity and unity" (Grimshaw 1971:438).

2. HISTORY OF TOK PISIN

The first European to explore the Pacific was Magellan in the early sixteenth century. However, exploration of the area during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries did not seem to involve much contact with the islanders. The number of voyages to the Pacific increased throughout the eighteenth century with travellers such as Byron and Cook (Clark 1983:11). Captain Cook's death in 1779 "can be taken as marking the end of an age of exploration and the beginning of one of exploitaton" (Clark 1979:4).

During the first part of the nineteenth century, European governments seemed to be more interested in their colonies in America, Africa and Asia and did not show much interest in the Pacific islands. Together with the explorers mentioned above, the first visitors were missionaries and some Europeans involved in different commercial activities. In that context, Europeans and Islanders had to use signs in order to communicate. Clark (1979:25) gives an account of the Dolphin's arrival at Tahiti (1767), which could be similar to many other encounters at the time:

> "We made signs to them, to bring of Hogs, Fowls and fruit and showd them coarse cloth, Knives sheers Beeds Ribons etc, and made them understand that we was willing to barter with them, the method we took to make them understand what we wanted was this, some of the men Grunted and Cryd lyke a Hogg then pointed to the shore – oythers crowd Lyke cocks to make understand that we wanted fowls, this the natives of the country understood and Grunted and Crowd the same as our people, and pointed to the shore and made signs that they would bring us off some..." (Robertson 1948:136-7).

This kind of exchange was satisfactory for barter but some kind of linguistic expression was necessary for other kinds of communication. Clark (1983:11) thinks that

there is evidence that no English was used in these first contacts between Europeans and natives, the former probably tried to adapt themselves to the local ways and used a simplified version of the local languages. Those who reached a higher competence in Pacific vernaculars were beachcombers and missionaries. Beachcombers settled in island communities and became part of the local community, getting married there and even, in some extreme cases, forgetting their native language. Likewise, missionaries, interested in reaching the entire population with their message, tried to learn the vernacular as quickly as possible. Their avoidance of pidgin was also a result of their conflicts with traders, whom they consider morally harmful. Thus, most of the first Europeans who entered the Pacific accommodated linguistically to the islands communities and did not play a role in the creation and development of a pidgin.

On the other hand there are signs of an emerging pidgin. Baker (1987:188), for example, considers that the presence of the missionaries could also allow the natives to know some English words, and that local converts sent to other islands might have had a role in the spread of Pacific Pidgin English. Besides, there is also evidence that, by the late 1700s and early 1800s, some Pacific Islanders, especially Tahitians and Hawaiians had acquired some knowledge of a jargonized English (Keesing 1988:14). For instance, Lee (1920, in Keesing 1988:14) quotes Captain Bligh's complaint about the negative influence of white sailors on Tahitian culture:

> "Our friends here have benefited little from their intercourse with Europeans. Our countrymen have taught them such vile expressions as are in the mouth of every Otaheitan... Little of the ancient customs of the Otaheitans remain – all that was left aside. It is difficult to get them to speak their own language without mixing a jargon of English with it".

The beginning of European commercial activity in the Pacific increased the linguistic contact. The trade in sea-otter furs, which took the product from North

America to China via Hawaii, began in 1786. Clark (1983:12) notes that a number of Pacific islanders, who sailed in European ships and learned some English, played "a major role in forming and spreading the earliest South Pacific pidgin".

2.1. WHALING

The next and more relevant kind of trade in the area was whaling. It began in 1789 and was at its height between 1840 and 1860 (Baker 1987:185). New England whalers started going to South America. At first they hunted only in the eastern Pacific, dealing mainly with Polynesians, but later, by the 1820s they were also calling regularly at Melanesian islands (Holm 1988b:526). Baker (1987:197) notices that the most likely linguistic consequence of short visits for provisions and fuel is that "some islanders would have acquired a few English words", and that more regular visits would be necessary for fluent conversation to develop.

Keesing (1988:15) argues that the most likely area where these contacts took place was the central Pacific, more especifically the Gilbert Islands, Rotuma and some islands in the Carolines. Islanders there became skilled dealers with Europeans and also became crew members on whaling ships, taking the place left by deserters or by crew members lost in accidents. Clark (1979:28) describes the highly heterogeneous composition of those ships: "The American-owned ships (the largest number) regularly carried Portuguese from the Atlantic islands, recruited to supplement the New England labour supply. There were also American Negroes and Indians, Peruvians, Europeans of various nationalities, East Indians, Malays, and of course 'Kanakas' (Pacific islanders) from various places".

Communication on board would include the sailors' language and a kind of broken English (Clark 1979:60). Keesing (1988:23) notices the importance of

distinguishing between these two kinds of languages. British and American seamen used "distinctive (though far from uniform) dialects of working-class English" when interacting among themselves, but would use strategies for talking to natives and their knowledge of lingua francas learned in other areas of the world. Baker (1990:259) does not think Anglophone sailors made a conscious effort to create or propagate a specific variety of pidgin English, they simply used in their linguistic encounters with Islanders "what they had witnessed on their travels". Natives, on the other hand, were in need of some language that they could use to communicate among themselves. Although one might think that the English spoken by people with such different native languages would be highly variable, Clark (1983:13) notes that "the necessity of working closely together over considerable periods of time would tend to enforce some stability, while migration of crewmen from one ship to another, and the popular practice of "gamming" (social visits between ships at sea), could diffuse linguistic features over a wide area".

In this stage there was a great lack of stability, the jargon alternated with the use of local vernaculars in different areas in the Pacific, and it was not recognized as a different language, but simply as broken English, as can be seen in the example in Lucett (1851:250) quoted by Clark (1979:29):

> [Tuamotus, 1842] "One of our divers who could talk *a little English* told me that there 'were plenty man – too muchee makee fight – plenty spear – eat man. I say, captain, lookee out!'".

Clark (1979:34) points out that not only Islanders, but also Europeans were probably using the jargon instead of standard English and sometimes they refer to their speech as a mixture of languages.

In Mühlhäusler's (1985a:39) opinion "the result of culture contact in the first stage was a number of unstable varieties of jargon English in various parts of the Pacific Ocean". Keesing (1988:24), on the other hand, proposes a more homogeneous picture

where the ocean allowed for contact between the different islands. In Clark's (1979:34-35) opinion, a number of conventions exist from the 1820s, which are evidence of the existence of a single jargon rather than "an unconnected series of English-vernacular interlanguages". [Examples of South Seas Jargon can be found in Clark 1979:28-31]. He concludes that although a high variation is likely, this cannot be proved since the material is limited and comes from varied times, places and social contexts. The same kind of data taken for any natural language would render the same degree of variation.

This jargon was not a Pacific creation, it shared features with other pidgins in different areas of the world. Clark (1983:14-15) notes that preexisting traditions such as China Coast Pidgin and the "worldwide nautical jargon" may have played a role in the formation of this jargon. Baker (1990:261) remarks the importance of Sydney in the trading activities in the Pacific. It was the most visited port in the southwest Pacific, and the base of most of the ships involved in whaling and sandalwood and bêche-de-mer trades. Baker (1987:191) points out that, since the Anglophone presence was continuous from the beginning in New South Wales a stable variety is more likely to have emerged earlier there. Thus, he argues that the pidgin spoken there, New South Wales Pidgin English, influenced the kind of English sailors used to communicate with natives. (He gives examples of features of this pidgin later found in Melanesian Pidgin).

The decline of whaling in the 1860s removed most of the jargon's social base. Unless new contexts developed – such as sandalwood and bêche-de-mer trades – which made its use necessary, it tended to disappear. For instance, in Polynesia and Micronesia – where islands or groups of islands shared a single vernacular – the jargon did not develop any further because it did not have any function beyond contacts with Europeans (Clark 1979:35).

2.2. SANDALWOOD AND BÊCHE-DE-MER

Sustained contact with Melanesia started later than in other areas of the Pacific. Europeans had avoided those islands "reputed to be unhealthy in climate and inhabited by ugly and treacherous cannibal tribes" (Clark 1979:35). Although sandalwood[5] was discovered on Eromanga in the southern New Hebrides in 1825, the trade soon declined and it was not until 1841 – when it was found in the Isle of Pines, southeast of New Caledonia – that it was firmly established and the last sandalwood rush began. A triangular trade developed between Australia, Melanesia and China: "ships would bring European manufactured goods (knives, axes, guns, cloth, tobacco) from Sydney to the islands to exchange for sandalwood, which was carried to Canton or Hong Kong to be sold. The ships then re-loaded with tea or other Chinese merchandise for the return voyage to Australia" (Clark 1979:36). Baker (1987:189) suggests a possible though very limited influence of Chinese Pidgin English on some patterns through the trade in trepangs and sandalwood.

Sandalwood trade allowed for a deeper contact between Europeans and natives. As opposed to whaling, it required much work on shore, where stations were established from the mid-1840s. Labour was recruited from different islands "so that they could not combine against their employer" (Inglis 1887:201 in Clark 1979:36). As far as communication is concerned the situation is different from the one found on whaling ships, where natives were generally fewer than speakers of English. In the stations, instead, the number of Melanesian workers widely exceeded that of the European overseers. Also, unlike stations in Polynesia and Micronesia, where communication was possible in the local languages, in linguistically heterogeneous stations with both local populations and imported labourers from different islands "a vehicle for communication

[5] "Sandalwood is a slow-growing tree whose fragrant heartwood was used by the Chinese largely as incense" (Clark 1979:26)

among Melanesians was needed, and South Seas Jargon was the obvious candidate" (Clark 1979:36).

In Keesing's opinion (1988:27) the social conditions allowed for a certain elaboration and stabilization of the jargon in the Loyalties, Isle of Pines, New Caledonia, and southern New Hebrides. Although Clark (1979:36) agrees with Keesing in that a certain stabilization would be expected in those conditions, which parallel those found on plantations in the Caribbean and later in Queensland, he says that the limited number of direct quotations from that period does not make it possible to establish that fact. Keesing (1988:32-33), however, thinks that the examples examined give important glimpses of a developing pidgin and he lists some of its features. He speaks of an early-pidgin speech community; he even suggests that "it is not implausible that incipient creolization was under way in this period, if we can define this in terms of children acquiring a pidgin as at least a coordinate first language". However, Clark (1979:38) points out that labourers used to stay on these stations for a few weeks or months, which would make Keesing's suggestion implausible.

Like the sandalwood trade, the exploitation of bêche-de-mer – a kind of sea-slug much appreciated in Chinese gastronomy (dominant in the 1840s and 1850s) required stations where the procedure could be carried out. The product dealt with here also gave rise to the term for the kind of English spoken in that situation, Beach-la-Mar. According to Clark (1983:20), the fact that the names "Sandalwood English" and "Beach-la-Mar" started to be used suggests that "Europeans were beginning to recognize it [the Jargon] as a system in itself rather than as simply an attempt to speak English". This differs from the previous references to it as 'English' or 'broken English'. (See Clark 1979:61 for a discussion on the early occurrences of these terms).

Melanesians, compared to Polynesians, were commended for their good English, Keesing (1988:30) suggests that "it was less a sophisticated use of English syntax that gained these southern Melanesians a reputation for speaking 'good English' than their renderings of English phonology".

2.3. LABOUR TRADE

Another sociolinguistic situation was needed to make this jargon turn into a stable pidgin. "The shortage of cotton for British mills caused by the American Civil War led to a boom in that crop and, later, sugar in Queensland on the northeast coast of Australia (...) Over the next 45 years some 62,000 Melanesians[6] were brought in as indentured laborers on three-year contracts to work these plantations" (Holm 1988:527). Labor recruitment started in the New Hebrides and Loyalty Islands in the 1860s, then moved to the Solomon Islands in the 1870s and to New Guinea after 1880. The laborers being recruited had probably worked for the Europeans in the sandalwood and bêche-de-mar trades and were therefore familiar with Sandalwood or Beach-la-Mar English.

Work on plantations required a large number of labourers. In the Pacific, as opposed to the Caribbean, plantation labour was indentured labour and not slave labour and, hence, Pacific islanders decided if they wanted to become labourers[7]. Labour recruiting was not an easy task. Young men were reluctant to agree to work in the difficult situation of plantations. Related to this, is the fact that some areas were already saturated with European goods, which had been at first "the lure for plantation labor" (Keesing 1988:37). This is one of the factors that made recruiters expand recruiting areas continuously. Another factor Keesing mentions is the reduction in the population

[6] The figure given by Clark (1979:6) is 100,000 labourers.
[7] Clark notices (1979:58) that research has shown that "although violence and deception were undoubtedly used by some recruiters, particularly in the early stages, the great majority of Melanesians migrated willingly, many of them signing on for second terms".

of young men caused by disease or death. And one more important factor was the avoidance of places where missionaries were already established, since they were very critical of the Labour Trade.

Keesing (1988:38) explains how those men who had acquired a better command of the language in previous dealings with Europeans – whom he calls sophisticates – became local middlemen and brokers. They explained their conditions to recruiters; labour recruiting was no longer a matter of kidnapping:

> "All black men savy; no kidnapping now; if black man like to go he go, if he like to stop he stop" (Moresby 1876:96).

2.4. QUEENSLAND PLANTATIONS

Clark (1979:38) remarks on the continuity from the sandalwood trade to the plantations. Many of the natives and Europeans involved in the former trade were also present in the labour trade. Linguistic continuity is also evidenced from the use of the same terms "Sandalwood English" and "Beach-la-Mar English" instead of replacing them by new terms such as "sugarcane English" or "Queensland English" (Clark 1979:61).

Origin of Recruits to Queensland, by Five-Year Periods, 1863-1904

Period	Loyalties	New Hebrides			Southeastern Solomons
		South	Central	North	
1863-1867	421	307	881	120	-
1868-1872	643	508	961	1,481	58
1873-1877	55	1,197	2,202	4,412	813
1878-1882	-	1,327	1,892	6,435	1,561
1883-1887	-	1,143	1,355	5,437	2,509
1888-1892	-	525	953	3,166	-
1893-1897	-	265	573	1,760	3,037
1898-1904	-	528	906	1,743	5,028

Keesing (1988:40) adjusted the table in Price and Baker (1976) for linguistic subgroupings. He notices that the actual figures might be higher than the ones in the table, which reflect official records.

Plantation pidgins played an important role in the further stabilization and elaboration of pidgins in the recruiting area. For instance, by the year 1882 the recruiter Jock Cromar commented that no interpreters were needed on the New Hebrides, since so many men had been to Queensland (21,723) that beche-de-mer English was the lingua franca of those islands (Keesing 1988:44).

However, labourers from New Guinea were not recruited until 1883-1884, which makes Mühlhäusler (1978) argue that the pidgin in Queensland only had an indirect influence on the pidgin in New Guinea.

Baker (1987:193) remarks that "the establishment of plantations in Queensland from 1863 on, dependent on laborers drawn from a range of Pacific islands, opened the way for Australia to play another influential role, of a different nature, in the development of PPE [Pacific Pidgin English] in the second half of the 19th century". Baker (1987:195) thinks that the contact of recruits with Queensland Aboriginal Pidgin English (a continuation of New South Wales Pacific Pidgin English) was through its use by the whites, since Aborigines did not work on plantations.[See Clark (1979:43) for features of the Australian pidgin to be found later in Melanesia].

In Mühlhäusler's (1985a:39) opinion it is on the plantations where the trade jargon was changed into a stabilised pidgin. A number of factors found on the plantation setting helped the jargon stabilize. Compared to sandalwood and bêche-de-mer stations, the variety of languages spoken by the labourers was higher. Also, they stayed there for a longer period of time[8]. This situation "intensified the need for a common language and

[8] They normally stayed three years in Queensland as opposed to a few weeks or months at sandalwood stations (Clark 1979:38)

provided a community with greater continuity in which it could develop" (Clark, 1983:21). Thus, labourers on plantations could not always use their languages; only the broken English they learned on their islands or on ships was useful there. The need to use this language made a number of fluctuations disappear and certain norms emerged, which were accepted by the members of this linguistic community. Keesing (1988:41) points out that Islanders were the fluent speakers of the pidgin, not the Europeans. Another factor that was important in the stabilization of the jargon was the isolation of Islanders both from the local population – their status was very low among the indigenous population – and from the Europeans, who maintained a strict social distance. However, the Europeans' speech continued "to serve as a model in the extension of the pidgin" (Mühlhäusler 1985a:40).

By the late 1870s an early form of Melanesian Pidgin English could be found in Queensland and southern Melanesia. Clark (1979:39) points out that the language in use in Queensland and southern Melanesia by the late 1870s was the same and labels it as "early Melanesian pidgin".

2.5. SAMOAN PLANTATIONS

2.5.1. Contacts with Europeans before labour trade

New Guinea had figured only marginally in the first contacts between Europeans and natives. Mühlhäusler (1985a:45) points out that earlier contacts took place in New Ireland, where trading vessels to Asia occasionally stopped to take on provisions. By 1840 Cape St George in southern New Ireland was "a popular refreshement point for whalers and traders". Also, Bouganville and Buka had been anchoring places for American whalers since the 1850s. Recruiters for the Queensland plantations had not reached New Guinea until 1883. Only Bougainville and Buka had become recruiting

grounds earlier, in 1875 (Mühlhäusler 1985a:46). Thus, until this moment, only a very low percentage of the population can be expected to have some knowledge of Jargon English.

Contacts intensified in the second part of the 1870s when various trading firms established in the Duke of York area. Around 1876, the firm Godeffroy, based in Samoa, established a trading post on Mioko Island. Also, Queen Emma and the Farrell Trading Company established there in 1878. And the brothers Hernsheim established on Matupi Island in the Blanche Bay. Another important presence in the area was the Methodist Missionary Society, which employed Samoan and Fijian missionaries.

Mühlhäusler (1985a:45) concludes that by the end of the 1870s "rudimentary Pidgin English was established all over the area of the Bismarck and Solomon Islands, though with few speakers. Neither pidgin nor Jargon English were in use on the New Guinea mainland". Schuchardt (1883:18) comments on how Mr. Hernsheim, the German consul, had noticed an increase in the number of speakers during the late 1870s and early 1880s: "In New Britain, where upon his arrival seven years ago no native had been able to understand a European language, nowadays nearly everybody, above all the children, speak this variety of English, some of them with great fluency". Schuchardt notices that it is not only a language for communication between Europeans and natives, but also among natives: "he had even heard natives frequently talking among themselves in this language when they spoke about Whites or things having to do with Whites".

2.5.2. Labour Trade

The main crop on Samoan plantations was copra[9], an activity that demanded a high number of labourers. An interesting fact, common to all plantation areas, is that labourers tended to be imported in their majority from other areas. The people in the area where the plantation was, were often not trusted (either because they were considered lazy or dangerous). The import of labour began in 1867. The recruiting areas were common for Queensland and Samoa[10], which led to conflicts between the colonies. Some examples of these conflicts are cited by Keesing (1988:56). Mühlhäusler (1978a:78) quotes the following table from Moses (1973), which includes the number and origin of labourers to Samoa from 1867 until the mid-1885 [11]:

Year	Total no.	Kingsmill/ Gilbert Is.	Carolines	New Hebrides	Solomons	New Britain New Ireland
1867	81	81	-	-	-	-
1868	115	115	-	-	-	-
1869	40	40	-	-	-	-
1870	69	69	-	-	-	-
1871	48	48	-	-	-	-
1872	15	-	15	-	-	-
1873	438	358	80	-	-	-
1874	140	140	-	-	-	-
1875	280	280	-	-	-	-
1876	101	101	-	-	-	-
1877	251	251	-	-	-	-
1878	272	189	-	83	-	-
1879	718	115	-	570	-	33
1880	535	300	-	-	226	9
1881	378	-	-	179	199	-
1882	264	8	-	153	-	103
1883	355	2	-	29	37	287
1884	245	29	-	-	-	216
mid-1885	512	124	-	187	156	45

[9] Europeans were interested in getting coconut oil for soaps and candles. They realized that instead of extracting the oil on plantations it was more profitable to take the dried coconut meat to Europe and extract the oil there, where the residue could also be used to feed the cattle (Clark 1979:58)

[10] Romaine (1992:36) mentions, for example, that in 1883 Queenslanders obtained 1,200 New Guinean labourers, while the Germans only obtained 300.

[11] Mühlhäusler (1978:112) notices there is disagreement between the data in Moses (1973) and those in Parkinson (1887:35), who states that 700 labourers from New Britain and New Ireland were taken to Samoa during 1883 and 1884, instead of the 500 reported by Moses.

The first Melanesians (83 Hebrideans) arrived on the Samoan plantations in 1878, and the first New Guineans in 1879.

As can be observed in the table above, in the period 1867-1877 only labourers from the Gilbert Islands and the Carolines had been imported to Samoa. These labourers had probably learnt the pidgin in other plantations or through contacts with ships in their home islands. Thus, the pidgin spoken on Samoan plantations in the 1870s appears to be very similar to that spoken in Queensland (Keesing 1988:57). Also, New Hebrideans and Solomon Islanders, who were a majority until 1882, had been exposed to the same influence. Thus, the presence of all these labourers previously exposed to a stable pidgin on other plantations would allow for a continuation of that pidgin on Samoan plantations. Governor Solf (quoted by Mühlhäusler 1978a:72) says the pidgin used in Samoa was the same one being used elsewhere in the southwestern Pacific :

> "In what way do the workers from such different places and islands communicate, when thrown together in Samoa? They use that Volapuk of the South Seas, which has become international among whites and coloureds: pigeon English".

While the Islanders mentioned above were already familiar with the pidgin, Mühlhäusler (1978a:83) considers that New Irelanders learned pidgin on board the recruiting ships or on the plantations as it is evidenced in the following passage in Parkinson (1887:29) that he quotes:

> "The recruiter asks them in classical South Seas English: 'You like go Samoa?' There is confusion among the people present. He continues: 'Me like plenty Kanaka; you give me plenty boys. One boy, me give you one musket, plenty powder, ball, cap, tomahawk, tobacco, beads".

Mühlhäusler (1978a:70) mentions another influence on Samoan Plantation Pidgin, i.e. "unstable varieties of jargonized English in Samoa". However, these varieties are not likely to have influenced the speech on plantations, since there was no regular contact between the local population and the labourers.

2.6. THE PERIOD BETWEEN 1884 AND 1914

In 1884 Germany, in order to protect its trading interests, annexed the Bismarck Archipelago, part of the Solomon Islands and the north-east part of New Guinea mainland. This year was an important date in the history of Tok Pisin. Mühlhäusler (1985a:44) considers "one could call it the year of its birth". The direct consequence of the declaration of the German protectorate is that labour trade between these areas and other plantations in the Pacific finished. Natives from German New Guinea were only taken to Samoa. Siegel (2000) considers that after 1885 "early Melanesian pidgin began to diverge into two slightly different varieties – one spoken in Queensland and one spoken in Samoa".

Mühlhäusler (1978a:78-79) remarks that recruiting of labour after 1885 seems to be restricted to the Bismarck Archipelago and the German Solomons. According to the statistics in Firth (1973) quoted by him, 5,285 people from New Guinea were taken to Samoa as labourers in the period 1887-1912. This would account for a third of the natives who learned the pidgin during German times estimated to be 15,000 by Reed (1943), showing the importance of the Samoan plantations in the acquisition of the pidgin in this area. According to Mühlhäusler (1978a:81) this change in the recruiting grounds had a great impact on SPP: 50% of all labourers recruited for Samoa came from New Ireland and 20% from the Gazelle Peninsula (in Eastern New Britain), they "were speakers of the lexically and grammatically closely related languages spoken in the

New Ireland, Duke of York and East New Britain areas, and their presence was instrumental in changing the character of SPP".

As mentioned above, an important factor for the development of stable pidgins on plantations, was their isolation. Samoan plantations were isolated from both the local population and the white population, and there was also linguistic isolation: they had not been in contact with other varieties of Pidgin English since 1884, the lexifier was withdrawn and there was no contact with the local language, the only possible external influence was from Tolai speakers. Keesing (1988:53) does not agree with Mühlhäusler and maintains, however, that linguistic contact between Queensland and the Bismarck Archipelago extended until the end of the 1880s and that, by the time "the pidgin of Samoa reached New Guinea, it was esentially the same as the pidgin already spoken in some areas that had long been in contact with the Queensland recruiters and plantations and earlier traders". In Keesing's opinion, Tok Pisin did not develop independently until about 1890. For him, influence of Tolai speakers on the pidgin in Samoa seems to be irrelevant, since many of the crucial stabilizations of Melanesian Pidgin had taken place by 1885 and, consequently, all the syntactic patterns of Tok Pisin are also found in Bislama and Solomons Pidgin (ibid. 52).

Whereas the official language of the colony was German, and the use of the pidgin was continuously criticised, the German settlers seemed reluctant to implement language policies for the use of German. They preferred using Pidgin English with their labourers in order to keep a distance (Mühlhäusler 1978a:74).

Mühlhäusler (1985a:41) thinks it is reasonable to expect that children born on plantations spoke the pidgin as their first language. However, he points out that this fact was not relevant in the further development of the pidgin because of the frequent replacement of labourers, who were shipped back when their contracts expired, the

language spoken there being probably repidginized by new recruits. Another more important fact he mentions is that the creolised speech of children was of little importance for the community, whose norms children had to follow.

Mühlhäusler (1978a:76-77) points out that "the most stable pidgins are spoken in those areas where the labourers returned after serving on one of the various plantation centres (...) Thus, Pidgin English in the New Hebrides, the Solomon Islands and New Guinea was transported to these areas in a stabilised form. This factor may have been more important in the development of pidgin languages in these areas than the scattered varieties of jargonised English spoken there in the days of early European contacts". The stable pidgin spoken on Samoan plantations was taken first to Mioko Island, which was a transit camp for both newly-recruited labourers and returning labourers from Samoan plantations. From here it spread to the Blanche Bay of New Britain and the main recruiting areas of New Britain and New Ireland (ibid. 83). Mühlhäusler (1979:72-73) provides evidence that returning labourers brought a knowledge of the pidgin with them, as can be seen in an article from the Samoan Times (6 March 1916) referring to a man called Tom Simbo who

> "having returned from the high school of the plantation labourers, Samoa, equipped with all sorts of information including a knowledge of Pidgin English, was led by his spirit for adventure to a white trader in New Ireland"

Mühlhäusler (1979a:74-76) provides a view of the plantations in New Guinea. The first plantations in German New Guinea in the mid-1880s employed Chinese and Malay labourers, their employment was mainly in the New Guinea mainland. They outnumbered Melanesian workers and Coastal Malay was the lingua franca there. In the plantations in the Bismarck Archipelago, however, the lingua franca was Tok Pisin. Until the early 1890s the plantations on Samoa provided employment for more workers

than the plantations in New Guinea. He quotes from Blum (1900:117) and Firth (1973:144) the number of Melanesian labourers employed in the Bismarck Archipelago:

1884	150	**1900**	c.2,000
1885	250	**1901**	c. 2,500
1886	270	**1902**	3,323
1887	320	**1903**	3,435
1888	370	**1904**	3,954
1889	420	**1905**	3,504
1890	550	**1906**	?
1891	739	**1907**	5,224
1892	1,040	**1908**	5,962
1893	1,150	**1909**	5,993
1894	1,380	**1910**	6,291
1895	1,600	**1911**	8,112
1896	1,819	**1912**	9,306
1897	1,813	**1913**	11,035
1898	1,908	**1914**	13,600
1889	c.1,600		

Mühlhäusler (1985a:47) points out that "towards the later years of German colonisation the importance of the plantations in the Blanche Bay area began to surpass that of the Samoan plantations, and Rabaul became the main centre for the nativisation of Tok Pisin". As a consequence of this, the influence of Tolai on Tok Pisin continued to be important.

Once in New Guinea, the pidgin was not restricted to trading and plantation activities, but it started to be used for communication among New Guineans. As a consequence of the wider use of the pidgin, there was an increase in the number of lexical items from local vernaculars used for communication in new contexts outside the plantation (Mühlhäusler 1978a:112). This expansion, however, did not happen in Samoa, where there was no need for a lingua franca outside the plantations, since a single language was spoken by the entire population.

Mühlhäusler (1985a:48) argues that while labour recruiting and plantations were important factors for the stabilization of Tok Pisin, its expansion would have not

occurred without the 'pax Germanica', "i.e. the gradual pacification of New Guinea, the termination of intertribal warfare and the expansion of effective government control over wide areas". The agents of pacification, i.e. police and government officers contributed to the spread of Tok Pisin.

The role of returned labourers was also another important factor in this context. Sankoff (1980:21) pictures the kind of situation in which Tok Pisin was used by returned labourers:

> "The extent to which returned laborers used Tok Pisin in the village context during this early period remains unknown, but it is likely that they at least repeated common expressions of the kiap (patrol officer) or other visiting dignitary, explaining to the others what they meant".

Tok Pisin was given recognition by the government in the system of village administration, its knowledge being the criterion to appoint *tultuls* or interpreters. Sankoff (1980:21) describes the role of a *luluai* or *tultul*; they "were village officials given military caps and expected to translate the words of visiting government officials, to assemble the population for censuses and tax collection – in other words to be the official brokers between the village and the secular colonial society".

Tok Pisin became a prestigious form of speech as a consequence of the increased status of its speakers and its association with new material wealth brought by the Europeans.

The German administration made Tok Pisin spread to areas that had not been reached before. In the nineteenth century only people on the coast had had contacts with European traders first and with recruiters later. However, now all the parts of the territory are reached by construction of roads, patrols and expeditions, and missionary activities (Mühlhäusler 1985a:49). Romaine (1992:38) points out that in 1903 New Guineans were required to work for up to four weeks a year in the construction of roads

or on plantations. New Guineans could not understand why they should work if they could get what they needed through barter. So, later in order to integrate reluctant New Guineans into the system of colonial economy, a head tax was imposed, so they were forced to work in order to pay their tax. Another factor that contributed to the spread of Tok Pisin was the conscription order in 1913, "which made all males between the ages of 16 and 30 liable for call-up for three years of police service".

2.7. THE PERIOD BETWEEN 1914 AND 1940

At the beginning of World War I (1914-1918) Australia occupied German New Guinea and remained there throughout the war. After Germany's defeat, Australia received it as a mandate in 1921. Although the Australians extended the education system they seemed to be less concerned with native rights in the mandated territory than in Papua (the former British New Guinea, which had been transferred to Australian jurisdiction in 1906) (Ulack 2001).

While until now, plantations and the associated labour trade had been the most important single factor in the stabilization and spread of Tok Pisin, during this period there is more diversification of employment. Mühlhäusler (1979a:85) gives the statistics in Eckert (1938:125) showing the number of labourers in the different sectors: "of the 36,927 contract labourers employed in 1936, 18,773 were employed on plantations, 6,816 in mines, 5,608 in commerce and industries, 3,677 as domestic servants, 1,210 in the administration and 843 in shipping". Out of this almost 37,000 labourers, only 270 were women. In clear contrast with the previous period, 60% of the labourers were recruited on the New Guinea mainland.

Mühlhäusler (1979a:87) considers that a new culture developed, the culture of the 'wokboi', whose vivid description by Mead (1931:144) he quotes:

> "It is a strange culture; almost all those affected by it are males between the ages of twelve and thirty; their homes are scattered far and wide, so that it is necessary to 'go, go-go-go, two fellow Sunday (two weeks)' to reach the places from which they came, but they speak a common language, pidgin English, or 'talk-boy', and their canons are homogeneous and simple. This is the culture of the work boy, the boy who has made, or is about to make 'paper' with the white man, as plantation hand, member of a boat's crew, house boy, child's nurse, wharf laborer or laborer in the gold fields".

English became the official language. Holm (1988b:532) notices that although the Australians thought the pidgin to be corrupted English and would have liked to see its use discontinued "it was much too firmly entrenched". Tok Pisin was used in a number of new contexts, e.g. domestic context, workshops, medical work, the police force, the courts (Mühlhäusler 1979a:80). While many German lexical items were replaced by English items in many contexts (with the exception of religious instruction, still in the hands of German missionaries), the growth of the pidgin came mainly from internal resources and the use of loans from local languages as a consequence of the distance between the Australians and the native population (Mühhäusler 1985a:50). Romaine (1992:80) quotes an editiorial of the Rabaul Times (8 November 1935) which shows the European attitude towards the natives:

> "There is a decided danger in allowing house-servants to obtain too large a vocabulary of the English language in that English-speaking whites enjoy no privacy in their conversation in the home".

On the other hand, the Europeans' knowledge of Tok Pisin seems to have been very limited during this period.

Two important features of this period, which Mühlhäusler (1985a:51) remarks are: high geographical mobility and growing prestige of Tok Pisin. Dialects existing in German times level out as a consequence of regional mobility. Now Tok Pisin is learned

at a much earlier age than in German times. This fact is considered by Mühlhäusler "to be of more importance for the linguistic development of the language than occasional instances of creolization", since it allowed for an increase in structural complexity. Mühlhäusler (1979a:88) remarks that innovations have to be accepted by a large majority of speakers in order to have an influence on the internal growth of the language.

Regional varieties started to develop as a consequence of the spread of Tok Pisin to the Highlands, which had not been reached by Europeans until then. That the Highlands remained an unknown territory for a very long time is evidenced by the surprising fact that in 1930 a million people were discovered in the valleys of the central New Guinea Highlands (Lipscomb et al. 1998:16). While the pattern of transmission of pidgin in the coastal areas was between New Guineans, in the Highlands, the natives learned it from patrol officers (Mühlhäusler 1985a:54). It was used for contact with Europeans. Intertribal communication was very restricted. This is the same process observed earlier in the development of pidgin in coastal areas.

Healey (1975:37) gives an account of how the pidgin developed later and more slowly in the Highlands:

> "I have seen it spread all through the highlands, from the early days when it was spoken by only one woman and four or five males in the Western Highlands, no one in the Southern Highlands, a handful of people in the Chimbu and a larger handful in Goroka".

2.8. TOK PISIN DURING WORLD WAR II

The Japanese occupied the Mandated Territory in 1942. American and Australian forces fought to drive them from the territory. Lipscomb et al. (1998:18) remark that "most Melanesians were military neutral in the conflict, although they were

used extensively on both sides as labourers, guides, carriers and informers". The powers involved in the fight realised that linguistic communication needed to be established in order to control the population (Mühlhäusler 1985a:55). The previous situation of total lack of interest in Tok Pisin changes now and this results in the first serious linguistic efforts (apart from those made by German missionaries) to analyse the language and understand its nature. Mühlhäusler (1985a:55) gives an example of how the learning of Tok Pisin was considered important by American soldiers:

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

Mühlhäusler (1985a:56) notices that two new functions arise for Tok Pisin as a consequence of the interest shown by the forces fighting in New Guinea: " that of promoting solidarity between the occupying armies and the indigenous population and that of large-scale social control through Tok Pisin media".

Tok Pisin has been used in different stages as a means of social control (missionary work, government control). During World War II it was used as propaganda in pamphlets, whose distribution described by Clark (1955:11-12) is quoted in Mühlhäusler (1985a:57):

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

A number of promises were made in these pamphlets. Nevertheless, these promises were not fulfilled. Below, Mühlhäusler (1985a:57) quotes a pamphlet titled *Tok long boi i halipim Masta*, 'notice to Natives who help Europeans':

"Nau gavmen i tok. Olsam, dispela boi i halipim Masta i olsam i halipim Gavmen. Oraet taem gavmen i rausim Japan pinis Nau gavmen in(sic) *painim dispela boi nau i pae gut tumas long im. Nau Ol yupela savi gut.*
Now the Government is talking. Any native who helps a European helps the Government. Once the Government has thrown out the Japanese, they will find such natives and reward them very handsomely. Now you know".

Recruitment during the war took place in Tok Pisin-speaking areas as well as in remote areas. At the peak of the war activities the number of recruits was 55,000. While this regional mobility forced by the war had an influence on the spread of the language, another less positive effect of the war was the decrease in the proficiency among certain groups, those young men who could not go to work on plantations and who were not old enough to be recruited by the army. They lacked the knowledge of Tok Pisin their elders had gathered in previous times. Mühlhäusler (1979a:97;1985a:58) notices that the factors conducting to stabilization, e.g. labour trade, plantations, missions, declined during the war, and, instead, the language was influenced by Australian and American soldiers with a very rudimentary knowledge of Tok Pisin.

2.9. THE POST-WAR PERIOD (1945-1953)

In 1946 Australia was given the right to administer the Territory of New Guinea and Papua. However, it was not until 1949 when "these were officially amalgamated, with Port Moresby being designated capital of the Territories of Papua and New Guinea" (Todd 1984:157).

The social stability of the pre-war years in Papua New Guinea gave way to drastic social changes after the war. Mühlhäusler (1979a:98) remarks the following:

- Gradual weakening of the master-boy relationship. As expression of their gratitude, Australians got involved in the development of Papua New Guinea. Upward

social mobility is not limited only to the white colonisers. English teaching was promoted, in clear contrast with the Australian attitude during pre-war times that English was the language of the masters, and schools were open in many areas. Healey (1975:38) notices that:

> "Lots of young people as a result began to speak primary English. There was also the removal of the Tok Boi complex among expatriates. In this complex the local people in New Guinea were discouraged from using English when speaking to expatriates. These factors tended to quicken the introduction of English words and words from other languages because English was being taught".

However, education in English also seemed to entail negative consequences. Todd (1984:160) quotes Chatterton's (1974:50-51) opinion about an all-English primary education:

> "...has produced a generation of school leavers who are not effectively literate in any language at all ... Their ability to read English with understanding is too limited and too tenuous to be of much use to them; ... [and] ... they have never learned to read and write their own language and they have been conditioned to despise it".

The renewed contact of Tok Pisin with its original lexifier language would have a great influence on the development of the urban variety.

Romaine (1992:83) points out that education in Tok Pisin did not disappear and it continued to be used, together with local vernaculars, as a means of instruction in schools ruled by Catholics and Lutherans.

- The decline of importance of German missions. As opposed to earlier years, the majority of missionaries after the war came from English-speaking countries. They did not have the knowledge of Tok Pisin German-speaking missionaries had.

- The development of Highlands Pidgin. This happened as a consequence of the settling of a large number of Europeans and the development of urban centres. The development of Tok Pisin in the Highlands followed the same pattern observed in coastal Tok Pisin, only some years later.

It started being used as a way to communicate with Europeans, in this case with patrol officers in their visits to the area. Also Highlanders were taken to work on plantations in coastal areas, where they were in contact with speakers of Tok Pisin. Healey (1975:38) remarks:

> "From the early forties the pool of non-speakers of Pidgin eventually greatly exceeded the numbers of fluent Pidgin speakers and the learning of Pidgin by the newcomers deteriorated in quality. This resulted from the rapid increase in the numbers of English speakers migrating to Papua New Guinea and from the release from the highland districts of thousands of non-Pidgin speaking Highlanders who came to work in urban and plantation situations".

Progressively a more stable pidgin started to be used for intertribal communication.

- The development of urban centres. Now is the town and not the plantation where natives can come into contact with European ideas and where jobs can be found. And, although still of minor importance, creolisation of Tok Pisin started in households where children spoke it as their first language.

- The development of new media. In pre-war times, Tok Pisin had been a language for oral communication. However, it became important in its written form during World War II when used in the pamphlets distributed by the Australian and American soldiers. Together with mission publications newspapers began to emerge with the purpose of promoting social and political development of the New Guineans. Mühlhäusler (1979:101) notices the dilemma faced by the Australian administration, who had to choose between effective communication in Tok Pisin or promotion of

English. The spread of English was considered as a long-term project, and Tok Pisin was favoured instead in the communication between government and people. The newspapers in pidgin were considered by the government not only as news media but also as a way to bring Tok Pisin closer to English. Mühlhäusler remarks that at that time Tok Pisin was seen as help in the learning of English because of their lexical similarities. Still in 1971 Mihalic in the introduction to his Dictionary states: "It [Tok Pisin] has a very large part to play in education, both in schools and out, particularly in the teaching of English" (p.3). Though not many speakers were directly affected by the media, "their anglicised form of NGP enjoyed prestige among educated urban groups, thereby reinforcing the development of Urban Pidgin as a sociolect distinct from Rural Pidgin" (Mühlhäusler 1979a:102).

In 1953 the United Nations Trusteeship Council sent a mission to New Guinea, whose opinion can be read in Hall (1955:101) quoted in Mühlhäusler (1985a:59):

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

However, by the time this happened, Tok Pisin had been reinforced by a number of developments that had occurred throughout its history and it was in full use in many contexts.

3. SOCIOLINGUISTIC CONTEXT

3.1. INFORMATION ABOUT PAPUA NEW GUINEA

The review of the history of Tok Pisin has shown that its development is closely connected to the development of the social context. In order to predict further developments of Tok Pisin it is important to know about the context where speakers of Tok Pisin are living today. The population of Papua New Guinea is 5,190,786 (2000 PNG census), with a growth rate of 2.43% (2001 est.). According to the data presented by the CIA, the age structure is:

0-14 years: 38.7%

15-64 years: 57.63%

65 years and over: 3.67%

Life expectancy rate at birth (2001 est. CIA) is 63.46 years (61.39 years for males and 65.64 years for females).

The population is overwhelmingly rural as can be seen in the percentages per province below (1990 census in Papua New Guinea Online):

	Rural	Urban
Western	81.7	18.3
Gulf	89.5	10.5
National Capital District		
Central	95.3	4.7
Milne Bay	93.1	6.9
Oro	85.5	14.5
Morobe	73.6	26.4
Madang	85.8	14.2
East Sepik	90.6	10.4
Sandaun	91.7	8.3
Southern Highlands	97.4	2.6

Western Highlands	93.8	6.2
Eastern Highlands	91.5	8.5
Simbu	96.1	3.9
Enga	98.3	1.7
Manus	82.4	17.6
New Ireland	90.6	9.4
East New Britain	88.2	11.8
West New Britain	85.2	14.8
North Solomons*	-	-

* The 1990 Census could not be conducted in the North Solomons because the province was under rebel control.

As far as education is concerned, the statistics (Papua New Guinea Online) show that a very low percentage of the population has completed basic education. Among all persons 10 years and older only 32.18% completed 6 grade, i.e. lower primary education, and only 7.21% completed grade 10. It should be noted that in the Highlands the percentages are even lower than the national average. The National Capital District, New Ireland and East New Britain are the provinces which show the highest percentages.

	Completed grade 6	Completed grade 10
Western	35.8	7.2
Gulf	31.3	5.2
National Capital District	61.5	26.1
Central	37.4	8
Milne Bay	34.7	5.6
Oro	35.1	3.8
Morobe	30.1	7.5
Madang	30.2	5.9

East Sepik	27	4.1
Sandaun	23.5	3.8
Southern Highlands	12.4	2.8
Western Highlands	17.7	4.2
Eastern Highlands	19	4.4
Simbu	14.8	3.8
Enga	13.4	3.6
Manus	55.6	11.4
New Ireland	44	10.7
East New Britain	49.6	12.2
West New Britain	42.3	6.7
North Solomons*	-	-
Total	32.18	7.21

Other data of interest are related to the physical environment. The main feature of the geography of Papua New Guinea is a mountainous central backbone, i.e. the Highlands, descending sharply to the coastal lowlands. The Highlands were for a long time a completely isolated area. It was the last area reached by Europeans, they arrived there only in the 1920s. In 1930 miners working there discovered one million people.

The population is scattered not only in mountain valleys but also on tiny islands. In a country with a very low number of roads, flying remains the main means of transport. The number of airports in the statistics below is noticeable, most of them, however, are only suitable for small aircrafts.

Transportation

Railways: 0 km

Highways: total: 19,600 km

paved: 686 km

unpaved: 18,914 km (1996)

Airports: total: 492

with paved runways: 20

with unpaved runways: 472

As far as communications are concerned, the statistics below (CIA World Factbook) show the number of radio and television stations. Television broadcasting is quite a new phenomenon in Papua New Guinea, it started in 1987. And still today the number of television sets is very low and watching TV is a social event in communities which only have one or two televisions (Lipscomb et al. 1998:63)

Radio broadcast stations: AM 8, FM19, shortwave 28 (1998)

Radios: 410,000 (1997)

Television broadcast stations: 3 (1997)

Televisions: 42,000 (1997)

Internet users: 2,000 (2000)

Although Papua New Guinea is rich in natural resources, e.g. oil, copper, gold, there is virtually no manufacturing industry. Agriculture provides a subsistence livelihood for 85% of the population (CIA World Factbook).

3.2. LINGUISTIC INFORMATION

Papua New Guinea is the most linguistically heterogeneous society in the world, 823 languages are spoken in a country of 5,190,786 people, being its diversity index 0.99. This situation is paralleled by the one in Cameroon and Nigeria, with a diversity index of 0.97 and 0.88 respectively. Very different from the index in European countries such as Spain (0.44) and the United Kingdom (0.07). In Papua New Guinea, Cameroon and Nigeria, the need for a common language, which is neutral, not

associated to any of the social groups in the country might be considered the most important factor motivating the expansion of the pidgin spoken there.

The number of speakers of each language in Papua New Guinea must be necessarily low, and, thus, most of the languages are spoken by a few hundred or a few thousands, and some of them by a few people, being on the verge of extinction. Speakers of Tok Pisin (2 million speakers as a second language and 50,000 as a first language) greatly outnumber speakers of other languages. It is one of the national or official languages of Papua New Guinea together with Hiri Motu and English.

Compared to the whole number of speakers of Tok Pisin, only a low percentage of them (50,000) can be considered creole speakers. However, it should be observed that the speakers' dominant language may not be the language first acquired. As Laycock (1985a:667) observes, "creolization of a language does not necessarily produce a community of native speakers", instances of creolization have existed throughout the history of Tok Pisin withouth them producing a community of speakers.

Mühlhäusler (1986:8) argues that creolization can happen at different stages in the development of a pidgin. It was not until Tok Pisin was an expanded pidgin that large-scale creolization took place. This kind of creolization is different from the one observed in the creoles in the Caribbean, which took place from an impoverished pidgin.

Whereas the temporary character of plantations did not favour creolization, settlement of people in urban areas provided the right environment. Children born out of intertribal marriages grew up speaking Tok Pisin as their first language, not necessarily learning their parents' vernaculars, or at least not in a productive way. In urban settings traditional vernaculars are of little importance, the influence of English, instead, is considerable

3.2.1. Language policies in education

In the 1970s English was the language of formal education, but Litteral (2000:3) remarks that "in practice Tok Pisin was used extensively in the lower primary grades in many rural schools in the region of the former Territory of New Guinea".

Education policies in the 1990s have enhanced the role of communities in the process of decision-making. They can choose the language to be used in the first three years of elementary education, in which literacy will be acquired. [See Litteral (1999) and (2000) for a summary of the development of language policies and Siegel (1997)for an evaluation of education of a pre-school program which uses Tok Pisin]. Many schools have chosen tok ples (the local vernacular) and some others Tok Pisin, especially in urban areas (Litteral 1999:4). Papua New Guinea government assumes that communities are to be the main providers of vernacular education. In theory, the choice of language carries over to Lower Primary School (Grades 3-6). However, Litteral (personal communication) states that there has been very little education using any languages other than English in lower primary since the policy is new and there has been little training to implement it.

Literacy in the main languages of Papua New Guinea is as follows (Papua New Guinea Online):

	Literacy rate	English	Tok Pisin	Hiri Motu	Local language
Western	66.5	49.9	18.1	15.4	49.7
Gulf	61.1	42.9	14.3	17	49.6
National Capital District	81.3	69.1	60.9	39.6	65.7
Central	66.4	50.8	25.4	37.1	52
Milne Bay	77	53	12.5	12.6	70.6
Oro	62.7	48.4	29.1	12.3	50.4

	Literacy rate	English	Tok Pisin	Hiri Motu	Local language
Morobe	52.2	27.2	42.9	2.2	46.1
Madang	45.9	29.5	40.3	1.1	40.9
East Sepik	36.1	21.2	28.9	1	30.2
Sandaun	30.4	17.3	27.3	0.9	22.1
Southern Highlands	23.5	11.1	13.7	0.7	19.5
Western Highlands	23.3	12.6	16.9	0.5	18.9
Eastern Highlands	25.2	17.7	21.2	0.6	21.1
Simbu	26.2	13.6	20	1	21.2
Enga	30.2	14.5	18	0.4	26.8
Manus	62.5	51.1	57.1	1.1	55.9
New Ireland	61.5	45.8	57.4	0.6	55.9
East New Britain	73.4	45.2	64.1	1.6	69.7
West New Britain	61	37.9	55	1.5	54.3
North Solomons*	-	-	-	-	-
Total	50.86	34.67	32.79	7.74	43.18

* The 1990 Census could not be conducted in the North Solomons because the province was under rebel control.

3.2.2. Functions of Tok Pisin and English

Tok Pisin has expanded its roles and functions. Wurm (1985:72) notices that "for the majority of the rural population, Tok Pisin is the only link which they have with the outside world and the only avenue which gives them access to new ideas". And their only means of access to the administration.

Tok Pisin is also the language used in Parliament, not restricted only to certain topics and strategies as it was in the period 1964-68 (Mühlhäusler 1979:168). There have been important changes in education, and although it is compulsory from a

national policy perspective, it can be chosen as a means of instruction at elementary level. It is also used in the media: in Wantok newspaper, on the radio (YumiFM broadcasts 24 hours in Tok Pisin) and sometimes on television (EmTV). [See Siegel (1985) for an analysis of the use of Tok Pisin in the mass media] For the use of Tok Pisin in literature see Laycock (1985b).

On the other hand, English is compulsory in Elementary Grade 2 along with a local language and is the main language of instruction after Grade 3. It is widely used in the media. Television stations broadcast in English. And newspapers (with the exception of Wantok) are published in English. It is the language of technology and of relationships with the international community.

4. HYPOTHESES ABOUT THE FUTURE OF TOK PISIN

Within 118 years (if we take 1884 as the year of its birth) Tok Pisin has developed from a stabilizing pidgin into one of the national languages of Papua New Guinea, with 2 million second language speakers and 50,000 first language speakers (Ethnologue). And it is now being used in a number of contexts, e.g. education, literature, media, politics.

Pacific Jargon emerged as a consequence of the need of communication between Europeans and Pacific Islanders. While in some areas the jargon disappeared once the external circumstances that favoured it disappeared, e.g. Polynesia and Micronesia, in Melanesia, the great linguistic diversity made it also necessary in contexts different from interaction with Europeans.

Very early Tok Pisin started to serve as a means of communication between Papua New Guineans in plantations, where it was the lingua franca between labourers brought from many different areas. New recruits and returning labourers came into contact in transit camps in the Duke of York Islands (Blanche Bay area). The returning labourers brought with them their knowledge of the pidgin and started spreading it in their villages, where they might have been improvised translators of government officials. Later, this role was institutionalised and *tultuls* and *luluais* were appointed by the government to serve that purpose. The circumstances brought about by the 'pax Germanica' allowed for intertribal communication, which had never happened before. Tok Pisin was spread to areas which had not been reached before. It was considered to be a prestigious form of speech because of the social status of its speakers and the welfare associated with it. The high regional mobility favoured the contacts between

people from many different areas, speakers of many different languages. A new culture started to emerge, the culture of the 'wokboi', where people from faraway places shared a common language, which combined elements from the traditional culture and from the Western culture (Wurm 1985:67). Wolfers (1971:417) describes this:

> "Neo-Melanesian now serves as a simple bond among indigenous New Guineans when they seek to set themselves apart from Europeans or even coastal Papuans, when they share no other common language. The concept of a wantok, i.e. a speaker of one's own language, did not exist in pre-contact society, where men fought against other speakers of their own language as often as they fought against linguistic outsiders".

Why did Tok Pisin become the language of that new culture? According to Romaine (1992:330), mainly for two reasons: it was nobody's language, and it had prestige in the sense that it "symbolizes familiarity with Western culture and a world outside the village". Natives were willing to have access to that world and young men learned the language eagerly from returning labourers in order to get ready to be recruited.

Papua New Guineans have been the creators of the pidgin, making use of whatever resources –English, German, Tolai or language internal resources – were necessary to meet their communicative needs in each stage. The Europeans had to learn the language, instead, and most did not do it, and spoke standard English or Tok Masta, which Mühlhäusler (1985:53) considers as a variety of English rather than of Tok Pisin. What started as a language of colonialism used by the colonizers for instrumental purposes, became a language of solidarity in which the colonized could express shared experiences (Romaine 1992:330). Papua New Guineans have a feeling that Tok Pisin is a language of their own, as Wurm (1980:239) observes:

> "the belief is generally held by them (and which is substantially true) that Tok Pisin is a local creation by the Papua New Guineans themselves and therefore a

> language which is very different from English and very much their own as opposed to the white man's language, English. Their belief in this is strengthened by the fact that very few expatriates indeed ever succeed in acquiring the same mastery of Tok Pisin as Papua New Guineans".

During the German administration some attempts were made at the suppression of Tok Pisin, however, "the principle was that communication in NGP [New Guinea Pidgin] was better than no communication at all" (Mühlhäusler, Wurm and Dutton 1979:264). Although determined at first to uproot Tok Pisin, the Australians found that it was the most suitable means of communication and used it in written form and in broadcasting. What can be observed through different periods is that language policies faced the problem of integrating abstract ideals and the need for communication. "In the end, the pressure for effective communication and the desires of the people of Papua New Guinea who had adopted NGP as their language gained the upper hand" (Mühlhäusler et al. 1979:265).

The main reasons that contributed to the acceptance and expansion of Tok Pisin as a common language were both pragmatic and ideological. Currently, although many social circumstances have changed since the time when labour – on Samoan plantations first and in Papua New Guinea later – rendered Tok Pisin necessary, there is still an obvious need for a common language in a country of 5,190,786 people where 823 languages are spoken. Tok Pisin, being the language most widely spoken, continues to serve that purpose. For the rural population it is a "unifying link which gives them a feeling of solidarity"(Wurm, 1985:73) and it is their means of communication with the local administration.

One might think that a diglossic, or rather a triglossic situation, could have consolidated in Papua New Guinea, where local vernaculars, Tok Pisin and English would have different roles and would be used in different situations. This is the situation

in urban settings described by Wurm (1985:67): "the two languages exist side by side, with Tok Pisin and English fulfilling mutually exclusive specific social roles and functions." In Laycock's (1985:667) opinion Tok Pisin and English have complementary roles, the former being "the socialising language across linguistic boundaries" and the latter, "the elite administering language of a government network".

Michael Somare's opinion on the separate roles of English and Tok Pisin reported in Wantok (10 July 1976) is quoted by Romaine (1992:331):

> *"Na praim minista i bin tok olsem: 'Mi ting yumi mas yusim Tok Inglish long skul na long bisnis na long toktok wantaim arapela kantri. Na mi no laikim Tok Pisin long wanem em i gat planti Tok Inglis insait long en. Miting planti yumi long olgeta hap i yusim Tok Inglis pinis, olsem mi laikim em i kamap na nasenel tok ples bilong PNG'. Na taim em i mekim dispela tok, em i yusim Tok Pisin.*
> The Prime Minister spoke thus: 'I think we must use English in our schools and for business and discussions with other countries. I don't like Tok Pisin which is mixed with a lot of English. I feel very strongly that we've used English for all sorts of purposes, and I want it to become the national language of Papua New Guinea'. At the time he made this speech, he was using Tok Pisin".

Nevertheless, for a diglossic situation to consolidate, the distance between the languages must be maintained and contexts for the use of one language or the other must be clearly determined. This does not seem to be the situation in Papua New Guinea, especially in urban contexts. On the one hand, the use of Tok Pisin has expanded to many different contexts, both in the private and public levels. It is the language of debates in Parliament, it is used in the media, and in schools which choose it as the language at elementary level. Even, surprisingly, it is used by university students outside the classroom (Romaine 1992:341). On the other hand, English is now being perceived as the key to opportunities in society (as it was the case with Tok Pisin in previous stages). Robert Litteral (personal communication) pointed out to me that

parents are aware of the importance of English as the key to better opportunities for their children and want English to be the language of education instead of Tok Pisin, since they assume that the latter will be acquired anyway, as it was the case for them.

In order for Tok Pisin to remain a useful means of communication, it has to be suitable for the expression of a Western culture, or rather for a hybrid of the Western culture and the Papua New Guinea culture (Wurm 1985:70). Mühlhäusler et al. (1979a:272) remark that Tok Pisin must be adapted to the needs of the Papua New Guinean society. They point out that this can be done making use of two different strategies: borrowing from English and innovation from internal resources. The factors favouring borrowing include the prestige of English, the economic links with Australia, and the proximity of the Solomon Islands, with a more anglicized pidgin. On the other hand, the use of internal resources is favoured by the need to keep the pidgin easy to learn since it is a second language for most of its speakers, the risk of losing communicative power, and the strength of local traditions.

The current developments in Urban Pidgin seem to be creating a gap between urban pidgin and rural pidgin which can become an actual risk for the future of the communicative power of Tok Pisin. Will the gap be so big as to hinder communication? What started as a language of intertribal communication can fail to achieve its purpose if rural speakers have serious problems understanding the urban variety.

If English continues to be the most important source of innovations in Tok Pisin, what will be the outcome? Will a linguistic continuum emerge (as it is the case in Jamaica)?

With increasing influence of English on Urban Pidgin, the boundaries between languages cannot be so clearly established in many situations. Code mixing by the same speaker within the same situation seems to be very common. Mühlhäusler (1979b:169)

remarks: "to the extent that NGP is regarded to be on a par with English in a wide range of contexts, the choice of one or the other code is no longer strictly regulated, and mixing of the two systems in a public context by bilingual individuals is thus encouraged, particularly in public speaking, where the use of more than one code is regarded as enhancing the speaker's prestige". Besides, the proximity between Urban Pidgin and English causes a great deal of overlap. Mühlhäusler (1979:170) concludes that Tok Pisin could be in a transitional stage between a diglossic situation and a linguistic continuum.

DeCamp (1971b:349) argued that for a linguistic continuum to develop, two conditions must be met, namely, that there is enough social mobility to motivate creole speakers to modify their speech in the direction of the standard and that education or other acculturative activities favour the influence of the standard on the creole. These processes are by no means uniform, they affect individuals to different degrees. Although DeCamp refers to creole speakers, the same would apply to second language speakers who use Tok Pisin as their main language. They can also modify their speech in the direction of English, as it can be observed in Urban Pidgin. Features favouring the appearance of a continuum such as social mobility and increased contact with the standard are present in Papua New Guinea only to a limited extent. Access of the population in general to education in English is limited: only 32.18% of the population over 10 completed grade 6, i.e. lower primary school, and 7.21 % completed grade 10.

The influence of English is not uniform throughout the country. In rural areas the use of English outside the classroom situation is very much restricted and its influence on Tok Pisin, hence, rather limited. It must be kept in mind that rural population greatly outnumbers urban population (see table on pages 48-49).

With increasing education the knowledge of English is expected to increase. An increasing population of urban settlers and rural children is learning English.
Also if migration to towns increases, as it might be expected, more speakers of rural pidgin will come into contact with urban pidgin, which will become the mesolect in the linguistic continuum with rural pidgin gradually losing prestige and becoming the basilect, and the Standard Australian English being the acrolect.

In Mühlhäusler's (1979c:236) opinion, renewed contact with the lexifier will make a third system emerge. He notices that "in spite of heavy borrowing, Urban Pidgin does not appear to be more readily intelligible to a speaker of English than Rural Pidgin. At the same time, it is no longer easy to understand for speakers of Rural Pidgin". Nevertheless, if this influence is maintained through time and innovations coming from Tok Pisin's inner resources are not incorporated into Urban Pidgin this might become gradually closer to the lexifier and, eventually, a kind of Niuginian English could be the outcome, just as there is an Indian English as a result of the contact between English-speakers and Indians (Romaine 1989:15).

The analysis of Tok Pisin will provide evidence of the trends in the development of the phonology, syntax and lexicon of Tok Pisin.

CHAPTER II

DESCRIPTION OF TOK PISIN

1. PHONOLOGY

1.1. JARGON STAGE

At the jargon stage when there is a need to communicate in a very restricted domain only, communication is very simple and the degree of individual variation is likely to be very high in all the areas of the language. As far as pronunciation is concerned, speakers probably adjust the new words from the lexifier language to the phonological system of their native language, and since Papua New Guinea is a multilingual area, probably different pronunciations were found for the same word. Holm (1988b:533) refers to the distinctive features of Tok Pisin analyzed by Wurm (1977): "Tok Pisin has Austronesian language features that make its systems distinct from those of both English and the Atlantic creoles on all linguistic levels. In phonology, the phonetic qualities of the consonant allophones are largely unlike English and are reminiscent of those of local languages". Therefore, the phonology of pidgins is not necessarily simpler than that of the lexifier language, e.g. prenasalised plosives, and bilabial fricatives in Tok Pisin. In Schuchardt's (1883:22) opinion this jargon is difficult to understand because of the phonetic features of Melanesian and Polynesian languages manifested in it. However, Mühlhäusler (1986:138-139) points out that this is not the

only cause of the variation found in the pronunciation of pidgins, "one must distinguish between departures from the lexifier language due to substratum influence in production; mishearing and other perceptual difficulties; and universal (natural) tendencies in pronunciation.". Schuchardt (1889:28) reproduces the tale of a South Sea islander who had been 'blackbirded', which gives an idea of how the jargon was constructed.

> *"Me no likee Porter Mackai; plenty sugar he stop (is there), me carry him plenty time. Me get one feller bokus (one box or chest), one fellar gun, plenty tambacca. Me stop three-feller year – my word! too muchee wark! me no sleep; me carry sugar, my word! Me no likee him. Now you give me tambacca".*

Although the person transcribing the tale was an English speaker, he seems to have made an effort to portray the jargon speaker's pronunciation. Examples of both substratum influence and universals can be seen here. The use of nasal plosives, e.g. 'tambacca' for 'tobacco' is due to the presence of these sounds in the substrate languages. Mihalic (1971:7) describes this feature: "In many Melanesian languages, the sounds /b/, /d/ and /g/ have their onset strongly nasalised, making them sound to European ears like /mb/, /nd/ and /nng/ (...) In some words, especially in the interior of the word between vowels, the pronunciation /mb/, /nd/, or /ngg/ has become permanent in the usage of both Melanesians and Europeans, and we will write it as such, e.g. tambu." Other examples in Mihalic's dictionary are: *nabaut* < 'about', *indai* < 'die', *sindaun* < 'sit down', *pundaun* < 'fall down'.

The spelling 'feller' /fela/ might represent the natives' pronunciation of 'fellow', where the diphthong disappears. Mihalic (1971:4) comments that "it should be noted that native speakers of Melanesian Pidgin do not use the diphthongal offglides we have in English". The spelling 'wark' might have been used to represent the pronunciation

/wɔ:k/ or, more probably /wɒk/ - since the difference between short and long vowels is not expected to be found in a jargon -.

There is also simplification of a cluster, box /bɒks/ becomes 'bokus', where an epenthetic vowel has been inserted. Mihalic (1971:6) refers to this adaptation of English words. Mosel (1980:18-19) referring more especifically to the case of Tok Pisin comments that Tolai does not allow clusters in word-initial or word-final position. She gives examples of the way English words are adapted.

English	**Tolai**
plate	*pelet*
glass	*galat*
strong	*torong*

She comments that the corresponding TP forms *plet*, *glas*, *strong*, developed from earlier forms similar to those of Tolai. However, the phenomenon is not due only to Tolai influence; it seems to be a common Melanesian feature. Schuchardt (1883:20) gives examples of this general feature: "Esterrong = strong, esseppoon = spoon, essaucepen = sauce-pan, pellate = plate, coverra = cover, millit = milk, bock-kiss = box, and so on, can be easily explained by the phonological structures of the Melanesian or Polynesian languages. It is well known that the New Zealanders [Maoris] especially, deform foreign words to such an extent that they become completely unrecognizable".

Mühlhäusler (1986) says that simplification of clusters has received renewed interest within the comparison of language acquisition and pidginization. He points out the difference Aitchinson (1983) makes between the ways in which cluster reduction is carried out in child language and early pidgins. While children do this by means of deletion, adults creating a pidgin tend to use epenthesis. However, Mühlhäusler (1986: 141-142) remarks that both strategies are present in the formation of pidgins, "for the earlier jargon stage, it can be observed that next to forms with epenthetic vowels, which

are easier to perceive for speakers of the target language and therefore reinforced, one finds evidence of language-learning strategies that parallel those of young children). He gives examples from early texts in Melanesian varieties of Pidgin Englishes, e.g. 'tesen' 'station', tima 'steamer', 'sos' 'church'[1].

On the other hand, universal tendencies can be perceived in other vocabulary items such as "likee" or "muchee" where a paragogic vowel has been added producing the less marked CVCV word structure, common in many pidgins.

As for the other factor mentioned above that could cause departures from the lexifier language: mishearing and other perceptual difficulties, there are not examples in the text given but there are instances in the Tok Pisin lexicon where aphesis – omission of unstressed syllables – may have resulted from misperception, e.g. *pret* < afraid, *aninit* < underneath, *gen* < again, *olgeta* < altogether.

In some instances boundaries between words are not perceived, and some Tok Pisin words develop from two (or even more) English words:

Demonstrative + noun: *Arapela, dispela, sampela, narapela*

Adjective + noun: *Wantaim, kwiktaim, pastaim, longtaim, bipotaim*
Biknem, bikmaus, bikmoning, biksolwara

Noun + adjective: *Belisi, belhat*
Nambawan, nambatu

Verb + particle: *Kamap, tokaut, lukautim, bagarapim, ronawe, toklukaut,*
Pairapim, hensapim.

1.2. STABILIZATION

Mühlhausler (1986:148) considers phonology to be the least stable part of stabilized pidgins. Variability continues to exist as long as communication is not

[1] The pronunciation of church as 'sos' does not seem to correspond to the same kind of strategy observable in the other examples given, since there is not a cluster being simplified, but a more marked phoneme /ʧ/ being replaced by a less marked one /s/

impaired, "as long as there is sufficient structural and contextual redundancy, pronunciation and phonological rules can differ quite significantly from group to group and speaker to speaker".

Holm (1988:105) says that the features of creole languages "reflect the influence of both superstrate and substrate languages, universals of adult second-language acquisition, borrowing from adstrate languages, creole-internal innovations, and the convergence of all or some of these. Sorting out which of these influences may have resulted in particular phonological features is by no means an easy task".

All these different phenomena are at work to produce the sound inventory of Tok Pisin, characterized by the features which will be dealt with in the following section.

1.2.1. Elimination of many marked sounds

Holm assigns this to the influence of universals, "universals can also be seen to play a role in the pidginization and creolization process in that sounds that are found throughout most of the world's languages are more likely to survive pidginization and creolization than sounds that are relatively rare" (Holm 1988a:107).

1. All English alveolar fricatives, /s/, /z/, /ʃ/,/ʒ/ become /s/ in Tok Pisin. Mosel (1980:14):

Tok Pisin	**English**
Resa	razor
Sik	sick
Tresari	treasury
Bus	bush

Since /s/ is absent in Tolai, it was first substituted by /t/ in the Tolais' pidgin. Mosel (1980:14) explains how the process went on, "for the time between the wars we

have evidence that Tolais speaking Pidgin freely mixed /s/ and /t/, and that they realised even original /t/ as /s/ as a result of hypercorrection." As an example of this mixture Mosel (1980) quotes an extract from the Rabaul Times:

> "... the Blanche Bay natives invariably mix up the 't' and 's'. 'Me make sea finish, now he no got tucker', is a common expression of the New Britain houseboy" (Rabaul Times, November 6, 1925).

Some Tolai loanwords with /s/ show that they must have been borrowed from s-dialects or a Southern New Ireland language (Mosel 1980:15):

Tok Pisin	**s-dialect of Tolai, Southern New-Ireland**	**Tolai**	**Meaning**
Balus	*balus*	*balu*	pigeon
Mosong	*mosong*	*mong*	fuzz

2. The affricates /ʧ/ /ʤ/ are realized as /s/. Mosel (1980:16):

Tok Pisin	**borrowed from**
Ensin	engine
Tis	teacher

3. Tolai /ŋ/ becomes /n/ in word-initial position in Tok Pisin, e.g. natnat 'mosquito' (Tolai ngatingat). Only one word has kept /ŋ/ in Tok Pisin, ngong 'deaf-mute, an ignorant person'. Mosel (1980:17) thinks that the reason for this may be that, unlike natnat, Europeans where not likely to use this word.

4. English /ð/ and /θ/ become /d/ and /t/ respectively, e.g. 'diskain', this kind, 'nating', nothing. However Mosel (1980: 14) notices some exceptions:

- *Tasol* (from 'that's all'), *brata* and *olgeta* (from 'altogether') should have /d/ instead of /t/
- *Arakain* (from 'other kind'). There should be a /d/ instead of a flap

- *Maus* 'mouth' and *tis* 'tooth'. Although these words are given as an exception by Mosel, it seems likely that they were caused by hypercorrection of ealier forms in /t/ - *maut and *tit -. As said above the Tolais mixed /t/ and /s/ and sometimes they pronounced /s/ instead of even original /t/ as a result of hypercorrection.

5. It must also be remembered that English has not been the only superstrate language in the formation of Tok Pisin. In words from German, /ç/ is replaced by /s/ or /k/ in Tok Pisin, and /x/ by /k/.

Milis < Milch *tepik* < Teppich

Kuken < Kuchen

1.2.2. Effect of phonological distinctions in substratum languages

The phonology of Tok Pisin seems to be the common denominator between the phonologies of the languages in contact. Tolai was a very important language in shaping Tok Pisin, "since most of the laborers first employed in Samoa had originated from the area around the tiny Duke of York island in the channel between New Britain and New Ireland." (Holm1988b:531). Mühlhäusler cites a text by Schnee:

> "One and the same Pidgin-English word is pronounced quite differently by natives from different regions, depending on whether the consonants of a word are found in the kanaka language in question or not. In the dialects spoken in the Blanche Bay (near Herbertshöhe) the consonants c, f, h, s, z as well as the English th are missing. Since, in addition, most of the natives find it difficult to pronounce consonants in sequence, many words are mutilated to a degree that they become unintelligible" (Mühläusler 1986:149).

The biggest problem when investigating substratum inflence in Tok Pisin lies in the fact, that we do not know which phonological reductions already had taken place in the Samoan variety of ancient Bichelamar, when Tok Pisin developed from Samoan

Plantation Pidgin under the massive influence of Patpatar-Tolai speakers" (Mosel 1980:23).

Consonants in Tolai

p	b	t	d	k	g
	ß[2]				
	m		n		ŋ
			r		
			l		

Adapted from Mosel (1980:9)

Apart from some marginal dialects, /s/ does not exist in Tolai.

Voiced stops are prenasalized by native speakers, e.g. *sindaun*, *pundaun*. This reflects substratum influence as can be seen in Tolai loanwords, e.g. *tambaran*, 'ghost, spirit', *kundu*, 'hand drum'.

In Tok Pisin voiced and voiceless stops are neutralized in word-final position. This is also the case in Tolai. Todd has suggested that "the devoicing of consonants in word final position may have become regularized when Tok Pisin was being used as a lingua franca between New Guineans and Germans" (Todd 1984:163). Holm (1988b:533) points out that the only other pidgin English in which this occurs is Cameroonian, also spoken in what was a German colony. Mosel (1980:11) considers that in this case substratum influence was reinforced by the influence of German, where the contrast between voiced and voiceless consonants in final position is also

[2] The symbol used by Mosel has been changed to adapt it to the International Phonetic Alphabet.

neutralised. This neutralization of voiced and voiceless stops can also happen in other positions:

Word-finally: *rekot hatwok dok pik hait ausait saksak led baksait insait bret paiawut rot kalap*
At morpheme-boundary: *bikman bikmaus*
Word-initially: *kirapim kalap*

Mosel (1980:17) notices a peculiarity of Tok Pisin /r/ . It reflects not only English /r/, but also English dental stops and fricatives. She considers there is no evidence of substratum in this respect, "this must certainly be attributed to the non-standard variety spoken by Europeans in contact with Melanesians, as for instance sailors and Australian traders". She gives examples such as *larim* 'to let', *wara* 'water', *kirap* 'get up, *sarap* 'shut up', *paura* 'gun powder', *arakain* 'different' (borrowed from 'other kind').

Mosel (1980:12) gives the two possible realizations of English /f/ - the most frequent, /p/, and also /Φ/, which is sometimes spelt as 'f' - . Mihalic (1971:5) describes the articulation of the latter sound as a bilabial fricative between /f/ and /p/ and "very akin to the Greek 'phi'". The pronunciation of /f/ as /p/ can be due to substratum influence sinceTolai does not have /f/. Mosel (1980:12) gives an example of how /f/ is substituted in Tolai in loanwords: kopi 'coffee'.

The examples following are found in present-day Tok Pisin. Substratum influence still seems to be influencing the pronunciation of words borrowed in earlier stages:

Inap	*opis*	*hap*	*bipo/bipotaim*
Bilip	*pinis*	*pret*	*painim/painimaut*
Rip	*pait*	*watpo*	

English /v/ is realized word-initially as /ß/ (spelt "v") or /b/. Examples in Mosel: *viniga/biniga* 'vinegar', *vot/bot* 'vote'. Between vowels it is realized /ß/ (spelt "v") or /w/. Examples in Mosel: *leva/lewa* 'liver'. Also kivung/kibung in Mihalic. And *toksawe* found on the internet page mentioned above.

Mosel points out that the same problems when reproducing English labiodentals are present in other South Pacific Pidgins.

The aspiration /h/ does not exist in Tolai, so it used to be omitted in the Tolais' variety of Tok Pisin. On the other hand, the loss of initial /h/ may show the influence of the superstrate. Romaine points out that h-dropping is a sociolinguistic variable in England, which is also shared by lower-class varieties of Australian English. However, orthography preserves initial 'h'. As a result of hypercorrection this sound might be used in places where it is not found in English (Mihalic 1971:5).

1.2.3. Phonotactics

The tendency to have a CVCV word structure is not only found in Tok Pisin but in most stable pidgins, irrespective of their being substrate or superstrate languages. Mühlhäusler (1986:150) points out another tendency, to have a bisyllabic word structure. From his observations in Tok Pisin, this author concludes that "the restriction on word length is one of the main reasons why word-formation processes such as compounding and derivation are relatively rare in early stabilized pidgins".

Tolai does not have clusters in word-initial or word-final position. They are only possible at morpheme boundaries. This tendency can be seen in Tok Pisin, however, clusters in Tolai are more consequently reduced than in present-day Tok Pisin, e.g. *pelet* (English 'plate'), *torong* (English 'strong') (Mosel 1980:18). Mosel considers that at an earlier stage, the corresponding Tok Pisin words were more similar to those of Tolai.

According to Mosel this is a common tendency in Melanesian languages. There are two ways in which consonant clusters can be reduced: by epenthesis or by simplification.

Epenthesis: *pilai pokis trabel/trabal pipel/pipol/pipal koros peles spesol lokol/lokel poisin.*

Simplification: *palamen/palimen divelopmen bol hensapim gavman boskru is, 'east' oltaim ausait orait apinum egensim solwara sanap* (simplification of two consonant clusters stand up).

The English diphthongs /eɪ/ and /əʊ/ become /e/ or /i/ and /o/ or /u/ respectively.

Examples: /eɪ/ > /e/ *stretim*, pe, *ples*

/əʊ/ > /ɒ/:, *bot*, *ston*, *rop*, *bun*, *hul.*

Mosel (1980:22) comments that monophthongisation of English /eɪ/ and /əʊ/ is found in other pidgins in the area, so it must be considered a common feature of South Pacific Pidgins, only reinforced by Tolai speakers.

1.2.4. Derivational shallowness

Phonological rules are rare in stable pidgins. These rules reflect language change over time and strategies that favour production. Neither of these factors is present at this stage, when speakers favour "strategies optimalizing perception, aiming at the invariance of linguistic forms and a one-to-one relationship between meaning and form" (Mühlhäusler 1986:151).

1.2.5. Tempo

Mühlhäusler (1986) cites Labov's (1971) research comparing a vernacular (Buang) and a pidgin (Tok Pisin) as far as tempo is concerned and he concludes – in the absence of more comparative material – that "one can expect to find that pidgins are

generally articulated at a slower rate of delivery than vernaculars" (Mühlhäusler 1986:151).

1.3. EXPANSION STAGE

"The creation of a pidgin and its elaboration into either an extended pidgin or a creole, while not uncommon, is much rarer than the actual process of pidginization itself. The emergence of such a language as a permanent form is not merely the result of people coming into contact and influencing each other; rather it is the birth of a new language, one with the potential to develop and spread or to disappear if the communication needs which brought it into existence should cease to operate" (Todd 1974:10).

1.3.1. Higher rate of production

In stabilization decodability is the most important aspect of communication. By contrast, in expansion new rules appear that enhance the rate of production. Mühlhäusler (1986:179) considers that these rules only arise when there is a community of fluent second language speakers.

Romaine (1992:172) considers that "one effect of the introduction of allegro speech style is an increase in the depth of the phonological component. That is to say that the surface forms are derivable by rule from underlying forms". It is at this stage in the pidgin development when phonological rules emerge. Mühlhäusler (1986:179) differentiates two types of rules: phonotactic restrictions and rules that change the phonological information of base forms.

As regards phonotactic restrictions in early Tok Pisin there was a preference for CVCV word structure. However, in present day Tok Pisin there is an increase in the

number of items that violate this restriction. The development of one of those vocabulary items is given by Mühlhäusler: "early records suggest that English 'straight' became either 'tiret' or 'sitiret' in Tok Pisin. Records around 1930 report 'steret', whereas in most recent times 'stret' is found." (ibid. 180). The relaxation of phonotactic restrictions is seen by Mühlhäusler as a pre-requisite for the existence of phonological rules that derive surface forms from underlying forms.

Sankoff and Laberge (1980:199) say that as a result of speed and fluency there are morphophonemic reductions as well as reductions in the number of syllables with primary stress:

Mi gó long háus (4 syllables - 2 primary stresses)
Mi go l:áus (3 syllables – 1 primary stress)

Romaine (1992:173) notes the importance of phonological condensation for the appearance of inflectional morphology. She gives examples of reduced forms in Tok Pisin:

- tense and aspect markers. Baimbai > babai > bai/ba, save > sa, laik > la.

Sankoff and Laberge (1980:200-201) explain the reduction process of bambai. However, they point out that "though it would seem logical that bai is the result of a reduction of baimbai (involving deletion of the first, rather than the second syllable), the two forms appear to have existed side by side for a long time". This shows that language development does not tend to be linear. This is the process of phonological reduction: /bəˈmbaɪ/ > /bəˈbaɪ/ > /baɪ/ > /ba/ > /bə/. This change together with the fact that it never receives primary stress makes the authors conclude that the grammatical function of 'bai' "is changing from that of an adverb to that of a tense marker, as we would expect the latter to carry less stress" (203).

- markers to introduce reported speech. Romaine (1992:173) gives the following examples: tok olsem > tolsem /to sem/se/sem; kirap na tok olsem > kra tosem.

- prepositional phrases. Romaine (1992:173) bilong em and blong en/em > blem / lem. The preposition bilong becomes blo, so bilong mi > blomi. Blong is found as an intermediate form.

- demonstratives and articles. Lynch (1979 in Mühlhäusler 1986:180) gives the example of the adjective ending –pela that becomes /pəla/ or /fəla/ in allegro varieties in present-day Tok Pisin.

- final consonant of verbal suffix –im is lost.

- connective *sapos* is reduced to *sos*, as can be seen in a recording from a boy in Lae (Romaine 1992:173): "*sos* [< sapos] *mipla* [mipela] *go bek, bai yu go we?* 'if we (exc.) go back, where will you go?"

Romaine considers it difficult to tell if these phonological developments are the effect of natural rules or of interference from the substratum.

1.3.2. Increase of phonological distinctions

Compared to the inventory of sounds in a stable pidgin (more reduced than in both the superstrate and the substratum), there is an increase in the number of phonological distinctions. Mühlhäusler notes that distinctions are taken form the lexifier language. Tok Pisin appears to have a five-vowel system during early stabilization. In Todd's view (1984:162) this is a "carry-over from Austronesian languages". Mühlhäusler (1986:178) considers that this system was replaced by a seven-vowel system after some time – Capell in Todd (1984:162) says languages with this vowel system are an exception in New Guinea – and in varieties of coastal Tok Pisin that system has been replaced by a ten-vowel system. Mosel (1980:21-23) points out that

vowel length in this system is only distinctive in the case of /a/ and /a:/. Tok Pisin, however, makes a difference between lax and tense vowels. Tolai, instead, has a six vowel system in which vowel length is distinctive. In Mosel's opinion "it seems more likely that the Tok Pisin ten-vowel developed from a five-vowel system, which itself had resulted from impoverishment of the phonological features of the source languages" (ibid. 21). Mühlhäusler (1986:178) notices a recent development, some speakers are restructuring the Tok Pisin ten-vowel system to include contrasts in vowel length.

The monophthongisation of English /eɪ/ and /əʊ/ in the stable pidgin does not take place in some words: *leit, dedikeisen, organaiseisen, wei, vout.*

As far as consonants are concerned more distinctions are being made at this stage than in earlier Tok Pisin. Additions to the inventory of sounds come from the lexifier language (Mühlhäusler 1986:178). Romaine (1992:178) comments that "since the bulk of the lexicon of Tok Pisin is derived from English, it is under heavy pressure from English phonology. The phonological distinctions made in English, however, will be subject to interference from the phonologies of the indigenous languages" (Also in Holm 1988a:107).

Even as an expanded pidgin, Tok Pisin presents phonological variability. Romaine (1992:179) comments on the variation noted by Laycock (1985) from heavily anglicized to a core phonology.

Core phonology of Tok Pisin

Stops	p	t	k
	b	d	g
Nasals	m	n	ng
Fricatives		s	h
Continuants	w	l	y
Flaps		r/l	

Laycock (1985). Adapted by Romaine (1992).

In this core phonological system there are voiced and voiceless stops, but no corresponding series of fricatives. Fricatives and affricates are more marked than stops, therefore they are rare in pidgins (Romaine 1992:180).

Romaine (1992:181) summarizes what happens at this stage of pidgin development: "In the post-stabilization phase of Tok Pisin's development it is English which is the most important external influence on phonology (...) Regardless of the speaker's substratum, a number of new distinctions are being made in Tok Pisin phonology. The expansion of contrasts in the phonological system is creating a phonological inventory which looks increasingly more like English and which is realigning individual lexical items with their English cognates".

Consonant system of expanded Tok Pisin (Mühlhäusler 1986:179).

		Labial	Labio-dental	Dental	Palatal	Velar	Laryngeal
Plosives	Unvoiced	p		t		k	
	Voiced	b		d		g	
Nasal	Voiced	m		n		(ŋ)	
Fricative	Unvoiced		f				
	Voiced		v				
Sibilant	Unvoiced			s	(š)		
Affricate	Unvoiced				(č)		
	Voiced						
Trill	Voiced		r				
Lateral	Voiced		l				
Aspirate	Unvoiced						(h)

Mühlhäusler (1986:178) notices a number of distinctions absent from earlier Tok Pisin which are now made, such as between /s/ and /t/, /p/ and /f/ and /l/ and /r/ in that order. Romaine (1992:181ff.) has researched these distinctions.

Variability in p/f

Romaine concludes from her research that the most frequent items are more resistant to change from /p/ to /f/ (ibid. 191). Another factor is English schooling, which increases the child's awareness of the similarity between Tok Pisin and English. However, in the rural areas, where there is less exposure to English, children have the highest levels of hypercorrection (ibid.192).On the other hand, Romaine points out that the pronunciation of /f/ may reveal an archaic rather than an innovative pronunciation. "The majority of elderly informants in Indagen use finis rather than pinis, and also -fela, e.g. *disfela* rather than *dispela*. Since these speakers reveal little other evidence of anglicization in their Tok Pisin, there is no reason to attribute these pronunciations to the influence of English" (ibid. 193).

Variability in r/l

Romaine (1992:196) considers the lack of distinction between these two sounds to be due to substratum influence. Mosel (1980:17) comments on this feature. In stabilized and expanded varieties of the language this distinction seems to be getting fixed.

Variability in s/sh/ch

Romaine (1992) observes that there is now a complete correspondence between Tok Pisin and English words in Lae, Bulolo, Rempi and Indagen (ibid. 200).

Variability also happens concerning the affricate /ʤ/. Mosel (1980:16). "In word initial position /ʤ/ is mostly retained in present day Pidgin, e.g. jas 'judge', Japan 'Japan, Japanese'. Older varieties of Japan, recorded by myself in Rabaul, are Tiapan, Siapan and Iapan".

Variability h / ø

Romaine noticed in her research that most of the items were realized without /h/. She concludes that "there appears to be no effect of increasing schooling on the introduction of /h/" (ibid. 205).

1.3.3. Use of variants for stylistic purposes

Mühlhäusler (1986:180) refers to the strategies used to create different registers. "There are two principal sources for the emergence of registers of style in a developing pidgin: borrowing from external sources; and backsliding, that is, the use of developmentally earlier forms in special stylistic functions." Examples: use of prenasalized consonants; ignoring the distinctions between /s/ and /t/, /p/ and /f/, and /l/ and /r/; inserting epenthetic vowels when portraying a hillbilly mentality.

1.4. ANALYSIS OF CURRENT TOK PISIN

1.4.1. Consonants

1.4.1.1. Marked sounds

The elimination of marked sounds is reflected by spelling:

/ʃ/ > /s/

Tok Pisin	**English**
Edministresen	Administration
Soim	Show
Dedikeisen	Dedication
Sot	Short
Waswas	Wash
Spesol	Special

/ʤ/ > /s/

Tok Pisin	**English**
Manesa / menesman	Manager / management
Koles	College
Senis	Change
Bris	Bridge
Pisin	Pidgin / pigeon
Baset	Budget

Sometimes /ʤ/ > /dɪ/, e.g. *soldia, pasindia*

/ʧ/ > /s/

Tok Pisin	**English**
Tumas	Too much
Sios	Church
Mas (march)	March
Kalsa	Culture
Tisa	Teacher
Wuas	Watch
Kisim	Catch

However, there are examples where the spelling approximates the standard English word, this might be a reflection that a change in pronunciation is taking place and marked sounds are being pronounced:

Tok Pisin	**English**
Menegment	Management
Agensi	Agency
Rijonal	Regional
Haijekim	Hijack
Mesej	Message

1.4.1.2. Devoicing

Voiced and voiceless consonants are neutralized in final position, even if they are compounds:

Tok Pisin	**English**
Klaut	Cloud
Hatwok	Hardwork
Baksait	Backside
Paiawut	Firewood
Bikmaus	'big mouth'
Bikmoning	'big morning'
Lek	Leg

Devoicing can also happen at the beginning of the word, e.g. *kirapim*, 'get up' and *pokis*, 'box'.

There are also instances where devoicing has not happened, e.g. *digim*, *dringim, hed, bikhed.*

1.4.1.3. Other changes

Use of /r/ instead of English alveolar stops:

Tok Pisin	**English**
Blary	Bloody
Solwara	Saltwater
Marasin	Medicine
Larim	Let
Aiwara	'Eye water'
Rereim	Ready
Kirapim	Get up

and also instead of fricatives, e.g. n*arapela,* 'Another fellow'.

Traditionally, the sound /p/ has been used to replace /f/ in borrowings from English:

Tok Pisin	**English**
Inap	Enough
Bilip	Believe
Hap	Half
Laip	Life
Pait balus	'Fight plane'
Kopi	Coffee
Pilim	Feel
Poto	Photo
Opis / opisa	Office / officer

However, the sound is in use now as it can be guessed from the following spellings:

Tok Pisin	**English**
Bilif	Believe
Filipins	Philippines
Filings	Feelings
Fishing bot	Fishing boat
Fil (field)	Field
Finga	Finger
Ofisa	Officer
Fiseris	Fisheries

/θ/ > /t/

Tok Pisin	**English**
Tingim	Think
Aninit	Underneath
Nating	Nothing

Prenasalization of voiced stops is not always present, e.g. *sidaun, pudaun.*

1.4.1.4. Consonant clusters

Epenthetic vowels are used so that the borrowings fit the phonotactic constraints of Tok Pisin:

Tok Pisin	**English**
Pilai / pilaia	Play / player
Pipel / pipol / pipal	People
Spesol	Special
Peles	Place
Pokis	Box
Koros	Cross
Sikispela	Six
Trabel / trabal	Trouble

Some times simplification of the clusters happen:

Tok Pisin	**English**
Hensapim	Hands up
Las	Last
Pesen	Per cent
Palamen	Parliament
Sanaup	Stand up
Ailen / ailan	Island
Egensim	Against

Some times the original clusters are kept, violating the constraints:

Tok Pisin	**English**
Kidnepim	Kidnap
Paliment	Parliament
Ekseketiv	Executive
Miks	Mix
Siksti	Sixty

Sometimes new clusters emerge as a consequence of phonological reduction, e.g

labratori, blong.

1.4.2. Vowels

Dipthongs tend to be reduced in Tok Pisin:

/eɪ/ > /e/

Tok Pisin	**English**
Stretim	Straight
Pes	Page
Edukesenel	Educational
Asosiasen	Association
Longwe	Long way
Bebi	Baby
De	Day
Redio	Radio
Trening	Training
Kev	Cave
Stenbai	standby

/əʊ/ > /ɒ/, e.g *ston, bot, smok*

/əʊ/ > /ʊ/, e.g. *bun, hul*

Together with reduction, more and more words are observed where the diphthongs in the standard English word have been kept:

Tok Pisin	**English**
Dedikeisen	Dedication
Wei	Way
Organaiseisen	Organization
Leit	Late
Vout	vote

/ɔ:/ > oa

Tok Pisin	**English**
Moa	More
Foapela	Four

Woa	War
Loa	law

But floor becomes *plua.*

/juː/ is variably represented as *yu* or *u*, e.g. y*universiti / universiti, komyuniti / komuniti, sekyuriti*

2. SYNTAX

2.1. JARGON STAGE

Jargons are individual solutions to the problem of communication across linguistic boundaries. The individual makes use of whatever resources at hand so that communication can happen.

In the early stages of contact, the language used for communication in a limited domain does not need to have a grammar. It consists of a list of lexical items and lexicalized phrases rather than a grammatical system (Mühlhäusler 1980:42). This parallels the process in first and second language acquisition, where vocabulary is also acquired before grammar (Givón 1995:402-403). In Givón's words, "slow and analytic pre-grammatical communication is heavily vocabulary dependent and knowledge-driven".

Impoverishment rather than simplification is characteristic of the jargon stage. Mühlhäusler argues that simplification implies "optimalization of existing rules and the development of regularities for formerly irregular aspects of a language", and this will be at work during stabilization but not in the jargon stage.

Clark (1979:32) describes South Seas Jargon as a "foreigner-talk / broken language system". On the one hand, Europeans made use of the foreigner-talk register, and, in the Pacific this might have been influenced to a certain extent by the language used in previous contacts in the Atlantic. On the other, the lack of stability is indicated by the alternation between the jargon and the local vernaculars, as can be seen in the following example quoted by Clark (ibid. 29):

> [Hawaiians in California, 1836] *Aole! Aole make make makou i ka hana. Now, got plenty money. Now, got plenty money; no good, work. Mamule, money pau – all gone. Ah! very good, work! – maikai, hana hana nui!* (Melville 1965:75).

The use of pronouns can illustrate the high variability characteristic of this stage. Mühlhäusler (1986:158) comments on the different possible alternatives: pronouns can be omitted, proper nouns are used instead of pronouns, there is variation in the forms used (me, my, I) and there is no consistent distinction between singular and plural. The following examples in Clark (1979:29) show this variation:

> [Tongan in Fiji, 1845] *Oh, me live with one mission in Tonga; I learn English, I wash, my wife, he iron; suppose you want wash, me wash* (Wallis 1851:58).
> [Hawaiians in California, 1836] *New Zealand kanaka eatee white man; Sandwich Island kanaka –no* (Melville 1965:75).

2.2. STABILIZATION

In the very early stages of contact in the Pacific between Europeans and natives "the list of lexical items known to Pacific Islanders in various localities constituted their knowledge of the grammar of Jargon English" (Mühlhäusler 1979:181). The unstructured jargon developed grammatical structures gradually. Keesing (1988:116) points out that, compared to natural languages, the grammar of pidgins and creoles is simpler, lacking features such as "case marking, articles, and the grammaticalized marking of pluralization and various kinds of agreement".

According to Mühlhäusler (1986:147) language-independent strategies play the most important role in the stabilization of the pidgin, this is so because the lexifier is remote and, on the other hand, the substrate is very heterogeneous to cause an effect. Keesing (1988:106) does not agree with Mühlhäusler's view of the role of the substrate and considers its influence to be a very important factor. He points out that underlying the large number of languages spoken in the area there is a common Oceanic substrate. A number of features are shared by those languages and some are further reflected in all the dialects of Melanesian Pidgin. Keesing also comments on the similarities between

English and Oceanic languages. However, his argument seems rather confusing and what he presents as similarities between those languages are in fact reflections of unmarked patterns as he seems to explain later. He also argues that the similarities between the nautical pidgin, which incorporated features of Atlantic creoles, and the patterns of Oceanic languages "would doubtless have facilitated the reanalysis and expansion of this nautical pidgin along Oceanic lines" (ibid. 109).

The gradual development of syntactic structures in Tok Pisin during stabilization will be analysed.

2.2.1. Word order

SVO is the basic unmarked word order found in substrate languages and also in the lexifier. Keesing (1988:131) comments that this word order is preferred because it "requires minimal marking of the arguments of a predicate, creates minimum ambiguity, and entails the most direct connection between underlying order and surface sequence". The same word order is found in statements and questions.

2.2.2. Tense and aspect

Holm (1988a:144) points out the reliance of creoles on "free rather than inflectional morphemes to convey grammatical information". This is the case of the expression of tense and aspect in Tok Pisin. Verbs are not signalled for tense, rather the context or the use of adverbs provide this information. He states that the simple form of the verb without any preverbal markers refers to the time in focus (p.150).

The following example from Samoan Plantation Pidgin (hence SPP) shows how the adverbial is the only time reference in the sentence:

Mi stap long Fiji WAN FAIV YIA BIPO. Mi go long ples mekim suga bilong as. Plenti Indian fella wokim de. Plenti Yuropin i wokim long suga (Mühlhäusler 1978a:101).

The markers used in SPP are *nau, pinis* and *baimbai* (Mühlhäusler 1978a:102). *Nau* signals an action simultaneous with the speech act or with the reported event:

Nau mi spikim long yu, 'Now I am telling you'.
Nau mi kam long Samoa long taim long Siaman, 'I came to Samoa in German times'.

Pinis signals completion of an action:

Mi pinis drink, 'I have finished drinking'.
Mi pinis drink mi pinis smok, 'I do not drink or smoke any more'

Baimbai was used at the beginning or at the end of a sentence referring to future time (Mühlhäusler 1978a:103):

SPP	**Gloss**
Yu go bek gen baimbai	you will go back again
Baimbai yu slip long hotel	you will sleep at the hotel

Also, Mühlhäusler presents an example where it is used immediately before the verb:

Brata bilong mi baimbai dai	my brother will die

Common to many pidgins is the use of the past participle of 'to be' as marker of anterior tense (Holm 1988a:151). Examples of this use together with unmarked verbs can be seen in the following examples in Mühlhäusler (1990:244) taken from statements to magistrates in Queensland by New Irelanders in 1885:

"Le Ang, New Ireland Islander, states as follows. Knew Lang Aroso, he my brother, I see him along hospital at M: sick, he ***been*** *sick one week. He sick along belly, he die along hospital, I stop along hospital when he die, he not eat, too much sick, master* ***been*** *give him medicine, he die along belly".*

2.2.3. Lack of number distinctions in nouns.

Morphology tends to be lost in language contact, even if the languages in contact mark this category morphologically. Although some words were borrowed from English in plural form, e.g. *anis*, *masis*, they were lexicalized in Tok Pisin. However, productive ways of marking plurality are needed in all languages. It is true that pidgins and creoles do not make productive use of inflection, but Holm (1988a:193) notices that "in most of the Atlantic creoles nouns can co-occur with a free morpheme which indicates plurality and is homophonous with the third person plural pronoun 'they'". This is also the case in Tok Pisin, where *ol* is used. Clark (1979:129) and Keesing (1988:129) comment that it is not easy to determine if the plural marker derives from the pronoun or vice versa. According to Keesing, ambiguous contexts where 'all' was used might have rendered this pattern: "It seems likely to me that what English speakers were analyzing as 'all man' was coming to be analyzed as PLU man by Islanders", as he shows in an example he quotes from Erskine (1853:347):

> *Canoe too little, by and bye, broke – All man go away, canoe gone, very good me stop.*

Keesing (1988:129-130) considers that the existence of a parallel pattern in substrate languages might have reinforced the use of the ol-pluralizer in Tok Pisin.

The plural marker *ol* tends to be used with human nouns first, the extended use of the marker to fill the syntactic gap for non-human nouns seems logical.

Mühlhäusler (1978a:97) notices that in SPP the marking of the plural is quite unstable; when marked, *ol* is used:

SPP	**Gloss**
Siaman kolim kaukau	The Germans call(ed) it cocoa.
Ol sande ol pipol go long lotu	On Sundays people go to church

Olo pikinini bilong olo blak-boi	the children of the black plantation labourers

2.2.4. Pronoun system

	Singular	Plural
1	*Mi*	Inclusive: *yumi* (including the person spoken to Exclusive: *mipela* (excluding the person spoken to)
2	*Yu*	*Yupela*
3	*Em*	*Ol*

Keesing (1988:112) notices that the basic structure of the pronominal system is common to the three dialects of Melanesian pidgin, i.e. the forms and the structure (including the dual-plural and the inclusive-exclusive distinctions).

As far as the form is concerned, Keesing (p. 136) points out that object pronouns seem to be the unmarked case used in different pidgins[3]. The only exception in Melanesian Pidgin is the first person plural pronoun, which is formed with '–fela' added to the singular pronoun *mi*, Keesing (1988:138) quotes the following examples:

> *"Altogether along shore fire gun at me fellow"* (court disposition recorded from a Solomon Islander; Queensland 1896).
> *"Me fella want copra man, me fella no want missionary"* (recorded on Tanna, 1896; Guiart 1956:124).

For the second person plural, the suffix '–fela' is also used:

> *"By-and-by big fellow master come up, me hear him good you fellow talk"* (1885 court transcripts on "The Return of the New Guinea Islanders" in Keesing 1988:138).

The third person plural form seems to be the most unstable. The suffix '–fela' would be expected and some examples of this form can be found: *"him fellow all same man-a-*

[3] In Samoan Plantation Pidgin, however, there was a subject-object distinction in the plural, which violates universal principles (Mühlhäusler 1978:96).

bush" , they were fools (Schuchardt 1883:19), however, it did not become established. It was replaced by *ol.*

Concerning the structure, the categories of dual-plural, inclusive-exclusive have been unexpectedly maintained in the pidgin. Keesing (1988:134) does not think that superstrate speakers played an important role in the creation of the pronoun system. Otherwise, those distinctions would have been neutralized. This proves that there was "a domination of substrate patterns over both universal directions of simplification and superstrate speakers" (Keesing 1988:136). The gap for first-person inclusive was filled by the combination of the second and first person pronoun, i.e. *yumi.* The dual form *yutupela* is expectable from the quantifier *tupela.*

Although there is a gradual stabilization of the pronominal system in the 1880s and 1890s variation extends well into the present twentieth century (Keesing 1988:141). The existence of fossilized forms both in Samoan Plantation Pidgin, e.g. *aiting*, 'it seems to me', *aidono*, 'I don't know', and in Tok Pisin, e.g. *ating* is evidence that plantation workers were exposed to some kind of Standard English. The English pronominal system would have been in use at the same time as the pidgin paradigm. Keesing (1988:42) quotes the following examples:

> *"We too close already; by and by when that fellow finish dance they fire up along you and me"* (Lihir Group, Bismarck Archipelago, 1884) (Rannie 1912)
> *"All right, you give me ten stick tobacco and I give 'em you head belong my small fellow brother"* (Malekuka, New Hebrides, 1884)

2.2.5. Prepositions

The two basic prepositions in stable pidgins in the Pacific are *long* – from English along – and *bilong* – from the English verb belong – (Mühlhäusler 1986:160).

The following examples from SPP give an idea of the wide range of meanings of the preposition *long* (Mühlhäusler 1978:106).

> *Papa bilong mi i stap watsim olgeta i go long wok*, 'my father supervised them when they went to work.
> *Mi stap long bik plentesin*, 'I stayed on the big plantation'
> *Masta i kros long mi*, 'the master was angry with me'

Clark (1979:15) suggests that the preposition *bilong* could have had its origin in English sentences such as 'this pencil belongs to you'. Keesing (1988:118) instead attributes substrate influence to the origin of this preposition: "to Oceanic speakers, 'belong' used as possessive particle appears to be based on a metaphor of proximity, as is the relationship of generalized alienable possession. That is, the thing possessed is metaphorically at or proximate to its possessor". Mühlhäusler (1990:243) quotes examples of the use of 'belong' on the Duke of York Islands in the 1870s and 1880s taken from Brown (1908):

> *He go house belong Matupit*
>
> *Missionary, suppose you hungry you come here to this place belong me.*

2.2.6. Question words.

Analytic expressions are favoured in pidgins. In SPP phrases containing *wat* + N. are used (Mühlhäusler 1978a:97):

SPP	**Gloss**
Wat man i kam?	Who is coming?
Wat nem dispela?	what is its name, what is it?
Wat taim yu go?	when are you going?
Wat peles yu kam?	Where do you come from?

Watnem is sometimes used before the noun with the meaning of who? or what?:

Watnem man i kam? Who is coming?

In Tok Pisin *wanem* and 'what for' (further *watpo*) are examples of these analytical expressions. Baker (1987:179) adds the latter word to the list of Sino-Pacific features because while it is attested in different Pacific territories and in Chinese Pidgin English, it is not found in English pidgins in other areas of the world.

What for make fight? No make fight (Brown 1908 in Mühlhäusler 1990:243)

2.2.7. Predicate marker

The use of anaphoric pronouns which may become predicate markers is widespread across pidgins (Mühlhäusler 1986:164). Baker (1987:183), however, argues this is a Pacific innovation not present in other English pidgins.

Mühlhäusler (1990:239) does not think that 'predicate marker' is an appropriate term for *i* because "what is marked by the use of *i* is more than just the grammatical relationship 'predicate of'". (See Verhaar (1991) for a detailed study of the functions of *i*). However, he agrees to use it because it is a well established term and other possibilities do not seem good choices either.

The use of 'i' can be traced to different origins. Franklin (1980:134) notes that "in addition to the apparent relation to 'he', *i* corresponds to the final *i* (sometimes spelled –ee) of Chinese Pidgin English verbs, as well as to the verbal *i* in Austronesian languages such as Tolai and Tangoan". Keesing (1988:143) agrees with Hall (1966) in that 'i' arose from a coincidence between the English pronoun 'he' used to recapitulate the subject in substandard English and the Oceanic subject-referencing pronouns. Keesing (1988:144) quotes early texts where this was recorded:

"Tanna man he no too much like work ... All man he only get one woman (1859)
"nother day's sun he come all right" (1860)
"Captain, he buy him four boy belong a me" (1870)

"Well, master, man Makura, he no want missionary" (1872)

Keesing (1998:153) infers the existence of a paradigm for singular pronouns used as SRP in Pacific plantation pidgin around 1890. The use of different anaphoric pronouns can be seen in SPP (Mühlhäusler 1978:107):

Mi wantaim mi kam Samoa, 'I came to Samoa at the same time'.

Mühlhäusler (1986:164) points out that during stabilization there is a movement away from English grammar, exemplified, for instance, by the generalization of 'he' for referents of all genders (Schuchardt had examples such as *Woman she finish thing me speak him?*). Mühlhäusler (1990:241) agrees with Sankoff (1977 in Mühlhäusler 1990) in that "the transition from a variable marker to a virtually obligatory one in Tok Pisin is associated with the changeover from a primarily pragmatic to a syntactic mode of speaking".

Mühlhäusler (1990:240) notes that since the development of this particle happened prior to crystallization of Tok Pisin as a separate language, it would be erroneous to attribute its origin to the influence of Tolai although this might have been an additional stimulus for stabilization. This fact was stated by Mosel (1980:120ff.).

Keesing (1988:159) explains that the predicate marker is used to maintain subject reference. When reference is changed, the corresponding subject noun or pronoun is used. This can be observed in the examples in Franklin (1980:134-135):

Mitupela lukim na i go	we saw it and went
Mi lukim na ol i go	I saw it and they left

A detailed description of the usage of *i* is made by Mühlhäusler (1990:236ff.). He quotes examples recorded on the Duke of York Islands in the 1870s and 1880s (ibid. 243):

Missionary no come Matupit, ah! Topulu he no come. Missionary come, oh! Topulu he come. Topulu he come.

Oh man belong salt water he fight man belong bush.

2.2.8. Use of suffixes

2.2.8.1. Transitive suffix –im

Keesing (1988:119) argues that "the form '-him' suffixed to verbs was undoubtedly brought to the Pacific as part of the European repertoire for 'talking to natives'". Clark (1979:16-17) considers this suffix to have worldwide distribution. However, Baker (1987:182) thinks that the evidence for this is marginal. Only in Australia – from 1816 – and in a number of Pacific territories – before 1890 – can it be widely attested. Thus, he thinks the *–im* suffix seems to be a Pacific innovation. Baker (1990:264) expresses ironically his disagreement with Keesing: "I can think of no reason why Anglophones should have spontaneously felt that the insertion of *him* between a verb and a NP should facilitate 'talking to natives'".

Keesing (1988:120) observes a correspondence between this suffix and the transitive suffix in Oceanic languages, which transforms intransitive verb roots into transitive verbs. In Samoan Plantation Pidgin there is still a lot of variation in the use of *–im* (Mühlhäusler 1978a:104ff.).

2.2.8.2. Suffix –pela

The origin of this suffix is in the English word 'fellow', which became *–pela* in Tok Pisin. Keesing (1988:49) lists seven syntactic slots where *–fela* is used in the three dialects of Melanesian Pidgin: as a determiner quantifying nouns, as a suffix to attributive adjectives (both modyfying nouns and as stative verbs), as a demonstrative determiner, as a demonstrative pronoun, as a suffix to non-singular nouns and in adverbial constructions. Baker (1990:264) argues that only the use of *–fela* as a suffix

forming plural nouns is a Melanesian innovation. The other uses were attested earlier in Queensland Pidgin English. Examples of the use of this suffix in Papua New Guinea can be observed in the texts quoted in Mühlhäusler (1990:243, 245)

All same this fellow place
'That fellow place he kaikai (eat) three fellow man belong me'
Na, Master, legleg time more, by and by big fellow fight finished

2.2.9. Causatives

Only some examples of causative constructions can be found in Samoan Plantation Pidgin, they belong to two groups: lexicalised and periphrastic (Mühlhäsler 1978a:107):

SPP	**Gloss**
Yu mekim dai lam	Extinguish the light!
Mekim wara i boil	Boil the water!
Mekim op botel	Open the bottle!

Some examples recorded in Samoa by Huebel in 1883 (reported by Schuchardt 1889, pp. 24-25):

You make him some water he boil
Make open that fellow beer

The latter example follows the Oceanic pattern mek-strong + NP (Keesing 1988: 125).

Mühlhäusler (1980:38) argues that these constructions could not have been in use during the jargon stage, since they would not fit in the one-word or two-word grammar of that stage. Keesing (1988:124) argues that the Pacific Pidgin prior to the Labour Trade is more developed than what Mühlhäusler states and gives examples of causatives recorded by the end of the 1860s.

From the Southern New Hebrides in 1869:

Plenty man come hear you make him bokis sing (Paton 1895:77)

From Southern Melanesia in 1869:

The speaker reports his conversation with the nephew of a chief who "wanted me to catch [the perpetrator of an offense] and 'make him fast', which, upon questioning him, I found meant hanging" (Palmer 1871:50).

2.3. EXPANSION

The development of Tok Pisin is an interesting case of study because "unlike many plantation pidgins it neither disappeared in the nineteenth century nor creolized, but progressively expanded in lexical and syntactic resources" (Keesing 1988:111) This expansion was necessary to adapt the pidgin to the functional needs arising in an ever growing number of contexts. Consequently, there is an increase in referential potential but also in non-referential potential (Mühlhäusler 1980:39). During expansion surface structure separates from deep structure progressively, which on the one hand makes the structure of the pidgin become more complex and, on the other, allows for stylistic variation, which is an important innovation in the pidgin. According to Mühlhäusler (1986:182) the three most important aspects of this expansion are "the sources of grammatical innovation, the ability of adult second-language speakers to drastically restructure their grammar, and parallels between pidgin expansion and other forms of language development".

Tok Pisin has expanded making use of internal resources. For instance, grammaticalization of lexical items is a feature of this period. A shift from a 'pragmatic mode' to a more 'syntactic mode' occurs. Whereas the former involves more reliance

on intonation, context and shared knowledge, in the latter more and more relationships are expressed gramatically, e.g. use of tense markers and complementizers. In the earlier stages of expansion, an important motivation behind grammaticalization in pidgins and creoles is communicative need. Later, the motivation is similar to the one found in languages with a longer history, i.e. "the tendency for speakers to be expressive and creative in their language use on the one hand, and regularization and routinization" (Arends and Bruyn 1995:116-118).

Various constructions illustrating expansion will be analyzed.

2.3.1. Pluralization

During the early expansion stage plural – marked with 'ol' – was redundantly used with pronouns and animate nouns. During the late expansion stage, also inanimate nouns are used in the plural, and 'ol' can be used together with other quantifiers. Mühlhäusler (1980:24) recorded the following examples with young second language Tok Pisin speakers:

Olgeta mipela ol man
'all we' (inclusive) pl. man = all us men
ol wanwan tasol ol i stap na ol Erima ol sampela ol man tu ol i dai
'(pl.) a few only they stayed and (pl.) Erima people (pl.) man also they died'
na planti ol bikpela ol man ol i dai olgeta
'and many (pl.) big (pl.) man they died entirely.

The emergence of plural marking in different pidgins seems to follow the same path as in Tok Pisin (Holm 1988:193): pronouns – animate nouns – inanimate nouns. This is also observed for learners of English (Mühlhäusler 1986:183). Mühlhäusler suggests different explanations for this, excluding both substratum and superstratum influence: "whether this is due to some innate developmental programme or the result of

more general pragmatic factors (what is pragmatically important is more likely to attract morphological markers than what is not) cannot be decided here".

2.3.2. Causatives

The periphrastic causatives used during the stabilization period conveyed the idea of causativity appropriately. Hence, as Mühlhäusler (1986:184) points out, no further development would have been expected. However, changes taking place during expansion are not only in the direction of increasing referential adequacy, stylistic variation is also becoming an important factor. This seems to be the motivation behind the creation of morphological causatives.

Mühlhäusler (1980:39) argues that the first morphological causatives appeared in the late 1910s and early 1920s, the pattern was: *mek* + *V* (direct calque of Tolai *va* + V):

Tolai	**English**	**Tok Pisin around 1920**	**English**
Mat	To die	*Save*	To know
Vamat	To kill	*Meksave*	To make know, inform
Maranga	Dry	*Pas*	Fast, obstructed
Vamaranga	To make dry	*Mekpas*	To fasten, tie up
		Nois	To shake, tremble
		Meknois	To make tremble, shake

However these Tok Pisin examples are lexicalizations, this pattern was not productive. The pattern did not succeed because the calques from Tolai did not fit in with the developmental tendencies of the pidgin, where stative verbs should occur earlier than non-stative verbs (*nois*), adjectives (*pas*) and transitive verbs (*save*).

Another way of forming causatives is by using the transitive marker *–im*. Development of *–im* causatives takes place along a developmental hierarchy: stative

intransitive verbs, adjectives, non-stative verbs, transitive verbs (Mühlhäusler 1980:40-41). The first causative found around 1910 was *rausim*, 'to throw out', derived from *raus* 'to be outside'. The items found around 1926 violate the developmental hierarchy. Mühlhäusler considers that this might have been due to pragmatic considerations. Further developments from 1926 onwards follow the hierarchy.

Mid-1930s.- Stative intransitive verbs:

Slip	To sleep, be horizontal	*Slipim*	To make lie down
Stret	Straight	*Stretim*	To straighten
Orait	All right	*Oraitim*	To mend, repair

True adjectives, "i.e. those belonging to the small set that can appear in attributive position:

Bikim 'to make big, enlarge'
Sotim 'to shorten'
Switim 'to make feel pleasant'

From the early 1960s.- Non-stative verbs:

Noisim 'to make noise'
Gohetim 'to make advance'

1973.- Transitive verb:

dokta i dringim sikman, 'the doctor makes the patient drink'

Mühlhäusler (1980:39) points out that, although the use of a transitivity marker is not found in Tolai or English, this is a common feature in natural languages. However, Mosel (1980:81) suggests that this very productive pattern in Tok Pisin could be influenced by causatives in substratum languages, where intransitive verbs can also become causative by adding an affix:

Tok Pisin (+im)	**Tolai (va-)**	**Gloss**
Pundaun	*bura*	fall

Pundaunim	*vabura*	make sb/sth fall down

Another pattern where a correspondence can be seen between Tok Pisin and Tolai is causatives derived from adjective bases (MF16 in Mühlhäusler 1979a:365). All the examples given by Mühlhäusler have correspondences in Tolai. Mosel does not imply, however, that a direct influence from Tolai can be established.

Unlike Mühlhäusler, Keesing (1988:127) does not think that substratum influence can be excluded "given the pervasiveness in EO [Eastern Oceanic] languages of this pattern of forming transitive verbs from statives with the transitive suffix".

2.3.3. Tense, aspect and mood

While adverbial expressions were used to convey these notions during stabilization, in expanded Tok Pisin – as well as in creoles – preverbal markers are used instead. The existence of this TMA system in different creoles around the world, whose input languages are different suggests an independent development (Bakker et al. 1995:248). According to Romaine (1999:341) the process of syntactic incorporation of these meanings within the verb phrase in Tok Pisin was beginning even before the Pacific Labour Trade.

Mühlhäusler (1980:26) agrees with Labov's (1971:70) claim that "there is no basis for arguing that tense markers express the concept of temporal relations more clearly than adverbs of time... The most important property which tense markers possess, which adverbs of time do not, is their stylistic flexibility".

Romaine (1992:277) lists the markers that can fit in the preverbal slot that has become the site for auxiliaries of time, aspect and mood:

Bai	Irrealis / future
Bin	Past

Save	Habitual
Laik	Desiderative / future
Mas	Obligation
Ken	Permission / futurity / ability

Arends and Bruyn (1995:119) observe that external influence might have a certain role in the basically language-internal process of grammaticalization. They give the example of grammatical elements derived from words that are not content words in the source language. This is the case of the past marker *bin*, derived from English *been*, which is common in many English-based creoles.

Two examples of preverbal markers developed through grammaticalization will be described to illustrate this process.

2.3.3.1. Baimbai

Baimbai was originally used as an adverb of time, usually placed at the beginning of the sentence. The verbs following were used in their unmarked form. However, Keesing (1988:48) interprets the close link between *baimbai* and the subject pronoun – observable as early as by 1870s-1880s – as evidence that it was becoming grammaticalized, that it was not a mere temporal adverb.

Sankoff and Laberge (1980:200) describe the grammaticalization process. They interpret their data according to four criteria: reduction from *baimbai* to *bai*, loss of stress, redundancy, position in the sentence.

Sankoff and Laberge (1980:200) notice that the form *baimbai* seems to be disappearing. The reduced form, *bai*, is used instead. It is not clear if the latter form is the result of the reduction of the former. Both forms seem to have coexisted for a long time. They comment the case of areas of New Britain in the 1950s where *bai* was the only form used, while *baimbai* was introduced later. *Bai* never receives primary stress.

It is used together with adverbs of time, which renders it semantically unnecessary, since the future meaning is already present. The redundant character of *bai* is also evident in that it appears many times within a single sentence in contrast with the earlier system where it was used only once. As far as its position is concerned, it tends to be placed in pre-verbal position.

Romaine (1992:257) remarks that it is important to remember that developments in pidgins are not linear, and it must not be assumed, for example, that "older speakers preserve an earlier stage of the language and do not change their speech over the course of their lifetimes". Likewise the speech of children can have features of an earlier stage of language as can be seen in the use of *baimbai* in the following examples (p.255):

> *Na Zaria i tok, em baimbai kilim yu*, 'and Zaria said, he would kill you'
> *Em yet baimbai olim em*, 'he himself will hold him'

2.3.3.2. Laik

Romaine (1999) researches the grammaticalization process undergone by *laik*. She gives earlier examples where *laik* was used with a proximative meaning:

> *Me shoot him finish one fellow master, now me like die behind. Me like shoot past time you, by and by me die*, 'I shot dead one white man and now I am about to die. I want to shoot you first, then I'll die' (1912. Reichskolonialamt Records).
> *Machine he like die*, 'the engine nearly broke down' (Downing 1919).

She also includes an ambiguous example:

> *Eye belong me like sleep now*, 'I am about to / want to fall asleep' (Finsch 1888:188).

Examples like this, where both the desiderative and the proximative meaning are possible, permit syntactic and semantic reanalysis to take place. Grammaticalization

does not happen abruptly, overlapping between different stages is always present in this process.

Romaine establishes five stages in the development of *laik* from verb to auxiliary:

Stage 0. Verb of volition used with a human subject and a concrete object.

Stage 1. The complement of the verb is an activity:

> *Mangki laik go baim samting lo sto*, 'the boy wants to go buy something at the store'.

Stage 2. *Laik* is reduced to *la*:

> *Moning em la go long skul*, 'in the morning he was going to go to school'

Stage 3. The volitional meaning is backgrounded and the proximative interpretation is foregrounded:

> *Taim Mista Gorton i laik lusim Niugini na go bek long Australia, em i tok wantaim moa*, 'when Mr. Gorton was about to leave New Guinea to go back to Australia, he made one more speech'.

Stage 4. Inanimate subjects occur, consequently volitional meaning is not possible:

> *Bikpela paia laik kukim ol haus*, 'a big fire was about to burn down the houses'.

Stage 5. The volitional verb in the past could be interpreted as if the situation had almost been reached. Romaine notices this does not seem to be possible for the auxiliary, unless *nogat* is used:

> *Ol lai planim tupla nogat*, 'they were about to bury the two of them but didn't'

2.3.4. Embedding

Together with the compulsory expression of grammatical categories, embedding is another important feature introduced during expansion. In many cases, reanalysis of

already existing items produces the necessary conventions for embedding (Mühlhäusler 1986:187).

2.3.4.1. Complementizers

Subordination did not exist during the previous stage. Different relationships were expressed by juxtaposition:

i gut yumi go — it is good for us to go (Brenninkmeyer 1924 in Mühlhäusler 1986:188).

During expansion, however, subordination is explicitly marked. Two of the main sources for complementizers are prepositions and verbal concatenation.

According to the localist approach spatial relationships are the most basic ones, from which more abstract relationships can develop (Arends and Bruyn 1995:117). This phenomenon can be seen in TP in the development of complementizers from the prepositions *long* and *belong*. Mühlhäusler quotes the earliest example of *long* as a complementizer:

> *Kiap i no laik long mi long mekim taim*, 'the patron officer does not want me to get myself indentured. (Hall 1943:62)

The extension of the use of prepositions to mark abstract or syntactic relationships is a regular and universal process, e.g. the equivalent of English *for* is used as a complementizer after purposive verbs, not only in English-derived creoles, but also in creoles derived from Spanish, French or Dutch (Holm 1988a:169).

Another complementizer in Tok Pisin is *se*. The use of a verb meaning 'say' to introduce a quotation, or after verbs whose meaning involves thinking is used in a number of creoles (Holm 1988a:185). Mühlhäusler (1986:188) describes the four stages in the development of the complementizer *se* (from English *say*):

- First, *se* is used only with verbs of similar meaning:

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

- Second, the *i* between the two verbs is dropped:

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

- Third, the distinction between direct and indirect speech is neutralized when the speaker is non-referential with the agent:

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

- Finally, *se* is reinterpreted as a complementizer rather than as a verb:

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

2.3.4.2. Relativizers

In Oceanic languages subject-referencing pronouns were used to embed relative clauses. Speakers of Oceanic languages might build relative sentences following the pattern of their native languages but these could be interpreted by speakers of English as juxtaposed sentences, lacking embedding markers. The following example illustrates this:

> *Great fool Uea man, steal little thing he no want, big ship come and kill him* (Erskine 1853:347 in Keesing 1988:146).

Examples in Churchill (1911) in Sankoff and Brown (1980:252):

> *He look out all men [stop this place]*, 'he looked for the people [who lived there]'
> *Chief he old man [he no savey walk good]*, 'the chief is an old man [who can't walk properly]

During expansion relativizers developed through reanalysis of Wh- words *we*, 'where', *husat*, 'who', and *wonem*, 'what'. Mühlhäusler (1986:190) describes the process undergone by *we*:

1. *Ples we em i stap longen* 'the place where they lived'
2. *Taim we em ikam (longen)* 'the point in time at which he arrived'
3. *Man we i stap long ples* 'the people who live in the village'

4. *Samting we mi bin lusim tingting longen* 'something which I forgot'

Mühlhäusler (1986:190) points out another possible source for relativizers: pragmatic factors, an example of this is "the development of the emphatic marker *ya* (from English here) from a locative adverbial to a bracketing device at the beginning and end of relative clauses". Sankoff and Brown (1980:217) state that this is the basic process used in relativization currently, however this has not always been this way. The first uses of *ia* correspond to the meaning of 'adverb of place'. While Mühlhäusler (1986:181) states that the form *hia* was changed to unstressed *ia*, Keesing (1988:115) thinks that "*hia* is an artifact of the European scribes recording the form as 'here', and that for Oceanic speakers the form has always been an unstressed *ia*".

Here no kaikai, 'there is no food here' (Seligman 1910:10).

The examples in Hall (1943) contain the deictic *ia*:

> *Ol i-go nau, em tufela pikinini hir, tufela i-go lukautim banana i-mau* (p.46), 'when they had gone, these two children both went to look for ripe bananas'
> *Na disfela meri, [doktor i-kisim], disfela namberwan meri bilong em hir, i-pikinini bilong luluai* (p.56), 'now this woman, [whom the doctor took], this number-one wife of his, was the luluai's daughter'.

Sankoff and Brown (1980:255) conclude with a statement that not only applies to relativizers, but that it can also summarize the process of creolization:

> "It is fairly clear that we should attribute the source of origin of this construction to adults. But it is also clear that the rapid spread of the *ia*-bracketing rule (i.e., its regular use in a majority of relatives) is a recent phenomenon, characteristic

of that community which uses Tok Pisin as its primary language, including both 'pidgin' and creole speakers".

2.4. ANALYSIS OF CURRENT TOK PISIN

2.4.1. Plural

Plural is marked in different ways. Apart from the characteristic ol + N. other patterns have been incorporated:

Ol + N.

Ol Bogenvil skul helpim long lukautim ol diwai na bus
Karimaut ol wok stadi
Ol nius long ovasis na Midel Is pait (the word *nius* is used in plural here, unlike the English word 'news').

Ol + the name of a place is used to refer to the people from that place:

Mi raitim pas i go long ol Pangia (the people from Pangia) ***husat*** *i save kalap long kampani ka*

But also the name of the place can modify the word *pipel: Yupela ol Enga pipel*

And still a third possibility is the use of a derived adjective: *bilong yumi ol Engan.*

Ol + N (pl.)

The plural is also redundantly marked by *ol* and the plural inflection *–s*:

People:

Ol liklik famas
Ol helt wokas
Ol bos kru

Things:

Ol marin prodaks
Ol skuls
Ol helt sentas
Ol songs

Olgeta Skul Bods, Hetmastas, Siaman (here the last word in the enumeration is not inflected)

N (pl)

Another possible pattern is the use of the noun + *-s*:

Mekim wok long fiseris
Long Madang provins em planti famas
Pilai spots
Dak speks (sunglasses) but *daiving glas*
Lida bilong Melanesian Pipels Pati (MPP)
Pipels Demokretik Muvmen
Royals na Norths i kamapim strongpela gem long Goroka (this kind of pattern is very common with sport teams)
Commonwealth Gems

Some changes have occurred in the borrowing of English words. On the one hand, some words have been borrowed from English in plural form, but are used in singular in Tok Pisin: *Resis, Basis*. On the other the words *wimen* and *men* are used with the plural inflection in Tok Pisin, although their meaning is already plural in English, e.g. *wimens na mens soka pri-sisen.*

2.4.2. Verbs

Verbs in Tok Pisin can be classified into two main groups: adjective verbs, "which can modify a noun as well as functioning predicatively" (Todd 1984:184), and those which can only function predicatively. The following is an example of an adjective verb:

Mi amamas long ritim Nesenel na Post Courier na Wantok Niuspepa
I am happy to read Nesenel and Post Courier and Wantok Niuspepa

When they are used to modify nouns they take the suffix *–pela* when they are monosyllabic:

Papua Niugini em wanpela naispela kantri na em wanpela ris kantri

Olpela memba bilong yumi em i no wokim wanpela wok

Ris in the first sentence, however, does not follow the rule, perhaps under the influence from English.

In Tok Pisin the predicate is signalled by *i.* The subject is always stated, unless the sentence is impersonal:

I gat 43 pati olgeta husat i bin rejista pinis

I gutpela long ol yangpela boi i gat moa gelpren

Sometimes even in those cases, the pronoun *em* is used:

Em i no taim bilong bihainim kago o mani

If the verb is transitive the suffix *–im* is added

Trangu ol papamama i save wok hat long traim kisim sevis bilong gavman

Yupela ol Enga pipel mas tingim memba bilong mipela Peter Ipatas

Smel bilong bia na smok i pulapim rum

Mi save laik tru long ritim Wantok Niuspepa

Tense, aspect and modality

The predicate can be modified to express tense, aspect and modality. The present is unmarked, and sometimes the past too. In the latter case there tends to be a time reference within the sentence:

Ol ami i mas long pulim mani bilong ol aipas manmeri long Mosbi ***las wik***

Taim mi raunraun long Hagen taun ***long Krismas holide***

Sometimes, however, if the time reference is evident from the context there is no signalling of the past tense:

Tasol taim em i stap laip, nem na musik bilong Elvis i top

Anteriority is usually marked by *bin* and posteriority by *bai*:

Bin

*Ol dispela pipel i **bin** bung wantaim long kamapim dispela projek*

*Tupela i **bin** wokim prenpasin stat long 1988 inap long 2001*

Bai

This marker can precede the subject:

***Bai** mipela i traim long givim yu sampela gutpela tingting long helpim yu*

And it can also be used before the verb

*Yu yet **bai** mekim dispela*

*Mista Quiocho i tok **bai** i gat prais na tropi bilong ol wanwan pilaia*

***Bai** gat wanpela polisi o plen bilong peim kompensesen*

Different aspects can also be expressed by means of markers:

Perfective aspect: Pinis

*Israel i lusim **pinis** planti ol taun bilong Palestain*

*Na Kanage lukim em i lap i stap na em tekov **pinis***

Durative aspect: Go, stap, wok long

*Mipela save stat wok long 6 am **i go i go** pinis long 7 pm nati*

*Ol i **wok long** pilai long en*

*Dispela kain i **wok long** bagarapim ol saksak na wara saplai bilong mipela*

Sometimes they are redundantly used:

*Meri bilong em i **wok long** kaikai i **stap***

Habitual aspect: Save

*Ol papamama trangu i **save** hatwok long givim vot*

*Ol i **save** givim mi K40 na K50 wanwan beg*

*Em i **save** mekim planti wok bilong famili*

Other markers are used to express modality

Obligation: Mas

*Yu **mas** i gat planti taim*

*Ol memba i **mas** givim sevis long bus lain*

*Planti tok dispela PDM Pati em i **mas** pinis long palamen*

Inchoative action: Kirap

*Kanage i **kirap** na tokim em / Kanage **kirap** na tok*

Ability, possibility: Inap, Ken, negative: Noken

*Bai mipela i no **inap** printim pas bilong yu*

*Olgeta famas i **ken** mekim dispela mani*

*Moden teknoloji o ol nupela masin bilong nau we i **ken** mekim ol samting bilong bipo tu i kamap gutpela*

*Ol i **noken** slip wantaim ol*

Volition: Laik

*Gavman **laik** givim indipendens long ol pipel bilong Bogenvil*

*Mi **laikim** helpim long mekim gutpela tingting*

*Mipela i **laikim** gavman long stapim olgeta longing operesen bilong Concorde Pasifik*

Proximative: Klostu

*Mi pundaun long dispela rabis wara na **klostu** mama monika pukpuk i kaikaim mi*

Mipela klostu krai taim mipela painimaut dispela kalabus man

2.4.3. Negation

*Israel i **no** bin wanbel long salim wanpela Yunaitet Nesens grup*

*Taim ol lida i holim pawa ol **nogat** luksave long bekim dispela hatwok bilong ol papamama*

*Belhevi i **no** sut long yupela ol musik manmeri bilong ol gospel sinsing, **nogat***

2.4.4. Interrogative sentences

A feature of Tok Pisin syntax is the use of a fixed word order for all sentences, both statements and questions:

Papa yu laik kaikai Nasi i kam?

The word *a* can be used at the end:

Mi salim em i kam insait, a?

Some instances have been found that follow the interrogative word order in English, i.e. verb + noun. In these examples the question corresponds to polite requests:

Inap mipela kisim sampela laulau na guava?
Inap mi kam sindaun long beksait bilong yu?
Papa kanage plis inap yu tokim mi wanem mining bilong gavman

Different interrogative words are used. They tend to be placed at the beginning of the sentence:

***Husat** long pablik i save long biknem Rok na rol Musik King Elvis Presley?*
***Wanem samting** i wokim i wait na kaikai i swit olsem?*
***Hamas** long buai bilong yu*
***Olsem wanem** na yu krai i stap*

The question word *we*, 'where' is used at the end of the clause or sentence:

*Kanage yu go **we** na kam bek*
*Meri tambu na ol pikinini **we**?*

But they can also be used within the sentence in the place corresponding to their syntactic function:

*Kanage gat **hamas** tru diwai kakao bilong yu*

English question words are making their way into Tok Pisin

***Wai** yu putim prais bilong buai bilong yu i go daun long 20t tasol*

2.4.5. Prepositions

The basic and most frequently used prepositions in Tok Pisin are *long* and *bilong*. Whereas *bilong* expresses possession, *long* has many different meanings, e.g. in, on, direction to, purpose, with, at:

Mi stap insait ***long*** *Lae siti*
Bikpela glas mira **long** wol
Wanpela i go ***long*** *haus bilong poro bilong em*
Meri bilong poro i kukim kaikai ***long*** *kokonas milk*
Ol i sindaun ***long*** *kaikai*
Testim liklik tasol ***long*** *spun ya.*
Opening bilong festival bai stat ***long*** *8.30 am long moning*

Apart from these, other prepositions are used:

Em stap ***klostu long*** *Wanpenamanda Haiwe*
Em spendim 4 mun bilong em ***wantaim*** *brata bilong em*
Em i tanim kap na lusim ***antap long*** *trei*
Ol meri wok long sindaun ***namel long*** *rot*

English prepositions are now also being used:

Ova *30 yia*
Memorandum ***ov*** *Agrimen*
Nesenel Kaunsil ***ov*** *Women* (notice also the use of women instead of *meri*)
Even spelt 'of': *pilaia* ***of*** *the Yia*

2.4.6. Subordinate clauses

Subordinate clauses of all kinds are common now in Tok Pisin. There are relative sentences, subordinate clauses complementizing verbs and adverbial clauses expressing different relationships, e.g. condition, time, reason.

2.4.6.1. Relative clauses

Sometimes relativization is expressed by juxtaposition of sentences, no relativizer is used. This structure parallels the Oceanic pattern where subject-referencing

pronouns were used. The subject is optional if the antecedent has the same function in the main clause and in the subordinate clause:

Olsem na mi no amamas long dispela prais bilong ol man ol i save wokim moa mani na givim mi liklik mani long mi
Mi lukim planti manmeri long grasrut levol, ol i no laikim PDM Pati bai i kam bek long Palamen
Moa papamama i wok long bringim ol liklik pikinini i sik i go long haus sik
Em i kamap long maket na askim wanpela meri salim buai i stap

It is necessarily used when the functions are different:

Lo ol i kolim Len Mobilaisesen Progrem

The relativizers *husat* and *we* are used, the former is used for people, whereas *we*, is used to refer to both people and things:

Ol lapun manmeri long ples na ol yangpela tu ***husat*** *ol papa, bubu bilong ol i bin pait long Wol Woa 2 bai Japan Gavman i peim kompensesen* (also tense marker:bin)
Em save wokim ol wok ***we*** *yumi pipel i laikim*
Yumi painim dispela kain man ***we*** *em i gat gutpela tingting*
I gat wanpela kaikai ***we*** *i wok long kamap long planti ples long kantri*

An example was found where *long* seems to be used as relativizer:

Mi wanpela grasrut ***long*** *i laik autim belhevi bilong mi long ol memba bilong mipela*

2.4.6.2. Noun clauses

The word *olsem* is used to introduce the subordinate clause complementing verbs:

Sapos yupela ***ting olsem*** *populesen bilong Morobe...*
Mi yet mi ***save olsem*** *populesen bilong mipela long Sauten Hailans provins i go pas long PNG kantri*

Ol wok painimaut ***soim olsem*** *vanila inap long bringim mani mak long K190 milien long wanwan yia*

Ol pipel i ***lukim olsem*** *mani i stap long dispela kaikai*

Ol i ***gat bilip olsem*** *ol bai pulim mani*

Long can also be used as a complementizer after toktok:

Brata ya i toktok ***long*** *Plis Fos i kilim nating ol man*

Sapos is used in reported speech:

Mi tok sapos yupela gavman i laik givim indipendens yupela mas pastaim sekim populesen

Sometimes no complementizer is used and the verb being modified is directly followed by the subordinate clause:

Plis mipela i laik rot bilong ka i mas kamap

Mista Kuri i tok em i no save bungim dispela kain birua

Maria Ruiz husat i gat 48 krismas i tok Brandon i bin promisim em olsem em bai sapotim em

2.4.6.3. Adverbial clauses

These clauses can be of different types, expressing different kinds of relationships. Together with Tok Pisin linkers, borrowings from English are being introduced, e.g. *bikos.*

Conditional: ***Sapos*** *ol liklik fama bilong vanila i lukautim gut wok (...) bai ol inap long pulim mani*

Reason: *Kanage i no amamas long dispela sem toktok* ***bikos*** *em i nogat inap mani long bek buai*

Time: ***Taim*** *ol manmeri i lukim em, ol i lap nogut tru long em*

3. LEXICON

3.1. THE JARGON STAGE

Jargon lexicons can be considered either as a 'macaronic' mixture of different languages or as derived from one language only. Although there is evidence for both, Mühlhäusler considers that the latter is better attested (Mühlhäusler 1986:143). In a context of high geographical mobility such mixed lexicons do not seem to be very useful, so they tend to be replaced by varieties based on one language, English in the case of Jargon English. This must not be understood only as a consequence of the dominant position of English speakers, but also as an interest in efficient communication in such a multilingual area (Mühlhäusler 1979a:182). This author remarks that "it is in the lexicon where stable conventions begin to develop first" (Mühlhäusler 1986:144). Different regional conventions can be distinguished in Jargon English (Clark 1979:19):

> World: features shared by Pacific pidgins with English-based pidgins and creoles elsewhere in the world.
> Sino-Pacific: features found in China Coast pidgin and most of the South Pacific languages, but not elsewhere.
> Southwestern: features shared by the Melanesian pidgins and Australian creoles, but not found elsewhere.
> Melanesian: features not found outside the Melanesian group.

Clark (1983:14) considers that the fact that most of these features can be found in other contact languages in the world suggests that the jargon was not a Pacific creation, but it continued a preexisting tradition.

3.1.1. Influences from pidgins in different areas

The sailors on the ships involved in the above trades "collectively carried with them a set of linguistic and cultural expectations and strategies for 'talking to natives' which represented a cumulative interlinking of the various lingua francas of the Atlantic, the Caribbean, the China Coast and perhaps the Indian Ocean. What Islanders, as fellow crew members or on shore, would have had as linguistic input comprised both the 'native talk' produced by the sailors in dealing specifically with them and the distinctive nautical English the sailors spoke with one another" Keesing (1988:23).

Clark (1979:19) groups those features found in pidgins and creoles worldwide: along (with), been[4] (past or anterior preverbal tense marker), by and by (future tense marker), got (have), him (transitive verb suffix), piccaninny (child), plenty (quantifier 'much, many'), savvy (know, understand), something (thing), suppose (if)[5], too much (very, very much), and where (relative clause marker). Examples of these features are shown in the following sentences:

> "*I bring him* ***'long*** *me* (I bring it along (with me)" (Schuchardt 1883:22)
> "***By and by*** *he come* (He'll come pretty soon)" (Schuchardt 1883:19)
> "*He no money* ***got*** (He was poor)" (Schuchardt 188319)
> "***Plenty*** *money belong me* (I have a lot of money)" (Schuchardt 1883:19)
> "*Go my house; me got* ***plenty*** *fruit my house* (Gilbertese crewman on whaler 1860)" Clark (1983:13-14)
> "*Me savey go* (I know how to go there)" (Schuchardt 1883:19)
> *"You see Tanna man no like that; he speak, 'Very good plenty woman: very good woman make all work'. Tanna man no savé work ... he* ***too much*** *lazy; he* ***too much*** *gentleman!".* (McFarlane 1873:106 in Clark 1983:19)

[4] Baker (1990:264) does not agree with Clark in considering 'been' a world feature, he considers "it seems more likely to have reached Melanesian PE from New South Wales PE than from any other source".

[5] Although this feature is also present in Chinook Jargon, Baker (1987:178) considers this might be due to contacts with Europeans who had already been exposed to Pacific Pidgin. He states that 'suppose' is not found in the sense given by Clark in other pidgins.

3.1.1.1. Portuguese-based pidgin

Elements of the Portuguese-based pidgin which evolved in West Africa might have also been present in the jargon, since sailors of different nationalities were probably in contact with it on ships sailing in other areas of the world. Holm (1988a:92) comments on the expansion of this pidgin citing Carr (1972): "In the Pacific Ocean, Hawaiian CE apparently gained some loans from Portuguese via Chinese Pidgin English in the early nineteenth century and later other loans via the Portuguese-speakers from Madeira and the Azores who came first as crew members on New England whalers and then as agricultural laborers.There are vocabulary items such as 'save' and 'pikinini' which derive from Portuguese (Todd 1990:33). Schuchardt (1883:21) had also pointed out the mediation of Chinese Pidgin English to introduce Portuguese sabe (savey) into Beche-le-mar and notices that the same might be true of Portuguese calabouço (callaboos)[6]: "*Callaboos he no good! Put hand and foot belong-a-me in iron-clothes, that no good!* (The prison was not good! Putting my hands and feet in fetters, that was not good.)" Schuchardt (1883:18).

3.1.1.2. Nautical speech.

The nautical English of sailors was referred to above as part of the linguistic input Islanders would have had. Holm (1988a:78): "Because of the mixture of dialects and even languages found among ships' crews, nautical speech has always constituted a distinctive sociolect". Keesing (1988:93) points out that the English the islanders were exposed to included many elements from a nautical pidgin, distinctive, however, from a worldwide nautical pidgin. Items such as *kapsait*, *draibisket*, *kago* are specific of this context:

[6] Mihalic attributes an English origin to this word. Mühläusler (1978a:72) quotes Governor Solf's diary where he explains "calabos is the word for prison used here, probably originating from Spanish".

*"Boat he **capsize**, water he kai-kai him* (the boat capsized and sank)" Schuchardt (1883:18).

*"**Capsize** that big fellow pellate and give master small fellow pellate* (Empty this big plate and give master a small plate)" Schuchardt (1883:18).

In the former example 'capsize' is used with the same meaning as in the lexifier. In the latter example it has the extended meaning common in many pidgins.

[see Baker (1990:258-259) Mühlhäusler (1986:98) Keesing (1988, chapters 2 and 3) on the relevance of ships on the expansion of the jargon].

However, the contribution of sailors to the jargon is not only limited to items having to do with the ship setting. They did not find anything wrong with using obscene language. Together with this kind of language they also taught islanders linguistic 'jokes', "such as coconut for 'head', savvy-box for 'brain' and sodawater for 'sea' (Mühlhäusler 1979:185). Schuchardt (1889:26) comments on this: "Originally the use of cocanut for 'head' was probably facetious, as this is still the case with Italian cucuzza for example". He provides examples of this use:

*"You no save that fellow white man **coca-nut** belong him no grass?* (Don't you know that bald-headed white man?" (p. 25)

*"Me no like go work, me stop house, **coca-nut** belong me too much sore* (I can't go to work, I want to keep at home, because my head is aching)" (p.25)

3.1.2. Influence of pidgins in the area

As seen above, a knowledge of pidgins spoken in other areas of the world was a strategy used by Europeans in their linguistic encounters with Pacific natives. However, once trading consolidated in the Pacific, pidgins in the Pacific region became very influential.

3.1.2.1. Chinese Pidgin English

The influence of Chinese Pidgin English on the jargon seems to be a logical outcome of the trepang and sandalwood trades since both products were taken to Chinese ports (Schuchardt 1883:20-21; Mühlhäusler 1979:56; Baker 1987:189). Clark (1979:19) in Romaine (1993:97) lists the features of Chinese Pidgin English incorporated into the South Pacific languages (Sino-Pacific). "These are all same (like, the same as), catch (get, obtain, receive), got (existential), and stop ('be in a place')". Examples of these items can be seen in Schuchardt (1889:25):

> *"You save this man where he **stop**?* (Do you know where this man stays?)"
> *"How many pig he **stop**?* (How many pigs are there?)"
> "*Place belong me he no make **all same*** (In my island they do differently)"

An example in Keesing (1988:31) shows more clearly the use of 'all same' in a comparison: *"Jehovah very good. He love Black man **all same** White man".*

Baker (1987:183) excludes three of these features from the list of those influenced by Chinese Pidgin English, 'got' because he does not consider it to have ever been well-integrated in Chinese Pidgin English. As for 'catch', he notices it can also be found in Jamaican Creole and Krio. He also excludes 'stop' because it is not found in that precise sense in Chinese Pidgin English.

On the other hand he identifies three other Sino-Pacific features: 'suppose', 'what for' and 'more better'. Suppose, 'if' is not found in that sense in Atlantic pidgins and creoles (see Baker's view in note 2). Schuchardt (1883:19) provides some examples of this item:

> *"**spose** rat come kai-kai me, I no fight him!* (If rats had come to eat me, I couldn't have fought them)" (Schuchardt 1883:19)
> *"This work belong you, all right **suppose** you make him"* (Schuchardt 1883:19)
> *"**Suppose** you come soon Monday, very good; suppose you no come soon, me no stop"* (Schuchardt 1889:25)

'What for' is also found in both Chinese Pidgin English and Pacific Pidgin English but not in Atlantic Pidgins and Creoles. The same applies to 'more better':

> *"**What for** steal manu belong-a-me?* (Why did you steal my handkerchief?)" (Schuchardt 1883:19)

Baker (1987:184) concludes that these findings "effectively dismiss the notion that PPE is any kind of "direct descendant" of CPE. The data do, however, suggest that there was some rather limited CPE influence on PPE and also, possibly, in the reverse direction".

Another group of features found in Melanesian Pidgins are those shared with Australian pidgins (Clark 1979): all (third person plural pronoun), all together (quantifier 'all'), along ('to, at, from'), belong (of), bullamacow ('bull, cow, ox'), fellow (suffix to various pre-nominal modifiers), fellow (plural suffix in personal pronouns), he (preverbal predicative marker), kaikai (eat, food)[7], kill (strike, beat), pigeon (bird)[8], what name (what, which), you me (first person inclusive pronoun):

> *"Canoe too little, by and bye, broke – **All** man go away, canoe gone, very good me stop."* (Nihill 1850 in Clark 1983:19)
>
> *"**Altogether** Black mumkull (kill) that fellow"* (Praed 1885:47 in Baker 1990:263)
>
> "*Brother **belong**-a-me by and by he dead* (My brother will soon be dead)" (Schuchardt 1883:19)
>
> *"Missis! Man belong **bullamacow** him stop* (Missis! The butcher is here)" (Schuchardt 1883:18)
>
> "*He small **fellow** hot*" (Schuchardt 1889:25)
>
> "*Kaikai **he** finish?* (Is dinner ready?)" (Schuchardt 1889:24)

[7] Schuchardt (1883:21) considers 'kai-kai' to be a Polynesian word. Baker (1990:265) attributes it to New Zealand or islands to the southeast of Melanesia

[8] Baker (1990:265) thinks this feature 'pigeon' (bird) is attributable to the central Pacific islands.

*"Spose rat come **kai-kai** [eat] me, I no fight him! Miskiti plenty **kai-kai** me!"* (Schuchardt 1883:19)

*"You not like soup? He plenty good **kai-kai** [food]"* (Schuchardt 1883:18)

Clark (1983:15) considers there are very few features that can be considered exclusively of South Pacific origin: "bullamacow[9] for a member of the bovine species, originated in Tonga in the 1820s; kaikai 'eat, food', of Polynesian, probably Maori, origin, seems to have entered the Jargon about the same time. Some other words of Polynesian origin – such as kanaka 'Pacific islander', taro 'Collocasia esculenta', and taboo 'sacred, forbidden' – were very likely current during this period too; but since they also entered Standard English, continuity of use is difficult to demonstrate.

3.1.2.2. Influence of New South Wales Pidgin English.

Those dealing with the different trades in the southwest Pacific in the early nineteenth century were in contact with New South Wales Pidgin English. This pidgin had started in Sidney out of contacts between Aborigines and Europeans. Sydney was the most frequented port – ships in the trade were based at Sydney –, and the place "where sailors were most likely to acquire features to embellish the kind of English they used in their contacts with Pacific Islanders" (Baker 1990:261). This pidgin seems to have been the first variety of Pacific Pidgin to stabilize in the region, so it would have influenced what Europeans said to Pacific islanders.

Baker (1987:192) gives a list of features attested earlier in NSWPE than in any other variety of PPE:

[9] "Bullamacow is of anecdotal origin. It is said that one of the early explorers (I think it was Cook) left a bull and a cow on one of the islands, these words blended into one with the meaning 'cattle; beef'" (Schuchardt 1883:22)

- Gammon, 'lie'[10]: *"Why Massa Gubernor," said Black Jack, "You Proflamation [sic] all* ***gammon*** *– how blackfellow read him? Eh! He no learnt him read book"* (Troy 1985:281)

- **Devil-devil** glossed as 'the great devil' in 1824(Troy 1985:259). This is an illustration of the use of reduplication for an intensified meaning.

- Belong (genitive): [of customs following the death of a relative]... and on inquiring who is dead, I am always answered in a mournful tone of voice, '*Dat pather (father)* ***belonging***[11] *me'"* (Dawson 1830:74)

- *"Wool [old] Bill been see mandoehah* (foot or footsteps) [?footprints] ***belonging*** *to bush black: murry tousand tit down near de ribber, massa!"* (Dawson 1830:123)

- Been (completive marker): *"Massa! Massa! Make haste; dingo (dogs)* ***been*** *got him in ribber"* (Dawson 1830:142)

- Close up: *"Wool [old] Bill been piola [tell] me, too mun [many] black pellow tit down most* ***close up*** *ribber"* (Dawson 1830:124)

- Mary, 'woman': "But I said: 'You should not have carried Mary away from her husband.' *'Bael dat, massa,'* he very sharply answered; ***Mary*** *come me. Dat husband murry bad man: he waddy (beat) Mary. Mary no like it, so it leabe it'"* (Dawson 1830:65). However, Baker considers this to be a dubious example[12].

In Baker (1990:262) more features of Melanesian Pidgin English first attested in New South Wales Pidgin English are added to the ones given above: 'plenty' (many), 'all same' (as, like), 'what for' (why), 'suppose' (if) and '(a)long' (multipurpose preposition).

The author compares the big number of these features "with just one feature (pigeon 'bird') attributable to the central Pacific islands, about a dozen attributable to

[10] "Gammon has its origin in a British thieves' slang known as 'flash language'" (Vaux 1819 in Baker 1990:263)

[11] "The disyllabic form 'belong' is not attested until 1864 (in both Lifu and Queensland). Prior to that, there were four competing forms: 'belonging to', 'belonging', 'belong to' and 'belonga', all of which are first attested in New South Wales PE between 1826 and 1832" (Baker 1990:263)

[12] "In the following exchange (...) it seems clear that the first speaker (the author) considers 'Mary' to be the name of the woman enticed away from her husband, but the Aborigine's reply suggests that he may have been using the word in the sense of 'woman'. As the word gin is used for 'Aborigine woman' elsewhere in this source, this is certainly not proof that mary had by then become a common noun" (Baker 1987:201-202)

New Zealand or islands to the southeast of Melanesia (including bulmakau 'beef, cattle', kaikai 'eat', 'food', mate 'die'and so forth)" (Baker 1990:265).

3.1.2.3. Influence of Queensland Aboriginal Pidgin

European settlement moved from New South Wales into the southern and western parts of Queensland. Baker (1987:194) notices features of Queensland Aboriginal Pidgin which are found later outside Australia:

> You and me, 'we, us': *"Come on, **merri** maki-haste, direc'ly blackfellow killin' **you and me**"* ca. 1842 (Dutton 1983:113)[13]

Also notice the use of 'mary', meaning 'woman' in the above example.

Baker (1987:194), considering the rather large number of Pacific Pidgin features first attested in Australian Aboriginal varieties of Pidgin English, concludes that "NSWPE (and its continuation QAPE) was not merely an important influence but was very probably the single most important influence on the development of PPE in the islands of the southwest Pacific".

As for the last group of features in Clark (1979), Melanesian, i.e. features not found outside the Melanesian group, "these are all (plural marker) and man bush (noun compound where modifier follows head)". "Him fellow all same man-a-bush (They were fools)" (Schuchardt 1883:19).

Mühlhäusler (1979:183) lists words found in Pacific Jargon English vis-a-vis their reflection in present-day NGP:

Pacific Jargon English	**Present-day NGP**	**Gloss**
All same	*olsem*	'like, as'
Along	*long*	general preposition
Bulmakau	*Bulmakau*	'cattle, meat'
Fellow	*-pela*	adject. Suffix, 'sth'

[13] Dutton 1983:109 (in Baker 1987:202) quotes the remark of a German missionary in 1839: "All the women are called Mary, because they know a little English".

Catch	*kisim*	to get, obtain
Come up	*kamap*	to appear, become
Look out	*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

3.1.3. Internal features of the jargon lexicon

The lexicon of South Seas Jargon has been estimated to be made up of several hundreds of words or less (Mühlhäusler 1979a:182). Although Holm (1988a:73) considers that this estimate might not be very accurate since it is based on written records, it is an indication that the lexicons of early pidgins are much smaller than those of natural languages.

The small size of the lexicon is a consequence of two factors, namely the restricted number of topics dealt with in communication and the attempt on the part of English speakers to reduce their vocabulary so that they could be more easily understood by natives (Mühlhäusler 1979a:181) [See Whinnom 1971:99 on simplification on the part of speakers of the lexifier]. This native speakers' intuition, however, seems rather incomplete as can be seen in some examples collected by Churchill (in Mühlhäusler 1979:182):

Jargon English	**Gloss**
Make 'm peasoup adrift	open the tin of meat
Break out that bread	open that tin of biscuits
Look alive	hurry up
He look daylight a long time	to lie awake

The lexical items in the jargon have a very general meaning, they are governed "by pragmatic rather than grammatical rules" (Mühlhäusler 1986:145). Words are semantically and grammatically ambiguous, their meaning depends on the context. The very general meaning of lexical items enhanced individual variation. New items were introduced in an ad hoc way according to the needs of the specific situations. These items did not remain in the permanent lexicon. Many of them disappeared not being found later in stable pidgins; this is the case of 'kinkenau' (to steal) and 'tillewatt' (to fasten) reported by Schuchardt (1983:23). Mühlhäusler (1986:165) points out that at this stage any item from the lexifier or from the substratum languages is a potential word.

As a consequence of the great variability and the lack of conventions miscommunication is likely to have arisen. And even though the main interest of those using the jargon is efficient communication, there are examples where the variability inherent to the jargon is used purposefully in the benefit of the dominant group: "a profusion of terms was used to refer to the length of contract (i.e. three years), including yam, borima and dega-dega, not out of a wish for better communication, but as the commission suggests, in an attempt to mislead the recruits about the length of contract". (Mühlhäusler 1979a:191).

Mühlhäusler (1979a:186) remarks that taking items from the English lexicon involves losing different kinds of information:

- loss of phonological information [see section on Phonology]:
    - loss of unstressed syllables
    - loss of consonant clusters
    - loss of phonological distinctions.
- loss of morphological information. The natives find it difficult to identify:

    -inflectional and derivational affixes, e.g. *anis*, 'ant, ants'

- compounds, e.g. *trausel*, 'tortoise-shell'
- word boundaries, e.g. *tasol*, 'that's all'

- loss of syntactic information.
  - Items of the jargon are unspecified for category and so different interpretations are possible as can be seen in this example in Churchill (1911) Mühläusler quotes:

    "You speak lie plenty"

    pron. V. N. adj. or adv.

    pron. V. V. adv.
  - No transitive/intransitive distinction, e.g. kill, 'kill, die', talk,'say, talk'
- loss of semantic information:
  - decrease in the referential potential, e.g. copper, 'pot, cauldron', line, 'fishline'
  - increase in the referential potential, e.g. walk about, 'be in motion' heavy, 'heavy, difficult, hard to manage':

    "'pose I kill him two, by God I make it other one walk about" (Anon. 1836:251 in Baker 1990:262)

Besides borrowing, another strategy used to widen the limited referential power of the jargon is using the small number of lexical items in the creation of rudimentary circumlocutions (Mühlhäusler 1986:146). Examples of circumlocutions (Churchill 1911 in Mühlhäusler ibid.146):

Circumlocution	**Meaning**
Suppose me kitch him grass he die	to pick flowers ('kitch' from catch)
Big fellow master too much	governor
He all bone got no meat	he is thin
Pickanninny stop along him fellow	egg (little one is inside)

Other circumlocutions quoted in Schuchardt (1883:18):

> *"Vanno, put clothes belong-a-horse* (Vanno harness the horse)"
> *"Vanno put clothes belong-a-table* (Vanno set the table)"
> *"What for you wipe hands belong-a-you on clothes belong-esseppoon?* (Why are you wiping your hands on the napkin?)"
> *"Bring fellow belong make open bottle* (Bring me a corkscrew)" (ibid. 25)

Jargons are unstable both linguistically and socially, Mühlhäusler (1979a:191) makes a parallelism between the language and the social context: "The dependence on outside sources for structural enrichment of any kind can be regarded as the linguistic equivalent of the dependence of these jargons for their survival on the continuation of the social context in which they were used".

3.2. STABILIZATION

During stabilization a pidgin starts becoming an independent system. In the lexical component this is manifested in the emergence of conventions, the appearance of lexical structure and the use of syntax to derive new lexical items (Mühlhäusler 1979a: 191).

3.2.1 Sources of the lexical inventory of Tok Pisin

Borrowing from different sources – Samoan, Tolai, Malay and German – played a very important role in the expansion of a limited lexicon.

3.2.1.1. Samoan Plantation Pidgin and the Lexical Inventory of Tok Pisin

Labourers from the New Guinea islands were recruited to work on the German-owned plantations of Samoa, Mühlhäusler (1978a:68) considers this to be "the most significant single factor in the development of New Guinea Pidgin". His study of

Samoan Plantation Pidgin (hence SPP) shows that it is a pidgin in an early stage of stabilization, which helps to know the features of NGP at this stage.

The close relationship between Samoan Plantation Pidgin and Tok Pisin is evidenced by the existence of items found only in these two pidgins, but not in other Pacific pidgins. Mühlhäusler (1979a:192) argues that these items reflect the presence of numerous Bismarck Islanders on the Samoan plantations. However, he points out that the direction of borrowing is difficult to establish:

SPP	**NGP**	**Gloss**
Taberan	*tambaran*	ghost, spirit
Muruk	*muruk*	cassowary
Pukpuk	*pukpuk*	crocodile
Kakaruk	*kakaruk*	chicken, rooster
Matmat	*matmat*	cemetery

A number of lexical items of Samoan Plantation Pidgin and Tok Pisin share semantic properties which are not found in other Melanesian varieties (Mühlhäusler 1979a:194):

Item	**Meaning of NGP and SPP**	**Meaning of other varieties of Pacific (Melanesian) Pidgin**
As	*Arse, stump of a tree*	*Arse, buttocks*
Belo	*Bell, noon*	*Bell*
Bris	*Bridge, wharf*	*Bridge*
Kuk	*Cook, be defeated*	*Cook*
Nating	*Bun nating: skinny*	*Not used in this meaning*
Subim	*Subim wara: swim*	*Not used in this meaning*

Other examples, however, show the same surface relexes in SPP and NGP but their semantic range is different (Mühlhäusler 1978a:91):

SPP	Gloss	NGP	Gloss
Han	arm, hand	*han*	hand, arm, forelegs of an animal
Lek	foot, leg, fore and hindlegs of animals, footprints	*lek*	foot, leg, hindlegs of animals, footprints
Kuskus	to write	*kuskus*	clerk
Kiapen	captain, chief	*kiap*	patrol officer
Ol	old	*ol*	old (of inanimates and animals)
		lapun	old (of people)

There are lexical items which were found in older varieties of Tok Pisin, but which have been replaced now:

SPP	Present day NGP	Gloss
Bilinaut	*buai*	betelnut
Gokabaut	*wokabaut, limlimbur*	walk, stroll
Lilebit	*liklik*	a little bit
Poldaun	*pundaun*	fall down
Bresprut	*kapiak*	breadfruit
Kabora	*kopra*	copra
Manis	*mun*	month

Mühlhäusler (1978a:92) considers that a closer examination to non-English words in NGP may reveal a Samoan origin, as he shows in the following examples:

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

Mihalic (1971) considers *kamda* as derived from English 'carpenter' and lists *malolo* as being of Gazelle Peninsula origin and *taro* of Fijian origin, for *popi* and *mumu* there is no reference to origin.

3.2.2.2. Borrowing from Tolai and other local vernaculars

During the stabilization of Tok Pisin in the area of the Duke of York, New Britain and New Ireland Islands, Tolai was the most important substratum language from which words could be borrowed. Mosel (1980:23-24) collected all items that according to Mihalic (1971) are found simultaneously in Tolai and New Ireland languages. According to Mihalic this means about fifteen percent of the Tok Pisin lexicon. Mosel discards words that she considers not to be of Tolai origin, e.g. balus, susu and mosong, since this language lacks /s/. Apart from these items, the author also thinks other words are not of Tolai origin, e.g. *abus, bombom, diwai, liklik, longlong, malolo, melisa, mumut* and *talis.*

The lexical items can be divided into three clear groups: those making reference to plants, those referring to animals and insects and those which refer to native culture. A fourth group includes words that refer to actions or objects of everyday life.

Plants

Tok Pisin	**English**	**Tok Pisin**	**English**
Aibika	a plant with edible leaves	*Erima*	a tree, Octumeles sumatrana
Atap	kunai grass thatch / to thatch with grass	*Galip*	a nut (Canarium polyphylum)
Aupa	native spinach		
Buai	betelnut	*Gorgor*	a tall type of ginger
Bukbuk	a timber tree	*Kambang*	lime
Bulit	the sticky sap of certain trees	*Kapiaka*	breadfruit tree
		Kapul	possum, tree wallaby
Daka	the betelpepper vine	*Karapua*	a short banana
Diwai	wood, low tree	*Kaur*	bamboo

Kawawar	ginger-root
Kawiwi	the wild betelnut
Kulau	green coconut suitable for drinking
Kumu	taro leaves
Kumurere	the eucalyptus tree
Kunai	alang-alang grass
Laup	the N.G. walnut tree
Mami	(very sweet) yams
Marita	pandanus
Marmar	raintree, any of the Jacaranda type of trees
Muli	citrus fruit
Nok	midrib of sago or coconut fronds
Palpal	coral tree
Pangal	the sago palm leaf
Pipit	type of wild sugar cane
Talis	a tree (Terminalia catappa)

Animals

Tok Pisin	**English**
Ainanga	white bait, small fish
Atun	tuna
Balus	bird
Bembe	butterfly
Guma	hermit crab
Kakaruk	hen, chicken
Kalangar	parrot
Kanai	seagull
Karava, karua	a fish, sea mullet
Katu	a hermit crab
Kavivi	hawk
Kiau	egg
Kina	a clam, an oyster
Kokomo	hornbill
Kol	herring
Kotkot	raven
Krokkrok / rokrok	frog
Kuka	crab
Kumul	bird of paradise
Lala	tailorfish
Lang	a fly
Makau	the tilapia, a fish
Manangunai	sea eagle
Me, meme	goat
Mutmut	a large bushrat
Muruk	cassowary
Natnat	mosquito
Palai	lizard, gecko
Par, var	the stingray, roach
Pukpuk	crocodile
Talai	a sardine

Culture

Tok Pisin	English	Tok Pisin	English
Baira	a hoe, a sharp stick for digging	*Mon*	high-prowed canoes
Birua	a piece of human flesh, an enemy	*Papait*	sorcery
Bombom	torch made of dry fronds	*Purpur*	grass-skirt
Buai	betelnut	*Tambaran*	the spirits of the ancestors
Bung	assembly, market	*Tambu*	forbidden, sacred
Garamut	native wooden signal	*Tanget*	victory leaf
Kibung / kivung	meeting	*Tultul*	the assistant village chief appointed by the government
Kilamo	a cork, originally of rolled-up leaves	*Tumbuan*	a wooden mask
		Tumbuna	ancestors
Kukurai	the chief of a tribe	*Tuptup*	cover, lid, cork
Kundu	hand-drum	*Wokurai*	to hold a conference, to hold court
Luluai	village tribal chief		
Mal	a bark loin covering		
Malira, marila	love-spell		
Matmat	cemetery		

Others

Tok Pisin	English	Tok Pisin	English
Bingim	To squeeze, press	*Malumalu*	soft, tender
Guria	Earthquake	*Mata kiau*	blind
Kalang	Earring	*Mau*	ripe, soft
Karavia	a quarantine	*Mosong*	Fuzz, the nap of cloth
Laka	is that not so?	*Pekpek*	to excrete

liklik[14]	Little	*Pipia*	dirt, rubbish
limlimbur	to take a walk	*Pui*	naked
longlong	stupid, drunk	*Puinga*	to fart
Malari	poor fellow, shame	*Raring*	to pray
Malolo	to rest	*Ruru*	to honour
Malumalu	Soft, tender	*Susu*	milk, breast
Marimari, marmari	pity, to pity	*Yet*	self

Compared to other English-derived pidgins, the percentage of native vocabulary in Tok Pisin is very high (Hall 1966:94 in Mühlhäusler 1979a:196), which may be a reflection of two important factors, the increase of new contexts where the use of the language was necessary and the withdrawal of the lexifier language.

Although little is known about the possible influence of other languages spoken in the Bismarck Archipelago, the chance of borrowing items from Tolai would be bigger if they were widely known (Mühlhäusler 1979a:196).

Borrowing from the languages in the mainland is very limited: *katamot*, 'naked', *sumatin*, 'student' and *sanguma*, 'secret murder'. This shows that by the time Tok Pisin became important in the mainland, i.e. by 1900, "the lexical inventory of NGP needed for cross-tribal communication was sufficiently developed" (Mühlhäusler 1979:196).

Items of local origin seem to be more marked than items of European origin (Mühlhäusler 1979a:197):

Unmarked item	**Marked item**
Go, 'to go'	*Limlimbur*, 'to stroll'
Pisin, 'bird'	*Balus*, 'pigeon'
	Kumul, 'bird of paradise'
	Tarangau, 'eagle'

[14] Mühlhäusler (1979:195) suggests that multiple derivation from both English and Tolai may have been involved.

Win, 'wind'	*Bunim*, 'north wind'
	Taleo, 'northwest wind'
	Rai, 'southeast trade wind'

Some Tolai and other Melanesian words have entered Tok Pisin not spontaneously, but as a result of linguistic planning by the government or missions. *Luluai*, 'village or tribal chief' and *kukurai*, 'tribal chief appointed as native judge' are examples of the former planning. *Tambu* with the meaning of 'holy' and *vartovo* as doctrine are examples of the latter (Mühlhäusler 1979a:198)

3.2.1.3. The Malay Element

Although different situations allowed for contact between Tok Pisin and Coastal Malay, the employment of Malay and Malay-speaking Chinese on New Guinea mainland was the most important factor (Mühlhäusler 1985a:206). The short period of time during which Coastal Malay was used as the lingua franca of the plantations on the New Guinea mainland left some words of Malay origin in Tok Pisin (Mühlhäusler 1979:198). These words represent a minor part of the total lexicon: 10% of the Tok Pisin vocabulary is derived from non-European languages including Melanesian, Polynesian, Malay, etc. (Hall 1943:9 in Roosman 1975:230). Mühlhäusler (1979a:199) simply gives the list of Malay terms provided by Reed (1943:277) and adds some others on his own. Roosman (1975), on the other hand, makes a detailed study of Malay loanwords in Tok Pisin.

Phonological change occurs sometimes in the borrowing, this might be explained as a consequence of the use of dialectal variations by Malay speakers (Roosman 1975:233).

Malay	**Melanesian Pidgin**	**Gloss**
Kacang	*kasang / kansang*	peanut
Kangkung	*kango / kanggo / kangko*	watercress

Bambu	*Mambu*	bamboo
Rotan	*rotang*	rattan
Jati	*yati*	teakwood
Jambu	*yambo*	guava
Sayur	*sayor*	vegetables
Lombok	*lombo*	red pepper

Sometimes transfer from Malay involves no semantic change (p.230):

Melanesian Pidgin	**Malay**	**Gloss**
Bliong	*bliong, beliong, beliung*	hatchet
Klambu	*klambu / kelambu*	mosquito net

However, in many instances semantic change occurs in loanwords (p.230):

Malay	**Gloss**	**Gloss in Melanesian Pidgin**
Atap	roof	sagopalm fronds used for roofing
		Kunai grass thatch (Gazelle Peninsula)
Tiang	pole	a crotch
		A fork post used in building
Binatang	animal	bug, insect
		All small animals and creeping things
		except snakes
Pahit	bitter	'pait', to have a sharp taste, to have
		a disagreeable taste, poisonous
Mandor	foreman, overseer	spokesman, leader
Krani	clerk	Malay trader, storekeeper, a Malay
Tandok	horn (of an animal)	horn (trumpet)

In some instances, a Melanesian Pidgin word is not detectable as a pidginization of a Malay word (ibid.231):

NGP	**Meaning**	**Malay**	**Meaning**
Amamas	joy, delight, honour	*hormat /ormat*	honour
Kanda	cane, rattan	*gada*	stick or club

Kaskas	scabies	*kadas*[15]	scabies
Kambang	lime, slaked lime chewed with betelnut, a gourd in which it is carried	*gamping*	lime
Kalang[16]	earring, the long feather of a bird	*kalang*	circle, cylindrically shaped
Barit / baret	stream, small river, ditch	*parit*	ditch
P*anggal*	coco-leaf, sago-leaf	*pangkal*	the beginning, the base

Transfer has also occurred via European languages:

Malay		**Tok Pisin**
nanas / nenas	> German: ananas >	*ananas*
kakatua	> English or Dutch >	*kakatu* (derived meaning similar to Malay)
kerbau	> Dutch: karbouw >	*karabau or karabu* (water-buffalo)

Roosman (1975:232) gives examples of words that could have been introduced either from Malay or from one of the Austronesian languages spoken in Papua New Guinea:

Tok Pisin	**Meaning**	**Possible origin**
Talinga	Edible mushroom (ear-shaped)	Malay: telinga, 'ear' Tolai: talinga, 'ear'
Susu	Milk, breast, udder	Malay: susu (same meaning as in TP) Tolai: susu, 'milk'
Mal	Genital string, loincloth	Tolai: mal, 'clothes' Polynesia: malo, 'loin garment' Malay: malu, 'ashamed'
Matmat	Graveyard	Tolai: mat, 'to die' Polynesian: mate, 'to die' Malay: mati, 'to die, dead'

[15] Roosman's (1975:231) view of this word as a cognate of the Tok Pisin word is difficult to justify.
[16] Attributed a Gazelle origin in Mihalic

Tuptup	Cover, lid	Tolai: tuba, 'cover' Malay: tutup, 'cover, lid, to cover, closed'
Limbur	To amuse oneself, (to take a) walk, holiday, day off	Malay: libur, 'holiday, being idle' Tolai: libur, 'to play, to amuse oneself'
Mumu	Earth-oven	Polynesian: umu or imu, 'earth-oven' Malay: sumur, 'hole in the ground'

In some cases, the Malay origin attributed to some words is doubtful, e.g. *arere, kuskus, manki.*

In daily usage some words of Malay origin compete with their English equivalents or with words derived from local languages:

Peanut: *kasang, pinat, galip*
Pineapple: *ananas, painap*
Pipe: *mambu, pai*
Cover: *tuptup, karamap*
Hatchet: *bliong, tamiok, plangis*
Water-buffalo: *karabau, bikbel*
Cotton: *kapok, katen*
Holiday: *limbur, holide*
Mosquito net: *klambu, taunam*

Loanwords from Malay fall mainly into three categories: plants, objects and utensils for daily use and social functions. Plants and objects, whose names probably came from local languages originally, acquired their Malay names, once they became the object of early barter or trade with the Malays. (Roosman 1975:232)

Mühlhäusler (1979a:199) expresses his doubts about the attributed Malay origin of all the words collected by Roosman. He considers that "if the socio-economic context of the origin and stabilisation of NGP is taken into consideration, a Melanesian origin for most of these items is much more likely", because contact between Tok Pisin and Malay occurred once the former had developed into a stable language (Mühlhäusler 1985b:206)

3.2.1.4. The German element

Different authors have expressed their opinion that the influence of German on the Tok Pisin lexicon is minimal. The following quotations in Mühlhäusler (1979a:200) reflect this view:

> "From German land hunger, from the Iron Chancellor's dream of a colonial empire, the Beach-la-mar derives but the solitary specimen of rauss, the mutilated fragment of heraus" (Churchill 1911:30)
> "It is interesting to note that, while many "boys" could understand a certain amount of German, no a single German word, so far as I know, was ever taken into the regular 'pidgin'" (Lewis 1932:37).

This limited knowledge is reflected in that sometimes the German origin is not recognized, and in other cases in that it is mistakenly attributed. The former case is illustrated by the word *pui*, 'naked', which is considered of Tolai origin by Mihalic (1971), while Mühlhäusler thinks the origin could be a German exclamation of disapproval: pfui (Mühlhäusler 1979a:201). In some instances, however, a German origin is mistakenly attributed, e.g. *senkelboi* can be derived from 'single boy' rather than from schenken, 'to give a present'; and the same applies to *maski*, that could be related to Chinese Pidgin English or Coastal Malay rather than to German 'macht nichts' ('it doesn't matter').

A factor that has caused German influence to be neglected is the similarity between a number of English words and German words. (See examples in 3.2.1.5. Multiple Etymologies, below).

By 1884, when the German annexation of north-east New Guinea took place, the lexicon of Tok Pisin had the items necessary for communication in the plantation context. However, it was beginning to be used in different situations. For the discussion of local customs and natural environment, words were borrowed from local languages.

On the other hand, German derived words were used in the administration and mission contexts (Mühlhäusler 1979a:201):

Tok Pisin	**German**	**English**
Terms for building, carpentry and new crafts:		
Gumi	Gummi	rubber, tube
Meta	Meter	yardstick
Sange	Zange	pliers
Supkar	Schubkarre	wheelbarrow
School-room terms		
Balaistip[17]	Bleistift	lead-pencil
Bilt	Bild	picture
Tafel	Tafel	blackboard
Tok doits	Deutsch	German language
Terms used in the domestic context		
Gabel	Gabel	fork
Katopel	Kartoffel	potato
Kese	Käse	cheese
Kuken	Kuchen	cake
Sarang	Schrank	cupboard, shelf
Tepik	Teppich	carpet, rug
Mission and doctrinal terms		
Beten	beten	pray
Bruder	Bruder	religious Brother
Kirke	Kirche	church
Pater	Pater	religious Father
Terms used in the police force		
Popaia	vorbei	to miss (target)
Sutman	Shutzmann	constable, guard

[17] "This item is still used in many areas but now refers to plastic ballpoints rather than lead pencils. The accidental similarity of German Bleistift to English 'plastic' appears to have promoted the continued use of this item" (Mühlhäusler 1979a:204)

Commands and terms of abuse

Dumkop	Dummkopf	idiot!
Haltmunt	halt den Mund	shut up!
Raus	raus	get out!
Saise	scheisse	shit!

Nautical terms

Bakabor	Backbord	port side
Kiliva	Klüver	jib sail
Sluk	Schluck	whirlpool

Certain names of animals

Bifel	Büffel	buffalo
Binen	Bienen	bees
Esel	Esel	donkey

Terms belonging to other semantic fields

Bensin	Benzin	petrol
Mak	Mark	mark, shilling
Surik	zurück	to flinch back

3.2.1.5. Multiple etymologies

Mühlhäusler notices the fact that lexical items can be assigned to more than one source simultaneously, this is what he refers to as 'lexical conflation' (Mühlhäusler 1979a:217). He gives three examples of lexical conflation:

- the related items are both of English origin:

Tok Pisin	**Related items**
Banis	'fence' and 'bandage'
Giaman	'gammon' and 'German' or 'sermon'
Tesin	'station' and 'plantation'

- the items can be derived equally well from German or English:

Tok Pisin	**Related German word**	**Related English word**
Ais	Eis	ice
Anka	Anker	anchor

Gaten	Garten	garden
Rip	Riff	reef

- conflation of lexical items of Melanesian and European origin:

Tolai	**English**	**TP**
Atip[18], 'thatched roof'	on top	*antap*, 'on top, roof'
Bala, 'belly, bowels'	belly	*bel* 'belly, seat of emotions'
Rokrok, 'frog'	croak croak	*rokrok*, 'frog'

An extreme case of lexical conflation is *sanga*, 'pliers, hand of cryafish, forked post, slinghot' which can be related to three different languages: German Zange, 'pliers', Malay tiang, 'forked branch' and Australian English shangai, 'slingshot'. These linguistic encounters favour the survival of lexical items. Mühlhäusler (1979a:221) concludes that "a conventional approach to lexical description and etymologising has to give way to new modes of dealing with lexical items and their history".

3.2.2. Restructuring

During stabilization norms start to emerge and there is an increase in the amount of lexical information in lexical items. Due to the withdrawal of English in this period, words of English origin seem to be more affected by restructuring of different kinds. On the other hand, the vigorous presence of German and Tolai during stabilization makes items from these sources be less affected (Mühlhäusler 1979a:208).

3.2.2.1. Restructuring of phonological information

In spite of the great variability still present at the phonological level in this stage, there are a number of conventions that begin to emerge. (See section on phonology above).

[18] Roosman (1975:230) attributes a Malay origin to this word

Some changes, however, do not seem to follow the rules strictly, e.g. bilinat from 'betelnut', pundaun from 'fall down', inining from 'evening' (Mühlhäusler 1979a:210).

As a consequence of the phonological changes the items from the lexifier undergo, homophones arise. However, according to Mühlhäusler homophony is of little consequence for understanding in this stage, since the context helps to make the meaning clear. "Thus the fact that sip in Tok Pisin can mean 'sheep', 'ship', 'jeep' and 'jib' is unlikely to result in major communicative disasters" (Mühlhäusler 1986:169)

3.2.2.2. Restructuring of morphological information

Tok Pisin speakers find it hard to recognise morphological boundaries in the lexifier language as can be seen in the following examples:

- plural forms are borrowed, their meaning being neutral as far as number is concerned. The examples tend to correspond to objects which are normally observed in quantities larger than one (ibid. 211):

Tok Pisin	**From**	**Gloss**
Anis	Engl. Ants	ant, ants
Hebsen	Germ. Erbsen	pea, peas
Masis	Engl. Matches	match, box of matches

- compounds in the lexifier are reinterpreted as single bases (ibid. 211):

Tok Pisin	**English**	**Gloss**
Trausel	tortoise-shell	tortoise
Kolta	coal-tar	tar
Kaswel	castor oil	castor oil

- word boundaries are ignored (ibid. 212):

Tok Pisin	**From English**	**Gloss**
Baimbai	by and by	soon
Nambis	on the beach	beach
Tudir	too dear	expensive

Sekan	shake hands	to make peace

This can also be illustrated by the parts the day is divided into in Tok Pisin (Todd 1984:176):

Tok Pisin	**From English**	**Gloss**
Sankamap	sun come + up	day break
Tulait	too + light	day time
Sangodaun	sun go + down	dusk, evening
Tudak	too + dark	night time

3.2.2.3. Restructuring of syntactic information

Changes in categorical information:

- English adjectives are re-interpreted as intransitive verbs (Mühlhäusler 1979a:212), e.g. doti, 'to be dirty', hangre, 'to be hungry', les, 'to be lazy, tired'. The same kind of categorical change can be found in other lexical items:

Tok Pisin	**From**	**Gloss**
Rabis (adj.)	rubbish (n.)	poor, worthless
Bilong (prep)	belong (v.)	of, for
Mau (adj.)	Tolai mao, 'ripe banana'(n.)	ripe

This can also happen at phrase-level e.g. *hariap*, 'quickly' and *tasol*, 'but' (Mühlhäusler 1986:168)

- New conventions concerning the use of pronouns: em is used for inanimates independently of the number; for animates em is used for singular, tupela for dual and ol for plural (Mühlhäusler 1979a:213).

3.2.2.4. Restructuring of semantic information

Stable conventions also emerge about the meaning of lexical items, which is different in some cases from the one in the source language, "thus demonstrating their linguistic independence" (Mühlhäusler 1986:168). Huttar (1975) proposes different hypotheses to explain the changes in meaning in pidgins and creoles, which include

universals of different kinds, effects of culture, influence of the substratum and language contact after the original period of pidginization.

This change of meaning can be seen in the following examples of Tolai loan-words in Tok Pisin:

Tolai	**Tok Pisin**
Mao 'ripe banana'	mau 'ripe, mature'
Ubene 'fishing net'	umben 'net (in general)'
Virua 'victim, human flesh'	birua 'enemy, warrior'

Another example of this kind of change is the attenuation of meaning that words from the lexifier can undergo when they become part of the Tok Pisin lexicon:

> *"Me sick me stop over there no more. Me stop no more there, me want to go along big fellow house; too much sick there"* (Mackay Mercury, Sept. 1, 1877. In Keesing 1988:43)
>
> *"he been give me small fellow box, no good, me fine fellow man, very good you give me tambacco, me too much like-em smoke"* (Giles 1968:37. In Clark 1983:22)

Sometimes the change has an influence on social acceptability. Words that are considered as rude in the lexifier can be acceptable in the pidgin (Mühlhäusler 1986:168):

Tok Pisin	**From English**	**Meaning in Tok Pisin**
Bagarap	buggered up	tired, ruined
Sit	shit	leftovers, faeces
As	arse	seat, buttocks, origin, cause

Although conventions start to emerge, vagueness still exists in less central areas of meaning.

Stability is favoured in some contexts by:

- external factors. Conventions are favoured in contexts where Tok Pisin has become institutionalized (Mühlhäusler 1979a:215):

Tok Pisin	**Gloss**
Mek pepa	to sign a labour contract
Finistaim	to finish one's indenture
Sande	to pool one's wages
Krismas	period of twelve months

- internal factors. Stable syntax favours stability in the lexicon:

Use of grammatical categories. They help to distinguish between different meanings. This is the case of aspect markers in Tok Pisin: pinis (completion) and nating (frustrative). Examples in Mühlhäusler (1986:171):

Painim / painim pinis	to search / to find
Boi*lim / boilim pinis*	boil /sterilize
Indai / indai pinis	to be unconscious / to be dead
Bagarapim / bagarapim pinis	to damage / to destroy

The meaning of nating is not so obvious and some contextual information might be needed. Examples in Mühlhäusler (1986:172):

Bun nating	very thin, skinny
Kuk nating	to cook vegetarian food (no meat)
Sik nating	a minor disease

Mühlhäusler (1978b:142) gives examples that show how conventions for the interpretation of aspect markers can enlarge the vocabulary making use of a limited set of items:

Rere pinis	'ready'
Laik rere	'prepare oneself'
Hat pinis	'hot'
Hat laik	'heating up'
Bruk pinis	'broken'
Laik bruk	'disintegrating'

- semantic conventions in the languages of Papua New Guinea (Mühlhäusler 1979a:216). However, this semantic information added to Tok Pisin lexical items can be interpreted from a different point of view. As a direct consequence of their small vocabulary, pidgins exhibit a high degree of motivation and transparency (Romaine 1992:35). Haiman (1980:535) argues that "the degree of motivation in a language varies inversely with the size of its basic vocabulary". The following examples illustrate this feature:

Tok Pisin	**English**	
gras	grass	
maus gras	moustache	
gras bilong fes	beard	
gras bilong hed	hair	
gras bilong pisin	feather	
gras antap long ai	eyebrow	
gras nogut	weed	
han	hand / arm	
han bilong diwai	branch of a tree	
han bilong pisin	wing of a bird	Romaine (1988:35)
ai bilong botol	lid of a bottle	
ai bilong kokonas	coconut hole	
ai bilong sua	head of a sore	Todd (1985:121)

These examples show what Haiman calls diagrammatic iconicity, i.e. "a systematic arrangement of signs, none of which necessarily resembles its referent, but whose relationships to each other mirror the relationships of their referents" (Haiman 1980:515). However, in English, a much more lexicalized language, all these meanings are expressed by different words. Romaine points out that many of the languages of Papua New Guinea (both Austronesian and non-Austronesian) show the kind of iconic

relation observed in Tok Pisin, e.g. they have the same lexical item for 'feather' and 'hair'. She considers that "Tok Pisin serves to channel an alien system into a native conceptual system" (1992:156).

3.2.3. Systematic aspects of the lexicon of Tok Pisin

The lexicon of stabilized Tok Pisin is not an unstructured list. There is evidence that lexical structures are developing: the emergence of semantic fields, the use of stable syntax in circumlocutions and the development of a small number of programs of lexical derivation (Mühlhäusler 1979a:222)

3.2.3.1. Lexical field structures

There is some kind of organization in certain areas of the lexicon, "particularly in domains that are dominant for the users of a pidgin" (Mühlhäusler 1986:168). This can be seen in Tok Pisin in two kinds of semantic fields: enumeration and kinship terms. These lexical fields show an influence of both the lexifier and substrate.

Enumeration. Decimal systems exist in many Melanesian languages, this facilitated the adoption of the English system of counting, not completely, however, as Reed observes:

> "The cardinal numbers from one to ten are patently of English derivation: won, tu, tri, for , faif, sikis, sefen, et, nain, and ten; but with numbers above ten, the native pattern of grouping numbers more frequently occurs. Thus eleven is wonfela ten won, twelve wonfela ten tu, and so on to twenty, which is tufela ten" (Reed 1943:282 in Mühlhäusler 1986:168).

Example of a passage recorded in 1880:

> *"me speak you; me kai kai ten one [11] feller man belong Esperanza; me take him altogether trade – musket, powder, tobacco, bead, plenty"* (Coote 1882 in Keesing 1988:44).

Mosel (1980:62) compares the structure of compound numerals in Tok Pisin and Tolai:

Tok Pisin	**Tolai**
Ten / tenpela	a vinun (ten)
Wanpela ten wan	a vinun ma tikai (ten and one)
Wanpela ten tu	a vinum ma urua (ten and tu)
Tupela ten	a ura vinun (two ten)
Tripela ten	a utul a vinun (three ten)

In spite of the similiarity she concludes that one must be cautious to see this as substratum influence "for this kind of decimal system is so simple that one need not take substratum influence into account to explain its development" (Mosel 1980:63).

Kinship terms. Conventions only seem to apply to central kinship terms. Some items have English cognates but their semantic information is different.

Tok Pisin	**Central meaning**
Tumbuna	grandparent, grandchild
Papa	father
Mama	mother
Kandare	maternal uncle or aunt
Smolmama	paternal aunt
Smolpapa	paternal uncle
Brata	sibling of the same sex
Susa	sibling of the opposite sex

Examples of other less tightly structured semantic fields such as members of different age groups, parts of the human body and a quite peculiar one, that of coconut terminology, are found in Mühlhäusler (1979a:223-225):

Tok Pisin	**Gloss**
Kokonas	coconut, palm and fruit
Kulau	green drinking nut
Drai	dry nut
Kopra, kabora	copra, meat of dry nut

Laplap bilong kokonas coconut leaf sheath

3.2.3.2. Circumlocution

In this stage, Tok Pisin lacks the necessary vocabulary for the wide range of situations where it is used. Because of the small size of its lexicon, circumlocution becomes a very useful resource to overcome the referential inadequacies of the language. Mühlhäusler (1979a:227) states that "circumlocution lies on the boundary between lexicon and syntax". They are ad hoc creations which make use of a limited lexicon and the rules of stabilizing syntax. They are individual rather than social solutions. Consequently, their number is impossible to determine. It was such a frequent strategy that Europeans seem to have considered them as representative of the way natives spoke and some of the circumlocutions collected by them seem to have been inventions intended to make fun of the natives' language.

The following are examples in The Pacific Islands Monthly supplied by readers in 1930:

> "A European lady: 'Big fella missus he put water belong stink along him'. In other words, the average white woman is best remembered by the natives owint to ther use of perfume. A piano: 'Big fella bokus (box) you fightem he cry'. This is highly ingenious – particularly the description of keyboard action" (Mühlhäusler 1985 in Romaine 1993:8-9)

Todd (1984:176) provides the following circumlocution for grave:

Yu save wokim ***hul bilong planim daiman****?*

The instability of circumlocutions can be seen in the varied ways to refer to the same object. Mühlhäusler (1979:227) collects many of these circumlocutions for 'piano':

> *Big fellow box spose whiteman fight him he cry too much* (Baron von Hesse-Wartegg 102:53)

Big fellow box, white fellow master fight him plenty too much, he cry (Daiber 1902:255)

Big fellow bokkes, suppose missis he fight him, he cry too much (Friederici 1911:100)

Also reported for Samoan Plantation Pidgin by Genthe (1908 in Mühlhäusler 1978a:93): *big fellow bokkus white man fight him he cry.*

Circumlocution was also a vigorous resource in Samoan Plantation Pidgin, Mühlhäusler (1978a:93) quotes various examples , although he points out that some might be 'European fabrications':

Neffgen (1915:4):
"*Bikfela lavalava bilong hos* (a horse cloth)"
"*spia bilong laus bilong kokonat* (a comb)"
Neffgen (1916:5):
"*Wut bilong haus goap go daun* (ladder, steps)"
"*masta bilong pofela ai* (European with spectacles)"

In spite of the high productiviy of the strategy, circumlocutions, however, seem to fail to express abstract concepts. Mühlhäusler (1979a:231) quotes some examples reported by Borchardt (1926) and Kutscher (n.d.):

Terms to be described	**Reported circumlocution**
To believe	*spik i tru*
Promise	*tok tru antap*
Miracle	*bikpela pasin bilong Deo*

After the end of German control, examples of circumlocutions show that there were still some basic names lacking in Tok Pisin:

Term to be described	**Reported circumlocution**
Barrel	*kas bilong pulimap wara* (Borchardt 1926)
Coffin	*bokis bilong man i dai* (Kutscher n.d.)
Shower	*wara i kam daun long kapa i gat planti hul* (Kutscher n.d.)

Stairs *lata bilong haus* (Borchardt 1926)

However, a certain degree of conventionalization can be seen in shorter phrasal circumlocutions, which begin the process for the formation of new lexical items following lexical regularities (Mühlhäusler 1979a:228):

Tok Pisin	**Literal translation**	**Gloss**
Sit bilong binen	shit of bees	honey
Rop bilong su	string of shoe	shoe lace
Pekpek bilong lam	faeces of lamp	Soot

The development of the lexicon throughout the country was not gradual as it is evidenced by the co-existence of circumlocutions and equivalent word- level lexical items (Mühlhäusler 1979:232):

Reported circumlocution	**Lexical replacement**	**Gloss**
Smok bilong graun	das (Engl.) tobon (Tol.)	dust
Rot bilong wara	baret (Mal.)	ditch
Snek bilong wara	maleo (Tol.)	eel

3.2.3.3. The formation of stable lexical items

It has been shown above that borrowing and ad hoc circumlocution played a very important role in increasing the number of lexical items during stabilization, however, "there are a number of indications that more systematic ways of creating new lexical items were in the process of becoming part of NGP grammar" (Mühlhäusler 1979a:232).

Phrase-level lexical items

- The lexical phrase 'to make + noun' emerged as a resource to overcome the shortage of verbs inTok Pisin. This construction seems to have disappeared by 1930s. These are some of the examples provided by Mühlhäusler (1979a:273):

Mekim hos	to make horse	to saddle
Mekim krismas	to make Christmas	to celebrate

Mekim pepa to make paper to write, sign a labour contract

This periphrastic causative, used as early as 1869, is identified by Keesing (1988:49) as one of the essential patterns of Melanesian Pidgin.

- names for different kinds of people: man bilong + N / V. Examples in Mühlhäusler (1979a:233):

Tok Pisin	**Gloss**
Man bilong limlimbur	an idler
Man bilong les	a lazy fellow
Man bilong giaman	a liar

Although theoretically possible, phrases like meri bilong trabel are very rare, "possibly because man has generic reference" (Todd 1984:197)

- names for certain kinds of buildings: haus + N / Adj. / V:

Tok Pisin	**Gloss**
Haus kuk	kitchen
Haus kalabus	prison
Haus kapa	corrugated iron building

Mühlhäusler (1979a:234) notices that in these phrases with *man* and *haus*, the deep structures differ considerably from one expression to another. At this stage, however, this is not very relevant because these structures are not very productive, the choice of their first nouns seems to be limited to *man*, *haus* and *ples*:

Tok Pisin	**Gloss**	
Ples bung	market	
Ples daun	valley	
Ples hait	a hidden spot, a secret place	
Ples kanaka	a native village	(Mihalic 1971:158)

- distinction of sex in humans and animals. This is expressed by adding 'man' or 'meri' to the base noun. In Samoan Plantation Pidgin the equivalents for male and female, i.e. 'man' and 'wuman' are added before the noun (Mühlhäusler 1978a:98):

SPP	**NGP**	**Gloss**
Man hos	*Hos man*	stallion
Wuman hos	*Hos meri*	mare
Man pik	*Pik man*	boar
Wuman pik	*Pik meri*	sow

The same strategy applies to other animals, whose names are lexicalised in English:

Dok man	hound	
Dok meri	bitch	
Paul man	cock, rooster	
Paul meri	hen	(Mihalic 1971)

In Mihalic (1971) the word *kau*, from English 'cow' can also be modified by *man* to mean 'bull'; the same meaning can also be conveyed by *bulmakau man* while *bulmakau meri* means 'cow'.

- One more example of recurrent elements is the expression of the feature (+ human) by adding the suffix –man. Examples in Mühlhäusler (1986:171):

Tok Pisin	**Gloss**	**Translation**
Kaisman	left man	left-handed person
Kamman	come man	new arrival
Loman	law man	generous person
Masman	march man	marcher

- antonyms of adjectives and intransitive verbs. In order to fulfil this requirement, recurrent semantic components are common in pidgins, this is the case of antonym pairs in Tok Pisin. Examples in Mühlhäusler (1986:169):

Tok Pisin	**Gloss**	**From English**
No kamap	to be absent	come up
Nogut	bad	good
No inap	deficient	enough
No hatwok	easy	hard work

The following example can be seen in Keesing (1988:43)*Me no care, me no belong this fellow place, man here no good.*

Word-level lexical items

1. Conventions for changing subcategorical status:

- the noun used for a tree can also be used to refer to its fruit
- the name of a sound can be derived from the instrument which produces it.
- a noun referring to a material can refer to something typically made out of this material
- nouns referring to a place can also be used to refer to its inhabitants.

2. Derivation by categorical shift. This strategy is known as multifunctionality. Multifunctionality refers to cases where a word can belong to different classes. The lack of grammatical conventions makes it impossible for jargon lexicons to make use of this resource. However, this strategy can be exploited once the pidgin has become stable and grammatical class membership of an item can be deduced from its position in the sentence. As a consequence, considerable savings can be made. The items derived contain new elements of meaning not contained in the basic item. The same applies to other processes of word formation such as compounding, reduplication and formation of lexical phrases (Mühlhäusler 1978b:130).

The author cites the first observation about multifunctionality, which is found in Brenninkmeyer (1924:23): "The natives use few words but are clever in the use of the

basic meaning... and in the use of the same word as noun, adjective and verb". (Mühlhäusler 1978b:122). For instance, the word 'strong'can have the following uses:

strongpela man, 'strong man' (attributive adjective)
man i strong, 'the man is strong' (predicative adjective)
rop i no gat strong, 'the rope has no strength (noun)
strongim pos, 'strengthen the post' (transitive verb)
tok strong 'speak loudly' (adverb). (Laycock 1970:xvii)

Mosel (1980:65) gives examples of Tolai where the word dekdek (the counterpart of Tok Pisin strong) is used in a similar way:

a dekdek i ra Kalou strong God	'the power of God'
a dekdek na tutana strong man	'a strong man'
àl dekdek	'to pull hard'

Mühlhäusler (1978b:152) suggests possible explanations for the origin of multifunctionality in Tok Pisin. One of them is the confusion of parts of speech that might have been common in jargons spoken in New Guinea islands and other areas of the South Seas. According to this author, there are two kinds of structures where the status of words is neutralized which can be responsible for this confusion, these are the predicate in intransitive sentences and the construction 'N bilong'. "In a sentence such as 'all man he growl for you', 'growl could easily be interpreted as an adjective and be used by a person ignorant of English in a construction *yu growl fellow man, you are a grumpy fellow" (Mühlhäusler 1978b:152). He lists examples where the words in predicate position are open to multiple interpretations:

Subject	**Predicate**
Spirit belong all white men	*no good*
Me	*fright long you*
Marry belong tultul he	*kalabus*
Knife he	*sharp too much*

Neutralisation of word classes can also be observed in constructions such as 'man bilong trabel', 'he is a man of trouble, a trouble maker', where both nouns and intransitive verbs can appear.

During stabilization the number of multifunctionality programs is very limited:

- N + -im > transitive verb (use something to make/do something):

Lok, 'lock, padlock' > *lokim*, 'to lock'
Potograp, 'camera' > *potograpim*, 'to take a picture'
Bulit, 'glue' > *bulitim*, 'to glue' (Mühlhäusler 1979a:235)

- Vintr. + -im > causative verb (make something/someone do something). Mosel (1980:81) shows the correspondence with Tolai causatives, which might have influenced the Tok Pisin program:

Tok Pisin (V + -im)	**Tolai (va + V)**	**Gloss**
Pundaun	bura	fall
Pundaunim	vabura	make sb/sth fall down

- N + -im > verb (put N on something)

Sadel, 'saddle' > *sadelim*, 'to saddle'
Bilas, 'adornment' > *bilasim*, 'to adorn'

3. Other internal resources for word formation:

a. Reduplication. Reduplicated items before 1930 seem to be lexicalized: waswas, 'to wash oneself', longlong, 'mad, insane' (Mühlhäusler 1978a:95)[19]. Repetition to express intensity or duration is occasionally encountered: "*plenti plenti blakboi* (lots of black labourers)" (Mühlhäusler 1979a:236). Haiman(1980:530) considers that when reduplication "expresses the categories of intensity, plurality, or repetition" is an iconically motivated grammatical operation. Mühlhäusler (1979a:278) notices that the only programs of reduplication found at this time in Tok Pisin are:

[19] Mühlhäusler (1975:202) makes a diachronic analysis of lexicalized reduplication.

- reduplication of numerals to express distribution: "*ol i takis long faivfaiv dola* (they paid $5 each)" (Mühlhäusler 1979a:409)
- reduplication signalling duration: "*mi wok long raunraun long Lorengau* (I was busy walking around in Lorengau)" (Mühlhäusler 1979:412) Also (Mühlhäusler 1975:202)

b. Compounding. The first nominal compounds to emerge in Tok Pisin developed from the syntactic structure: adj. + N. These compounds can already be found in Samoan Plantation Pidgin (Mühlhäusler 1978a:94):

SPP	**Gloss**
Blakboi	black indentured labourer
Nuboi	freshly indentured labourer
Waitman	European

This type of compound does not exist in Tok Pisin's principal substratum language, Tolai, and that, morever, most of the Tok Pisin compounds have no English cognate, which suggests developments from internal resources (Mühlhäusler 1978a:94)

On the other hand, word level verbal compounds developing from the structure V + obj. appeared from the mid-1920s onwards e.g. kikbal, 'to play soccer' (Mühlhäusler 1979:268). The nominal compounds of this kind correspond to syntactic phrases, although the meanings are different:

Tok Pisin	**Gloss**	**SPP**	**Gloss**
Blakpela boi	black labourer	*blakboi*	black indentured labourer
Hatpela wara	hatwara,		soup, hot water

Mühlhäusler (1986:195) notices that "in Bislama, a noun phrase occurs consisting of a head noun followed by a second noun which modifies it. The second

noun may indicate purpose or characteristic of the head noun, particularly its species, or the type of material used in its construction"

3.3. THE EXPANSION STAGE

Pidgins are not static systems only useful in situations of restricted contact. Todd (1990:5) has pointed out that an extended pidgin is of great importance in multilingual areas, where it is "used beyond the original limited function which caused it to come into being".

Mühlhäusler (1979a:238) defines expanded NGP as "those developments which have taken place in Rural Pidgin since the early 1920s and which are, in some cases, still ongoing processes. The term 'expansion' further implies that the linguistic changes are gradual and continuous rather than abrupt". He notices that structural expansion happened at a time when the number of native speakers was very small. Thus, it was not the presence of native speakers which proved vital in this stage, but the quick increase of new situations which required new language (Healey 1975:36). The new domains include Catholic missions in the 1920s, administration and some new professions, e.g. mining and small industries. During World War II it was used for propaganda purposes[20] and in the late forties and early fifties it was used by local governments, some newspapers and some schools Two important points in this process being "the adoption of the language in the House of Assembly and a more lenient attitude towards the use of the language in schools" (Mühlhäusler et al. 1979:59-60).

Consequently, lexical expansion is aimed at increasing the referential adequacy of the pidgin in all these new contexts, but also part of the lexical development is aimed at providing stylistic variation (Mühlhäusler 1986:191).

[20] A reproduction of a leaflet telling Papua New Guineans that the war was over can be seen in Todd (1984:212)

Close contact with English has produced more anglicized varieties, these began after World War I, however, they were used only by a small number of speakers until the 1950s (Mühlhäusler 1979a:289). As a consequence of the influence of English on the Tok Pisin spoken in the cities a new sociolect was produced, Urban Pidgin. It is at this moment when a distinction arises between Urban and Rural Tok Pisin (description of these sociolects in Mühlhäusler 1979b)

3.3.1. The lexical inventory

During expansion pidgins are not so dependent on borrowing and they "evolve lexical items and linguistic characteristics unique to themselves" (Todd 1974:54-55). The largest proportion of new lexical items is actually derived from internal resources. Nevertheless, borrowing is still used as a strategy to expand the lexical inventory. English is the main source of new words since Tolai has decreased in importance and German has been withdrawn as a lexifier.

3.3.1.1. Borrowing

Local vernaculars

The importance of Tok Pisin as a language for intertribal communication involved borrowing from local languages during the 1920s and 1930s. However, these loanwords did not seem to be widespread. Borrowing depended on regional preferences. Mühlhäusler (1979a:239) gives examples from previously important recruiting areas in the Bismarck Archipelago, such as New Ireland:

New Ireland Pidgin	**Gloss**	
Pudel, pudelim	heap, to heap	
Ramitim	to kiss, to lick	
Talambar	picture	(Kutscher n.d.)

And Manus Island:

Manus Pidgin	**Gloss**

Bulukal	sago boiled with water	
Burukin	dish	
Kaur	bamboo	(Borchardt 1926)

However, few of the loanwords from non-English sources, however, have become widely accepted. Mühlhäusler (1979:241) gives examples of some exclamations:

Tok Pisin	**Source language**	**Gloss**
Maiau	Tolai	what about me!, certainly!
Nansai	Yakamul	exclamation used to attract members of the opposite sex
Yakabor	Yakamul[21]	expression of surprise

He lists other items widely introduced during expansion:

Tok Pisin	**Source language**	**Gloss**
Bingim	Tolai	to press down, squeeze
Matakiau	?[22]	one-eyed, short-sighted
Aismalang	?	homosexual
Mangal	?	to covet, envy
Wawa(n)	?	to rock, sway

The number of these items might be larger. However, lexicographers might not be aware of them since they tend to be used in areas where Europeans are not involved (Mühlhäusler 1979:241)

Todd (1984:15) points out an important difference between borrowing of lexical items and calquing, i.e. borrowing of patterns from local languages, expressed in English words. In her opinion "it seems clear that calquing was preferred to extensive borrowing from the vernaculars because a too heavy reliance on any one language

[21] Roosman (1975:233) suggests a Malay origin for this expression, specifically "the pidginization of Ya, Allahu Akbar! 'Oh, Allah is Great!' often expressed by Moslems also as an exclamation of surprise. The author points out that, in spite of the fact that the Malays who came to Papua New Guinea were Moslems, this seems to be the only example of Islamic vocabulary in Melanesian Pidgin.

[22] Mihalic (1971) attributes a Tolai origin to this item and Mosel (1980) gives the meanings of the two elements forming this compound: mata, 'eye, hole, opening' and kiau, 'egg'.

would have reduced the value of the pidgin as a lingua franca. Besides that, in both West Africa and the South Pacific it is a surprising fact that the languages are much more highly differentiated than the cultures of the people who use them". She gives the following examples:

Bel klin	sincere (lit. belly clean)
Ai pas	blind (lit. eye fast)
Wan blut	sibling (lit. one blood)
Nek bilong singsing	melody (lit. neck belong song)
Maus gras	moustache, beard (lit. mouth gras)

German words

Both German and English were lexifiers of Tok Pisin for a considerable period of its history. However, even under German rule, the influence of English on Tok Pisin was bigger. Under the British and Australian rule in 1914, German items started to be replaced by English ones (Romaine 1992:146). Although not very important in the years before World War II, replacement of German words by English lexical items has become very noticeable since (Mühhäusler 1979:242). (Healey 1975:39 has also commented on this). The following are examples of this replacement:

Lexical bases of German origin	**Replacement**	**Gloss**
Balaistip	pensil	pencil
Sule	skul	school
Kese	sis	cheese
Gabel	pok	fork
Esel	donki	donkey
Kakalak	kokoros	cockroach
Links	lep, kais	left hand

Romaine points out that many German words have been retained in the religious context since religious instruction remained in the hands of German-speaking missionaries (see the items used by different Catholic missions below).

English

As mentioned above, English is the main source of loanwords during expansion. However, many of the additions were made in an ad hoc way and disappeared.

The following are examples of new lexical bases borrowed between 1920 and 1930 (Mühlhäusler 1979:239):

Tok Pisin	**Gloss**
Bigin	to begin
Siki	cheeky
Sitim	cheat
Resis[23]	race, competition
Wot	word

Some new English words are introduced to replace higher level items (Mühlhäusler 1979a:242):

Older higher level items	**Word level Replacement**	**Gloss**
Putim mak long pepa	rait	to write
Ples bilong slip	bet	bed
Skru bilong ni	ni	knee
Sit bilong binen	hani	honey
Spik i tru	bilip	belief

As it was seen above in stabilization, missions were the instituition most involved in language planning guided by the need for appropriate doctrinal terms and by aesthetic and moral considerations. However, there was not agreement between the different mission dialects (Mühlhäusler 1979a:242-243):

[23] Notice that this word was borrowed in its plural form, the same as it was seen for anis and masis.

Gloss	Terms used by different Catholic missions		
Acolyte	*ministran* (G)	*altaboi*	*kundar* (Local lang)
Church	*kirke* (G)	*sios* (E)	*haus lotu*
To believe	*bilip* (E)	*nurnur* (loc. lang.)	*tok i tru*
Heart	*bel* (E)	*hat* (E)	*liva*
To pray	*pre* (E)	*beten* (G)	*raring* (loc. lang.)

As far as aesthetic and moral considerations are concerned, in the 1930s and 1940s missions were not successful at eliminating items with obscene etymologies, since they were firmly established in the language because German missionaries had failed to recognise those etymologies (Mühlhäusler 1979a:243)

3.3.1.2. Lexical information in expanded Tok Pisin

Lexical borrowing from different sources is restructured to fit the system of Tok Pisin. This restructuring takes place at different levels:

Phonological and morphological restructuring

Phonological restructuring can be seen throughout the expansion period and it is still an ongoing processes observable in recent adaptations of English words.

Sometimes spellings in dictionaries do not reflect this restructuring and are influenced by English spelling, e.g. the word *helpim*, whose common indigenous pronunciation is /'aluvim/ (Wurm 1975:113). Mihalic (1971) includes *halivim* as a variation of helpim, reflecting more accurately the actual pronunciation. Mühlhäusler (1979a:245) gives some examples of restructuring of items borrowed during expansion included in Mihalic (1971):

Standard Tok Pisin	**Gloss**
Kanis	canvass
Sekan[24]	to shake hands, make peace
Bainat	bayonet

The phonological adaptation of English words has produced an increase in the number of homophones that can lead to undesirable ambiguity. Different strategies are used for disambiguation (Mühlhäusler 1979:245):

- Reduplication: *sip* can be both 'ship' and 'sheep'. From the mid-1930s sipsip is used with the meaning 'sheep'. In the same fashion *pis*, 'peace' and *pispis*, 'urinate' (Todd 1974:53); *was*, 'watch, guard' and *waswas*, 'wash, bathe' (Todd 1984:199); *sek*, 'cheque' and *seksek* 'to shake' (Mühlhäusler 1975:201)
- Compounding. Mühlhäusler (1979:246) gives only two not very widely used examples: *lip*, 'leaf' and *lipmaus*, 'lip of mouth'; *sit*, 'shit' and *sitpaia*, 'ashes'.
- Use of different sounds, which do not correspond to the usual restructuring applied: English 'cork' becomes *kor* while 'cock' becomes *kok*; English 'born' becomes *bon* while bone becomes *bun*.

Syntactic restructuring

An important feature of expansion is the development of grammatical words: relativizers and complementizers.

1. Relativizers.

Sankoff and Brown (1980) consider relativization as an instance of a more general 'bracketing'device and ia- bracketing the prototypical relative clause

[24] The following comment by Shelton-Smith (1929) is representative of how much words can change under phonological restructuring : "So mcuh a master was I that I discovered a 'pidgin' word that no one had heard of 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 may profound etymological discovery was nothing more than 'shake hands', pronounced in native fashion, 'shakund'. After that discomfiture, I made no others, with every-day pidgin" (in Mühl. 1979:245).

construction. The original place adverb was later used as a postposed deictic and it was further extended for general 'bracketing' use (Sankoff and Brown 1980:254). Another source of relativizers is wh-forms, e.g. *we*, *husat* and *wonem*.

2. Complementizers

Complementizers have developed from three sources: the prepositions *long* and bilong, the sentence adverbials olsem and baimbai and the verbal concatenation se.

Another characteristic of this period is that the syntactic behaviour of lexical items is governed by general rules. (This will be analysed below in The formation of lexical items).

Semantic restructuring

Two opposing tendencies are in conflict during expansion: "a desire for greater precision" and "a need for greater referential adequacy" (Mühlhäusler 1979:251). Examples of the former tendency, i.e. words whose semantic information has been reduced:

Lexical item in stabilised Tok Pisin	**Lexical item in expanded Tok Pisin**	**Gloss**
meme	meme	goat
	sipsip	sheep
pisin	abus	land animal
	pisin	bird
harim	smelim	to smell sth
	pilim	to feel sth
	harim	to hear sth

On the other hand, an expansion of semantic content can be observed in two cases:

1. The development of special terminologies

Tok Pisin	**Ordinary meaning**	**Technical meaning**
Kiau	egg	elecric bulb

Ki	key	faucet
Mama	mother	nut (of a bolt)

2. The development of special registers

It was said in the introduction of this section that part of the lexical development during expansion is aimed at providing stylistic variation. The distinction between levels of style and sociolects is not always clear. It might be the case that "the lack of stylistic resources is partly compensated for by backsliding to earlier phases on the developmental continuum. Thus, for stylistic effects, speakers of expanded Tok Pisin will often use forms typical of less developed lects" (Mühlhäusler 1980:26).

- During expansion the pidgin is used in a new function, that of playing a verbal game, what has been called tok piksa or tok pilai (Mühlhäusler 1986:200). This is found in a number of domains (Mühlhäusler 1979b:334):

- drinking: *botomapim*, 'bottoms up'
  kapsaitim, 'drink hurriedly'
  liklik kolwara, 'beer'
  wara, 'beer'
- sexual adventure:

Ordinary terms	**Metaphorical terms**
Puspus, pilai, 'to have sexual intercourse'	*planim tapiok*, 'to plant cassava'
	popela lek i bung wantaim, 'four legs are meeting'
hambak, pilai nogut, 'to have premarital sex'	*katim kona*, 'to cut the corner'

- brawling:

Tok Pisin	**Literal translation**	**Approximate Equivalent**
Dok i karim yu	a dog gave birth to you	son of a bitch
Smelbek	smell bag	stinking bastard
Pasindia	passenger	free-loader, sponger

- Tok Bokis. This is another way of expanding the stylistic power of Tok Pisin by assigning an item semantic information from another lexical item in an unpredictable way. It is used for taboo reasons or in secret varieties of Tok Pisin (Mühlhäusler 1979a:339).

3.3.2. The lexical system in expanded Tok Pisin

The development of the derivational lexicon can only take place once the syntactic structures of the language are stabilized. Thus, it cannot be interpreted as a simplification of the English derivational lexicon or as a result of the influence from the substratum. In Tok Pisin this development began in the early 1920s and it is still taking place today. It was seen above that a few lexical programs emerged at the end of stabilization, however, it is during the expansion stage when there is a continued increase in the number of lexical programs and in their productivity. Another feature of the lexicon during this stage is a tendency for phrase-level items to become word-level. (Mühlhäusler 1979:256)

3.3.2.1. Multifunctionality

Multifunctionality is a very productive strategy to expand the lexical inventory of Tok Pisin although it "violates the principle of one form one meaning, which has been alleged to govern the structure of pidgins" (Romaine 1992:151). Examples of some categorical shifts were given in the section on stabilization: MF1: N + -im > Vtr., MF11: N + -im > verb = 'to put N on something and MF21: Vintr. + im > Vcaus = 'make sth / s.o. do sth.

"The paraphrases which can be provided by speakers of Pidgin to illustrate the meaning of a derived item" are called derivational programs (Mühlhäusler 1978b:144). A very thorough analysis of the regularities of multifunctionality in Tok Pisin and the

restrictions applied can be found in Mühlhäusler (1978b). This shift can apply to nouns, adjectives and verbs. The possible derivations will be given for each of these categories according to the programs in Mühlhäusler (1979a)

Derivations from noun bases

- **MF2**: (N) Vintr. = 'to perform the work of N'

Noun base	**Derived intransitive verb**
Boskru, 'crew member'	*boskru*, 'to be a crew member'
Bos, 'boss'	*bos*, 'to be in charge'
Papa, 'father'	*papa*, 'to be the owner' (Mühlhäusler 1979:355)

The origin of this functional shift could be the neutralization of categorical information in the structure 'em i man bilong ...' that can be followed either by a noun or an intransitive verb. Thus, the two possible interpretations:

Em i man bilong *birua*, 'enemy, fighting'
kamda, 'carpentry, doing carpentry' (Mühlhäusler 1979:266)

This might be reinforced by the fact that the same neutralization is possible in predicates: N i N / N i Vintr.

- **MF3**: (N1 + im) Vtr. = 'to perform the work of N1 on N2'. Very similar to the previous program, but in this case the functional shift produces a transitive verb, i.e. the action of the person has an impact on others. (Mühl. 1979:356):

Noun base	**Derived intransitive verb**
Bos, 'boss'	*bosim*, 'to rule over'
Het, 'head'	*hetim*, 'to lead a group of people'
Birua, 'enemy'	*biruaim*, 'to kill'

- **MF4**: (N + im) Vtr. = 'to put/move sth into N'. Mühlhäusler (1979:259) notices that this program is not very productive, many speakers seem to prefer paraphrases.

However, there are some widely accepted forms in Rural Pidgin (Mühlhäusler 1979:356):

Noun base	**Derived intransitive verb**
Bek, 'bag'	*bekim*, 'to put into bags'
Bus, 'bush'	*busim*, 'to send to the bush, chase away'
Kalabus, 'prison'	*kalabusim*, 'to imprison'

- **MF6** : (N + im) Vtr = 'to send N to'. Examples in Mühlhäusler (1979:357):

Noun base	**Derived intransitive verb**
Marila, 'love spell'	*marilaim*, 'to cast a love spell on'
Papait, 'sorcery'	*papaitim*, 'to subject someone to sorcery'
Tanget[25], 'invitation'	*tangetim*, 'to invite'

Mosel (1980:73) points out the similarities with Tolai in the derivation of verbs concerning spells. However, there is no verb derived from tanget in Tolai.

- **MF7**: (N + im) Vtr = 'to reduce to, make into N'.

Noun base	**Derived intransitive verb**
Hap, 'piece, part'	*hapim*, 'to reduce to parts'
Hip, 'heap'	*hipim*, 'to pile up into a heap'

- **MF8**: (N) Vintr = 'to do sth at a certain time':

Noun base	**Derived intransitive verb**
Brekpas, 'breakfast'	*brekpas*, 'to have breakfast'
Limlimbur, 'period of rest'	*limlimbur*, 'to stroll'
Malolo, 'time of rest'	*malolo*, 'to rest'

- **MF9**: (N) Vintr = 'to do sth in a certain place'. Mühlhäusler (1979:259) attributes substratum influence to this program:

Tolai	**Tok Pisin**	**English**
Bung (N)	*bung*	'market, gathering place'
Bung (Vint)	*bung*	'to gather, to meet'

[25] This is a loanword from Tolai (tagete, 'Cordyline terminalia'). "The leaves of this plant were sent together with tabu (shellmoney) to a chief with the request to levy a fine, or to the parents of a woman with a request to be allowed to purchase" (Mosel 1980:73)

Lotu (N)	*lotu*	church
Lotu (Vintr.)	*lotu*	to go to church, be in church

Neutralization of categories could be the origin of this shift. Around 1920, it was acceptable to omit the preposition *long* after verbs of movement: *mi go long bung* would be *mi go bung* where *bung* could be interpreted as a noun or a verb (the same kind of neutralization was seen in MF2).

However, Mosel (1980:75) remarks that bung does not refer to the place, but to the time and the event, exemplifying then the shift in MF8. The same applies to kivung, which never refers to a place. The word lotu does not refer to the place 'church' either but to the institution.

Other examples in Mühlhäusler (1979:359):

Noun base	**Derived intransitive verb**
Ami, 'army'	*ami*, 'to do military service'
Kot, 'court'	*kot*, 'to hold court'
Skul, 'school'	*skul*, 'to go to school'

- **MF10**: (N) Vintr. = 'to have (the property of) N'. "Noun bases referring principally to certain parts of the body or diseases can become verbals, with the most commonly used in NGP also found in Tolai" (Mühlhäusler 1979:260):

Tolai	**Tok Pisin**	**English**
Qap (N)	*blut*	'blood'
Qap (Vintr.)	*blut*	'to bleed'
Manua(N)	*sua*	'sore, wound'
Manua (Vint)	*sua*	'to have sores'

Mosel (1980:76) gives some other examples: bira, 'fat' and 'to be fat / have fat'. The item kabang, 'lime' and 'to be white like lime' that she also includes in this program is a metaphorical shift that would correspond to MF12.

- **MF12**: (N) Vintr = 'to be like N'. Examples in Mühlhäusler (1979:360):

Tok Pisin	**Literal meaning**	**Metaphorical meaning**
Man ya i SAK tru	'this man is shark really'	'this man is very sharp'
Rot i WEL	'the road is oil'	'the road is slippery'

- **MF 13**: (N) Vintr = 'to be, behave like N'

Tok Pisin	**Literal meaning**	**Metaphorical meaning**
Rot i SNEK nabaut	'the road snakes in all directions'	'the road is very winding'
palai i KLOK	'the lizard does what a clock does'	'the lizard makes clicking noises'

Derivations from adjective bases

- **MF14**: (adj) Nabs = 'the manner of being adj'. Examples in Mühlhäusler (1979:364):

Tok Pisin	**Gloss**
LONG bilong dispela wara	the length of this river
SWIT bilong ti	the scent of the tea

The same shift can be found in Tolai (Mosel 1980:77):

Dekdek, 'strong' and 'strength'
Lolovina, 'long' and 'length'

- **MF 15**: (adj) Nconcr. = 'sb. or sth. that is adj':

Tok Pisin	**Gloss**
YELO bilong kiau	the yolk of an egg
SAP bilong naip	the blade of a knife
DRAI	drai coconut

Comparable constructions are found in Tolai, but according to Mosel (1980:77) they are to common to prove substratum influence.

- **MF 16**: (adj) Vcaus. = 'to cause to be(come) adj'. Examples in Mühlhäusler (1979:365):

Adjective base	**Derived causative verbal**
Bikpela, 'big'	*bikim*, 'to enlarge'
Draipela, 'dry'	*draiim*, 'to dry'

The correspondences between Tolai and Tok Pisin suggest that the derivation of causative verbs from adjectives in Tok Pisin was caused by substratum influence (Mosel 1980:78)

- **MF 17**: (adj.) Vintr. = 'sb. or sth is adj'

Both in Tok Pisin and Tolai adjectives can be used in predicative position:

Tok Pisin	**Tolai**	
Bikpela haus	a ngala na pal	
Haus i bikpela	a pal i ngala	(Mosel 1980:79)

However, Mosel does not assign this feature to substratum influence because it is not exclusive of these two languages, it was also found in ancient Bichelamar, and it can, thus , be interpreted as the loss of the copula.

- **MF 18**: (adj.) adv manner = 'in an adj. fashion'. Examples in Mühlhäusler (1979:367):

Tok Pisin	**Gloss**
Ol i paitim em NOGUT	they hit him badly
Mausgras i singaut BIKPELA	the one with the moustache shouted loudly

Derivations from verb bases

- **MF 19**: (Vint.) N abs = 'the manner of Vint.'. The derivation of abstract nominals from verbs shows similarities in Tok Pisin, English and Tolai. Mosel (1980:80) points out that in Tolai some verbs behave like their Tok Pisin equivalents, but in other cases they take affixes. A comparison of lexical bases and derived items from the two languages can be found in Mühlhäusler (1979:264):

Tolai	**Tok Pisin**	**English**

Ququ (Vint.)	*amamas*	to be happy
Ququ (N.)	*amamas*	happiness
Malapag (Vint.)	*sik*	to be sick
Malapag (N.)	*sik*	sickness

But:

Vaogo (Vintr.)	*lai, giaman*	to lie
Vavaogo (N)	*lai, giaman*	lie
Palum (Vintr.)	*wok*	to work
Papalum (N)	*wok*	work

The origin of this program could be neutralization of categorical information as has been seen above for other shifts: *em i man bilong...* can be followed by a noun or an intransitive verb (Mühlhäusler 1979:266)

- **MF 20**: (Vintr.) N = 'bodily action'. Examples in Mühlhäusler (1979:370):

Intransitive verb base	**Derived nominal**
Tok(tok), 'to talk'	tok(tok), 'a talk, a speech'
Singaut, 'to cry, shout'	singaut, 'a shout, a bark'

- **MF22**: (Vint. + im) Vtr (= to do sth to, make sth)

Intransitive verb base	**Derived transitive verbal**
Draiv, 'to drive'	*draivim*, 'to drive something'
Pait, 'to fight'	*paitim*, 'to hit, to beat'

- **MF23**: (Vtr. + im) Nabs = 'the mode or activity referred to by Vtr.'. This program might have developed from the introduction of abstract nominals in –ing and related transitive verbs in the early 1920s (Mühlhäusler 1979a:270)

Transitive verbs	**Abstract nominals**
Blesim, 'to bless'	blesim, 'blessing'
Pilim, 'to feel'	pilim, 'feeling'

Further development of this program has produced abstract nominals which do not correspond to English words ending in –ing:

Transitive verbs	**Abstract nominals**
Askim, 'to ask'	*askim*, 'question'
Bekim, 'to answer'	*bekim*, 'answer'

It is difficult to establish if other languages, either lexifier or substratum have had an influence on the development of these programs in Tok Pisin. Mosel (1980:83) concludes that Tolai and Tok Pisin show correspondences in programs 10, 16, 17, 19 and 20, which does not mean that Tok Pisin programs were influenced by Tolai in all cases. In the same way similarities with English can also be seen in programs 19, 20 and 23. There are other cases, however, where independent developments seem to have taken place as in the case of program 23, where abstract nominals not found in English have been further derived.

3.3.2.2.Compounding

The first compounds to emerge in Tok Pisin during stabilization were those which corresponded to the syntactic structure adj. + N. However, during expansion Tok Pisin's derivational lexicon becomes more unlike syntactic structures. This is manifested in the replacement of higher level items by word level items and in surface structures related to underlying structures only through complex restructuring (Mühlhäusler 1979:284). It is in this area of lexical formation where the influence of English is felt most strongly. This author gives an account of the progressive increase of nominal compounding programs throughout this stage (p.276)

Early 1920s

- **CP4**: (Vintr. + N.) N = 'N whose usual action is referred to by V', e.g. *sutman*[26], *sutboi*.

[26] Due to the effect of phonological restructuring, the origin of this item, i.e. the German word Schutzmann, became disguised and sut was reinterpreted as 'shoot' instead of Schutz, 'protection' (Mühlhäusler 1979:200). Thus, sutboi, 'native hunter' might have been derived later from the new meaning given to *sut*.

However, changes do not happen suddenly but progressively, by the mid-1930s only a few word-level items are cited: *wasman*, 'watchman', *sikman*, 'patient', while phrase-level items of the form man bilong Vint. are documented in fair numbers (Mühlhäusler 1979:287). An example of Tolai influence was man save, now replaced by saveman.

- **CP13**: (N1 + N2) N2 = 'N2 is found in(side) N1', e.g. *buskanaka, saitlam*. Downward shift in size level has been documented: manki bilong masta (before 1945) > mankimasta, 'servant (male). Recent innovations have followed the existing pattern: buskem, hetlain, skulboi (Mühl 1979:305) . Since these compounds do not have correspondence in Tolai and there are English cognates for all of them up to 1940, Mühlhäusler (1979:262) suggests an influence from English.

- **CP10**: (N1 + N2) N2 = 'N2 is used in V. + N1'. Examples in Mühlhäusler (1979:392):

Tok Pisin	**Related paraphrase**	**Transl. of paraphrase**	**Gloss**
Renkot	*kot bilong pasin ren*	'coat for keeping out the rain'	raincoat
Pislain	*lain bilong hukim pis*	'line for catching fish'	fishingline

- **CP3**: (adj. + N1) N2 = 'N2 has adj. + N1', e.g. *triwil, bikbel*[27]. The surface structure is related to CP2, but in this program the noun is not specified.

- **CP7**: (N1 + N2) N2 = 'N2 is made of / with N1', e.g. *waiabanis*, 'fence made out of wire', *morotahaus*, 'house constructed of palm leaves, native type house'. A downward shift in size level can be observed in this program: *mani pepa > pepa mani*, 'paper money'

Mid-1920s and early 1930s (sources: Borchardt 1926 and 1930 in Mühlhäusler 1979a)

[27] Mühlhäusler (1979:276) points out that "this item may have arisen out of the reinterpretation of bifel or bipel, a noun base derived from German Büffel, 'buffalo'.

- **CP9**: (N1 + N2) N2 = 'N2 originates from / is part of N1'. Items at word level are not very common: *pikgris*, 'pork fat, lard' and *pisingras*, 'feathers'. Phrase-level items and juxtapositions of the form N2 +N1 are more common: bak trausis, 'trouser pocket', tit dok, 'dog's teeth'.

- **CP6**: (Vtr. + N1) N2 = 'N2 usually does sth with N1', e.g. *opbotol*, 'bottle opener', *baiimboi*, 'recruiter'. N2 is not in the surface structure.

- **CP11**: (V + N1) N1 = 'N1 used for doing sth (to N2)', e.g. *sutlam*, 'lamp for shooting, torch', *praipan*, 'frying-pan'.

Mid- and late 1930s

- **CP1**: (N1 + N2) N = 'N1 and N2', e.g. papamama, manmeri

- **CP3**: (adj. + N1) N2 = 'N2 has adj + N1'. The semantic information of this compound might be difficult to predict since N2 does not appear in the surface structure. The following group of compounds are influenced by Tolai in both form and meaning (Mosel 1980:84):

Tolai	**Tok Pisin**	**Gloss**
Tabiula (big + head)	*bikhet*	stubborn person
Tabigie (big + mouth)	*bikmaus*	imprudent person
Tabibala (big + belly)	*bikbel*	fat person

A subtype of this program involves wan, e.g. wankaikai, wansmok. This subtype presents a much more regular change in semantic information. Wan + nominal = "one who share this feature" (Smith 1990:277). Todd (1984:197) considers it to be probably the most productive compounding pattern in the language. (see Todd 1984:197) Mihalic (1971:201-202):

wan nem	having the same name
wanai	a one-eyed person
wanblut	a blood relative
wanhaus	all who live in the same house, whether related or adopted

wankain	the same, of the same kind
wanlain	of the same class, age or rank
wanmak	of the same size
wanpes	of the same appearance, two persons who look alike
wanpilai	a playmate

Smith (1990:277) gives more recent combinations:

Wanwok	workmate
Wanskul	schoolmate
Wanpulpul	men sharing the same girlfriend
Wansolwara	Pacific neighbours

1940s

- **CP14**: (N1 + N2) N1 > N1 originates from N2, e.g. *naip meru*, 'knife that comes from Meru' (paring knife). Most of the examples are phrase-level items, with the exception of: *buswin* and *kotpepa* (Mühlhäusler 1979:396)

- **CP8**: (N1 + N2) N2 > N2 has / possesses N1, e.g. loman, 'man with good manners', nilpis, 'scorpion fish' (fish that has a nail)

- Verbal compounds

Most of them occur at phrase- rather than at word-level

- **CP15**: (Vtr + N) Vintr = 'Vtr + N'. This program developed out of a syntactic structure: V + obj. Examples in Mühlhäusler (1979:398):

Tok Pisin	**Meaning of related paraphrase**	**Gloss**
Kikbal	to kick ball	to play soccer
Lukbuk	to look book	to read
Luslain	to leave the labour line	to take leave
Meknais	to make noise	to shake, tremble

- **CP16**: (N1 + Vintr.) V intr = 'to have N1 which Vintr.' This program involves nouns referring to parts of the body.

Tok Pisin	Literal meaning	Gloss
Ainogut	eye bad	having bad eyesight
Hanbruk	arm broken	having a broken arm

The rest of the verbal compounding programs cited in Mühlhäusler (1979:400) are used for the derivation of verbal chaining, on the boundary between syntax and the lexicon:

- **CP17**: (V1intr. + V2intr.) Vintr. = 'to carry out and action V1 / V2 whilst being in a state V2 / V1':

Tok Pisin	Gloss
Stil lukluk	to peep, look without being noticed
Lap indai	to die of laughter
Tok sori	to talk sadly, express sympathy

- **CP18**: (V1intr. + V2 caus/intr.) Vtr. = 'to carry out two actions (simultaneously)'. The only difference with the previous program is that the verb in the second place is transitive or causative:

Tok Pisin	Gloss
Tok hamarim	to attack with words
Giaman wokim	to pretend to make

- **CP19**: (V1tr. + V2tr) Vtr = ' to V1tr. and V2 somebody or something (simultaneously)':

Tok Pisin	Gloss
Lainim soim	to explain by demonstration
Tokim bekim	to reply to

- **CP20**: (V1tr/caus + B2 intr) Vtr/caus = 'to V1 N and cause N to V2'

Tok Pisin	Gloss
Ol i BRUKIM PUNDAUN dispela bet	they broke the shelf and it fell down
Yu KIKIM RAUS dispela dok	kick out the dog

- **CP21**: (V + bek) V = 'to do again what is expressed by V':

Tok Pisin	**Gloss**
Lukim bek	to revisit
Kirap bek	to raise from the dead

As mentioned above, multifunctionality is seen as a means of introducing new lexical items, by using a limited number of programs a larger number of lexical items can be produced. However, Mühlhäusler (1978b:155) points out that optimal use of this mechanism is not made, and this is so because different kinds of restrictions apply:

- Redundancy restrictions. These can be of different kinds:

- Phonological: transitive verbs cannot be derived from noun bases of three or more syllables, e.g. *pupuluim cannot be derived from 'pupulu' (love spell). And morphological: lexical words cannot consist of more than two morphemes, thus 'sarip' (grassknife) > 'saripim' (to cut with a grassknife) is possible, whereas 'grasnaip' > *grasnaipim is not.

- Derivational. No multiple derivation is allowed in Tok Pisin, i.e. "a derived item cannot be further derived even if the phonological and semantic conditions for derivation are met" (Mühlhäusler 1978:139). For instance abstract nouns cannot be derived from adjectives or verbs which have been already derived:

Lexical base	**Derived verbs**	**Abstract nouns**
Bek (bag)	*bekim* (put into bags)	*bekim (the bagging)
Savol (shovel)	*savolim* (to shovel)	*savolim (the shovelling)

- Semantic. Some lexical bases never occur in functions other than their basic ones, for example, proper nouns; nouns referring to animals, plants, musical instruments, garments and units of currency and verbal auxiliaries and aspect markers.

- Other redundancy conventions. Some forms that could be derived from lexical bases are not used because that would result in a homophone:

spet, 'saliva'	*spetim*, 'to spit on'
spet, 'spade'	*spetim, 'to dig with a spade'
haphap, 'slipshod'	*haphapim*, 'to do in a slipshod manner'
haphap, 'hoe'	*haphapim, 'to hoe'

- Presence of alternative programs, for instance, abstract nouns can be derived from verbs or adjectives following two different patterns: adding pasin, e.g. *isipasin*, 'patience'; or by functional shift, e.g. *siki*, 'cheekiness' (Mühlhäusler 1978:155)

- Suppletion. Suppletive forms can be of different types. They can result from the absence of programs for functional shift, e.g. *nus*, 'nose' – *smelim*, 'to smell; they can be alternatives to existing programs, e.g. *bekim* or *ansa*, *resaim* or *sep*; or they can contribute to the referential adequacy of the language, e.g. *digim*, 'to dig' is more specific than *wokim*.

3.3.2.3. Reduplication

A distinction must be made between reduplication, found at word level, and repetition, found at phrase and sentence level (Mühlhäusler 1975a:199). The focus here will be on reduplication at word level.

A first distinction must be made between lexicalized reduplication and actual productive reduplication. The following words are examples of the former.

Tok Pisin	**Gloss**
Kaukau	sweet potato
Natnat	mosquito
Bombom	torch
Tultul	assistant village chief
Malumalu	soft

Although in the language from which these items were derived they were reduplications, they became fossilized once they became part of Tok Pisin lexicon. In

general these words refer "to aspects of the culture and the country as they were before the arrival of the Europeans" (Mühlhäusler 1975a:200).

Reduplication and repetition is very common in Rural Pidgin, while in Urban Pidgin is less common because of the influence of English.

The main functions of reduplication

Todd (1984:198) ennumerates the different uses of reduplication: for emphasis, to express distribution, duration, intensity and to disambiguate homophones. The expression of intensity, plurality and repetition by means of reduplication is considered iconically motivated by Haiman (1980:530)

Reduplication does not seem to be very productive when it comes to disambiguate homophones (see phonological restructuring)

Repeated action

(see Mühlhäusler 1979:411.- RD5) (Vintr. + Vintr.) Vintr. = 'Vintr. often or in many places'. The same is true for Tolai:

ma dia ga bubur pa ra davai and they TA break off D stick	and they broke off sticks
i ga purpururung vurvurbit abara ra mamauvuna it TA fly everywhere there D atmosphere	it flew from place to place there in the open air

Mosel (1980:109): "Apart from intensifying reduplication, in Tolai all instances of the second type of reduplication have in common that they express some kind of imperfective aspect, while in Tok Pisin the only function of word level reduplication is to signal some notion of plurality. For that reason neither durative nor habitual nor continuous action (which cannot be understood as actions consisting of a number of similar actions) are expressed by reduplicated verbs in Tok Pisin. Both concepts are related and overlap insofar as they both include repeated action. Thus substratum

influence of Tolai upon Tok Pisin can be excluded as far as verbal reduplication is concerned"

Reduplication of nouns

RD11. Same function in Tolai (Mosel , 109)

Ma To Purgo i ga vaki go ra lavur tungtung parika
And To Purgo he TA make-exist DEM D various hole all-together
And to Purgo made all these holes here

A bungbung parika dir ga bung
D day all they TA meet
They met every day

Examples of reduplicated nouns expressing plurality (p. 104)

RD12:Distribution (Mosel, p. 110)

Ta umana bo dia mono ra kubakubaivavat
Some Pl. still they stay D hut-your
Are there still some (cripples) staying in your various huts?

Reduplication of cardinal numbers

Both in Tolai and Tok Pisin distributional numbers are derived by reduplication of cardinal numbers. Mosel (1980:110): "Tok Pisin faivfaiv dola, 'five dollars each', Tolai a laplaptikai na gai, 'six months each'

Reduplication of adverbs

As in Tolai, in Tok Pisin adverbs can be reduplicated in order to express intensity (see examples p. 106)

3.3.3. Urban Pidgin

One of the features of expansion is the beginning of a separation between Rural Pidgin and Urban Pidgin, also referred to by some speakers as *Tok Pisin bilong (as) ples* and *Tok skul* or *Tok Pisin bilong taun* (Mühlhäusler 1979b:226). Speakers who are more in contact with English because of their education or their profession tend

to approximate their Tok Pisin to the prestige language. However, apart from prestige, there are other factors involved in the development of this variety such as "the relative distance of urban inhabitants from the linguistically more conservative rural areas and thus the norms of NGP, their continued exposure to English in the urban context, and the need for new expressions to cope with the technological and social conditions of the urban environment" (Mühlhäusler 1979b:231).

Borrowing from English is used extensively in this variety. Words are needed to increase the referential adequacy of the pidgin used in new urban contexts. However, this is not the only reason why words are borrowed. Loanwords can be used with different purposes:

- Disambiguation of homophones. New homophones have arisen in Tok Pisin because of the phonological restructuring in borrowings from English. In Urban Pidgin they can be disambiguated by introducing new words:

Rural Pidgin	**Urban Pidgin**
Ples, 'place, village'	*ples*, 'place'
	viles, 'village'
Subim, 'to shove, swim'	*subim*, 'to shove'
	swim, 'to swim' (Mühlhäusler 1975:71)

- Replacement of compound expressions by simple words (Mühlhäusler 1975:73):

Rural Pidgin	**Urban Pidgin**
Bung wantaim	uniti, 'unity'
Bik graun	menlen, 'mainland'
Bosman	menesa, 'manager'
Draiwa bilong balus	pailot, 'pilot'

- Replacement of lexical items of non-English origin (Mühlhäusler 1979a:292):

Rural Pidgin	**Urban Pidgin**
Pulpul	*grassiket*, 'grass-skirt'
Bilum	*stringbek*, 'string-bag'

Longlong	*stupit*, 'stupid'

- Need for new terms because of the new situations in the urban environment, e.g. new professions (Mühlhäusler 1979:291):

Urban Pidgin	**Gloss**
Turis bot	tourist board
Pablik sevan	public servant
Memba	member of the House of Assembly

Restructuring of semantic information

The semantic information of words in Urban Pidgin tends to be reduced when compared with Rural Pidgin, this is a logical consequence of the introduction of new lexical items that cover part of the meanings in the Rural Pidgin words:

Rural Pidgin	**Urban Pidgin**	**Gloss**
Bagarapim	*bagarapim*	to destroy, ruin
	Spoilim	to spoil
Toktok	*toktok*	to talk, converse
	Diskas	to discuss
Troimwe	*troimwe*	to throw away
	Spendim	to spend

3.4. ANALYSIS OF CURRENT TOK PISIN

A detailed analysis of different aspects of Tok Pisin lexicon will be made in Chapter 3. In this section, attention will be paid to the process of word formation in current Tok Pisin, where together with the use of traditional patterns, changes in the direction of English are being observed.

3.4.1. Compounds

Although not common, compounds following the traditional Tok Pisin pattern, that is, N + N where the second noun modifies the first one, can be found:

Tok Pisin	**Gloss**
Hul wara	'Hole water'
Kap ti	'Cup tea'
Papagraun	'owner land'
Ples balus	'place plane'

A subgroup of compounds with this pattern are the ones consisting of *haus* + N., such as:

Tok Pisin	**Gloss**
Haus sik	House sick
Haus lotu	House religion
Haus kai	House food
Haus kalabus	House prison
Haus pisin	House bird

Some compounds are Tok Pisin innovations, they are not calques from English, but follow the English pattern where the second noun is the head noun:

Banis sut (also said *imunaisesen*)
Haus gel
Bus kanaka
Grasrut

Instability is observed in word order in compounds, for instances, *beg kaukau* and *kaukau beg* are found even within the same article.

3.4.2. Abstract nouns

A number of abstract nouns in use in Tok Pisin now are words from English which have already been borrowed in a derived form:

English –y	**English -ation**	**English –ence**
Sefti	*dedikeisen*	*Independens*
Risponsibiliti	*Privensen*	*Vailens*
Sekuriti / sekyuriti	*Asosiasen*	*Difens*
	disisen	*Ekspiriens*
	elekson	

Together with this strategy, Tok Pisin also makes use of its own resources for the expression of abstract nouns:

Tok Pisin		**English**
	Korapsen	Corruption
	Braiberi	Bribery
Pasin bilong	*Les*	laziness
	Sori	Mourning
	Pret	fear

Other patterns with the same word are *pasin* + N. and N + pasin:

Pasin pamuk, 'prostitution'
Pasin poroman, 'friendship'
Pasin raskol

Prenpasin (but also *prensip*)

Wok + N is also used for the formation of abstract nouns:

Wok painimaut

Wok slev

It has also been attested redundantly use with a derived English word, e.g. w*ok divelopmen.*

3.4.3. Borrowing of derived English words

English suffixes are used in loanwords, although they are probably not productive in Tok Pisin yet. This is, for instance the case of words with the suffix '-er' in English, which becomes *–a* in Tok Pisin.

pilaia	*opisa*
prisina	*woka*
komisina	*sapota*
lida	*loya*
boila	

Another example is the borrowing of English adjectives of the kind N + *-al*, which are adapted to the Tok Pisin spelling rules:

kalserel
lokel / lokol
nesenel / intenesenel
sosel
edukesenel
teknikal

Examples with *–les* (from English –less) have also been attested, e.g. *yusles.*

What could be considered the opposite phenomenon is also attested, that is, instances where an English verb is borrowed and the Tok Pisin transitive suffix *–im* is attached.

Kidnepim
Sapotim
Salensim
Saplaim
Serim
Sevim

3.4.4. Syntactic shifts

Another way of expanding the lexicon is by using syntactic shifts. Examples of this strategy are show below:

Adjective > noun

Bel isi: mekim bel isi wantaim ol pipel na resisten fos

Belhevi

Hevi

Rait

Adjective > adverb

Trangu

Verb > noun

Dai

Kamap: dispela kamap bilong sik HIV / AIDS

Kilim dai: kilim dai blong tupela pater

Tokaut: tokaut bilong katolik Bisops Konferens

Toksave: toksave long ol raits bilong ol manmeri

Mekim save

Kamap: pait long danim kamap bilong HIV/AIDS

4. CODE-MIXING

In the texts analyzed, there are instances of code-mixing, that is, the use of English and Tok Pisin within the same situation, or even within the same sentence. Code-mixing is used as a strategy of communication in cases where the speaker finds it difficult to find the appropriate word in Tok Pisin and uses English instead. Some of the situations where this has been observed in Wantok will be described below:

Mista Quiocho i tok bai i gat prais na tropi bilong ol wanwan pilaia olsem ***highest scorer***, ***highest check-out*** *na* ***highest score***.

The journalist probably found it easier to use the English words rather than using a circumlocution in Tok Pisin, where those words do not exist. Another example on the topic of sports, which seems very much influenced by English:

Na bihain ol bai makim pilaia of the Yia taim kompetisen i pinis.

In this example, however, the motivation to use the phrase *pilaia of the Yia* seems other than the absence of the words in Tok Pisin and could be rather interpreted as an attempt to approximate the very common English phrase 'player of the year'.

In other examples the use of the English words is a quotation of a slogan, which was originally written in English:

*Het tok bilong dispela lotu Misa bung em "****Lord, Heal our Land****" o Bikpela Kamapim gut ples bilong mipela.*
Het tok bilong dispela felosip bung em long *All Spiritual Blessings in the Heavenly Places in Christ.*

In the first example the Tok Pisin translation is also included.

Sometimes the mixing of codes seems to be prompted by strong feelings of different kinds, such as anger:

*Tasol Kanage tromoi bunara na bunara i go krangi stret na i go narapela sait bus. Kanage belhat stret na tok long bruk Inglis, "**stupid pik where are you I kill** yu na karim go mumuim yu long ples. Tasol pik i ronawe pinis.*

*Brata bilong em wantaim ol manki ol i no isi isi long lap long em na Kanage sem pipia stret na klostu em krai na tok bruk Inglis olsem, "**Brats next time I go to** faitim you na ol lain brata bilong em lap nogut tru".*

Excitement:

*Go! Wantok! Go!! *Who are we? ...Wantoks! We are here for win!!*

* Described as "*War-cry bilong wantoks tim*"

In the 'Betde Kona' of Wantok different degrees of mixing are seen in the greetings sent by readers:

Son, we love you so much as you grow a year older. Special laikim ikam yet long Mum Lynette na Dad Sepe.

Love na best wishes igo long yu. Ikam long mum Simmy, dad Victor

Betde gritins i kam long daddy, mummy, ...

Sometimes a formal situation seems to be the cause of a change of code as can be seen in the following example where a character in a comic strip is speaking to a minister:

Eksep mai apolojis

CHAPTER III

ANALYSIS OF THE LEXICON

Different aspects of the lexicon of Tok Pisin will be analyzed in more detail in this chapter. Tok Pisin is not a language for restricted communication, its use has greatly expanded and, as a consequence, its functions too. On the one hand, there has been a massive increase of its inventory of lexical items necessary to adapt the language to the new circumstances of the society where it is spoken. New words which deal with new situations have been incorporated from English. On the other hand, stylistic variation is now possible, and a number of changes do not have an influence on the referential power, but rather on style. Tok Pisin has been enriched by new functions including expressive and poetic. In this chapter the focus will be on the analysis of those aspects that have contributed to the functional expansion of Tok Pisin.

1. SEMANTIC CONNOTATIONS

1.1. Change of style

When words are borrowed from the lexifier, changes in meaning are likely to happen. In many instances, as a consequence of the small size of the lexicon, semantic expansion happens and the meaning of those words becomes more general,. However,

there are other instances, where changes do not affect the referential power of lexical items, but rather their style.

Various words used in a colloquial style in English, e.g. papa, mama, become standard words in Tok Pisin. The expression *Mama Lo*, meaning constitution is used, for example is such a formal context as the Tok Pisin translation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, where an iconic relationship can be seen in the sense that the constitution is the law from which other laws are created.

In other cases the change of style makes a number of impolite English words become socially acceptable in Tok Pisin:

Tok Pisin	**Gloss**
Bagarap	to be damaged, to be badly hurt, to be tired
Kan	female genitals
As	seat, buttocks, origin, cause
Kok	penis
Sit	excrement, what is left behind
Pispis	urine
Bol	testicle

The following are examples of the use of these items in context:

Sapos Sikau i ***bagarap***	if the Kangaroo is ill
Na rausim ol ***as*** *tanget bilong tupela*	Buttocks
Pik i stap long ***as*** *bilong mango*	At the foot of the tree
As *bilong basket*	Bottom
As *bilong dispela stadi*	Reason
As *ples*	Hometown, birthplace

"I no longtaim, em i katim laplap bilong ***kok*** *bilong dispela pikinini man"* (Soon he will circumcise this child) (Todd 1984:167)

The word *sit* can also be used referring to what is left behind as in *sit bilong paia*, 'ashes', *sit bilong lam*, 'lamp black, soot' and *sit bilong binen*, 'honey, wax'.

Mihalic (1971:175) remarks the standard use of the word *sithaus*: "This term is not vulgar for natives". The same applies to *pispis*: *haus pispis*, 'a urinal house' (Mihalic 1971:156).

The important role that sailors must have played in the introduction of these items in Tok Pisin was seen in the analysis of the lexicon of the jargon phase above. Later attempts by the missions in the 1930s and 1940s to purify the language were not succesful because German missionaries failed to notice Tok Pisin words with obscene etymologies. Thus, Mühlhäusler (1979:243) explains how "*bagarap*, 'to bugger up, to ruin' could survive because its English meaning was not known to the German speaking missionaries who were in charge of compiling Pidgin dictionaries. Schebesta and Meiser (1945:13 in Mühlhäusler 1979:243) provide 'beggared up' as the etymology, adding 'in English to beggar is transitive, to ruin oneself, but here the effect is taken'. On the other hand, The Wörterbuch mit Redewendungen (n.d. in Mühlhäusler 1979) gives the etymology 'bankrupt'. The etymology of *sit*, 'shit, ashes' is not known to the authors of this dictionary, nor is that of *kan*, 'female genitals'".

Other words used as insults in English did not keep this meaning in Tok Pisin, e.g. *rabis*: poor, downtrodden, worthless and *rabisman*: a poor person, a beggar, a serf (Mihalic, 162). As opposed to the influential and powerful men of the community, i.e. *bikpela man*, *rabis man* lacked the authority of the former. Among certain people this item became even positive[1], "young Buang men in their twenties who cultivate the traditional virtues and take pride in their yam gardens refer to themselves as *rabis men*, in contrast to their peers who decide to go away to work and earn money" (Sankoff 1980a:17)

[1] The new use of this item is comparable to the use of the word 'sudaca' by a group of South American immigrants in Spain some years ago, who proud of their origin, took the word used to insult them and gave it a new meaning.

Another example of what seems to have originally been an insult is *manki*, which has lost its negative connotations and is used with the meaning of 'boy' in Tok Pisin. A doublet developed so that a difference can be made between the two meanings deriving from the English word: *monki*, 'monkey' and *manki*, 'boy' (Mühlhäusler 1979:247).

1.2. Euphemisms

However, under the increasing influence of English, speakers of Tok Pisin might not feel comfortable using some of the words above and use euphemisms, i.e. "substitutes for avoidance words" (Hancock 1980:76). Hancock says they involve a process of semantic shift, words are given a new interpretation in addition to its original one. This process can be seen in the following examples:

Samting bilong man = *Kok* (Laycock, 4)
Bokis is defined by Mihalic (1971:74) as "the female genitals (euphemistically)"
Bokis bilong meri, sem bilong meri = *kan* (Laycock, 4)
Sem = the genitals, the private parts (Mihalic, 171)
Smolhaus = a latrine, a W.C.

Euphemisms have developed to refer to bodily functions: *troimwe ekskrisha*, 'to throw away excreta', instead of *pekpek* and *kapsaitim wara*, 'to capsize water' instead of *pispis* (Romaine 1992:148). I have also observed the use of *pilim toilet* and *go long toilet.*

The use of euphemisms is prompted not only by an increasing knowledge of English but also by certain sociological factors, as can be seen in the origin of the word *spak* with the meaning of drunk, introduced when Papuan New Guineans had no legal access to alcohol. Healey (1975:39) explains that this word became necessary when

native people "required a more polite word than drunk to describe their own inebriation or that of their fellows".

1.3. Attenuation of meaning

There is a tendency in Tok Pisin for "more powerful words from the lexifier language to acquire an attenuated meaning in the corresponding pidgin" (Mühlhäusler 1986:167), for example:

Tumas = very

Pairap (< Engl. fire up) = make noise

Pulap < Engl. 'full up' , however, it does not have the meaning of completed action implicit in 'up', this meaning has to be conveyed by using aspect markers or emphasizing particles: '*mi pulap pinis ya*', '*ples i pulap tru*' (= completely filled with)

Sometimes this attenuation of meaning is not simply a linguistic phenomenon but a reflection of the native understanding of the world, for instance the word *kilim* meaning 'to beat' (as opposed to *kilim indai*, 'to kill') or *dai* , 'to die, to faint, to be unconscious, to be numb, to be paralyzed' (Mihalic 1971:79). Mühlhäusler (1979:215) points out that an aspect marker signalling completion is necessary to convey clearly the meaning 'to be dead': *dai pinis.* Leenhardt (1997:54) explains the different concept of death in Western cultures and Melanesian cultures:

> "Para especificar realmente el estado de muerte, es necesario recurrir a superlativos que indiquen la plenitud definitiva del estado en el cual se encuentra el que ha transitado. Podemos darnos cuenta de ello cuando oímos al indígena que habla el pidgin English de Oceanía, el bichelamar. Hay en esta habla términos occidentales que significan morir, matar, etc. Pero el indígena ignora su contenido, y refuerza y precisa su pensamiento, diciendo:

Está muerto, terminado verdaderamente (he die finish true)

Dos jovencitas de las Nuevas Hébridas disputan, y una de ellas, sin argumentos ya, amenaza diciendo:

Me kill you dead – yo matar tú de muerte – , mostrando que a la idea de matar era necesario agregar la de muerte."

1.4. Words with added connotations

1.4.1. Religious meaning of Tolai words

As a result of linguistic planning by missions during the stabilization stage, Tolai loanwords were given religious connotations, although they kept part of their original meaning. The following examples are taken from Mühlhäusler (1979:198)

Tok Pisin	**Meaning in source language**	**Doctrinal meaning**
Tambu	taboo	holy
Ruru	to fear, respect	to honour
Vinamut	silence, peace	retreat
Vartovo	teach, lesson	doctrine
Tematan	member of a different tribe	heathen
Kurkurua	beads, necklace	rosary

1.4.2. Changes in Tok Pisin words

Semantic expansion does not only happen in the context of borrowing from another language, Tok Pisin words also acquire new connotations:

Tok Pisin	**Original meaning**	**Expanded meaning**
Misinari	missionary	a person expecting preferential treatment, an abstainer
poro(man)	mate	sexual partner[2]

[2] Also *patna*, a direct borrowing from English is now used for this meaning.

draibisket	Navy biscuit	not-so-young girl (Todd 1985:130)
meri bilong pablik		prostitute (Todd 1985:128)
prenim	to befriend	to have sex
lewa	liver, inside	sweetheart
buskanaka	bush kanaka	hillbilly
pipia	rubbish	used as an insult

2. GENDER

The words *man* and *meri* after nouns for the distinction of sex both in animals and humans have been productively used since stabilization. They started being part of lexical phrases, now they form compounds. Some words used for animals corresponded to lexicalized items in English, e.g. *hos man*, 'stallion', *paul meri*, 'hen'. However, the signalling of gender developed independently from English and, theoretically, a distinction of sex can be made for all the nouns referring to people:

Tok Pisin	**Gloss**
bosmeri (vs. *bosboi* and *bosman*)	Boss
masalai meri	Female spirit
niusman / niusmeri	Journalist
Wokman / wokmeri	Worker
poroman / poromeri	Friend
Kalabusman / kalabusmeri	prisoner

Plural nouns which include both male and female individuals are formed by adding *man* + *meri*:

Tok Pisin	**Gloss**
manmeri	People
wokmanmeri	Workers
bikmanmeri	Important people
savemanmeri	Scientists
sikmanmeri	Ill people

mausmanmeri Spokespeople

Sometimes *man* and *meri* are coordinated by *na*, e.g. *spotman na meri*. In some instances the plural is formed by joining the two words used for the singular:

Tok Pisin	**Gloss**
Papamama	father and mother
Mastamisis	Europeans
Bratasusa	brother and sister

Borrowing from English has different consequences in the expression of gender in Tok Pisin. For instance, the words *wimen* and *men* have been introduced. Their use seems to be common when talking about sports as can be seen in the following examples from Wantok:

bikpela resis bilong winim Spotman na Spotwimen of the Yia
Medics soka klab i winim wimens na mens soka pri –sisen

In the second example they are redundantly marked for plural.

Another possible outcome is that the transparency in the distinctions above can gradually disappear as a consequence of the massive borrowing English words which do not make this difference, e.g. *prisina*, *woka*, instead of *kalabusman / kalabusmeri* and *wokman / wokmeri*. In other instances, lexicalized words are borrowed and kept like that, e.g. *nes*. In the case of nurse it is interesting to pay attention to the three possible translations into Tok Pisin (Mihalic 1971:343): *misis dokta, nes, sista* (also *sister*), also the compound *nes meri* is possible.

3. ICONICITY

Tok Pisin makes use of iconicity as a resource to expand its lexicon. This is not specific of Tok Pisin, it is a common phenomenon in languages which have a small size lexicon. Transparency in semantic relations helps to express many concepts making use

of a very limited number of items. However, the more lexically elaborated a language is, the less transparency can be observed (Haiman 1980:537)

The largest number of items used in iconically motivated expressions are those corresponding to parts of the body. The expressions containing them seem to mirror the relationship existing between each of the body parts and the body.

The following examples have been taken from Todd (1985), Mühlhäusler (1979), Todd and Mühlhäusler (1978), Mihalic (1971), Laycock (1970) and Wan Tausen Wan Nait bilong Papua New Guinea:

AI. In all these phrases *ai* refers to the most visible part or a pointed part.

Ai bilong botol	lid of a bottle
Ai bilong dram	the head of a drum, the bung of a drum
Ai bilong haus	the gable of a house
Ai bilong kokonas	coconut hole
Ai bilong pensil	a pensil point
Ai bilong ples	end of the village
Ai bilong sospen	the lid of a pot
Ai bilong sua	head of a sore
Ai bilong susu	nipple
Ai bilong taro	a taro bud

AS has the meaning of foundation.

As bilong diwai	base of a tree
As bilong mun	beginning of a month

BEL means "bulging part of" (Todd and Mühlhäusler 1978)

Bel bilong han	palm
Bel bilong lek	sole
Bel bilong rot	bump in a road

BLUT

Blut bilong diwai	sap

HAN has the meaning of something sticking out, as it happens with arms in human beings.

Han bilong diwai	branch
Han bilong hanwas	hand of a watch
Han bilong pisin	wing of a bird
Han bilong singlis	the sleeve of a shirt, a shirt sleeve
Han bilong sospen	handle of a saucepan
Han wara	a tributary of a river or stream

HET means the upper part

Het bilong diwai	the treetop, the crown of a tree
Het bilong maunten	a mountain peak
Het bilong wara	a spring, source of a stream, a headwater
Het bilong haus	roof

MAUS has the meaning of opening

Maus bilong hul	cave
Maus bilong nil	eye of a needle
Maus bilong sotgan	the muzzle of a gun
Maus bilong susu	nipple
Maus bilong wara	the mouth of a river

NUS means pointed part.

Nus bilong kanu	the prow of a canoe
Nus bilong susu[3]	nipple

SKIN refers to the outside part.

Skin bilong diwai	the bark of a tree
Skin bilong kasang	a peanut shell
Skin bilong kiau	an egg shell
Skin bilong kokonas	a coconut husk
Skin bilong nat	nutshell

[3] *Ai bilong susu* and *maus bilong susu* also have the same meaning. According to Todd and Mühlhäusler (1978:21) "this illustrates that speakers of Tok Pisin often have the choice between several idioms for the same referent, each emphasising a different aspect thereof"

Skin bilong trausel	a turtle shell
Skin bilong libung	sheath of a kind of flower

Other words are also used in motivated expressions to refer to body parts which resemble the objects named in these expressions:

GRAS means hair.

Maus gras	one with a hairy face, moustache, beard
Gras bilong ai	eyebrow/lash
Gras bilong pisin	feathers
Maus gras	moustache
Gras bilong fes	beard
Usketgras	beard
Gras bilong het	hair
Gras bilong pisin	feather
Gras antap long ai	eyebrow
Gras bilong solwara	seaweed

KAPA, 'cover'

Kapa bilong pinga	fingernail
Kapa bilong lek	toenail

MAMBU

Mambu bilong blut	a vein, an artery (also rop bilong blut)
Mambu bilong nek	the windpipe, the gullet
Mambu bilong kaikai	gullet

SKRU

Skru bilong lek	knee, ankle
Skru bilong pinga	knuckle
Skru bilong han	wrist / elbow
Skru bilong fut	ankle

ROT

Rot bilong win	respiratory system
Rot bilong wara	urinary system

WINDO

Windo bilong ai	cornea

WARA

Mauswara	saliva
Nuswara	mucus, snot
Aiwara	tear

Whole semantic fields can be formed using iconically motivated expressions, as can be seen in Laycock (1970:5):

Diwai, 'tree'

Han bilong diwai	branch
Het bilong diwai	crown of a tree, treetop
As bilong diwai	bottom of tree, tree stump
Pikinini bilong diwai	fruit (same pattern for different kinds of fruits, Mih. 154)
Skin bilong diwai	bark

However, lexicalized items borrowed from English are also being used, e.g *brens bilong diwai*, 'branch' and *prut bilong diwai*, fruit.

Pisin, 'bird'

Han bilong pisin	wing
Gras bilong pisin	feather
Nus bilong pisin	beak

It can be observed in the above examples, that Tok Pisin makes use of its own resources, by expanding the meaning of words in a regular way. However, the influence of English semantics can be noticed for example in "the replacement of the expressions *ai bilong wara*, 'eye (source) of a river' and *lek bilong wara*, 'foot of a river' by the

corresponding anglicised idioms *het bilong wara*, 'head of a river' and *maus bilong wara*, 'mouth of a river'" (Todd and Mühlhäusler 1978:18). The influence of English can also be noted in the use of loanwords which replace transparent expressions. For instance *ni* instead of *skru bilong lek* or *elbo* instead of *skru bilong han.*

Tok Pisin shows a higher degree of transparency compared to more lexicalized languages. Romaine (1992:155) gives examples of this in compounding: *manmeri* (*man* + *meri*); *haus mani*, *haus sik* as opposed to the opaque English forms bank and hospital. Nevertheless, Romaine points out that *pipol*, *beng* and *hospital* are being increasingly used in Tok Pisin.

Compounds of the kind haus + N. are numerous in Tok Pisin, they all refer to places. Examples in Mihalic (1971:96):

Haus balus	hangar
Haus ka	garage
Haus bulmakau	a cow stable, a barn
Haus marasin	dispensary
Haus pepa	office
Haus pos	the post office
Haus sister	a convent, nurses' quarters

Another example of transparency is shown in the following compounds (derived from CP2 in Mühlhäusler 1979:380) whose meaning is implicit in their form:

Buk tambu	Bible
Tebol tambu	altar
Gras nogut	weed
Kaikai bihain	dessert

The same applies to phrases with *pikinini*, which refer to the babies of those animals:

Pikinini bulmakau	calf
Pikinini dok	puppy

Pikinini hos	colt
Pikinini pato	duckling
Pikinini paul	chick
Pikinini pik	piglet
Pikinini pusi	a kitten

4. IDIOMS

Throughout its history, Tok Pisin has made use of different resources in order to overcome referential inadequacy, e.g. circumlocution, borrowing, development of internal resources following certain patterns or programmes. However, there are also some expressions which do not seem to follow a programme, and whose "meanings are not predictable from the elements composing them, i.e. they are idiomatic" (Smith 1990:278). Idioms, however, do not seem to be a homogeneous class of expressions, this definition applies to different kinds of them. I propose a classification here based on the cause of the idiomatic meaning: it can be the result of certain collocations, metaphorical interpretations, European interpretation or borrowing from English.

4.1. Collocations.

There are special collocations of words which produce an idiomatic meaning. These phrases exhibit changes in the semantic information of the words forming them. For instance, in the expressions with *brukim*, the verb does not have its primary meaning, i.e. break, 'to make something separate into two or more pieces, for example by hitting it, dropping it or bending it' (Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English). Thus, including expressions such as *brukim ai* , *brukim han* as examples of the first sense of *brukim* as can be seen in Mihalic (1971:76) does not seem to be accurate.

Idioms	**Meaning**
Brukim ai	To wink
Brukim graun	Cultivate
Brukim han	To make a fist
Brukim het	Make an effort, e.g. *Brukim het bilong yumi long helpim yumi yet moa*
Brukim raunwara	Cross a lake
Brukim skru	To kneel down
Gat kot	To be on a trial, e.g. *Man i bilip long em, em i no gat kot*
Givim / kisim skul	To give / to receive an education , e.g *kisim skul o edukesen in no ken stap insait long famili.*
Holim strong	To resist, e.g. *Holim strong long Tora Bora kev*
Kalapim lo	Break the law, e.g. *Em i no kalapim lo bilong de Sabat*
Kamap wanbel	Get an agreement
Karim prut	To bear fruit, e.g. *Diwai i karim ol nat*
Karim kaikai	*Bikos graun i gat wesan, em i no gutpela long karim gutpela kaikai*, 'because the ground has sand it is not good to grow good food'
Karim pikinini	To give birth, e.g. *Ol mama i karim planti niupela pikinini long wanwan yia*
Kisim gutpela nem	To have a good reputation, e.g. *Mi bin wok hat tru long kisim bek gen gutpela nem long wok mi bin mekim*
Kisim peles	To take somebody's place, e.g. *Authurs ibin kisim peles bilong Rafter insait long dispela gem*
Kisim taim nogut	To have a hard time, e.g. *Meri i save kisim taim nogut long man blongen oltaim*
Kukim ples	To be successful, e.g. *maski em i dai tu, nem na musik bilong em i save kukim ples*
Mekim save	To punish, e.g. *ol manmeri i gat sas bilong korapsen i mas kisim bikpela mekim save long kalabus*, 'everybody charged with corruption must have a big punishment in prison'
Sanap strong	To resist, to be strict, e.g.*Olgeta manmeri i mas sanap strong long abrusim korapsen.*

Siksti / givim 60	To move quickly, to speed, e.g. *Em i siksti tasol i go ausait na tokim pikinini bilong em*, 'He goes outside quickly and speaks to his son'.
Stap nating	*Ol koral ailan i stap nating wantaim wesan*, 'Coral islands are worthless because of the sand'
Tok strong	To demand, e.g. *Oposisen lida ... long dispela wik i bin tok strong long Praim Minista i autim long pablik*, 'This week the Opposition leader has demanded the Prime Minister to say it public'
Winim skul	To graduate

Further examples of lexical phrases which exhibit changes in semantic information can be found in Mühlhäusler (1979:398-399).

4.2. Metaphorical interpretation.

In other instances, idioms are the result of the metaphorical meaning of certain phrases. The idiomatic meaning has some kind of relationship with the literal meaning of the words which form them.

Idioms	**Literal meaning**	**Idiomatic meaning**
Brukim ring	To break the ring	to break the marriage bond, to be unfaithful
Hensapim	Hands up	To mug
Kaikai tit	To eat teeth	To be very scared, e.g. *Taim lapun na pikinini i lukim masalai ya, tupela i kaikai tit na pret olgeta*
Kisim ring	To get a ring	Get married
Ol i kus pundaun	their mucus fell	They liked it very much
Gat bel	Have belly	*Wanpela yanpela meri i gat bel*
Karim bel	Carry belly	Be pregnant

Pointim finga	Point finger	Accuse, e.g. *America ibin pointim finga long Iraq*
Pulim win	Pull wind	Breathe
Putim ai / eye	Put eye	Observe, e.g. *Tasol emi tok ol polis i wok long putim eye na wuas*
Putim yau	To put ear	Pay attention
Skin i guria	Skin shakes	*Skin bilong tupela i guria nogut tru*
Sutim bel	To punch sb's belly	Tease, taunt
Sutim nus	To punch sb's nose	to make a fool of someone, to trick someone.
Yusim het	To use head	To think

Within this group there is a subgroup could be made to include idioms that reflect native customs or ways of thinking, which are not understandable without a reference to the cultural context. Their meaning is metaphorical as in the idioms above, i.e. it is related to the literal meaning of the words forming them.

Idiom	**Meaning**
Han bilongen i no gut	To be menstruating (Todd 1985:125). It reflects the belief existing in some cultures that the woman is impure during menstruation
Karim lek	"A form of courtship in the New Guinea Highlands whre a girl sitting next to a boy puts one of her legs across his thighs" (Todd and Mühl. , p.25)
Kukim nus	Rub noses / make love (Todd 1985:128)

4.3. European interpretation of non-idiomatic expressions

There is another group of expressions which have been treated as idioms because they have been interpreted from a Western perspective. A European bias has

been applied in the analysis. These are expressions referring to emotional states expressed through the use of body parts followed by predicates.

Idioms are defined as expressions whose meaning is not the meaning of the different parts, but "the result of the process of idiomatization in which the total expression receives a new meaning not logically deducible from the meanings of its parts" (McElhanon 1975:103). However, this is not an objective criterion, idiomaticity, the same as beauty is in the eye of the beholder. McElhanon (1978:6) admits the negative consequences of the influence of the cultural background in understanding the Papuan semantic structure and shows his agreement with the definition of idiom in the Oxford English Dictionary: "the specific character, property, or genius of any language; the manner of expression which is natural or peculiar to it" (McElhanon 1978:8). Expatriate analyses have tended to consider the semantic domains of Tok Pisin and English words as very similar, as a consequence unusual collocations "are frequently regarded as being somehow idiomatic, particularly if the resulting expression yields an apparently unrelated English gloss (McElhanon 1975:106)

This group of expressions is not a closed class as lexicographers have interpreted. There are numerous possible combinations of the names of body parts, on one hand, and predicates on the other hand. These Tok Pisin idioms reflect features common to Papua New Guinean vernaculars. List of elements in McElhanon (1978:9-10)

Body parts	**Predications**
Bel, 'seat of emotions'	*hat, paia*, 'intensified emotional state, e.g anger or zeal
Ia, 'hearing ability'	*kol*,'weakening or cessation of the emotion'
Nek, 'voice or singing ability'	*kirap*, 'increase in the emotional state'
Tongue, *maus*, 'oratorical or articulatory skills'	*i go daun, malumalu*, 'decrease'
Tingting, 'intelligence'	*gut*, 'generosity, kindness, happiness'

Tewel, 'fright or approach of death'
Bun, 'strength or stamina'
nogut, 'sadness, jealousy, hatred'
i no hevi, 'eagerness to do sth or dexterity in the use of that body part'
hevi
bruk, 'intense pain'
tupela, planti, 'doubt, conflict of opinions'
i pas,'to be closed, obstructed, firmly stuck'

A large number of these expressions include the word *bel*, 'belly', which is defined by Mihalic (1971:67) as "the heart, the mind, the seat of emotions, affection and thought". This is a reflection of a Melanesian understanding of the world. A legend tells how the god Gomawe found two lifeless people who could not answer his questions. He realized their bodies were empty, so he took the insides of two rats and put them into their bellies. When they recovered they started speaking and eating and got strength. The legend shows that wisdom and language came from their bellies and gave life to these lifeless beings (Leenhardt 1997:31). Examples of expressions with *bel* can be found in Mihalic (1971:67)

Examples in the texts analyzed:

Amamas I pulap long ***bel*** *bilong me*
Dispela masalai i harim stori bilong lapun na em i ***belsori*** *long tupela.*
Bel *bilongen i nogut tru, i sori tru long meri bilongen*
i gat kros na ***bel hevi***
Mekim mo wok blong ***kirapim bel*** *blong ol pipol*
Ol i laik mekim ***bel isi*** *wantaim ol pipel na resisten fos,* 'make peace'
bun *bilong ol i* ***dai***
taitim ***bun***

4.4. English borrowings. Taken from English already in idiomatic form:

Brukim lo Break the law
Brukim haus Break into a house

Holim opis	To hold office, e.g. *Ol manmeri i holim bikpela opis*
Ranim edministresen	To be in charge of, e.g *Ol progrem bilong ranim gut edministresen na menesman*
Ranim gavman	*I no ranim gut gavman na bagarapim mani*
Ronim stua	To run a business, e.g. *Dispela man blong China ibin wok long ronim wanpela stua*
Tanim /givim baksait	*yu tanim baksait long husat tambu bilong yu stret*, 'you'll turn your back on your in-laws'
Waia i lus	Crazy
Lap i dai	Die laughing, e.g. *Manki ya harim toktok bilong Kanage na lap i dai stret*

Noun phrases with an idiomatic meaning:

Bikpela mani

Poket mani

Pen pren

Phrasal verbs are also idiomatic expressions borrowed from English. In most instances the meaning is the same in Tok Pisin:

Tok Pisin	**English**
Drop op	Drop off
Pikap	Pick up
So-off	Show off
Karimaut	Carry out
Painim aut	Find out (but also research)

In some cases the English meaning is modified in Tok Pisin, e.g. *tek ov* can mean both take off, being only used for planes, or it can also have an expanded meaning: 'to leave' as in "*na tek ov i go long ples*". The form of English phrasal verbs have been kept but the meaning has also changed in the following examples:

Tok Pisin	Meaning in Tok Pisin	English
Tokaut	Divulge	Talk out
Singaut	Demand	Sing out
Kamap	Become	Come up
Lukautim	Take care	Look out

5. SOCIAL CONTACT

Tok Pisin was a spoken language for a long time. Thus, expressions for social contact probably developed early. In the texts analyzed, Tok Pisin expressions were used together with a number of English words which are becoming usual among Papua New Guineans.

5.1. Exclamations

5.1.1. To start interaction

A...ooooo	Used to call someone
Io	To call someone
e-e!	Hey! (to call someone's attention)
Eh, bos	used in a formal situation as it can be easily deduced from the use of *bos*

5.1.2. To express feelings

Aiyoo! / aiyee!	Ouch!
O yooo / oiyo	Showing something is good
Ol(a)man	My goodness! Good heavens! Gosh!, e.g. *oloman husat tru i kisim pis bilong mi*

5.1.3. To express surprise

Man, em i gutpela kaikai?	In surprise
Man, man	Oh my, oh my (big surprise)

Boi! In surprise (taken from the superstrate)

5.2. Forms of address

Lewa	Darling
Hei poro	Hey, friend
Pikinini bilong mi	as a form of address to a person younger than the speaker: *Pikinini bilong mi, olsem wanem na yu krai i stap.*
Papa, mama	*Papa yu laik kaikai Nasi i kam?*
Brats, paps	Familiar way to call a brother and a father

5.3. Asking for confirmation

Laka. Example: "em yupela ol man I save haitim ol dispela [abus] long mipela laka?" Is it not so?

A, nogat! Yu no ken giamanim mi, 'don't give me that!'

Ating yu Elaija, a?. It can be an exclamation of astonishment, surprise or interrogation (Mihalic 1971:57)

5.4. Expressions of encouragement

Go beiby!

Kamon!

Mai bolhet!

5.5. Insults

Some examples have been found of hybrids where an English word is combined with a Tok Pisin word : blary buskanaka, blary musmus

Another example is the use of the word *pipia*, 'rubbish' to modify a noun: *Em husat dispela pipia bikman!!*

5.6. Polite language

The use of polite language seems to be entering Tok Pisin from English. It can be observed in the use of code-mixing:

Eksep mai apolojis

But also an influence can be seen on Tok Pisin structures where the characteristic SVO order of questions has been replaced by the English one, with *inap* being used not as a marker of possibility, but with the meaning of English 'can' used to ask for permission, and also *plis* is used:

Inap mi kam sindaun long beksait bilong yu?
Papa kanage plis inap yu tokim mi wanem mining bilong gavman

6. SYNONYMS

In the very early stages of the development of Tok Pisin, the lexical inventory was very restricted, thus synonymy was not a common phenomenon. However, the borrowing of words from different sources caused some concepts to be expressed by different words. The role of German and English as lexifiers produced the following synonyms:

German origin	**English origin**	**Meaning**
Tepik	*Mat*	Carpet
Bros	*Banis*	Chest
Bang	*Dres*	Desk
Malen	*Dro*	Draw
Yot	*Aidin*	Iodin
Sange	*Pinsis*	Pincers
Beten	*Pre*	Pray
Beten	*Prea*	Prayer
Rausim	*Tekewe*	Remove
Haidennem	*Nem kanaka*	Surname

Different words were used in the area of religious vocabulary depending on the different Catholic missions (Mühlhäusler 1979:243)

Gloss	**Terms used by the different missions**		
Church	*Kirke*	*Sios*	*Haus lotu*
Heart	*Bel*	*Hat*	*Liva*
To pray	*Pre*	*Beten*	*Raring*
To forgive	*Pogivim*	*Larim*	*lusim*

In other instances, a word derives from a native language and the other one from English:

Native origin	**English origin**	**Meaning**
Tamiok	*Akis*	axe
Bembe	*Bataplai*	Butterfly
Kakaruk	*Paul*	Chicken
Marimari	*Sori*	Pity
Kibung	*Miting*	Meeting
Masalai	*Seten, spirit nogut*	Demon
Longlong	*Spak*	Drunk
Birua	*Enemi*	Enemy
Pekpek	*Sit*	Excrement
Rokrok	*Prok*	Frog
Kunai	*Gras*	Grass
Amamas	*Hepi*	Happy
Muliwara	*Limonad*	Lemonade
Bung	*Painim*	Meet
Natnat	*Moskito*	Moskito
Guria	*Seksek*	To be nervous
Lapun	*Olpela*	Old
Balus	*Plen*	Plane
Pipia	*Sit*	Refuse (n.)
Tandok	*Belo*	Signal
Sumatin	*Skulboi / skulmeri*	Student
Longlong	*Kranki*	Stupid

Limlimbur	*Wokabaut*	To take a walk
Diwai	*Tri*	Tree
Matakiau	*Wanai*	Blind in one eye

In some cases the synonymous expressions reflect substratum influence:

Bel i pas	*Bel i nogut*	Depressed, sad
Ai i slip	*Ai i hevi*	Doze
Ai i tudak	*Aipas*	Blind

In other cases, the synonyms are words of English origin, which have been introduced in different stages and show different strategies, e.g. reduplication, lexical phrases of the kind 'N bilong N' or compounds N + N where the second noun indicates a purpose or characteristic of the head noun. Also, the traditional enumeration system, e.g. *wanpela ten nain* is replaced by the English system. There is a general tendency for phrase-level items to become word-level.

Tok Pisin		**English**
Wilwil	*Baik*	Bicycle
Haus bilong sip / haus kepten	*Kebin*	Cabin
Haus lotu	*Sios*	Church
Smok bilong graun	*Das*	Dust
Bulmakau meri	*Kau*	Cow
Misis bilong balus	*Hostes*	Hostess
Wanpela ten nain	*Naintin*	Nineteen
Misis dokta	*Sister, sista, nes*	Nurse
Manmeri	*Pipel*	People
Mekim dai	*Swisim*	Switch off
Harim smel	*Smelim*	Smell (v)
Belisi	*Sekan*	Peace
Man nogut	*Raskol*	Criminal
Arapela ret	*Braun*	Brown

Bekim tok	*Ansa*	Answer
Traditional word	**Innovation**	**Gloss**
Lusim	*Tek ov*	Leave
Sia	*Sit*	Seat
Pikinini	*Bebi*	Baby
Bikman	*Lida*	Leader
Pestode	*Selebresen*	Celebration
Bel isi	*Pis*	Peace
Wanbel	*Agrimen*	Agreement

This is a very common phenomenon in Urban Pidgin, where the influence of English is bigger and any English word is potentially Tok Pisin. This phenomenon was observed for the first time in the 1940s. This is an individual phenomenon and variants can be found even within the same speech act (Mühlhäusler 1985:134). The differences in the lexicon of Urban and Rural Pidgin can create a communication gap between speakers of the two sociolects. In order to help bridge the gap, speakers of Urban Pidgin tend to use the lexical innovations together with the older Tok Pisin words, so that they can make Rural Pidgin speakers understand and, at the same time, they can show their knowlege of English. Mühlhäusler (1985:135) notices that although other pidgins also use borrowed innovations coming from their lexifiers, however, "Tok Pisin alone uses a technique of pairing synonyms with old and new expressions appearing side by side".

Tok Pisin	**Gloss**
*Em i wok long planim **kasang** o **pinat***	He was busy planting peanuts
*Bodi bilongen i **helti o nogat sik***	His body is healthy or has no sickness
*Em i kisim gut **res o malolo***	He takes a good rest

Mühlhäusler (1979:295)

This technique is common in letters to newspapers, public notes, government publications, broadcasts, newspapers, court proceedings, political speeches, and sermons and in face-to-face communication between speakers of Urban and Rural Pidgin (Mühlhäusler 1985). As far as the use of the synonyms is concerned, they tend to be introduced by using the conjunction o (or oa) as in:

Makim kos blong wokim bisnis insait long tripela-ten wan ol ***bikpela*** *oa "****key****" kantri raun long wol.*
Lida blong New Zealand tim husat i ***observe*** *oa* ***lukluk*** *long eleksen.*
Malaysia ibin ***deportim*** *oa* ***rausim*** *wanpela man bilong Iraq.*
Long East Timor, ol memba blong wanpela ***lain*** *oa "****gang****".*
Ripot i tok, em ibin lidim wanpela ***syndicate*** *oa* grup *igat faiv igo inap long tenpela pipol long en.*
Ol Muslim ***guerrillas*** *oa* ***paitman***
Ol ***bikman*** *o* ***lida*** *bilong ol rebel*
Pasin nogut *o* ***abius pasin***
Pasin nogut *o* ***domestik vailens*** *bai i kamap mak o piksa bilong ol long bihainim.*
Givim ***skul*** *o* ***edukesen***
Yumi olgeta igat ***risponsibiliti*** *o* ***wok*** *long wokim insait long komuniti long kamapim ol dispela ol raits.*
School ***syllabus*** *oa* ***program***
Good ***governance*** *oa* ***pasin blong stiam rot***
Long holim strong long insait long Tora Bora ***kev*** *or* ***hul blong ston***
Ol ***bisnis*** *o* ***praivet sekta***

Synonyms can also be joined by *na*:

I bikpela samting long stap wantaim ***pasin tumbuna*** *na* ***kastom***

Ol polis iwok long ***putim eye*** *na* ***wuas***

Still another possible way to use synonyms is introducing them with *ol i kolim*:

New Caledonia i nambawan kantri long wol long salim ***dispela ston*** *ol i kolim* ***'nikel'***

*Ol nambawan **koral ailan** ol i kolim **atol***

Sometimes a new term is introduced and explained by means of a circumlocution, since it might be difficult to find a word-level item that can have the same meaning as the innovation. Healey (1975:41) notices that this deliberate exposure of Pidgin readers to new words can already be found in a Rabaul publication in the early 40s: *"Baset o Pepa ol man bilong treasuri i raitim daun ol samting bilong mani bilong gavman"* . Many examples are currently found in the media:

*Tupela sait i bin sainim wanpela **ceasefire** – tok orait blong noken pait pastaim – long mun Septemba.*
*Tupela "**suicide bombers**" oa pipol ibin pasim ol bom long bodi bilong tupela na pairapim ol long wanpela peles i pulap long ol yangpela pipol.*
***Rents** oa moni blong baim haus*
*BHP Billiton itok em i laik pasim main tasol ol '**shareholders**' – ol pipol igat 'share' longen ino sapotim ol.*
*Ol **fen** o lain i bihainim na sapotim musik bilong en.*
***Aidentiti** o samting bilong wanpela kantri*

The pairing of synonyms is not only an urban phenomenon, however. Mühlhäusler (1985:144) also provides examples of the use of synonyms from Rural Pidgin "with the apparent aim of providing additional emphasis and stylistic variety":

Olsem wanem yu tu i no bihainim waitman o masta na putim trausis, susoks na nektai?
Papamama i ken spik o tok Inglis long pikinini.

7. CULTURALLY MOTIVATED VOCABULARY

Tok Pisin emerged as a lingua franca between Europeans and Papua New Guineans, soon came to serve as a means of communication among the natives themselves. Thus, apart from the necessary vocabulary for interaction with Europeans,

Papua New Guineans needed to incorporate into Tok Pisin vocabulary that reflected their own culture. Mühlhäusler (1979:254-255) gives examples of two semantic fields: traditional religion and sorcery:

Semantic field of traditional religion:

Tok Pisin	**Gloss**
Tewel	A deceased's spririt, benevolent or malign, inhabiting the area in which the death which released it occured
Tambaran	An ancestral spirit, not malign as such, but may become so through man's negligence. Often have special functions at rites and initiation ceremonies. Typically only initiated males take part in the tambaran worship.
Masalai	Usually a malign demon or spirit; inhabiting streams, rocks, trees and other areas not normally entered by humans. May do great harm to those who enter its domain.

Types of sorcery

Tok Pisin	**Meaning**
Marila	Love spell or charm
Poisin	Black magic, sorcery, evil spell
Sanguma	Magic which kills, secret murder committed by a sorcerer, such as by inserting thorns into the victim
Papait	Sorcery or spell worked through some charmed object being hidden in the recipient's usual dwelling.
Bembe	Spells intended to procure European kind of wealth, cargo cult magic
Pupulu	A love charm, often synonymous with marila

I have collected examples from my analysis where native words are used in compounds which can express cultural concepts accurately in Tok Pisin. The following are compounds with *tambaran*:

Tok Pisin	**Meaning**
Haus tambaran	Ancestral spirit house
Haus boi	Men's ceremonial house, euphemism for the spirit house
Tambaranman	A man who furthers the secret tambaran cult; one thought to be in league with the evil spirits and therefore feared
Tambaran meri	Ancestral ghost woman
Pasin tambaran	Ancestor worship, paganism in general
Singsing tambaran	A special all-male ceremonial chant accompanied by the paired flutes and slit gongs and performed in the spirit house

Another important concept in traditional culture is that of the ancestors, i.e. *tumbuna*:

Tumbuna stori	Traditional stories
Tumbuna pasin /pasin tumbuna	Culture
Danis na singsing tumbuna	Traditional songs and dances

In a highly linguistically and culturally heterogeneous society, the concept of belonging to a group is very important, some items refer to this:

Tok Pisin	**Meaning**
Wanpisin	Of the same tribe
Wantok	One who speaks the same language
Bungim- kivung (or kibung)	Meet / meeting

Words were also borrowed into Tok Pisin that referred to traditional objects:

Tok Pisin	**Meaning**
Kundu dram	A traditional drum
Tanget	Leaf used by men to cover their buttocks
Karuka	Sleeping mat

Purpur	Grass skirt
Buai	Betel nut

Buai is a mild narcotic widely used in Papua New Guinea. The following quotation from a guidebook to Papua New Guinea will make us aware of how important it is there: "betelnut takes up at least half of the selling space in every market in the country and people use it as a little pick-me-up during the day, a bit like a mid-morning cup of tea" (Limpscomb et al. 1998:85)

The field of kinship relationships also shows differences between the superstrate and the substrate. In Tok Pisin, kinship relationships are expressed by English words (with the exception of *tumbuna* and, more recently, *bubu,* grandparents), but their meanings correspond to the ones found in the native languages. *Kandare / kandere* from English kindred is defined by Mihalic (1971:105) as "any relative from the mother's side of the family: be it uncle, cousin, nephew, niece or aunt". (See Lexical Fields in Stabilization). As a consequence of the influence of English, however, the words *anti* and *ankol* have been introduced into Tok Pisin, producing a restructuring of the field.

On the other hand, the meaning of native words was changed to fit the needs of the colonizers:

Tok Pisin	**Original meaning**	**New meaning**
Luluai	Tribal chief	Government official
Tultul	Messenger of the luluai	Assistant village chief
Tambu	Sacred	Forbidden, not allowed
Balus	Bird	Plane
Kina	Shell	Papua New Guinean currency
Birua	A piece of human flesh	Enemy

8. FUNCTIONAL EXPANSION OF THE LEXICON

Pidgins have been described as functionally reduced, the referential function being the most important. However, as they expand, the number of functions increases and they become suitable for the expression of the speakers' feelings, as it can be observed in Tok Pisin.

Some devices will be analyzed, which exemplify the functional expansion of Tok Pisin.

8.1. Emphasis

Devices for focalization emerge. Emphasis on what is being said can be conveyed by different means:

8.1.1. Repetition

Different resources are used in order to give emphasis to what is being used. Sometimes repetition is used as in:

Na tupela i pul isi isi [= they paddled very quietly]
Em I hangre hariap hariap = he is getting hungry very quickly
Kanage hariap hariap long pinisim ti bilong em
Em i swit moa moa.
Bipo, bipo tru (beginning of stories)

8.1.2. Use of emphasizers

In the last example, together with repetion, the word *tru* is used. This is another resource, which can also be applied with other already emphatic words:

Tupela I kamap nambawan poroman tru
Long bikmoning tru

Nambawan means 'the best' but this quality can be intensified still more by *tru*. The same applies to second example, where the meaning of *bikmoning*, 'very early in the morning' is intensified.

Interrogative words can also be modified by *tru* to convey the feelings of the speaker more appropriately:

Wanem samting tru, dispela? = What on earth is this?
Husat man tru i wok long kam stilim dispela ol kaikai bilong mi?

Other words used for emphasis are *yet* normally used after pronouns with this function:

Yu yet. Yu yet!

And *ya*:

Aiyo mama ya lek bilong mi i pen ya na mi sori ya na mi krai ya
2 Mail i no ples bilong ol Mumeng tasol, em ples bilong ol Bogenvil tu ya.
Mi bisi ya! Rausim em!

In the second example the focus is placed on *ol Bogenvil*, showing a contrast with the previous *ol Mumeng*.

8.2.Figures of speech

In the poetic use of the language the attention is focused on the language itself, on how the message is being conveyed, rather than on what is being said. Examples of this use are the following figures of speech:

8.2.1. Hyperbole

Yu mekim penim maus bilong mipela, 'our mouth hurts from telling you to go away all the time'
Bikpela san i kukim mi, 'the big sun is burning me'

8.2.2. Metaphor

Yu wanem plawa o san bai mi lukim you olgeta de na nait

Meri Sepik ya yu save waswas long doti wara, na skin bilong yu em i pukpuk pinis

Meri i nais tru taim yu lukim long ai bilong em bikos dispela em dua i go long lewa bilong em.

Lek Pul, 'paddle legs'. Used as an insult to a woman with very long legs.

8.2.3. Metonymy

***Long san** ol pikinini bilong ol i save pilai pilai I stap long ples*

Long san literally means 'in the sun' and it is used with the meaning of during the day.

***Skin** bilong tupela i guria*

Skin is used with the meaning of body. The same extension of meaning applies to the following example:

Skin bilong mi bilong wanem?, 'what's my body good for now?'

8.2.4. Euphemism

Messages can be conveyed in different ways that make it acceptable in a specific situations:

mi lusim yupela nau, 'I'll leave you' = I'll die

9. NEOLOGISMS

In order to continue being useful as a language of wider communication, Tok Pisin needs to adapt its lexicon to the changes taking place in an ever-changing reality. New words are needed in the fields of technology, business, politics and so on. The new items tend to be borrowed from English.

9.1. Jobs

Sosel woka	*Jenerel Menesa*	*Menesa*
Ofisa (also *opisa)*	*Pailot bilong sip*	*Sekretari / seketeri*
Daiv masta	*Enginia (bilong sip)*	*Staf bilong menegment*
Gaidens counsela	*Kapten long sip*	*Opis menesa*
Teknisen	*Saintis* (also *saveman)*	*Loya*
Arkiitet	*Akaunten(t)*	*Atoni*
Direkta	*Publisa*	*Gad*
Antropolijis	*Kodineta*	*Polis komanda*
Pablik Servan	*Seveya*	*Niusman*

Other words in the field of work:

Fultaim and *hap taim or part-time*, e.g. *part-time niusman.*

9.2. Technology

New objects, such as computers:

Kompyuta labratori	*Yunit*
Hai pefomens kompyuta	*Printa*
Skrin	*Pawa stenbai*

Or other technological devices:

Fex[4]	*Email adres*
Printim	

Other words are related to industries:

Ekwakalsa fis projek

Paip lain projek

Labratori

fektri

[4] In Limpscomb et al. (1998) the phrase *kwik piksa leta* is used, however, *fex* or *fax* seem to be preferred in Wantok.

9.3. Business

Words for different business activities:

Kampani
Bisnis bilong sip
Fiseris indastri
Wok long hukim pis
Nesenel Fiseris
Bot bilding indastri

Other words related to this field:

Kopra Maketing Bod
Bisnis man
Siaman
Ol bisnis o praivet sekta
Smol Bisnis Divelopmen

9.4. Politics

Intanesanal Agensi
Wok divelopmen polisi
Memba bilong ol elektorat
Komisin ov Enkwairi
Baset
Palamen / palimen
Mama Lo
Ajenda
Eleksen / Ileksen
Takis
Atoni jenerel
Lida
politikal pati
korapsen
(Praim) minista
Ileksen kempen
Oposisen lida
Gavman
Votim /vout
eid moni

9.5. Education

People:

Sumatin
Het Tisa
Hetmasta
Bos Tisa
Edukesen etvaisa

Words for the different levels in education:

Pri-skul
(Maritime) Koles
Komyuniti skul
Praimari skul
Skul rekot
Yunivesiti (also *University)*
Hai skul
Teknikel skul

Other words in this field:

Edukesenel progrem

Edukesen rifom

9.6. Leisure

Naitklab	*Entateinmen*	*Konset*
Fen	*Disk Joki*	*Redio*
Telivisen	*Muvi*	*megesin*

9.7. Sports

People:

Pilaia	*Sapota*
Kepten	*Golkipa*
Straika	

Other words:

Ragbi lig	*Tim*	*Sponsa / sponsasip*
Skoa / skorim	*Kompetisen*	*Sempionsip*
Tropi	*Fainel*	*Kikbosing*
(Pri-)sisen	*Wol taitel*	

9.8. Health care

Places and services:

Helt senta	*Haus sik*
Mama haus sik	*Helt dipatmen*
Ambulens (also ka bilong haus sik)	*Ambulens sevis*

People:

Spesolis dokta

Helt wokas

Other words:

Sekim bodi (check-up)

vairus

9.9. Adaptation to changes in the country and in the world

Niuklia bom	*Strit mangi*	*Pasin raskol*
Volantia	*Terroris pasin*	*Non Gavaman Ogenaisesen*
Braiberi	*Refugi*	*Refuji kem*
HIV-posetive	*Deportim*	

10. GEOGRAPHIC NAMES

Countries and international institutions are alternatively used with an English spelling or with a Tok Pisin one. A lot of variability is found even within the same article in Wantok:

10.1. Countries, world regions

Papua Niugini	*Kwinslen*	*European Yunion (EU)*
Malesia	*Palestain*	*Amerika (USA)*
Saut Afrika	*Midel Is*	*Esia*
Is Timo	*Saina*	*Israel*
South Pasifik	*Austria*	*Vatiken*
Afganistan	*Rasia*	*Yurop*
Saudi Arebia	*Osenia*	*Singapore*
Korea	*Australia*	*Solomon Ailan*
Nu Silan (also *New Zealand*)	*America Samoa*	*Cook Ailan* (also *Cook Islands)*
Greece		

There is a lot of variation as to the use of the English or the Tok Pisin spelling.

10.2. Provinces of Papua New Guinea

Milen Be (Milne Bay)	*Pot Mosbi (Port Moresby)*

Hailans (Highlands)

Galp (Gulf Province)

Nu Briten

10.3. Institutions, organizations

Esian Divelopmen Benk

Yunaitet Nesens

Wol Benk

Grinpis Australia

Pipels Demokretik Muvmen (PDM)

Human Rights Watch (also *Humen Raits Was)*

CONCLUSIONS

An analysis has been made in this dissertation of the interaction of changes in Papua New Guinea society and developments in Tok Pisin. This language has been described from a diachronic perspective, intending to show in what way the different historical events had immediate consequences on its development. The diachronic description of the language shows evidence of all the events taking place in society and of how the Papua New Guineans created the language little by little, incorporating whatever elements were necessary. A new language was created, a language with features of its own and capable of expressing the speakers' feelings.

During stabilization norms emerged out of the chaos of the jargon. It was during this stage that Tok Pisin started to be used for communication among natives rather than only between colonizers and natives and the urgent need for vocabulary in the new situation was fulfilled by borrowing from all sources at hand. Following pragmatic reasons, Papua New Guineans could overcome the perception of Tok Pisin as the language of the colonizers, as the language of hard work on plantations, and make use of it in their own benefit. When indentured labourers, speakers of different languages, came together on plantations, they soon realized they needed to communicate, a feeling of solidarity emerged among them and gave them cohesion as a group as opposed to Europeans. When they returned to their villages they brought their knowledge of Tok

Pisin with them. How much Tok Pisin they had acquired in three years is difficult to measure, but they considered it valuable knowledge. That feeling consolidated throughout the years in the different circumstances that allowed for mobility within Papua New Guinea.

During expansion, Tok Pisin made use of internal resources and expanded the possibilities already present in the language. However, at the end of this stage renewed contact of Tok Pisin with English in towns caused a new variety to emerge, which incorporated innovations which came from English. A gap started growing between Urban and Rural Pidgin. What, until then, had been a more or less homogeneous language, suitable for communication among people from very different linguistic backgrounds started to show variation that made it difficult for speakers from rural and urban areas to communicate.

At the same time, a new phenomenon was attested; it was the first time that large-scale creolization happened. Children born in towns in families where parents spoke different first languages, acquired Tok Pisin as their first language. However, since the number of creole speakers is low compared to second-language speakers, it cannot be said there is a community of creole speakers. And, also, creolization does not seem to produce significant changes with respect to extended Tok Pisin.

Evidence has been presented that shows that English is influencing Tok Pisin to a great extent, especially in the area of the lexicon mainly in the fields of business, technology, health care, politics and new jobs. It seems that speakers of Urban Pidgin favour borrowing over exploitation of internal resources. Why is this so? It cannot be argued that Tok Pisin is not appropriate to discuss abstract concepts, or to deal with the new realities of modern life; because all languages are suitable for communication among their speakers, only the necessary adaptations have to be made. And, throughout its

history Tok Pisin has proved to be a useful means of communication which has gradually been adapted by its speakers to a changing physical and social environment. In current Urban Tok Pisin, speakers are adapting the language to new circumstances by massive borrowing. Also in grammar, although to a much lesser extent, these changes can be observed. What evidence shows at the present moment is that the new patterns being borrowed do not seem to be replacing old ones, but rather both of them coexist. Thus, instability will be a feature of the language while restructuring takes place. This can show that a linguistic continuum might be consolidating and that there might be a range of possibilities within the spectrum to convey the same idea. Also, the importance of changes in spelling has been noticed as evidence of the internal changes taking place in Tok Pisin in a stage of change towards greater stability.

The gap emerging in the language is a reflection of the changes taking place in society, being caused by different degrees of access to formal education and to an urban setting. As a consequence of the changes taking place in society, the use of loanwords from the substratum is also declining, because they reflect a reality that is gradually disappearing. Only those words whose referent is still present will remain. Also idioms which correspond to a certain interpretation of reality will tend to disappear as the Western culture and beliefs spread. An area where substratum influence tends to be retained longer is exclamations and interjections. However, even here English expressions are finding their way into Tok Pisin.

At the present moment very few people in Papua New Guinea are in direct contact with English. And for many it is a language learnt in the formal environment of the classroom. The influence of English on Tok Pisin will not spread if Tok Pisin remains only the language of formal education. However, other factors such as the contact of a growing number of speakers with English as a consequence of expected

migration to town areas, the influence of the media or the growing prestige of the urban variety can help to increase the number of English features in Tok Pisin.

Throughout its history, Tok Pisin has evolved and has become enriched by its speakers. They, rather than language policies, have been the ones who have decided the direction of the development of the language by accepting or rejecting the different possibilities of expansion. It is in their hands to decide what Tok Pisin will be like, to decide if they want to favour the changes in the direction of English and the consolidation of a linguistic continuum already emerging, knowing there is a risk of losing communicative power, a factor which cannot be undervalued in such a linguistically heterogeneous society.

The scope of the present research is limited to an analysis of the most relevant events which took place in the history of Papua New Guinea and a diachronic analysis of the developments occurring in Tok Pisin, which allowed to make hypotheses about the future of the language. The field is very wide, however. More research should be encouraged by institutions. Nevertheless, resources in Papua New Guinea are very limited. The major interest of University is only in technological studies in Forestry. Further research could be carried out into a vast number of aspects, which would provide interesting insights into the language and the society. These could include the following:

- A diachronic study of Tok Pisin lexicon. Since Tok Pisin is a relatively recent language (118 years old if we take 1884 as the year of its birth), this would not involve going too far back in time for the accomplishment of this task. Mihalic's project on Internet is a good departure point for the elaboration of this study. It is intended to revise Mihalic's dictionary so that it reflects the language as it is used in the XXIst century.

- Results of the choice of language in education. The UNESCO encourages governments to implement the use of vernaculars in education because they are vital for the acquisition of basic skills. This seems difficult in a country such as Papua New Guinea where the choice of language is not an easy decision to make. Tok Pisin is the language most spoken in the country, but it is the native language of only 50,000 people. On the other hand, developing materials in all the languages seems to be an impossible task. Not everybody seems to agree on the use of Tok Pisin since English is perceived as the language necessary for promotion in society. While Tok Pisin will be learned in everyday life (within the family or the community), English can only be learned in the formal context of school.
- Current circumstances which might have an influence on the development of Tok Pisin. The European presence in Papua New Guinea favoured contact between people from many different areas, speakers of many different languages. Tok Pisin became a language of solidarity among them. Papua New Guineans had a feeling that it was a language of their own.

  The consolidation of a common language can make a strong nationalistic feeling emerge, which could make the most radical groups express their rejection towards Australia and towards Australian English, consequently reinforcing the use of Tok Pisin.
- Standardization. The use of Tok Pisin in written form in different contexts will help the process of standardization to take place. This will have implications on different aspects such as orthography or the creation of a literature which is not translation of foreign literatures, but a Papua Niuguinian literature.

- One more interesting aspect for further research would be the study of the role the missionaries played in the creation of Tok Pisin and in its standardization. The first written texts in Tok Pisin were their translations of the Bible.

Tok Pisin might have sometimes been intended to be a transitional stage towards proficiency in English as Mihalic's (1971:ix) view stated in the preface to the first edition of his dictionary reflects:

> "Therefore we choose it [Neo-Melanesian] as our bridge to English not, however, implying in any way that we thereby perpetuate it indefinitely (...) I am looking forward to the day when Neo-Melanesian and this book will be buried and forgotten, when standard English and the Oxford dictionary will completely replace both".

However, Tok Pisin is the Papua New Guineans' creation, the reflection of their own identity and its disappearance would involve the disappearance of their specific way to understand the world.

APPENDIX I.- Corpus of texts

Akono na Silimala.

http://www.arts.uwaterloo.ca/ANTHRO/rwpark/WNB/Akono%20na%20Silimala.htm.

Evangelium of John in Melanesian Pidgin English.

http://www.geocities.com/hiaslmozi/johannes.htm

Information comic on malaria. http://www.ling.su.se/staff/robert/malaria.gif

Meri i kamap ston. http://www.ling.su.se/Creole/Archive/English-Papua_New_Guinea-1997.html.

Papers of the Annual General Meeting of Catholic Bishops Conference of Papua New Guinea and Solomon Islands. http://www.catholicpng.org.pg/press

Toksave long domestik vailens

Toktok long sik AIDS

Korapsen insait long Papua Niugini

Stori bilong Pik Tupela Rokrok.

http://www.arts.uwaterloo.ca/ANTHRO/rwpark/WNB/PiknaRokrok.htm.

Taim bilong senis i kamapim ol gutpela samting. Gender Equity brochure promoting maritime careers for PNG women.

http://www.pngmc.ac.pg/Aus_AID/GE_Pisin/ge_pisin.html

Tok Pisin Manual on Web Publishing.

http://pngbuai.com/000general/publishers/papuanewguinea/web-.../tok-pisin-eva1.ht

Toksave long ol raits bilong ol manmeri long olgeta hap bilong dispela giraun. (Universal Declaration of Human Rights). http://www.unhchr.ch/udhr/lang/pdg.htm.

Transcripts of Radio Australia News. Tok Pisin Service.

http://abc.net.au/ra/tokpisin/default.htm

Wansolwara. A Web Page with information about the Pacific in Tok Pisin.

http://www.abc.net.au/ra/wansolwara

Wan Tausen Wan Nait bilong Papua New Guinea.

http://members.tripod.com/~THSlone/1001PNGnights.html

Bipo tru Dok na Sikau Tupela i Poroman

Ol Meri Kukim Haus Boi

Masalai bilong Ailan Lep

Masalai Wokim Tripela Ailan

Wantok Newspaper. January 16, 1997. May 2, 2002. May 9, 2002.

APPENDIX II.- Samples of Tok Pisin texts

Samples of some of the Tok Pisin texts on the Internet which have been analyzed for the synchronic description of the language are presented here. These include extracts from two short stories, a document published by the Catholic Bishops' Conference of Papua New Guinea and Solomon Islands, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and a Manual onWeb Publishing.

AKONO NA SILIMALA

Akono wantaim mama bilongen na sisa bilongen, em ples bilong ol long Poporaipi, daunbilo long arere bilong wara Vanu. Na meri bilong Akono hia, em Galiki, em wanpela meri bilong antap liklik long ol. Ples bilongen long Mopala. Orait, nau em i am marit long dispela Akono daunbilo.

Orait, ol i stap, i stap, i stap, na em i salim tok nau, i go long kandere bilongen long hap long Kove long wanpela ples ol i kolim Somalani. Em i tok, "Tok bilong mi i go long kandere hia baimbai em i wet long mi. Ating baimbai mi kamap longen. Mi laik painim liklik tambu longen, i kam bai mi baim long meri bilong mi." Orait, i salim tok long wanpela kanu long ol Kove yet, na ol i go toktok long ol, na em i redi longen, baimbai i kam.

Orait nau, em nau, em i tokim meri bilongen, i tok, "Galiki, yu wantaim long mama hia na sisa hia redim liklik kaikai bilong mi, baimbai mi go long Kove na mi painim sampela tambu long kandere bilong mi long Kove, i kam bai mi baim meri bilong mi."

Orait, ol i wokim dispela kaikai, ol i wokim i tan, na sampela kaikai bilongen i no tan. Orait nau, ol i mumuim dispela kaikai bilongen na ol i slip. Tulait long moning nau, ol i bringim ol kaikai i tan hia wantaim long kaikai i no tan, i go long kanu bilongen pinis.

(Collected by Robert Park in Kaliai, West New Britain)

http://www.arts.uwaterloo.ca/ANTHRO/rwpark/WNB/Akono%20na%20Silimala.htm.

TOKASVE LONG DOMESTIK VAILENS

Mipela ol Katolik Bishop bilong Papua Niugini na Solomon Ailans i gat bikpela tingting na wari long hevi bilong domestik vailens i kamap insait long tupela kantri bilong yumi. Domestik vailens, em pasin bilong pait na bagarapim narapela insait long famili laip. Dispela hevi bilong domestik vailens i bikpela tru na planti famili wantaim ol wan wan manmeri i save bungim. Moa yet dispela hevi I save kam long ol meri na pikinini insait long famili taim papa i kros na belhat o spak.

Yumi save olsem, domestik vailens i save kamap long kain kain pipel; ol manmeri i gat bikpela save o edukesen, ol manmeri i holim bikpela wok, ol manmeri i gat planti mani samting, ol manmeri long bus ples tu. Hevi bilong domestik vailens i kamap long pipel bilong olgeta kain lotu na ol pipel bilong olgeta kantri na kalsa, maski wanem kala bilong skin bilong ol. Dispela pasin i save kamap long ol lida bilong ples na komuniti na kantri tu.

Long dispela bikpela toktok ol Bisop i salim, mipela i laik tokaut tasol bikos dispela hevi i kamap bikpela moa yet nau. Mipela i tokaut tu long lukluk long painim olgeta rot bilong daunim na pinisim ol dispela hevl bai i no mas kamap gen, i go, i go gen. Rot na pasin bilong domestik vailens, paitim arapela, i kamap strong pinis insait long famili na i no isi long daunim na pinisim. Tasol long toktok, wantaim long bel isi na amamas na kamapim strongpela laip bilong famili bilong yumi, yumi mas painim olgeta rot bilong daunim na pinisim dispela hevi.

Long daunim olgeta hevi bilong domestik vailens, helpim i mas kam long ol arapela lain autsait long famili. Strongpela singaut bilong mekim dispela wok i go long ol lain famili, ol pren, ol manmeri bilong sios na komuniti. Pasin bilong les na sanap lukluk tasol i save mekim dispela ol hevi bilong kros na pait insait long famili i kamap bikpela moa.

Catholic Bishop's Conference of PNG & SI.- Annual General Meeting in Goroka (27th April 2001) http://www.catholicpng.org.pg/press

TOKSAVE LONG OL RAITS BILONG OL MANMERI LONG OLGETA HAP BILONG DISPELA GIRAUN

Long luksave olsem olgeta manmeri mas igat respek, na olgeta manmeri long dispela graun igat wankain raits long bihainim laik bilong ol, long gat lo na oda na gat gutpela sindaun.

Long ol hap nambaut taim manmeri i no luksave long raits bilong ol narapela manmeri, dispela tingting we ol manmeri mas gat fridom long toktok, gat fridom blong igat bilip, fridom long noken poret na fridom long laikim ol kainkain samting. Dispela em i bikpela samting bilong olgeta manmeri.

Long wanem em i gutpela stret, sapos man i no inap hariapim narapela long halivim em, olsem laspela samting, long i go egensim man o meri igat olgeta pawa insait long kantri na husat i save lukautim ol pipol bilong em long nogut pasin tasol, na dispela raits blong ol manmeri em lo bai lukautim na banisim.

Long wanem, em i gutpela stret long strongim pasin bilong kamapim gutpela sindaun namel long ol kantri.

Long tingting bilong ol manmeri we i memba bilong Yunaited Nesens insait long Jata, strongim gen bilop bilong ol long raits bilong manmeri, long soim respek, na long soim olsem wanwan man na wanwan merigat raits, na bai ol i strong long kamapim gutpela sindaun long ples bilong ol, na kamapim gutpela laip long laik bilong ol wanwan yet.

We wanwan memba kantri bin tok long kamapim, wantaim Yunaited Nesens, pasin bilong respektim na lukautim raits na fridom bilong manmeri.

Long dispela, olgeta manmeri mas save long raits na fridoms em i wanpela bikpela samting tru bilong wanwan manmeri.

Nau, Olsem na

Jenerol Assembli

Tokaut long dispela toksave long raits bilong manmeri long olgeta hap bilong dispela giraun. Long kamapim wanpela wei bilong olgeta manmeri na olgeta kantri, na olgeta wanwan manmeri, na olgeta samting I save mekim kamap komuniti, tingim dispela toksave, ol I mas skulim ol man meri bilong strongim, insait long wanwan kantri na tu long ol narapela kantri.

The Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, Geneva, Switzerland. http://www.unhchr.ch/udhr/lang/pdg.htm.

TOK PISIN MANUAL ON WEB PUBLISHING

BY: Rhonda Eva

Tok Save

Long tanim tok long Tok Inglis igo long Tok Pisin long dispela liklik buk mi save olsem dispela tanim tok i bilong halivim yupela long kliam tingting bilong yupela long sampela mining bilong toktok.

Insait long dispela buk planti nupela toktok em yumi ino gat yet long Tok Pisin bai i kamap.

Mi bin traim long tanim dispela tok klostu long Tok Inglis long wanem insait long dispela komputa masin olgeta dispela toktok bai yu lukim long Tok Inglis tasol.

Igat tanim tok diksinari istap long baksait we bai i halivim long tok kila long mining bilong ol nupela wod na tu bai i givim dispela tok long Tok Inglis tu.

Dispela buk em Jayatunge i bin raitim long Tok Inlglis na i yusim insait long wanpela training woksap long UPNG

KONTEN

NETSCAPE KOMPOSA. AS BILONG WOKSAP

Internet nau i kamap wanpel rot bilong salim toktok na kisim toktok na nuis em planti ol NGO lain ol i yusim. Cos bilong em i daun liklik na tu toktok insait long internet i ken igo long olgeta hap giraun na insait long wan wan kantri.

Tasol planti ol NGO lain ol ino save long yusim dispela teknologi long halivim ol long wok bilong ol . Olsem na nau NANGO – PNG wantaim International Development Research Centre (IDRC) na Information and Communication Sciennce (ICS) i wokim dispela woksap long kirapim tingting bilong ol man meri long dispela teknologi.

http://pngbuai.com/000general/publishers/papuanewguinea/web-.../tok-pisin-eva1.ht

WAN TAUSEN WAN NAIT BILONG PAPUA NEW GUINEA: MASALAI BILONG AILAN LEP (*Wantok* 429, Ogas 7, 1982, pes 44)

Long bipo bipo tru long **Manus** [Provins] i gat wanpela liklik ailan i stap baksait long **Baluan** [Ailan], ol i kolim Lep [**Baluan-Pam** Pipel].

Na long dispela Ailan Lep i gat wanpela masalai husat i gat 10-pela het olgeta. Dispela masalai i gat tupela meri. Tripela i stap amamas wantaim long ailan bilong ol. Na i gat planti kain kaikai na prut na ol pikinini bilong diwai i pulap tru long dispela ailan.

I no gat narapela manmeri i stap long dispela ailan. Dispela masalai na tupela meri bilong em na ol [a]nimal na pisin tasol i stap. Planti taim ol pipel long bikpela ailan, Baluan, i harim stori bilong Ailan Lep.

Planti man i tokm, "Ailan Lep i stap baksait tasol long Baluan. Na i gat planti kain kaikai na abus i pulap i stap long en." Sampela taim ol manmeri long Baluan i kirap long moning ol i save painim planti gutpela prut diwai i stap nabaut long gras na arere long haus bilong ol.

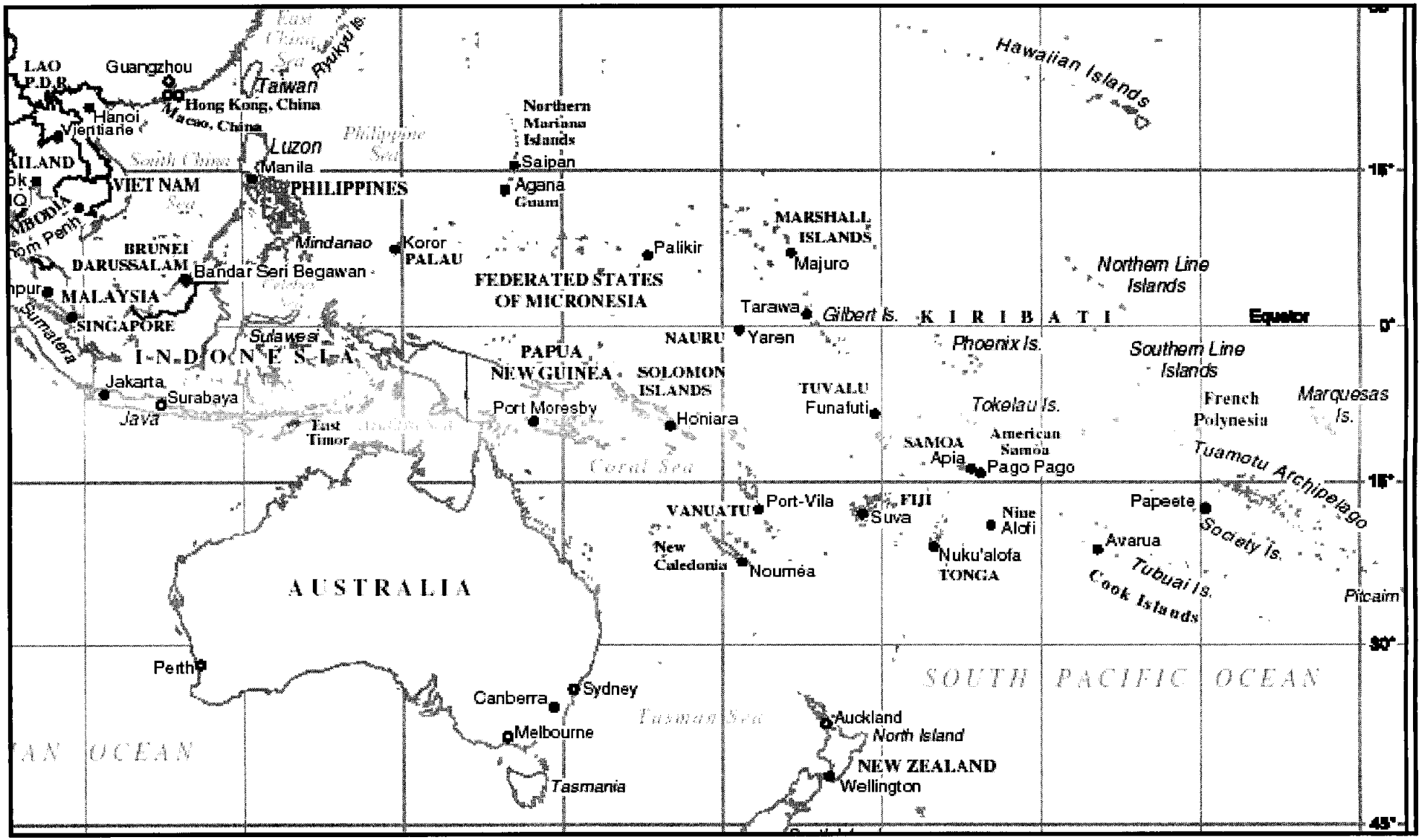
Ol i save kisim ol prut na kaikai. Ol dispela prut i swit moa yet. Sampela man i kisim ol prut na traim planim klostu long haus bilong ol. Tasol ol prut diwai i no save kamap gut.

Planti man bilong Baluan i laik traim long painim dispela Ailan Lep. Olsem na wanpela de, wanpela lapun man na liklik pikinini bilong man bilong em i laik traim. Tupela i kisi[m] kanu bilong ol. Nau ol i pul i go long painim Ailan Lep.

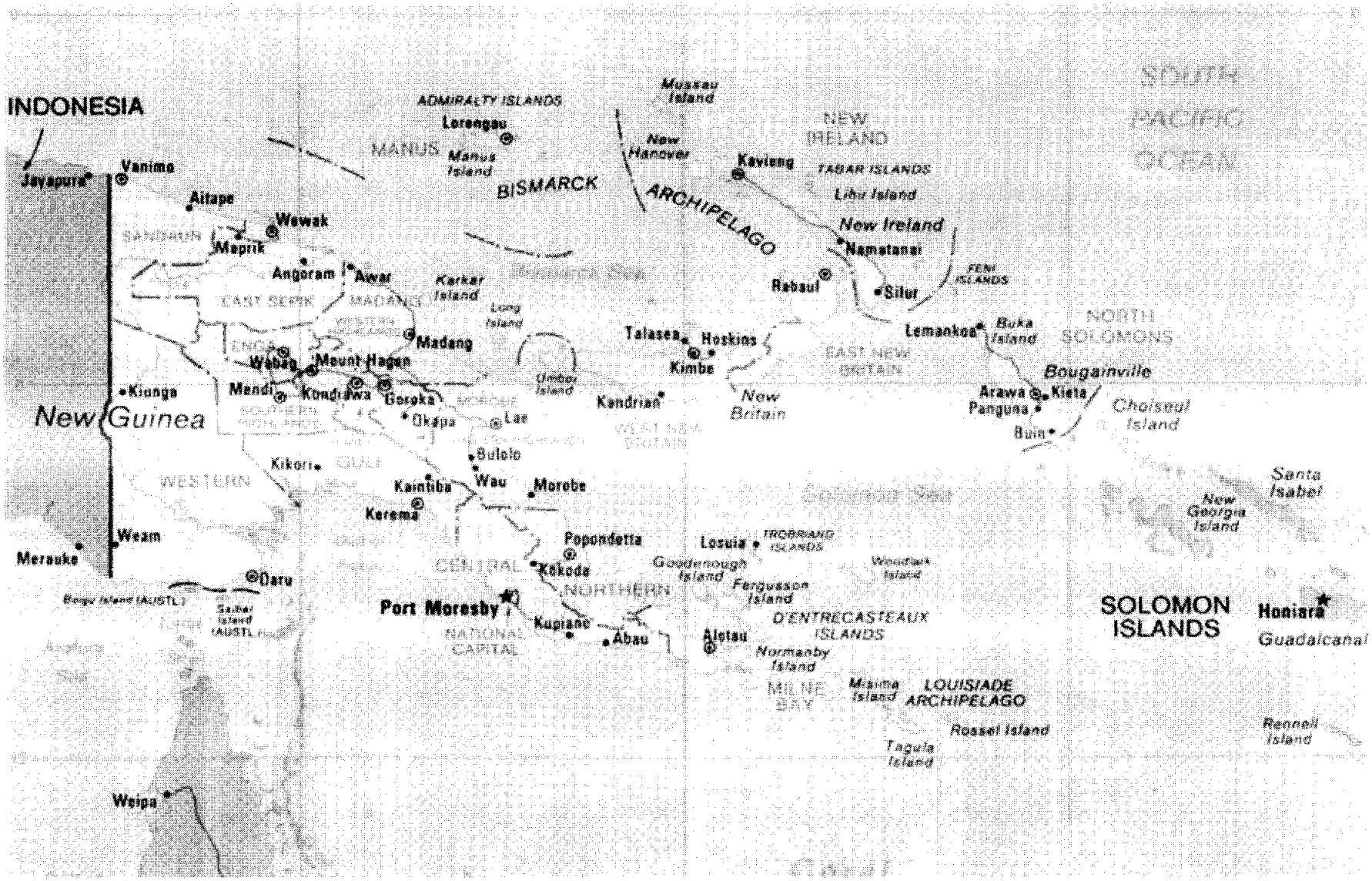
Tupela i pul long kanu i go inap 10-pela de olgeta. Na bihain ol i lukim wanpela liklik ailan. Pikinini i tok, "E-e papa, ating em Ailan Lep tasol ya!"

Edited by T.H. Slone. http://members.tripod.com/~THSlone/1001PNGnights.html

APPENDIX III.- Maps



SOUTH WEST PACIFIC



PAPUA NEW GUINEA

APPENDIX IV.- Synonyms in Tok Pisin

Abort	*rausim bel, brukim bel*
Adultery	*Brukim marit, brukim ring, bagarapim marit, kalapim marit*
Airport	*Ples balus, epot*
Altar	*Alta, tebol tambu*
Angry (to be)	*Kros, bel hat*
Angry (to make)	*Sutim bel, skrapim bel, drosim*
Annoying person	*Hambakman, sikibaga*
Answer (n)	*Bekim, ansa*
Axe	*Tamiok, akis*
Baby	*Pikinini, bebi*
Bank	*Haus mani, beng*
Beat	*Paitim, kilim*
Bee	*Ninik, binen*
Betelnut	*Bilinat, buai*
Bible	*Baibel, buk tambu*
Bicycle	*Wilwil, bike*
Big	*Bikpela, draipela*
Blind	*Ai i tudak, aipas*
Blind in one eye	*Wanai, matakiau*
Boast	*Hambak, mauswara*
Boss	*Masta, bos*
Bottom	*As, daunbilo*
Boy	*Boi, manki, pikinini man*
Break a contract	*Brukim taim, brukim pepa*
Break a law	*Brukim lo, kalapim lo*
Brief	*Liklik, sotpela*
Brown	*Braun, arapela ret*
Bud	*Kru, ai bilong taro*
Butterfly	*Bataplai, bembe*
Cabin	*Kebin, haus bilong sip, haus kepten*
Call (n.) (v)	*Singaut, krai*
Canvas	*Kanis, sel*
Capture	*Kalabusim, holimpas*
Carpet	*Tepik, mat*
Case	*Bokis, kes*
Cassava	*Maniok, tapiok*
Castrate	*Katim bol, rausim bol, brukim bol*
Catechist	*Katekis, tisaboi, evanselis*
Caterpillar	*Senkar (chain-car), katapila*
Catholic	*Katolik, Popi (never used by Catholics)*
Celebration	*Pesto, krismas, pati*
Chest	*Banis, bros*
Chewing gum	*Pike, gam*

Chicken	*Paul, kakaruk*
Chief	*Bikman, sip*
Chinaman	*Sainaman, Kongkong (the Chinese dislike this word)*
Chum	*Pren, poroman, poro*
Church	*Haus lotu, sios*
Cigar	*Siga, smok*
Cigarette	*Siga, smok, sigaret*
Clemency	*Marimari, sori*
Clever	*Kleva, smat*
Coat	*Kot, saket*
Cockatoo	*Kakatu, koki*
Commandment	*Mandato, lo*
Compass	*Kompas, kos*
Conceal	*Haitim, karamapim*
Conduct	*Pasin, sindaun*
Conference	*Kibung, miting*
Contract	*Kontrak, taim, pepa*
Corn	*Mais, kon*
Cow	*Bulmakau meri, kau*
Criminal	*Man nogut, raskol*
Cross	*Kruse, diwai kros*
Cultivate	*Brukim graun, mekim gaden*
Culture	*Pasin, kalsa*
Custom	*Lo, pasin*
Cut grass	*Sarepim gras, katim gras*
Damage	*Mekim nogut, nogutim, bagarapim*
Dawn	*Tulait, sankamap*
Deceive	*Giamanim, trikim, bulsitim*
Demon	*Seten, masalai, spirit nogut*
Dentist	*Dentis, dokta bilong tit*
Dentist	*Dokta tit, dentis*
Depressed	*Bel i pas, bel i nogut*
Desk	*Des, bang*
Dessert	*Switkaikai, kaikai bihain*
Donkey	*Donki, smolpela hos*
Doze	*Ai i slip, ai i hevi*
Draw	*Malen, dro*
Drum	*Kundu, garamut*
Drunk	*Longlong, spak*
Dust	*Smok bilong graun, das*
Elbow	*Skru bilong han, elbo*
Election	*Vot, ileksen*
Electricity	*Pawa, elektrisiti*
Empty	*Stap nating, emti*
Enemy	*Birua, enemi*
Envelope	*Skin pas, kavarap*
Example	*Eksampel,*
Excrement	*Pekpek, sit*

Family	*Lain, famili*
Famine	*Bikhangre, femin*
Fart (v)	*Kapupu, puinga*
Feather	*Gras bilong pisin, feda*
Fix (v)	*Oraitim, stretim*
Flood (n)	*Tait, haiwara*
Free day, holiday	*De bilong limlimbur, de bilong malolo*
Friend	*Pren, poroman*
Frog	*Rokrok, prok*
Fruit	*Prut, pikinini bilong diwai*
Full moon	*Raunpela mun, bikpela mun*
Gas	*Win bilong stov, ges*
Get married	*Marit, kisim ring*
Get one's breath	*Kisim win, pulim win*
Girl	*Meri, gel*
Girl	*Gel, meri*
Glue (n)	*Laim, bulit*
Glue (v)	*Laimim, bulitim*
Graduate	*Greduet, pinisim skul*
Grass	*Gras, kunai*
Happy	*Amamas, hepi*
Have sex	*Puspus, pilai, mekim maritpasin, slip wantaim, goapim meri*
Heart	*Hat, klok*
Helicopter	*Bunbalus, glasbalus, helikopta*
Holy	*Santu, tambu, holi*
Hostess	*Misis bilong balus, hostes*
Hotel	*Haus dring, haus pasindia, hotel*
Hurt	*Bagarapim, nogutim*
Hypocrite	*Tubel, tumaus*
Idea	*Tingting, aidia*
Ignorant	*Longlong, het i pas*
Information	*Infomesen, toksave*
Injection	*Sut, nil*
Iodine	*Yot, aidin*
Jet plane	*Smokbalus, setplen*
Joke	*Tok pilai, tok pani*
Knee	*Skru bilong lek, ni*
Late	*Bihain, let*
Leader	*Bikman, lida*
Learn	*Lainim, skul*
Left hand	*Han kais, lep han*
Lemon	*Solmuli, lemen*
Lemonade	*Muliwara, loliwara, lemanet / limonad*
Leprosy	*Lepa, sik tomato*
Letter	*Pas, leta*
Licence	*Laisens, pemit*
Lie (v)	*Giaman, lai*
Listen	*Harim, putim yau*

Lubricate	*Welim, grisim*
Lung	*Waitlewa, lang*
Machine	*Masin, ensin*
Magic	*Majik, puripuri, sanguma*
Main	*Nambawan, bikpela*
Mainland	*Bikgraun, menlen*
Mariner	*Sela, boskru*
Market	*Bung, maket*
Meet	*Bung, painim*
Mosquito	*Natnat, moskito*
Mosquito net	*Klambu, taunam*
Native	*Netif, blakskin, kanaka (New Guineans dislike this term)*
Nervous, to be	*Guria, seksek*
News	*Nius, tok*
Newspaper	*Niuspepa, smokpepa*
Nineteen	*Wanpela ten nain, naintin*
Ninety	*Nainpela ten, nainti*
Noise	*Pairap, nois, krai, singaut*
Nurse	*Misis dokta, Sister, nes*
Office	*Haus pepa, ofis*
Old	*Lapun, olpela*
Orange	*Switmuli, orins*
Package	*Paus, karamap*
Parable	*Parabel, tok piksa*
Pavement	*Rot simen, rot kolta*
Peace	*Belisi, sekan*
Peanut	*Kasang, pinat*
People	*Pipel, manmeri*
Photo	*Foto, poto, piksa*
Pincers	*Sange, pinsis*
Pity	*Marimari, sori*
Plane	*Balus, plen*
Policy	*Astok, polisi*
Post office	*Pos opis, haus pos*
Pray	*Beten , pre, raring*
Prayer	*Beten, raring, prea*
Priest	*Pater, pris*
Radio	*Wailis, redio*
Rapid	*Hariap, kwik*
Refuse (n)	*Pipia, sit*
Remove	*Tekewe, rausim*
Report	*Givim strori, ripotim*
Respect	*Ona, rispektim*
Right (hand)	*Han sut, raitsait*
Rise	*Kirap, sanap, kamap*
Rubbish	*Pipia, rabis*
Sad	*Bel i pas, bel i nogut*
Secretary	*Kuskus, seketeri*

Sentry	*Sentri, wasman*
Shake	*Guria, meknais, seksek*
Sheet	*Bet sit, bet laplap*
Shiver (v)	*Guria, seksek*
Shout	*Bikmaus, singaut*
Signal	*Tandok, belo*
Silver	*Waitpela ain i olsem mani, silva*
Size	*Bik, sais*
Sleepy	*Ai i slip, ai i hevi*
Small	*Smolpela, liklikpela*
Smell (v)	*Harim smel, smelim*
Speed	*Hariap, spit*
Spend money	*Tromoim mani, lusim mani*
Start	*Kirap, bigin*
Strainer	*Siv, waia bilong ti*
Strength	*Strong, bun, pawa*
Student	*Skulboi / skulmeri, sumatin, studen*
Stupid	*Kranki, longlong*
Summit	*Het, antap*
Surname	*Haidennem, nem kanaka*
Switch off	*Swisim, mekim dai*
Take a walk	*Wokabaut, limlimbur*
Teamwork	*Timwok, wok bung*
Throw away	*Rausim, tromoim*
Toe	*Pinga bilong lek, to*
Toe	*Pinga bilong lek, to*
Toilet	*Haus pekpek, liklikhaus, smolhaus*
Tree	*Tri, diwai*
Trick	*Sutim nus, trikim*
Trouble	*Trabel, wari*
Vegetables	*Kumu, sayor, grins*
Village	*Ples, viles*
Wages	*Pe, wes*
Watch (n.)	*Hanwas, klok*
Weight	*Hevi, wait*
Wheelbarrow	*Supka, wilka, wilbera*
Zero	*Siro, nating, not*

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LENGUA Y SOCIEDAD EN PAPUA NUEVA GUINEA:

PIDGINIZACIÓN, CRIOLLIZACIÓN Y DESCRIOLLIZACIÓN EN TOK PISIN

ANTECEDENTES Y OBJETIVOS

Los pidgins y las lenguas criollas surgieron en África, Asia y Oceanía como consecuencia del colonialismo, para hacer posible la comunicación entre las personas que habían entrado en contacto en la nueva situación. Con la gradual desaparición de las circunstancias que motivaron la necesidad de comunicación, los pidgins también desaparecieron. Sin embargo, en algunas zonas, como Nueva Guinea, la necesidad de una lengua común en una sociedad tan lingüísticamente heterogénea ha posibilitado que el reducido pidgin del comienzo del contacto haya evolucionado hasta convertirse en un pidgin extendido apropiado para su uso en una gran variedad de contextos y funciones.

Esta tesis analiza los desarrollos paralelos del Tok Pisin y de la historia de sus hablantes, desde el nacimiento del pidgin como un "jargon" en el Pacífico Suroriental hasta el momento actual, en el que, como un pidgin extendido con unos cuantos miles de hablantes criollos, es decir, para los que es su lengua materna, afronta los retos de su adaptación al mundo moderno.

En el capítulo primero se presta atención a los hechos más relevantes que tuvieron lugar en el Pacífico suroriental primero y en Papua Nueva Guinea después, es decir, las plantaciones, la declaración de un protectorado alemán en el año 1884, el cambio de los poderes coloniales y las dos guerras mundiales. Se describe la actual situación sociolingüística de Papua Nueva Guinea, donde se hablan más de 800 lenguas en un país de poco más de cinco millones de personas, teniendo el índice de diversidad más alto del mundo. Papua Nueva Guinea es una sociedad básicamente rural con un nivel muy bajo de escolarización. La enseñanza ha sido tradicionalmente en inglés, aunque hace unos años han comenzado a funcionar programas en los que las lenguas locales son utilizadas para la enseñanza elemental, dado que esto parece favorecer la alfabetización, siendo las habilidades adquiridas en las lenguas locales transferidas

después al inglés. La elección de lengua en la enseñanza elemental incluye también al Tok Pisin, que suele ser la opción elegida en las áreas urbanas. El inglés comienza a ser enseñado obligatoriamente en el segundo curso de la enseñanza elemental.

En el capítulo segundo se hace un análisis diacrónico del desarrollo que ha tenido lugar en las diferentes áreas del Tok Pisin, es decir, en fonología, sintaxis y léxico. Su inestabilidad en la fase "jargon", la aparición de normas y el préstamo de términos de la lengua sustrato y de otras fuentes durante la estabilización, la gran productividad de los recursos internos y la aparición del pidgin urbano durante la expansión y la actual fase post-pidgin caracterizada por un préstamo masivo del inglés.

Para la descripción de la lengua en las primeras fases la evidencia utilizada proviene de los investigadores que han tenido acceso a los documentos originales. Para la descripción sincrónica, la evidencia proviene de los textos analizados, que incluyen historias tradicionales, documentos, páginas web, transcripciones de las noticias de Radio Australia y diferentes secciones del periódico Wantok.

En el capítulo tercero se analizan diferentes aspectos del léxico, que muestran que el Tok Pisin ha sido adaptado a sus nuevos usos y funciones en una nueva realidad social. El léxico parece ser afectado por influencias externas antes que otras áreas del lenguaje.

DISCUSIÓN

Se ha estudiado el Tok Pisin desde una perspectiva diacrónica, con la intención de mostrar de qué manera los hechos históricos tuvieron inmediatas consecuencias en su desarrollo. La descripción diacrónica de la lengua presenta evidencia de los hechos que tuvieron lugar en la sociedad y de cómo los habitantes de Papua Nueva Guinea crearon la lengua poco a poco, incorporando cualesquiera elementos que fueran necesarios para

su uso más productivo. Una nueva lengua fue creada, una lengua con características propias, capaz de expresar los sentimientos de los hablantes.

Durante el periodo de estabilización comenzaron a emerger las normas, inexistentes en el caótico "jargon". Fue durante esta etapa cuando el Tok Pisin comenzó a ser usado para la comunicación entre los nativos y no sólo entre los colonizadores y los nativos. La apremiante necesidad de vocabulario en la nueva situación fue resuelta gracias a los préstamos de todas las lenguas disponibles: inglés, alemán, malayo, tolai. Por razones eminentemente pragmáticas los habitantes de Papua Nueva Guinea pudieron superar su percepción del Tok Pisin como la lengua de los colonizadores, del durísimo trabajo en las plantaciones y comenzaron a usarla en su propio beneficio. Cuando hablantes de multitud de lenguas diferentes coincidieron como trabajadores en las plantaciones, pronto se dieron cuenta de que necesitaban comunicarse, un sentimiento de solidaridad comenzó a surgir entre ellos y les dio cohesión como un grupo opuesto a los europeos. Cuando volvieron a sus pueblos llevaron su conocimiento del Tok Pisin con ellos. Es difícil estimar cuánto Tok Pisin habrían adquirido durante su estancia de tres años en las plantaciones, pero parece que, fuera cual fuera su competencia lingüística, consideraban el conocimiento de esta lengua como una preciada adquisición. Este sentimiento se fue consolidando a lo largo de los años en las diferentes circunstancias que favorecieron la movilidad dentro de Papua Nueva Guinea.

Durante la expansión, el Tok Pisin utilizó sus recursos internos y expandió sus posibilidades ya presentes en la lengua. Sin embargo, el renovado contacto con el inglés en las ciudades al final de este periodo favoreció la creación de una nueva variedad, que incorporó innovaciones provenientes del inglés. Lo que, hasta entonces había sido una lengua más o menos homogénea, apropiada para la comunicación de gente de muy

distintos orígenes lingüísticos comenzó a mostrar variación que empezaba a hacer difícil la comunicación entre hablantes de ámbitos urbanos y rurales.

Al mismo tiempo un nuevo fenómeno comienza a ser evidenciado, es la primera vez que se puede hablar de una criollización más estable. Los niños nacidos en las ciudades en familias donde los padres hablan diferentes lenguas maternas, adquieren el Tok Pisin como su primera lengua. Sin embargo, puesto que el número de hablantes criollos es bajo comparado con los hablantes de Tok Pisin como segunda lengua. No se puede hablar de una comunidad criolla. Además la criollización no parece producir cambios significativos con respecto al Tok Pisin extendido.

CONCLUSIONES

La evidencia presentada en la tesis parece indicar que el inglés está influyendo en el Tok Pisin ampliamente, especialmente en el léxico y, en concreto en el campo de los negocios, la tecnología, la salud, la política y los nuevos trabajos. Parece que los hablantes del Pidgin Urbano están favoreciendo el préstamo frente a la explotación de recurso internos. ¿Por qué? No se puede argumentar que el Tok Pisin no es apropiado para discutir conceptos abstractos o para tratar de las nuevas realidades de la vida moderna porque todas las lenguas son apropiadas para la comunicación entre sus hablantes, sólo hay que realizar las adaptaciones necesarias. A través de su historia el Tok Pisin ha demostrado ser un medio de comunicación útil que ha sido progresivamente adaptado por sus hablantes a un contexto sujeto a continuos cambios tanto físicos como sociales. En el Tok Pisin actual los hablantes están adaptando la lengua a las nuevas circunstancias a través del préstamo masivo desde el inglés. Por otra parte la gramática, aunque a mucha menor escala, también está experimentando cambios. Lo que la evidencia parece mostrar es que nuevas estructuras gramaticales del

inglés están siendo utilizadas junto a estructuras tradicionales de la lengua. Las nuevas estructuras no parecen estar reemplazando a las tradicionales, sino que ambas coexisten. La inestabilidad, pues, será una característica de la lengua mientras la restructuración de la misma esté teniendo lugar. Esto puede ser indicativo de que se esté formando un continuo lingüístico que puede ir consolidándose y dando lugar a la posibilidad de que una misma idea sea expresada de manera diferente dependiendo de su grado de cercanía o alejamiento al inglés o al Tok Pisin. También se han observado cambios en la ortografía que evidencian cambios internos que están ocurriendo en el Tok Pisin en un periodo de cambio hacia una mayor estabilidad. Antiguas restricciones están desapareciendo y se admiten innovaciones que la lengua no habrían sido encajadas en el anterior sistema fonético-ortográfico.

La distancia que se está produciendo en la lengua es un reflejo de los cambios que están teniendo lugar en la sociedad, originados por los diferentes grados de acceso a una educación y a un contexto urbano. Como consecuencia de los cambios que están tendiendo lugar en la sociedad, el uso de préstamos de la lengua sustrato está cayendo porque reflejan una realidad que está desapareciendo gradualmente. Sólo permanecerán aquellas palabras cuyo referente está todavía presente. De igual manera, las frases idiomáticas, que reflejan una cierta interpretación de la realidad tenderán a desaparecer mientras la cultura y el pensamiento occidental se extienden. Un aspecto en el que la influencia del sustrato parece persistir más es en las exclamaciones y en las interjecciones, pero incluso aquí, las expresiones inglesas van penetrando en el Tok Pisin.

En la actualidad muy poca gente de Papua Nueva Guinea está en contacto directo con el inglés y, para muchos es solamente una lengua aprendida en el contexto formal de una clase. La influencia del inglés sobre el Tok Pisin no se generalizará si éste

continua siendo solamente la lengua de la educación. Sin embargo, otros factores como el creciente contacto de un número cada vez mayor de hablantes con el inglés como consecuencia de la emigración a las ciudades, la influencia de los medios de información y el creciente prestigio de la variedad urbana del pidgin pueden favorecer el aumento de características inglesas dentro del Tok Pisin

A través de su historia el Tok Pisin ha evolucionado y se ha enriquecido gracias a sus hablantes. Han sido ellos, más que las políticas lingüísticas, los que, aceptando o rechazando las diferentes posibilidades de expansión, han decidido la dirección del desarrollo de la lengua. Son ellos los que tienen en sus manos decidir cómo será el Tok Pisin en el futuro y si quieren favorecer los cambios en la dirección del inglés y la consolidación de un continuo lingüístico, que ya parece emerger. Todo ello sin dejar de tener en cuenta el riesgo que puede suponer para la capacidad comunicativa, siendo éste un factor que no debe ser olvidado en una sociedad tan lingüísticamente heterogénea como es Papua Nueva Guinea.