

**On the issues of language contact and language shift
in Tok Pisin
- Focusing on two “non-standard” varieties:
Highlands Pidgin and Anglicised Pidgin**

Submitted by

Miwako Wakizaka

B.A. Osaka University of Foreign Studies, Japan
B.A. Hokkaido University, Japan

Thesis submitted for the degree of
Masters of Art by research
In Linguistics
Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences

The University of Adelaide, Australia
December, 2008

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	III
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	IV
DECLARATION	V
EXPLANATORY NOTES.....	VI
CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER 2. LITERATURE REVIEW	6
CHAPTER 3. METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH DESIGN	14
3.1 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS	14
3.2 RESEARCH DESIGN AND PROCEDURE	17
3.3 LIMITATION OF THE RESEARCH	18
CHAPTER 4. SOME CONSIDERATIONS ABOUT HIGHLANDS PIDGIN.....	20
4.1 CHARACTERISTICS OF HIGHLANDS PIDGIN	23
4.1.1 <i>The social background of Highlands</i>	23
4.1.2 <i>Phonological features of Highlands Pidgin</i>	24
4.1.2.1 <i>Some phonological features of Highlands Pidgin reported in previous studies.</i>	25
4.1.2.2 <i>Cliticisation</i>	28
4.1.3 <i>Morphological features of Highlands Pidgin</i>	31
4.1.4 <i>Lexical features of Highlands Pidgin</i>	32
4.1.5 <i>Syntactic features of Highlands Pidgin</i>	36
4.1.5.1 <i>kirap + verb: beginning actions</i>	36
4.1.5.2 <i>i go, i kam: directional markers</i>	37
4.1.5.3 <i>longen: relativiser</i>	39
4.1.5.4 <i>Omission of the ‘predicate marker’ i</i>	41
4.1.5.5 <i>The conjunction taim</i>	45
4.1.6 <i>Summary</i>	48
4.2 WHERE SHOULD HIGHLANDS PIDGIN BE PLACED ?	49
CHAPTER 5. SOME CONSIDERATIONS ABOUT ANGLICISED PIDGIN.....	52
5.1 ANGLICISATION IN PHONOLOGY	54
5.1.1 <i>The core phonology and phonological expansion</i>	54
5.1.2 <i>Phonological rules in current varieties</i>	57
5.1.3 <i>Summary</i>	60
5.2 ANGLICISATION IN MORPHOLOGY	61
5.2.1 <i>Plural marking in Tok Pisin</i>	61
5.2.1.1 <i>Distribution of the plural marking</i>	66
5.2.1.2 <i>Process of pluralisation</i>	67
5.2.1.3 <i>Low productivity of –s suffixation</i>	70
5.2.2 <i>Other suffixes</i>	72
5.2.3 <i>Summary</i>	74
5.3 ANGLICISATION IN LEXICON.....	74
5.3.1 <i>Anglicisation in counting system</i>	75
5.3.2 <i>Anglicisation in time expressions</i>	76
5.4 ANGLICISATION IN SYNTAX.....	77
5.4.1 <i>Anglicisation in relativisation</i>	78
5.4.2 <i>Anglicisation in conjunctions</i>	81
5.5 CODE SWITCHING	82
5.5.1 <i>The Matrix Language-Frame model</i>	83

5.5.2 Tok Pisin-English code switching in the MLF model.....	86
5.6 EXAMPLES OF HIGHLY ANGLICISED VARIETIES	90
5.7 SUMMARY.....	92
CHAPTER 6. SOME SOCIOLINGUISTIC PROPERTIES OF TOK PISIN AND OTHER LANGUAGES IN PAPUA NEW GUINEA	93
6.1 A QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS OF TOK PISIN AND OTHER OFFICIAL LANGUAGES	93
6.2 THE TRANSITION OF CHARACTERISTICS OF BI- AND MULTILINGUALISM IN PAPUA NEW GUINEA	97
6.3 THE COMMON LANGUAGES IN THE PUBLIC USE.....	99
6.3.1 Tok Pisin and English in written texts.....	99
6.3.2 An interview of a journalist in WANTOK Niuspepa.....	104
6.4 A REANALYSIS OF THE RURAL-URBAN DICHOTOMY IN TOK PISIN.....	105
6.5 TOK PISIN LITERACY CLASS	107
6.6 SUMMARY	109
CHAPTER 7. CONCLUSION.....	110
APPENDIX 1 AN INTERVIEW OF A WRITER IN WANTOK NIUSPEPA (SAMPLE OF SPEECH FROM ISLANDS)	115
APPENDIX 2 SAMPLE OF SPEECH FROM HIGHLANDS	121
APPENDIX 3 SAMPLE OF SPEECH FROM COASTAL AREAS.....	124
BIBLIOGRAPHY	126

Abstract

Tok Pisin is the most prevailing common language in Papua New Guinea. It was originally an English lexifier pidgin language and has developed as the virtual universal lingua franca in this multilingual country where over 850 indigenous languages are spoken today (Nekitel 1998).

The term Tok Pisin covers a large number of varieties due to the various social and linguistic backgrounds of its speakers. Traditionally, the rural varieties which are spoken in Coastal and Island areas are regarded as mainstream Tok Pisin and previous studies have mainly focused on these varieties. However, since the social and linguistic situation in the country has continuously changed and the language contact between Tok Pisin and both substratum languages and the superstratum language, English, continues, the varieties which were regarded as “non-standard” seem to play an important role, especially in the context of language contact and language shift today. Therefore, with respect to the roles that “non-standard” varieties play and their features, many gaps still remain. Most studies have focused on standard varieties.

In order to fill in the gaps, this study will address the issues of language contact and language shift in Tok Pisin, mainly focusing on two “non-standard” varieties. One is Highlands Pidgin which is spoken mainly in the Highlands area of the country. Because of the increase of emigrant population from Highlands to other regions, it seems that Highlands Pidgin impacts on other regional varieties of Tok Pisin. First, the characteristics which have been considered to be Highlands features are reconsidered by reanalysing previous studies and examining the author’s primary data. Then the role that Highlands Pidgin plays in the current language situation in Papua New Guinea is discussed. The other “non-standard” variety considered here is the anglicised variety. It has been pointed out that Tok Pisin is currently undergoing “decreolisation”, that is, it is gradually losing its own features and assimilating to English. However, the degree of the anglicisation can vary with situations, speakers and topics and, although earlier studies provide many important findings, few recent studies have been undertaken. Thus, the degree of anglicisation is examined according to each linguistic component including phonology, morphology, lexicon and syntax based on primary data. As one of the parameters of anglicisation, code switching between Tok Pisin and English is also examined using the Matrix Language-Frame model proposed by Myers-Scotton (1993). Following the analysis of the two varieties, some sociolinguistic considerations are provided in order to capture the situation in which language contact and language shift take place.

In conclusion, based on the author’s observations and analysis, this study proposes the argument that there is little reason to rule out the “non-standard” varieties and that Tok Pisin has been a language completely distinct from English, which supports Smith’s (2002) viewpoint. Also, it illustrates a description of current Tok Pisin which coexists with English. Whether the situation continues or not in the future is open to question; however, the structural features of Tok Pisin and its remarkable vitality which are revealed here can inform the study of language contact, language shift and language maintenance.

Acknowledgements

This study owes much to many people. I am indebted to my informants in Papua New Guinea, in particular Frederica Siwin, her husband Timoti Sakete and their family, Veronica Hatutasi and her co-workers in *WANTOK Newspapa*, Imelda and Martin Dampat and people in Mindre village, Nick Evera, Lisa Favave, Wenceslaus Magun. I would also like to place on record my inadequately expressed debt to Dr. TIDA Syuntarô and his informant Mintai Markus for letting me access speech samples from the Highlands which are vital for this study. My thanks for assistance with various aspects of this work go to Professor Kenneth Sumbuk of the University of Papua New Guinea, Mavis Price in SIL, Alex Dawia, Therese Kemelfield and her family, Rose TuGuata, Estelle Cheung, Allan Kapi.

The field trip to Papua New Guinea for this study was supported by a Research Abroad Scholarship of the University of Adelaide which I greatly appreciate.

I am grateful to Professor Peter Mühlhäusler of the University of Adelaide as Principal Supervisor for providing detailed feedback on various aspects of the work and supplying me with many hard-to-obtain materials on Tok Pisin. Dr. Robert Amery of the University of Adelaide, second Supervisor who made many helpful comments and feedback, for which I am grateful. I also greatly appreciate Elsa Jacob-Næssan for a great deal of advice, correcting my English and providing editorial help, and Petter Næssan for proofreading the draft.

Declaration

This work contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university or other tertiary institution and, to the best of my knowledge and belief, contains no material previously published or written or digitally recorded by another person, except where due reference has been made in the text.

I give consent to this copy of my thesis, when deposited in the University Library, being made available for loan and photocopying, subject to the provisions of the Copyright Act 1968.

SIGNED: _____ DATE: _____

Explanatory notes

Abbreviation used in this thesis

PL = plural

NP = noun phrase

VP = verb phrase

SVO= subject-verb-object

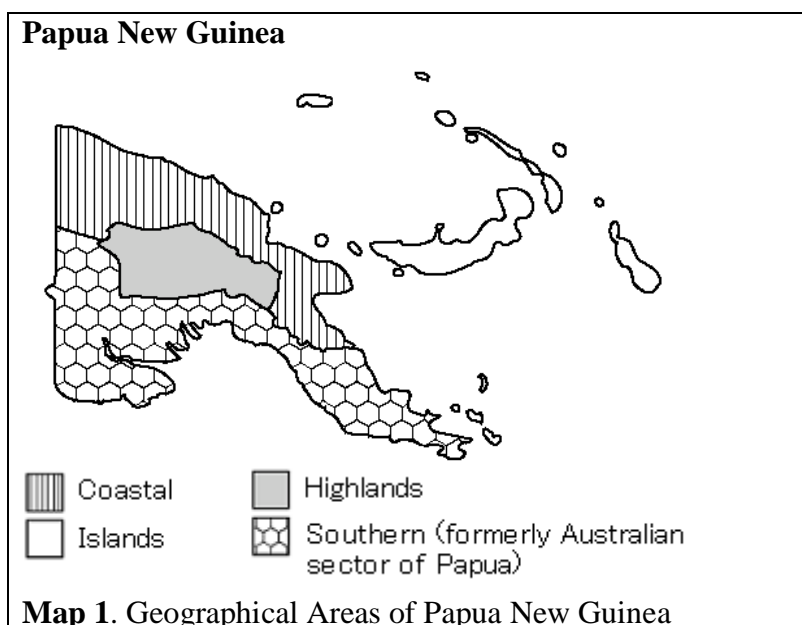
SOV= subject-object-verb

PNG = Papua New Guinea

NCD = National Capital District

Chapter 1. Introduction

Tok Pisin is spoken in Papua New Guinea as the most prevailing lingua franca by 121,000 people as their first language, and 4,000,000 people as a second language (SIL 2003). The historical development of the language has been disputed (e.g. Crowley 1990), but according to Mühlhäusler (1978), Samoan Plantation Pidgin is considered to be the origin of Tok Pisin. It is an English lexifier pidgin language which has functioned as a second language, by definition, in this multilingual country where over 850 indigenous languages are spoken (Nekitel 1998). However, since the late 19th century, Tok Pisin has stabilized over generations, and it has greatly expanded. From the Coastal and Islands areas where Tok Pisin had first developed, it has spread into more remote areas as well as into the formerly Australian sector of Papua, where Hiri Motu, another native pidgin language, has been dominantly spoken (e.g. Litteral 1990) (Map.1). In addition, the range of the use of Tok Pisin has extended into domains where local languages previously had been exclusively used. Moreover, since the end of the Second World War, creolised varieties have appeared. That is, Tok Pisin has been used as the first or primary language by people who mainly live in urban areas of the country. Today, it has become the national lingua franca universally spoken in Papua New Guinea.



The term Tok Pisin covers a large number of varieties and the wide diversity is attributed to many reasons. Beside the fact that the language has originally been developed among speakers who have a number of different first languages, the language contact between Tok Pisin and both substratum languages and the superstratum language, English, continues. In such a situation, many social and linguistic factors, for instance, degree of exposure to English; especially the degree of the attendance of English medium education; the industrial structures in different areas of the country; speakers' positive and negative attitude to languages and so on impact on their language use. Traditionally, ever since Mühlhäusler (1975) identified four sociolects, 'Bush Pidgin', 'Rural Pidgin', 'Urban Pidgin' and 'Tok Masta' (see Chapter 2 below), the rural varieties which are spoken in the Coastal and Islands areas are regarded as mainstream Tok Pisin. However, since the social and linguistic situation in the country has continuously changed, the varieties which were regarded as "non-standard" in earlier stages of the language seem to play an important role today.

In order to capture the current language situation in Papua New Guinea in this study, I intend to provide an up-to-date, realistic description of two "non-standard" varieties in the context of language contact and language shift today. One variety is Highlands Pidgin, which is spoken mainly in the Highlands area of the country. The other "non-standard" variety that I will address here is the anglicised variety, that is, the variety largely influenced by English.

The Highlands Pidgin has been regarded as "non-standard" since Tok Pisin had first developed in the Coastal and Island areas and it was only relatively recently that the language was introduced into Highlands areas (Mühlhäusler 1985a). Although it has been disputed among linguists what can be identified as "substratum influence", historically, Tok Pisin has been studied in relation to Melanesian substratum languages (e.g. Wolfers 1971), which are mainly spoken in Coastal and Islands areas. However, in the Highlands areas, the majority of the first languages of Tok Pisin speakers are Papuan languages. Some studies deal with the relationship between Papuan substratum languages and Tok Pisin; Reesink (1990), for example, illustrates influences from

substratum languages, including samples of Papuan languages. The study of Highlands Pidgin has not been a mainstream of Tok Pisin study up until the present. However, as I mentioned above, in Papua New Guinea, the extent to which the label of “non-standard” reflects the linguistic reality in the country is not very clear today. Romaine (1992), for example, points out the influence that migration has on the linguistic situation and describes recent increase of the interprovincial migration. She states:

Until 1966 it was illegal for indigenous people to reside in town without employment or a special permit, and until this time the census did not enumerate rural and urban populations separately. Now large areas of towns are dominated by indigenous people who have come to look for work.

(Romaine 1992:89)

When we look at the 2000 Census, immigration and emigration across the regions are revealed. It is reported:

The difference between in-migration and out-migration is known as net migration and it is this factor which impacts on population size and structure. Despite its relatively large out-migration, NCD had the largest net gain of population of any province (77,000). This was followed by Western Highlands (37,000) and Morobe (33,000). Large net losses of population were experienced by Chimbu¹ (47,000), Southern Highlands (36,000) and East Sepik (30,000). **On a regional basis, the Highlands region had a net loss of 73,000 people while all other regions gained populations.** (emphasis mine)

(Papua New Guinea 2000 Census National Report: 38)

As we can see from the figures above, a large number of people emigrate from Highlands to other regions. Romaine points out that this might be an important factor of the language contact, thus, it is possible that Highlands Pidgin spoken by the out-migrant population from the Highlands region impacts on the Tok Pisin varieties of other regions. Thus, it is important to explore the role of Highlands Pidgin taking the current language situation into

¹ Also referred to as Simbu.

consideration. For this purpose, I will first re-evaluate the characteristics considered to be Highlands Pidgin features by reanalysing the relevant previous studies and examining my own primary data. I will then discuss the current role of Highlands Pidgin based on the analysis.

In terms of Anglicised Pidgin, following the life cycle model of pidgin languages proposed by Hall (1966), some researchers have pointed out that Tok Pisin is currently undergoing “decreolisation”, that is, it is gradually losing its own specific features and assimilating to English (e.g. Romaine 1992). However, Smith (2002) argues, based on the analysis of his corpus, that “[t]here is definite discontinuity between Tok Pisin and English in the huge majority of cases” (p.210). Actually, as has been pointed out, the anglicisation has been more or less observed in all of the Tok Pisin varieties today, while the degree of the anglicisation widely varies among the varieties depending on a number of social and linguistic factors. In addition, although previous studies reveal many important findings concerning the issue, few recent studies have been undertaken. Thus, in order to provide an up-to-date illustration of the language situation, I will examine the degree of anglicisation of the primary data according to each linguistic component, including phonology, morphology, lexicon and syntax. As one of the parameters of anglicisation, code switching between Tok Pisin and English is also examined using the Matrix Language-Frame Model proposed by Myers-Scotton (1993). According to the model, in an intra-sentential code switching situation, one of the participant languages can be identified as the matrix language, which plays the dominant role in the sentence. Smith (2002) examines his corpus by using the Matrix model and finds that in most of the code switching cases, the matrix language can be clearly identified as Tok Pisin. I also intend to assess Smith’s argument by using the model and examining my primary data.

Following the analysis of these two “non-standard” varieties, Highlands Pidgin and Anglicised Pidgin, I will provide some sociolinguistic considerations in order to capture the situation in which language contact and language shift (revealed in the previous chapters) take place. I will also

consider the source of the extreme vitality of Tok Pisin and its sociolinguistic background. I will deal with issues such as census analysis relating to industrial structures and education, traditional and current multilingualism in the country, the use of Tok Pisin in written texts, and speakers' attitude to the language. In the final chapter, I will then address the question asked in Bickerton's (1975) title of his paper: "Can English and Pidgin be kept apart?" based on the previous analysis.

Chapter 2. Literature Review

Tok Pisin is one of the most highly documented of the world's pidgin and creole languages. A number of significant studies have been carried out in which many researchers have revealed linguistic features of this language from different perspectives. In this chapter, I will briefly overview and outline the important works which were carried out by previous studies.

At the time Hall (1943) provided linguistic description of this language, Tok Pisin was, like other pidgin and creole languages, regarded as marginal and not worthy of serious study (Mühlhäusler 1987). We can see how such negative attitudes to the language were formed, for example, in Wurm (1985), as he states such attitudes were “based largely on misinformation and language prejudice” (p.68). However, during the latter half of the last century, a great deal of work was provided by a number of researchers. With regard to the history of the Tok Pisin studies, Mühlhäusler (1987) is a detailed but concise work enabling readers to obtain knowledge about the whole history of Tok Pisin studies until the late 1970s. In particular, by virtue of his exhaustive work, we can recognize the contribution of missionaries and the literature written in languages other than English. One of the most important studies among the missionaries' work is Mihalic (1971). Tok Pisin orthography is established in the work and although some of its contents are obsolete today, it is still considered to be the standard Tok Pisin dictionary. Mundhenk (1990) provides historical information about the process of translation of the Bible into Tok Pisin, especially against many misunderstandings due to the semantic difference between English and Tok Pisin. For Tok Pisin studies in general, Wurm and Mühlhäusler (eds. 1985) is the most comprehensive description of the structure of this language. They cover historical aspects, the nature of Tok Pisin, the grammar, theoretical issues and sociolinguistic studies. More recently, Verhaar (1995) overviews the language based on his large corpus, and this source is an excellent threshold for learners of this language. Dutton and Thomas (1985) provide useful and practical instructional materials with a large number of concrete

examples. Smith (1989) also presents basic course materials and plainly explains main differences between grammar of the language and of its lexifier, English, which the learners should recognize for the proper understanding of the language. In terms of documentation of Tok Pisin, Mühlhäusler, Dutton and Romaine (2003) provide plenty of Tok Pisin texts which cover, as they state, “the full range of variation found in Tok Pisin, both along its historical and its social and stylistic axes” (p.33). Readers can access different types of Tok Pisin texts including monologues, interviews, private letters, newspaper articles and so on, which provide a wide range of knowledge with its background information. From a sociolinguistic point of view, Sankoff (1980a) significantly contributes to our knowledge of Tok Pisin not only by presenting the important works about structures of the language with her collaborators, but also by proposing a useful framework for quantitative analysis, which I will employ in this study. Mühlhäusler (1983) deals with the issue of making value judgements about language. Traditionally, it has not been regarded as a “linguistic” consideration but he proposes the importance of the study of speakers’ attitudes based on the analysis of his Tok Pisin data. It is valid to assume that intelligibility and communicative efficiency are directly related to the speakers’ evaluation since they are crucial for communication among speakers who have different first languages, particularly in such a multilingual country like Papua New Guinea. Thus, for Tok Pisin speakers, Mühlhäusler states, “the principal criteria of whether a word is good or bad are (a) whether it contributes to social harmony and (b) whether it is understood by a reasonable proportion of the speech community” (1983: 173). In such a situation, as he suggests, it is important for language planners to take these factors, namely, the relationship between speakers’ attitudes and their impact on the language into consideration.

On the issues of language contact and language shift, a number of debates have taken place about the language situation in Papua New Guinea. Proceedings of conferences such as McElhanon (ed. 1975) and Verhaar (ed. 1990) include discussions of the issues about language policy, language contact, and standardisation.

Against the background of the diversity of Tok Pisin varieties, the necessity of standardisation is discussed, for the first place, in relation to the intelligibility among the wide range of the varieties. Mihalic (1975), for instance, proposes the standardisation of the language for the sake of a mutual understanding among the varieties by comparing the language with a big river. He states:

Dispela kain standet tok pisin - o as tok pisin - em i olsem wanpela bikpela wara. Na ol kain kain pasin bilong tanim tok pisin, em ol i olsem ol liklik han wara. I tru, han wara i gutpela samting. Tasol em i no inap bringim yumi go longwe. Bikpela wara tasol i ken (1975:55).

This kind of standard Tok Pisin or basic Tok Pisin is a sort of a big river. And each different way of interpreting Tok Pisin is a sort of a stream. It is true that a stream is a good thing. However, it cannot carry us a long way off. Only a big river can do that.

(translation mine)

Wurm (1975) also emphasises the importance of standardization especially in establishing orthography, standard vocabulary and grammar. He argues that urban Pidgin which is strongly influenced by English should be avoided as a model, whereas Sankoff (1975) proposes that the variety which is spoken by the first language speakers of Tok Pisin would be a model for standard Tok Pisin. It was at that moment that Mühlhäusler (1975) identified four sociolects, which has been frequently quoted by following studies up until the present, beginning with McElhanon (ed. 1975). That is, (1) 'Rural Pidgin' which is spoken by the majority of Pidgin users, (2) Urban Pidgin, the varieties which are typically influenced by English and mainly used by town dwellers, (3) 'Bush Pidgin' which is used in remote areas and sometimes difficult to be understood by outsiders and (4) 'Tok Masta' which is used by European colonisers without proper understanding of the language. Since then, the Rural Pidgin has been considered to be the mainstream and regarded as the standard Tok Pisin. In Verhaar (ed.1990), Lynch (1990) pointed out the situation at the time as "*Almost no one takes Tok Pisin seriously*"(p.387) (author's italicised), and gave a proposal that as a democratic society, in

Papua New Guinea, “Tok Pisin must be much more widely used and given greater status and prominence in the public domain”(p.393). From today’s viewpoint, as we will see in the following chapters, his suggestions have, at least partly, come true and been realised as a source of the extreme vitality of Tok Pisin.

In terms of the issues relating to the varieties I will deal with in this research, a number of significant studies have revealed the characteristics of Highlands Pidgin. Wurm (1971) and the companion volume Laycock (1970) are compiled as teaching materials; the former is based on Highlands Pidgin whereas the latter is on Coastal and Lowlands Pidgin. Although they are not compiled for the sake of linguistic description, they cover the basic grammar, word lists and dialogues so that a reader can obtain an overview of the linguistic features of the language with regard to each of the varieties. However, the data is limited to the period up to the 1960’s while Tok Pisin has changed continuously up until the present; accordingly, we should verify whether the linguistic characteristics proposed in these sources can be applied to the varieties of today’s Tok Pisin. Another important study which contributes to our knowledge about regional varieties of Tok Pisin is Smith (2002). He focuses on the speakers who speak Tok Pisin as their first language, namely, the creolised variety, and reveals a large number of linguistic features which appear in Tok Pisin spoken by the first language speakers. As he points out, in some of the earlier studies, “[j]udgements by authors about what is acceptable and what is not acceptable Tok Pisin often do not specify whose norms or opinions they are based on” (2002: 22). For avoiding this pitfall, Romaine (1992), for example, employs a corpus-based approach so that the validity of her judgements is supported by her corpus. Smith persuasively shows the regional distribution of the features by this approach and concludes that “a variety of factors appears to exist promoting both uniformity and variation” (2002: 213). He illustrates that in certain linguistic areas such as the lexical inventory, the regional diversity is declining but in other areas, such as differentiation of idiom and syntax, the differences are more prominent. However, this argument should be examined in the light of different data, as Smith himself states. With regard to

substratum languages in the Highlands area, Foley (1986) reveals a survey of Papuan languages mainly distributed in this area and spoken as the first languages of Highlands Pidgin speakers. Though early studies mainly focused on Melanesian substratum languages, there are a few detailed studies which deal with the relationship between Papuan substratum languages and Tok Pisin. Givón (1990) compares serial-verb constructions of Tok Pisin and Kalam, one of the Papuan languages. He suggests that the different types of serial-verb constructions between these typologically different languages (for instance, the dominant word order is SVO in Tok Pisin whereas SOV in Kalam) represent a “different **grammatical-typological** way of coding event segments” (p.48) (author’s emphasis). Dutton and Bourke (1990) report the parallel constructions between use of the word *taim* ‘time’ in Tok Pisin and use of the counterpart in the language spoken in the Nembi plateau in the Southern Highlands Province. That is, when the word *taim* is used as a temporal conjunction in Tok Pisin, it is usually placed to clause initial positions whereas in the varieties of this area, it is placed to clause final positions, and the structure is parallel to the substratum language. They state that similar phenomena are not observed in neighbouring varieties of Tok Pisin whose substratum languages are related to the language spoken in the Nembi plateau. Thus, they suggest that the reason for the unique use might have something to do with group identity and solidarity. However, as they themselves acknowledge, the same phenomenon is observed by other researchers (e.g. Holm and Kepiou 1993) as a more widely distributed phenomenon. Thus, the argument is also needed to be examined in the light of other corpus. In spite of the existence of these significant works, studies which deal with Highlands Pidgin are still relatively few and it remains a gap in our knowledge needing to be filled.

By contrast, Anglicised Pidgin has sometimes been discussed in relation to the dynamic life cycle model which was proposed by Hall (1966). According to his model, unlike “normal” languages, pidgin languages go out of use when they lose their specific communicative reason. The continuous language contact between a creole and its lexifier language leads the creole to the process of decreolisation. That is, as the term indicates, decreolisation is an

opposite process of creolisation. Namely, the creole language gradually loses its own features and assimilates to the original lexifier language, and this intermediate term is referred to as “post-creole continuum.” This model caused a great deal of discussion and one of the controversial issues is the question Bickerton (1975) proposes as the title of his paper: “Can English and Pidgin be kept apart?” Based on processes he has observed in other pidgin and creole languages, particularly in Guiana and in Nigeria, Bickerton predicts that it is difficult for Tok Pisin to escape the fate of decreolisation. He states:

Provided that the citizens of Papua New Guinea categorically insist on using Tok Pisin with one another, reserving English exclusively for contacts with native speakers of English, then the danger suggested in the title of this paper can hardly arise. But the experience of literally dozens of developing nations over the past twenty-five years indicates that Papua New Guinea will be indeed fortunate if she can escape their fate. For in almost all these countries, there have developed groups who, rightly or wrongly, seem to feel more at home in a European language than they do in any of the vernacular or contact languages which the mass of their fellow citizens speak.

(Bickerton 1975: 23-4)

To explore whether his prediction realises or not thirty years after the discussion is one of the main subjects of this study. Romaine (1992) shows how anglicisation is progressing in some varieties, particularly in urban areas, by providing detailed analysis from various linguistic aspects and sociolinguistic perspectives. She also argues that a post-creole continuum is in place especially in highly anglicised varieties of Tok Pisin and suggests that without drastic social and political change, the function and status of Tok Pisin as a national language will be undermined. This argument should also be assessed according to the latest data. Smith (2000, 2002), however, provides a different viewpoint. He argues that based on his corpus, drastic decreolisation has not generally been observed and Tok Pisin is the dominant language in most of his corpus. This is despite evident signs of anglicisation in each of the linguistic components of morphology, phonology and syntax. He also examines his data about the situations wherein code switching between Tok Pisin and English occurs by using the Matrix Language Frame Model proposed by Myers-Scotton (1993). According to Myers-Scotton’s theory, either one of the participating languages is the dominant or Matrix

language. Smith identifies the Matrix language to be Tok Pisin, in the overwhelming amount of the code switching occurring in his corpus. It seems that in this case, again, his argument should be assessed by using a different corpus.

When we look at the social background of Papua New Guinea, because of the continuous language contact among indigenous languages, Tok Pisin and English, the current language situation in the country is fluctuating at all times. Sankoff (1980b) provides sociolinguistic description of the situation where language contact among local languages, Tok Pisin and English occur. She points out that “[w]hat appears to have happened is that the original tok ples/ Tok Pisin dichotomy has been largely replaced by Tok Pisin/ English as a symbolic marker of power and status in the urban society” (p.26). In fact, on the one hand, as she points out, in some urban areas, the number of children who speak English as their first language is on the increase. On the other hand, Tok Pisin enjoys its status as a virtually universal lingua franca all over the country with its extreme vitality. Smith states:

During most of its development, Tok Pisin has been a second language for the great majority of its speakers. Recently, however, a new generation has grown up speaking Tok Pisin as a mother tongue, and an interesting area of study is the effect that this process of creolisation has on the language.

(Smith 2002: 22)

More recently, it seems that the language situation has changed further since Smith pointed out the trend based on his observation. Some town dwellers such as urban elites in Port Moresby have been affected by the world-wide IT revolution, whereas in the rural areas, the social infrastructure has not been equipped with this technology at all, that is, the existent gaps between rural and urban areas widens. Thus, the rural versus urban dichotomy, once criticised by Smith (2000, 2002), is supposedly important again, and this time, it could be crucial for the language situation.

In spite of the significant work which has already been carried out, there are some gaps still remaining. In such a continuously changing situation, previous studies need to be constantly re-evaluated. A categorisation, a labelling and an analysis which validly account for a particular situation can quickly become obsolete. Continuing documentation is needed in order to capture the reality of the language situation in Papua New Guinea today, taking these social factors into consideration.

In this study, I aim to contribute to filling these gaps by observing and documenting aspects of the current language situation, especially focusing on “non-standard” varieties, which tend to be regarded as marginal or not genuine. It seems that in such a rapidly changing language situation, the “non-standard” varieties might play a more important role than they previously have been regarded to have. I will provide the methodology and research design of this study in the following chapter.

Chapter 3. Methodology and research design

The major goal of this study is to provide an up-to-date, realistic description of two “non standard” varieties of Tok Pisin, Highlands Pidgin and Anglicised Pidgin, in order to capture the current language situation in Papua New Guinea. Also, I will explore the background of the language transition by examining the sociolinguistic factors which impact on the language situation. The research question I will address for this purpose is the title of Bickerton’s (1975) paper: can English and Pidgin be kept apart? That is, I will explore whether or not the predictions proposed by previous pidgin and creole studies realise in the current language situation. In this chapter, I will review some theoretical frameworks on which my study will be grounded and I will then, account for the research design and methodology of this study.

3.1 Theoretical frameworks

In this study, I will mainly base my argument on the following theoretical frameworks. The fundamental argument is based on theories provided by Mühlhäusler (1997). As one of the most highly documented pidgin and creole languages, and as is frequently referred to in his significant study, it is on Tok Pisin that the argument proposed by Mühlhäusler is typically realised. First, as he repeatedly emphasises, Tok Pisin reflects “the human ability for rule-changing creativity” (p.336). That is, any single static model does not account for the dynamic and changing characters of Tok Pisin. Thus, he states about pidgin and creole languages as:

These languages do not just provide examples of how human beings construct and change codes in order to meet certain communicative requirements. Rule-changing creativity, which was traditionally associated with the marginal or secondary areas of parole and performance, should really be the focus of Pidgin and Creole linguistics.

(Mühlhäusler 1997: 338)

Second, as to the forces to determine the language formation, Mühlhäusler regards any single-cause explanations as inadequate and points out the importance of combinations of three factors as:

Even if one wants to exclude social factors, single-cause theories are inadequate because they ignore the important possibility of a conspiracy between different forces. Most notably, one can expect combinations of:

1. superstratum and universal tendencies;
2. substratum and universal tendencies;
3. substratum and superstratum;
4. all three factors.

Such combinations can occur at all levels of grammar.

(Mühlhäusler 1997: 125)

Based on these frameworks, I will discuss the issues addressed in the following chapters.

As my study includes quantitative approach, I will also rely on the theoretical base of Sankoff (1980c). She provides an essential distinction between categorical differences and differences of degree. That is, she shows that what can be described as characteristics of a language variety is not necessarily categorical but reflects the fact that “degrees of variability can be processed by the human brain” (p.65) . Thus, the characteristics I will provide as those of Highlands Pidgin or Anglicised Pidgin in this study are usually considered to be non-categorical. Sankoff further argues that:

My position has been that statistically fluctuating performance data need not be interpreted as reflecting underlying competence that is categorical in nature, and that a paradigm representing competence as containing some probabilistic and nondeterministic components is a better approximation to linguistic reality than one that insists on categoriality and determinancy.

(Sankoff 1980c: 77)

Since one of the purposes of this study is to describe the reality of the current language situation in Papua New Guinea, Sankoff's approach can be a useful and fruitful one.

In the process of the sociolinguistic analysis, I will use the ethnographic approach in order to capture the social meaning of language, as one of the means of human communication. Duranti (1997), for instance, proposes an holistic approach to the interdisciplinary field, including linguistics and anthropology, and states, “[w]hat used to be thought of as *outside of* language is now more and more often seen as *part of* language, constitutive of its organization and, hence, of its meaning” (p. 338). Thus, the subjects of the observations of this study do not adhere to the traditional “linguistic” framework, but include “extra-linguistic” factors which might impact on the whole communicative events. In other words, in a certain situation, it would be explored that why a language is used as it is, since it is crucial for my analysis to take social contexts and cultural backgrounds, such as regional development of social infrastructures and speaker's attitude, into consideration. As Saville-Troike (2003) points out, “without understanding why a language is being used as it is, and the consequence of such use, it is impossible to understand its meaning in the context of social interaction” (p.14).

When I will analyse code switching involving the current varieties of Tok Pisin, I will use the Matrix Language Frame Model proposed by Myers-Scotton (1993). The aim of using this model is to identify the main language which is spoken in the code switching situation between Tok Pisin and English, following the study of Smith (2002). Therefore, although Myers-Scotton has further developed her original model in her later works (e.g. Myers-Scotton 1995), I use the same model that Smith used in his study, since the purpose is not to account for the structure of code switching in general, but to assess Smith's (2002) argument, that is, in the overwhelming number of cases the dominant spoken language is Tok Pisin.

According to the frameworks I have mentioned above, I will discuss the issues pertinent to an understanding of the current language situation in the following chapters.

3.2 Research design and procedure

This research is based on the data of two main resources. One resource is the recordings which were made during my field trip in September to October 2007 in Papua New Guinea. Informants were selected at random during my stay. The locations were both in the urban cities, Madang and the capital city, Port Moresby, and rural areas, Nobnob village and Mindre village which are located close to Madang. For the purpose of comparing and contrasting with Highlands Pidgin, I selected 2 hours of recordings of the Coastal area from 10 informants and 2 hours of recordings of the Island area from 6 informants from all the recordings I carried out. The age and sex of informants is from 14 to 63, there are 5 male, and 11 female. I was not able to control other factors such as degree of education or linguistic background of these informants, whereas all of the informants speak Tok Pisin as their first or very fluent second language. The other resource of recordings is provided by Dr. TIDA Syuntarô who carried out his field trip to the Highlands area in 2001. This data is composed of interviews of one informant, Mintai Markus. The detailed profile of his recordings is provided in Chapter 4. I used 4 hours of recordings of him, since (with respect to the regional varieties,) I discuss the characteristics on a dichotomy of Highlands versus Coastal and Island areas.

The data is transcribed by myself and it basically followed the orthography of Tok Pisin which is proposed in Mihalic (1971). However, phonetic description is provided when needed and some incoherency remains in spellings, particularly when I transcribe prepositions which are pronounced as shortened forms. Tok Pisin examples are represented followed by an English translation, the name of the province where the informant grew up, and their sex and age.

In both resources, the main topics are on traditional and current lifestyles, customs, foods and so on. For example, Tida asked the following question to the informant (Appendix 2).

nau mi laik askim yu long kaikai ol kaikai long hia yupela save kaikai longen pasin bilong kaikai kukim o dispela kain.

Now I'd like to ask you about foods, foods of here you use to eat and the way of cooking, how to cook or these kinds of things. (translation mine)

However, in the Coastal and Islands data, when the interview took place in a very short time, the interviewee was asked to provide a short story about any topic s/he chooses. Thus, I asked these informants:

plis gipim liklik stori bilong yu.

Please give me a short story about yourself.

One exception is the interview of a writer of *WANTOK Niuspepa* (Appendix1). In this case, I focused on her opinions in relation to her job and how she would describe her job.

The main method is linguistic observation and interview, while some written texts such as in posters, signage and the *WANTOK Niuspepa*, the weekly Tok Pisin newspaper, are also collected and analysed.

3.3 Limitation of the research

The most crucial limitation of this study is the fact that many important factors which impact on the language varieties of speakers, such as age and degree of education, were not able to be controlled. Informants are classified into regional varieties whereas the criterion is somewhat tentative and almost exclusively depends on the informant's own declaration. Also, the settings of the interviews are different between the Highlands and other areas. In the case of the Highlands, the interview is carried out between close acquaintances; the interviewer and the interviewee have an intimate

relationship and each of the interviews lasts more than one hour. Whereas in the Coastal and Island areas, many of the interviewees are randomly selected strangers to the interviewer and the recording time varies from five minutes to one and half hours among various informants. In addition, since there is only one informant for Highlands Pidgin, the features of his narration cannot be overgeneralised. Moreover, the total size of the data is too small to generalise the observations extensively. For this reason, many issues I discuss here remain inconclusive. Undoubtedly, a larger study based on a larger corpus and further field work must be conducted to analyse these issues in the future. Nevertheless, the observations I will provide here can hopefully fill in some of the gaps which remain, especially those which are due to the lack of data up until today.

Chapter 4. Some considerations about Highlands Pidgin

Highlands Pidgin is a cover term for the regional varieties of Tok Pisin which are spoken in the Highlands area in Papua New Guinea. It has been pointed out that geographical factors impact less on the linguistic diversity of Tok Pisin than social factors in its history (e.g. Mühlhäusler:1985b). However, with respect to the former German New Guinea areas, the traditional three-way division is commonly used, as Mühlhäusler (2003) states:

A rough geographical classification (which is widely used in popular metalinguistics) differentiates between the Tok Pisin of the Bismarck Archipelago, of the coastal region, and of the highlands. This three-way division reflects three phases in the colonization of the country: the opening up of the islands from 1870 onwards, of the coastal region of the main island (so called Kaiser-Wilhelmsland) from about 1900, and of the highlands from 1945. Since the inhabitants had a very high degree of geographical mobility, especially before the country became independent in 1975, and Tok Pisin was typically learnt while absent from home and working on the coastal plantations, this type of regional classification is unsatisfactory.

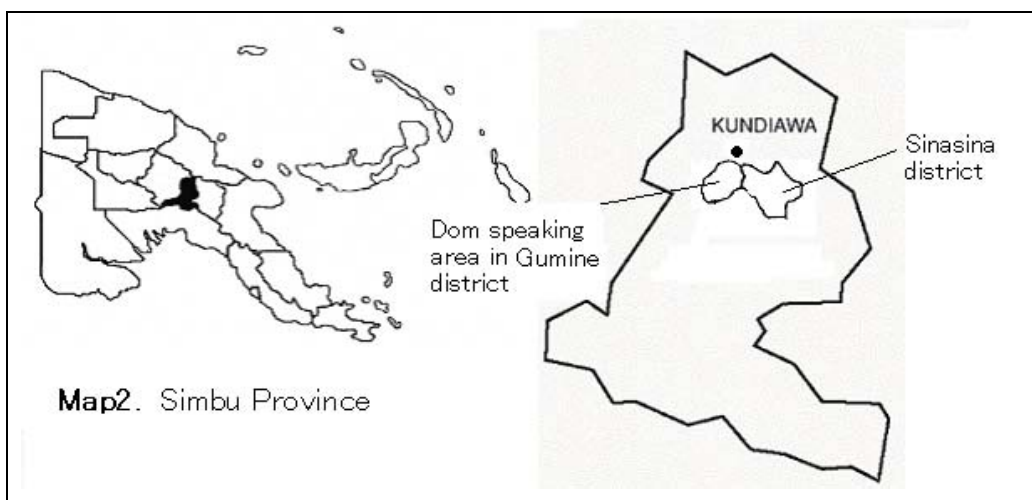
(Mühlhäusler 2003: 3)

In this study, I refer to these three regions as Islands, Coastal and Highlands areas respectively. However, as Mühlhäusler points out, it should be noted that this classification is customary and somewhat tentative. I roughly categorise the former two varieties as mainstream or “standard” varieties as they have been regarded by previous studies contrasted with Highlands Pidgin. In terms of the historical development of Highlands Pidgin, Mühlhäusler (1985a) points out that Highlands Pidgin was originally influenced by Tok Masta, the Tok Pisin variety of European colonisers who do not have proper understanding of the language. He states, “Tok Pisin in the Highlands was spread by Europeans, notably kiaps, and that the standard of Tok Pisin in the early years was fairly low and characterised by features of Tok Masta”(p.61). As Tok Masta is regarded as the variety of such European colonisers, this suggests that the Highlands Pidgin was largely influenced by the “non-standard” variety during its earlier stages. Holm and Kepiou (1993) support his point that the English-influenced Pidgin of Australians played an

important role in shaping the Highlands variety of Tok Pisin (p.347); however, they disagree with Mühlhäusler's scenario for "the genesis of Highlands Pidgin since it ascribes to whites rather than to indigenous people the major role in transmitting the Pidgin" (p.350). That is, they emphasise the importance of the role which was played by indigenous people who lived in Coastal areas in the transmission of Tok Pisin to Highlands. In either case, it has been considered that the incipient Highlands Pidgin was influenced by English, especially, in its lexical features (Holm and Kepiou 1993: 347-8); accordingly, this is one of the reasons that the variety has been regarded as "non-standard". Another reason that Highlands Pidgin has not been regarded as mainstream Tok Pisin is that Tok Pisin has been considered to be largely influenced by Melanesian substratum languages, whereas in the Highlands areas, Papuan languages are mainly spoken as the Tok Pisin speakers' first language. These Melanesian languages are mainly spoken in Coastal and Islands areas, and naturally, previous studies have principally been focused on the varieties of Tok Pisin in these areas. However, as we have seen in Chapter 1, people who speak varieties from the Highlands area have recently constituted a large proportion of interprovincial migrants, and consequently, the Highlands Pidgin might play an important role in terms of the current linguistic issues of Tok Pisin in general. Thus, when we overview the today's language situation in Papua New Guinea, we can no longer ignore the importance and influence of the Highlands Pidgin. In other words, in the context of standardization of Tok Pisin, as well as the context of language policy and language planning in Papua New Guinea, it is necessary to take the Highlands Pidgin into account in order to capture the reality of Tok Pisin today.

As it has been regarded as "non-standard", what is known about the variety is relatively little compared to the mainstream varieties and the gaps in the continuing documentation still remain. To fill in the gaps, in this chapter, I intend to illustrate the characteristics of Highlands Pidgin in some detail. Also, I will explore the category in which the variety should be placed in the context of the standardisation of Tok Pisin in the current language situation of Papua New Guinea.

The data of Highlands Pidgin examined here was recorded by Dr. TIDA Syuntarô in 2001. It was recorded in Simbu Province in the Highlands area of Papua New Guinea and subsequently transcribed by myself. The first language of the informant is Dom, which is spoken in the Gumine District and a part of the Sinasina District of the Simbu Province with about 16,000 people (Tida, 2006) (Map2). Foley (1986) classified Dom as belonging to the Chimbu family (p.237), whereas according to Tida (2006), other researchers classify it differently. Tida reports that Dom has many Papuan-like features such as the lexical use of pitch distinctions, a demonstrative system with vertical distinctions, head-final constituent order (with noun-adjective exception), adjunct-verb combination, verb serialisation, clause chaining, and switch reference (Tida 2006: 7) . The informant is Mr. Mintai Markus. He was born in 1970 and grew up in Gumine District in Simbu Province. His first language is Dom but he also speaks Tok Pisin and Kuman (one of the neighbouring languages) very fluently so that his ability to speak all of the three languages is comparable to mother tongue communicative competence. He was educated until fifth grade. Recording time is approximately 4 hours. For the sake of comparison and contrast, I will also examine data which I collected in 2007 (details are given in 3.2) from the Coastal and Islands area, when needed.



4.1 Characteristics of Highlands Pidgin

The extent to which the characteristics of Highlands Pidgin proposed by previous studies are supported by primary data will be examined in this section. I will deal with two types of arguments: 1) what is said about Tok Pisin in general and I will examine whether it can actually apply to Highlands Pidgin as well as other varieties, and 2) what is said about Highlands Pidgin in particular and I will examine whether the primary data supports the arguments or not. As I mentioned above in 3.3, since the sample of Highlands Pidgin relied on only one informant, the analysis I will provide here is limited to a case study. Hypotheses and arguments that I will verify and falsify here should be examined using a larger corpus.

4.1.1 The social background of Highlands

Let us begin with looking at the social background of the language situation in Highlands areas by examining the 2000 Census data. The figures in Table 4-1 are abstracted from the 2000 Census. The number of speakers of extant languages is not enumerated in the census, whilst we can infer the speaker's exposure to English medium education from the school attendance and literacy data. The figures might indicate that the higher these two rates are, the more exposure to English would be; accordingly, the speakers' variety of Tok Pisin would be more influenced by English. The rate of waged employment and the rate of subsistence employment are other parameters of frequency of using English, as we will see in 6.1 in some more detail. The wage job employment is likely to be related to the frequency of using English, while the subsistence employment is usually related to using local languages or Tok Pisin. We can clearly see in Table 4-1, that in the Highlands areas, all the parameters which indicate frequent use of English are the lowest of all the regions and the rate of subsistence employment, which indicates less frequent use of English, is the highest compared to other regions. Therefore, the census data implies that even though, as it has been pointed out, the incipient Highlands Pidgin was largely influenced by anglicised varieties or Tok Masta,

the current varieties of Highlands Pidgin is likely to be less influenced by English compared to other regional varieties. In addition, Mühlhäusler (2003) points out that “[i]n most recent times, the internal mobility of the population has decreased due to the increasing autonomy of the individual provinces, and the possible development of more markedly regional dialects cannot be ruled out” (p.3-4). Thus, judging from the figures in the census as well as the increasing autonomy of the provinces, it is possible that the Highlands Pidgin has recently developed independently. Taking these factors into consideration, let us move on to examining concrete data for Highlands Pidgin.

Table 4-1. Regional distribution of Literacy rate, Attending school, Subsistence employment, Wage employment PNG, 2000 Census. Data abstracted from Papua New Guinea 2000 Census National Report (Figures of the regions are average of Provinces of each area.)

NOTE:

This table is included on page 24 of the print copy of the thesis held in the University of Adelaide Library.

4.1.2 Phonological features of Highlands Pidgin

There are some phonological features which are considered to be characteristic of Highlands Pidgin, whereas in fact, it has been pointed out that most of them are observed in other areas as well. Mühlhäusler (1985b) observes that “[m]any speakers of Tok Pisin claim to be able to identify the origin of a speaker from his or her pronunciation and syntax” (p.256). However, according to some informal tests he carried out, Mühlhäusler concludes that there is “considerable discrepancy between such judgements and the actual facts” (ibid). As he points out, it seems that the speakers’ impression about phonological characteristics of the regional varieties does not always reflect reality. Holm and Kepiou (1993) examine the features of

Mendi Tok Pisin, one of the varieties of Tok Pisin spoken in the Southern Highlands Province. They also conclude that “local Tok Pisin features influenced by Mendi phonology may well be found elsewhere as well” (p.346). In this way, the phonological characteristics that I will deal with in this section are considered to be not categorical but a matter of degree. I will first, re-analyse phonological features in Highlands Pidgin which are described in previous studies; I will then follow the trend of cliticisation, namely, current morphophonological change in Tok Pisin which has been reported without any regional difference. I will examine whether this trend occurs in Highlands Pidgin, compared to other regional varieties.

4.1.2.1 Some phonological features of Highlands Pidgin reported in previous studies

Some phonological features have been reported as characteristic of Highlands Pidgin in previous studies. Smith (2002) provides a number of samples of regional varieties and refers to Highlands varieties as in the following statements:

- (a) ... the lack of consistent discrimination between various voiced and unvoiced consonants, which is particularly common in the Highlands samples, but also occurs elsewhere (p.50).
- (b) Some Highlands speakers routinely voice all or most stops in medial position. (p.51)
- (c) A distinction between **p** and **f** is often inconsistently applied, especially in Highlands speech samples, but also in other areas (p.52)
- (d) Alternation of /l/ and /r/ is found in all regions, but is most noticeable in the Highlands sample, especially in texts from the Eastern Highlands (p.57).
- (e) Also found almost exclusively in the Highlands sample (mainly from Eastern Highlands) is a characteristic pronunciation of velar nasals as stops (p.57).

Among these observations, the characteristics described in (a) and (c) above are found in the primary data as in the following examples (4-1), (4-2), (4-3) and (4-4):

(4-1) i gat tripela [trɪ**b**ɛlɐ] sistem long dispela singsing.

There are **three** patterns for this kind of singing.

(4-2) i gat tripela [trɪpɛlə] rum long daunbilo.

There are **three** rooms below.

(4-3) tasol marata em i no kukim long faia.

But as for a pandanus, it's not cooked by **fire**.

(4-4) as bilong paia ken holim strong lip tasol insait bilong em bai nogat.

Ash of **fire** may keep the heat of the strong leaves but not inside of the leaves.

((4-1)-(4-4) Simbu: Highlands/M/30)

As we can see in (4-1) and (4-2) above, intervocalic voicing optionally occurs in this variety, as a result, the discrimination between voiced and voiceless stops becomes inconsistent. However, as can be seen in (4-5) and (4-6), similar phenomena occur in other varieties as well.

(4-5) ol givim dispela liklik kos so mipela [mɪbɛlə] ken rit

They open this small course so (thanks to the course) **we** can read.

(4-6) mipela [mɪpɛlə] kamap olsem pikinini olsem skul em liklik elementari skul kain olsem

We come up just like children, like school, it's like a small elementary school or things like that.

((4-5)-(4-6) Morobe: Coastal/F/38)

The alternation between [p] and [f] is observed in (4-3) and (4-4). In this case, as far as the primary data is concerned, the incoherent alternation, namely, within a text provided by one informant, is not observed in the variety of Coastal and Islands areas. Even in the Highlands Pidgin, this alternation occurs in just a few lexical items such as paia / faia 'fire' and prok/ frok 'frog'. It seems that the alternation is not conditioned by the phonological environments but being caused as a result of lexical or stylistic choice. Although the sample of incoherency is not observed in the Coastal and Islands varieties, the occurrence of [f] sound where [p] is expected to be in the traditional Tok Pisin pronunciation or the occurrence of [f] for newly introduced Tok Pisin words is frequently observed in all of the regional varieties. Moreover, the informant of Highlands Pidgin consistently uses [f]

sound for some lexical items, especially in newly introduced words as in (4-7) below.

(4-7) Jepen i gat fektri bilong kar tasol mi harim olsem Jepen i no gat
planti kar

There are car **factories** in Japan, but I've heard that there are not so
many cars in Japan.

(Simbu: Highlands/M/30)

Judging from the fact that the [f] sound is consistently used in newly introduced English-origin words and optionally used in some lexical items in which [p] was traditionally used, it seems that the alternation can be interpreted as one of the processes of anglicisation, which is progressing in most of the Tok Pisin varieties as we will see in Chapter 5. Whether the feature is classified as one of the “regional” characteristics is not clear in the primary data.

In contrast to the examples above, Smith's observations described in (b), (d) and (e) are not found in the primary data. (b) does not apply to the speech of the informant. As we can see in (4-2) above, although the intervocalic voicing is observed in his variety, voiceless stops in medial position are also observed. As for (d) and (e), no example is found in the primary data. However, in some rapid speech, the possibility of the occurrence of the alternation cannot be totally ruled out since the researcher was not able to identify relevant segments.

To sum up, some features which have been reported as characteristics of Highlands Pisin in previous studies are also found in the primary data. However, these features are not exclusively observed in Highlands. Moreover, the phonological alternation can be interpreted as being in the process of the anglicisation. Thus, it is not clear to what extent these features are related to the regional classification. Some features which have been reported as characteristics of Highlands Pidgin are not observed in the primary data. Examination of a larger corpus is needed to clarify the situation.

4.1.2.2 Cliticisation

The most noticeable current morphophonological change in Tok Pisin is cliticisation, that is, due to the phonological reduction, particles lose their independency and behave like clitics, which was first pointed out by Lynch (1979). He illustrates this with the prepositions *long* and *bilong*, realised as /lo/ and /blo/ respectively, and the future marker *bai*, realised as /ba/, habitual and inceptive aspect markers *save* and *laik*, realised as /sa/ and /la/. This phenomenon has been reported repeatedly, for instance, Mühlhäusler (1985b) suggests that these changes can be analysed as the development of nominal inflections in Tok Pisin in the future. Smith (2002) also supports the argument; moreover, he mentions that with respect to the aspect particles, *save* and *laik*, the reduced forms can be regarded as standard spoken forms (p. 85). The phonetic realisation of these forms varies depending on factors such as phonological environment, formality, and speed of the conversation (see Smith 2002: 84-7). However, here I will basically follow the phonemic representation introduced above except when I refer to phonetic properties, as I will focus on the regional distribution of the phenomenon. To my knowledge, any remarkable regional difference has not been reported with respect to the cliticisation, that is, the phenomenon is expected to be seen in the Highlands area as well as other areas. Romaine (1992) suggests that the prevalence of this phenomenon in the Highlands area, where Tok Pisin is more recently introduced, is possibly because it has been taking place rapidly or speakers of Highlands varieties learned the reduced forms from Lowland speakers.

In the primary data, many examples of the cliticisation are attested both in the data of Highlands and of other areas. Examples are:

Highlands:

(4-8) planti taim ol kapul **sa** ron **lo** nait ya.

Many times, possums run about at night.

(4-9) ol yusim ol **ba** indai.

If they use it, they will die.

(4-10) ol sekanhan kar **blo** Jepen prais i go daun.

As for Japanese second-hand cars, the prices are getting down.

(4-11) nau mi **la** wokim nupela haus.

Now, I'm going to build a new house.

(4-12) yumi kaikai yumi bai pilim swit **bilong** kaikai.

If we eat (the sweet potato), we will feel the sweetness of the food.

((4-8)-(4-12) Simbu: Highlands/M/30)

Islands and Coastal:

(4-13) ol i wok painim wara **lo, lo** bus

They worked on looking for water in the bush.

(Madang : Coastal/F /42)

(4-14) em gras **blo** Sepik i **save** kamap **lo** tais. **sa** kamap **lo** tais em ol **sa** wokim.

It's reeds of Sepik growing up in swamps. It is the reeds growing up in swamps that they used to make (the string bags of.)

(Sepik: Coastal/F/52)

(4-15) mi amamas **lo** wok wantaim Wantok Niuspepa

I am happy working with Wantok Newspaper.

(Bougainville: Islands /F/57)

(4-16) olsem mipela i **sa** putim kakaruk, kumu, o sapos narapela kain ol mit nabaut tu put insait

In this way, we used to put chicken, greens, or if you have any other kind of meat or something, too, put inside.

(Manus: Islands /F/57)

We can observe that cliticisation is obviously progressing everywhere as far as the primary data is concerned. However, as we have seen in (4-12) and (4-14) above, the full forms also appear in both Highlands and other varieties. In addition, as in (4-13), the reduced forms can be repeated with pauses of hesitation in speech, showing that these forms are psychologically regarded as an independent unit. Thus, each of the particles does not totally lose its independence and it seems too early to say that the cliticisation has completed or the nominal inflection has developed in this language.

Nevertheless, when we look at the data precisely, the reduced forms always appear in some expressions. For example, in the Highlands example (4-17), the preposition *long* and the adverb *hia* ‘here’ are connected together and they are phonetically realised as [lɔ(i)ja:], that is, the preposition is always reduced and the following [h] is always dropped but the following vowels still have some variations. Usually, the approximant [j] is inserted between the two vowels or the front high vowel is replaced by the approximant.

(4-17) dispela kain pasin i no stap **lo**(ng h)**ia**.

This kind of way does not exist here.

(Simbu: Highlands/M/30)

In this expression the reduced form always appears in the variety even in the slow speech. A similar example is attested in the Coastal variety as well, as in (4-18). In this example, alveolar [n] appears after [lɔ] and the form is realised as [lɔn ja] with very slight pause between [n] and [j].

(4-18) mi amamas olsem ol lain **lon**(g h)**ia** em putim se skul

I am glad that the members here give us such lesson.

(Morobe: Coastal/F/38)

There are some phonetic variations such as [lɔn ja], [lɔja] and [lɔn ia] in the Coastal and Islands examples as well; however, the full form [lɔŋ hia] never

appears either, even in the varieties where [h] dropping is less frequent. Thus, in some particular expressions, the cliticisation might be progressing further or possibly, it has almost been completed. The phonetic variations still remain in the “fixed” reduced forms; however, similar phenomena are observed in all of the Tok Pisin varieties.

It is not clear whether the primary data supports Smith’s argument that with respect to the aspect particles, **save** and **laik**, the reduced forms can be regarded as standard spoken forms. Usually, the reduced forms appear in all the varieties, but full forms still remain and as in the example (4-14) above, the full forms and the reduced forms can be used within a sentence. So far as the primary data is concerned, thus, it is difficult to determine that which forms are regarded as standard.

To sum up, the cliticisation is progressing in all the regional varieties in Tok Pisin including the Highlands variety, although the full forms still remain. It seems that in some expressions, the process is progressing more rapidly or it has already reached completion. The difference among the regional varieties seems slim; however, it is possible that the slight phonological and morphological differences for the same expressions can be fixed in different varieties. Further investigation is needed to follow-up the situation in the future.

4.1.3 Morphological features of Highlands Pidgin

In terms of morphology, any particular feature which can be described as a characteristic of Highlands Pidgin is not observed in the primary data. Smith (2002) reports several appearance of non-traditional form **gatim** ‘to have’, which is formed by the traditional form **gat** ‘have’ plus the transitive suffix – **im**, and suggests that this is observed mainly in Highlands areas, whereas there is no occurrence of the term in the primary data. As for the final consonant dropping of the suffix –**im**, which is reported as prominent in Momase (Coastal) region in Smith (2002), the phenomenon is sometimes observed in rapid speeches in all of the regional varieties while it is optional

and the full form remains in all of the varieties. Thus, with respect to morphology, it seems difficult to find out regional features so far as the primary data is concerned. With regard to Highlands Pidgin, in particular, any prominent morphological feature is not observed in the primary data.

4.1.4 Lexical features of Highlands Pidgin

In order to examine the lexical difference of Tok Pisin words with respect to regional varieties, it is useful to compare the words listed by Laycock (1970) with that of Wurm (1971). Both of them are compiled as teaching materials, the former is based on Coastal and Lowlands Pidgin and the latter is on Highlands Pidgin. Most of the listed words are common, but there are some differences which appear in the lists. One of the major differences is the description of counting systems in the lists. It is observed that the counting systems which were different between these regional varieties have been neutralised because of the anglicisation, which I will refer to in Chapter 5 in some detail as an example of anglicisation. Kinship words are also somewhat different. For ‘elder brother (or sister)’, Laycock (1970) lists *bikbarata* whereas Wurm (1971) lists *barata nambawan*. However, since these terms do not appear in the recordings of the primary data, it is not clear whether the difference still remains or not. Laycock (1970) also notes “The term *barata* really means ‘sibling of the same sex’ and *susa* ‘sibling of the opposite sex’” (p.2). However, with regard to these terms, Mihalic (1971) observes, “[t]his Melanesian usage is dying out in many areas and giving way to the European use of brother and sister” (p.76). Then, after thirty years, Smith (2002) comments “**Brata** and **susa**, sometimes shortened to **bro** and **sis**, now refer only to male and female individuals, respectively, and no longer to same sex and opposite sex” (p.96) (author’s emphasis). In the primary data, as has been pointed out, the “Melanesian usage” seems to have disappeared. Only “the European use of brother and sister” is found as in (4-19) below.

(4-19) kain olsem nau mipela wokim bilong yu. mi **brata** ya.

It's just like the way we are working for you. I am (kind of) your **brother**.

(Simbu: Highlands/M/30)

Therefore, in terms of the basic words listed in Laycock (1970) and in Wurm (1971), it seems that the major regional differences described in the lists such as the counting system and kinship terms seem to be neutralised or have disappeared as far as the primary data is concerned.

In addition to the basic words we have seen above, each of the language groups has specific terms based on their own culture reflective of the great cultural diversity within Papua New Guinea. They are usually related to indigenous languages while some of these terms are described in Tok Pisin. Mühlhäusler (1985b) for example, demonstrates 7 items which are used exclusively in Highlands Pidgin as in table 4-2.

Table4-2. Items of Highlands Tok Pisin (Mühlhäusler, 1985b: 257)

NOTE:

This table is included on page 33 of the print copy of the thesis held in the University of Adelaide Library.

As Mühlhäusler states, these items are “formed from Tok Pisin’s internal resources”, that is, all of these are Tok Pisin compounds. I will provide English glosses of the words below, although not all of the etymologies of the compounds are very clear here:

karim : to carry, **lek** : a leg, **dabol** : to double,

kukim : to cook, to bake something, to char

nus : nose **givim** : to give, **pes** : face **mani** : money

stik : a stick **haus** : house, **kol**: cold, **pik** : a pig

long : multipurpose preposition

Among these terms which Mühlhäusler exemplified, Mr. Markus, the informant of Highlands Pidgin, refers to two of the terms, *karim lek* and *dabol seven*, as traditional courtship customs in the primary data. He describes the custom *karim lek* in his area as in (4-20), and refers to a custom of Western Highlands, which he regards the custom as *karim lek* whereas the local people call it *dabol seven*, as in (4-21) and (4-22). He also comments on a custom of Kainantu, a district in Eastern Highlands, as in (4-23). The sentences in the parentheses are given by the interviewee.

(Lo ia, yupela save mekim wanem?)

What do you usually do here (at **karim lek**)?

(4-20) ol meri sindaun long faia ol man i go putim baksait long ol meri na ol sa putim pes i go long wol nabaut na salim singsing.

Women sit down around fire and men put their back toward the women and put their face to wall or something and sing their traditional songs.

(4-21) sait bilong Western Highlands long i go antap olsem i gat **karim lek** tasol ol kolim **dabol seven**.

Around the places of Western Highlands and upper areas, there is **karim lek** but the people call it **dabol seven**.

(4-22) um. man na meri bai bungim olsem meri bai luk, lukim, lukim man nau na wokim olsem. i go i go i go em, em nus bilong man na nus bilong meri mas faia em ol kolim **dabol seven**.

Yes. Men and women get together, then women look, look at, look at men then they do in this way. They continue, continue, then men's noses and women's noses will rubbed against each other. This is what they call **dabol seven**.

(wanpela taim mi go long sait bilong Kainantu na ol i tok mipela no gat karim lek.)

Once I went to a place of Kainantu and they said they don't have (a custom called) karim lek.

(4-23) em ol giaman. pastaim ol i gat **karim lek**, sistem ya. ol save holim man nus sum na stap insait na ol save singsing.

They are liars. At first, they had **karim lek** system. They used to hold man's nose like this way and stay inside, then they used to sing their traditional song.

((4-20)-(4-23) Simbu: Highlands/M/30)

As we can see in the examples above, the informant refers to the courtship customs in three different areas of Highlands. The description is also different from Mühlhäusler's observation. In his observation, each of the terms seem to be literally related to what is expressed by the term, such as *lek* 'legs' and *nus* 'nose', whereas in the examples above, the terms are used for courtship customs which do not necessarily relate to the 'original' meaning. According to Mr. Markus's statements, it is observed:

(1) The term **karim lek** indicates different customs depending on areas of Highlands.

(2) A custom called **dabol seven** is referred to as **karim lek** in the different area.

The described custom is similar to what is called **kukim nus** in Mühlhäusler's list. Thus, these specific terms which are directly related to cultural events are used differently, depending on areas even in the Highlands. It can be inferred that this diversity is ascribed to the process of how the indigenous people introduced these Tok Pisin words into their traditional domains. Accordingly, it is observed that lexical and semantic differences exist among the regional varieties in terms of these domains. These terms are not attested in the primary data of Coastal and Islands areas; however, since the size of the data is small, further study will be needed to find out more about this.

None of the Tok Pisin lexemes which seem to be derived from Papuan languages are found in the primary data. This is probably due to the small size of the data.

4.1.5 Syntactic features of Highlands Pidgin

There are some syntactic features which are reported as features of Highlands Pidgin in the previous studies. In this sub-section, I will reanalyse these features by examining the primary data.

4.1.5.1 *kirap* + verb: beginning actions

Wurm (1971) illustrates the use of the word *kirap* as an aspect marker. It is followed by verbs and the VP indicates beginning of actions as in (4-24).

(4-24) em i kirap wokim bunara

= he began (is beginning, will begin) to make a bow.

(Wurm 1971: 44)

He mentions that, “[t]he use of *kirap* in this function is a special feature of Highlands Pidgin”. Judging from the fact that neither Laycock (1970) nor Mihalic (1971) refer to the use of the word as an aspect marker the use was not common in areas other than the Highlands congruent with Wurm’s observation above. Then based on the data of 1980’s and early 1990’s, Smith (2002) states that the word *kirap* is not a TMA (tense, mood and aspect) marker; however, he suggests the possibility that it is in the process of grammaticalization. That is, the word *kirap* can be interpreted as a short form of *kirap na tok* ‘got up and said (that)’, and indicates initial actions. Smith also points out that this grammaticalization process is taking place in all regions. According to Smith’s data, however, all of the examples of *kirap* which he shows appear with the verb *tok* ‘talk’ and it is not clear whether or not the word itself can be used with other verbs as a general aspect marker.

The primary data does not support Wurm's argument. Although the verb *kirap* 'get up' is one of the most frequently occurring words in the data, the use which can be interpreted to this auxiliary function never appear in the whole narrations in Highlands Pidgin. The use was not found in the data of Coastal and Islands Tok Pisin, either. The initial action can be indicated by the transitive verb *kirapim* 'to start something' with an objective NP as in (4-25):

(4-25) Papua New Guinea save **kirapim wok** i go long *development* tu.
 Papua New Guinea used to start working for its development, too.
 (Simbu: Highlands /M/30)

Thus, as far as the primary data is concerned, the use of the word *kirap* as the special feature of Highlands Pidgin is not observed. The use is not common in the variety of the area; accordingly, the feature cannot be counted as one of the characteristics of current Highlands Pidgin although the possibility that the expression did not appear this time because of the small size of the data cannot be totally ruled out.

4.1.5.2 **i go, i kam: directional markers**

The use of the directional markers *i go* and *i kam* is also referred to as common in the Highlands area by Wurm (1971). The markers follow a verb and functions to indicate the direction of the action, that is, *i go* indicates going away from the speaker or the relevant focal point whereas *i kam* towards the speaker or the focal point as in (4-26).

(4-26) em i ronewe i go pinis
 = he ran away (away from the focal point of the situation referred to);
 em i ronewe i kam pinis
 = he ran away (towards the focal point of the situation)
 (Wurm 1971: 45)

This use is not exclusively to the Highlands area but it is “particularly prevalent in Highlands Pidgin”, according to Wurm (1971). Laycock (1970) supports the uneven distribution of the use, whereas Smith (2002) briefly refers to the function without commenting on regional distribution. Givón (1990) account this phenomenon as one of the typical serial-verb construction and states: “verbs with deictic values, such as ‘come’ and ‘go’, are grammaticalized to impart those deictic values to other motion or transfer verbs”. Although he does not refer to the regional difference concerning this feature, the fact that serial verb construction is a common feature in Papuan languages (Foley 1986) might be related to the fact that this Tok Pisin use seems to be more common in Highlands area, where Papuan languages are mainly spoken. In the primary data, this use is found both in Highlands, as in (4-27) and (4-28) and in other areas as in (4-29).

(4-27) yu toilet tasol no gat wara bilong **karim i go**

You can urinate but there is no water to carry (the urine) away.

(4-28) yu gat liklik kumu yu **karim i kam** yu *can* kukim olsem na sit bilong faia na kaikai.

If you get a few greens (from somewhere to your place) you can cook them, for example, by ashes, then you can eat.

((4-27)-(4-28) Simbu: Highlands /M/30)

(4-29) *from the time* ol i **movim i go** long Mosbi na Rabaul

From the time, they moved to Port Moresby and Rabaul.

(East New Britain: Islands/ M/32)

Although some examples are attested in Coastal and Island areas as in (4-29), the regional breakdown in Table.4-3 support the argument of the uneven distribution of use. (The relevant breakdown is not provided in the previous studies). As Wurm points out, the use is not exclusive to the Highlands, but it is much preferable in that variety than in other varieties. This observation supports Sankoff’s (1980c) argument. She states, “real, socially meaningful

differences between individuals are very often differences of degree, rather than categorical differences” (p.62).

Table. 4-3 i go, i kam: directional markers

	Highlands i go/ i kam	Coastal i go/ i kam	Islands i go/ i kam
occurrence	60 / 10	13 /3	12 / 1
recording time	/4 hour	/2hour	/2hour
total words	26,000	14,000	13,000

4.1.5.3 longen: relativiser

The word *longen*, the original meaning of which is ‘of it’ or ‘to it’ etc., plays a role as a relativizer, especially in Highlands Pidgin. This phenomenon seems to have been relatively recently developed since Wurm (1971) regards it as an expression of place clauses and only briefly refers to it, while Smith (2002) shows the use as in (4-30) and illustrates its regional distribution.

(4-30) na disla pikinini tupla karim **lo(n)gen** em gutpla pikinini tru.

and this child **whom** the two bore was a very good child.

(Smith 2002: 157)

According to Smith (2002), in his corpus, this appears 63 times in Highlands samples, compared to 34 times in Islands and only 5 times in Momase (Coastal) samples; accordingly, it is considered to be a prominent feature of Highlands Pidgin.

The primary data supports his argument. That is, the use appears very frequently in the Highlands data as in (4-31), and also appears in Coastal and Islands data as in (4-32), but much less frequently than in the Highlands.

(4-31) long bus bilong yumi yumi stap **longen** yumi no gat pitpit.

In our forest **where** we stay, we don’t have sugar cane trees.

(Simbu: Highlands /M/30)

(4-32) mipela karamapim ol kaikai insait bilong foil o lip banana, pinis,
putim antap long hap, *fireplace* ya ol kukim ston **longen**
We fold the foods in foil or banana leaves, and then, put them on
the place, the fireplace **in which** we heat the stones.

(Manus: Islands /F/54)

The regional breakdown is in Table 4-4. The figures in the table obviously support Smith's observation that the use of *longen* as a relativiser is considerably more prominent in the Highlands area. For the sake of comparison, Smith's (2002) data is represented in the parentheses on the table. Compared to Smith's data, the frequency of the term *longen* in the primary data increases in all of the regions. While the ratio is evidently the highest in Highlands, followed by Islands and the lowest in Coastal area. Since the primary data is much less controlled and smaller than Smith's data, a simple comparison might be misleading; however, the increase of the frequency might suggest that the use becomes more common and prevails from Highlands to larger areas. Whereas the uneven regional distribution is still evident, thus, the use of *longen* as a relativiser might be regarded as one of the characteristics of Highlands Pidigin. Further observation is needed to clarify the whole situation about this.

Table 4-4
relative clause with *longen*
(Figures in the parentheses are quoted from Smith (2002))

NOTE:
This table is included on page 40 of the print copy of
the thesis held in the University of Adelaide Library.

4.1.5.4 Omission of the ‘predicate marker’ *i*

The functional status of the so called ‘predicate marker’ *i* has been disputed and it has been pointed out that regional varieties should be taken into consideration (e.g. Mühlhäusler 1985c). Wurm (1971) illustrates some rules of the usage of the word in the Highlands (pp.13-7) on which Mühlhäusler (1985c) comments that they are typically found only in certain varieties of Highlands Pidgin (p.373). The frequent omission of *i* in Highlands Pidgin is repeatedly pointed out (e.g. Lynch 1979), while in general, Lynch (1979) states that “the use of *i* is declining” (p.6) and Romaine (1992) suggests the “possible loss of this feature” (p.283). Smith (2002) argues; however, “rumours of its demise are certainly premature” based on his corpus and shows that the occurrence of *i* is much more frequent in the New Guinea Islands region, and frequently omitted in other regions (pp.115-9). In addition to that, Smith (2002) clearly shows the relations between the occurrence of *i* and the following words, in some regional varieties. That is, the occurrence of *i* is strictly limited to the condition where it collocates with a small number of following words. He also proposes that this condition is one of the significant forces to contributing the occurrence in the areas where the predicate marking is not common in the substratum languages. Thus, Smith notes:

There is thus the possibility that *i* may be losing its grammatical function to some extent, and being re-analyzed as an integral part of a collocation which is approaching the status of a lexeme, such as *igo*, *ibin*, *ino*, *ikam*, *idai*, *istap*, or *igat*.

(Smith 2002: 121)

On the basis of the discussion above, I will investigate 1) whether or not the use of *i* is declining in each of the varieties and 2) whether or not the primary data supports Smith’s argument.

First, the primary data supports Smith's observation that it is too early to say that the feature of *i* is in general decline. As in the following examples, both in Highlands and other areas, many examples are attested:

(4-33) bikos yu no lukim, yu no lukim sanguma na yu no trastim. tasol mipela *i* lukim sanguma, tru man *i* gat sanguma.

Because you've never seen the magical power so you don't trust me.
But we did see the magical power, a real man **who** had the magical power.

(Simbu: Highlands /M/30)

(4-34) bat long Mosbi na ol narapela provins em *i* ekspensiv.

But in Port Moresby and other provinces, it's expensive.

(East New Britain: Islands/ M/32)

In the Highlands example (4-33), in order to highlight the contrast of the experiences, the former *i* is clearly pronounced with some stress. The latter *i* in the same sentence is not the traditional use of the 'predicate marker' but shows a different use, which seem to be developed recently. Smith (2002) briefly refers to the use as "not in any of the traditional roles, but **to introduce a relative clause**" (p.122) [emphasis mine]. This non-traditional use of *i* seems to be prevailing. We can see one of the examples of the common use in the cartoon below which appeared in *WANTOK Niuspepa* in September 2007.

NOTE:

This figure is included on page 43 of the print copy of the thesis held in the University of Adelaide Library.

TORO

TORO MEKIM WANPELA WOK NA KAMPANI GIVIM EM SEK LONG GO
KISIM LONG BENK...

SEK BILONG YU, YU KISIM I.D. KAT BILONG YU NA GO SEKIM DISPELA
SEK YAH

TENKYU TRU, MI GO KISIM I.D.KAT LONG HAUS NA MI GO LONG BENK.

Toro did some work and the company gave him a cheque to go and cash in a bank.

“Here is your cheque. With your ID card, go and cash it.”

“Thank you very much. I’ll get my ID card from my house and go to the bank.”

BAGA EM SO-OFF TRU NA GO STRET LONG BENK

He really showed off the cheque and went straight to the bank.

TELA LONG BENK I ASKIM TORO LONG I.D. KAT BILONG EM NA TORO I
GIVIM WANPELA OLPELA I.D. KAT... EKSPAIA PINIS...

SORI PAPA... I.D.KAT BILONG YU EM EKSPAIA 20 YIAS I GO PINIS NA...
NA WANEM?!

The teller asked Toro to show her his ID card. Toro showed her an old ID card but it had expired.

“Sorry sir, 20 years have passed since your ID expired, so....”

“What!?”

TORO EM BELHAT NA PAITIM PES BILONG EM NA TOK...

EM I.D. KAT I EKSPAIA!!

TASO PES INO EKSPAIA YET!!

Toro hit his face and shouted with anger,

“This is the ID card **which** is expired, but my face has not expired yet!”

In the last frame of the cartoon, the character Toro shouts that “em I.D. kat *i* ekspaia!”, where the word functions as a relativiser as in the latter sample in (4-33). As we can see in these examples, it seems that the use of *i* not only remains but also acquires an additional function. The use in the example (4-34) is a more traditional way of the ‘predicate marker’. In this example, again, the contrast between Mosbi, ‘Port Moresby,’ and Madang is clear from the contexts and *i* is pronounced clearly. Thus, based on these observations, I conclude that the primary data supports Smith’s argument, that is, the general statement for declining *i* is too early in general description of Tok Pisin.

Let us move on to the second argument here. Smith proposes that the occurrence of *i* is closely related to a small number of words that follow *i* and the role of *i* might be reinterpreted as a part of lexical inventory, especially in the areas where the “*i* dropping” is frequent. In the primary data, in terms of the occurrence of *i* and the following words, it seems that the data supports Smith’s argument. In a large number of the cases, when “*i*” occurs, it is followed by the small number of determined words, such as *go*, *kam*, *stap*, *bin*, *no* and *gat*. This trend is observed in Highlands as well as other areas.

Examples are:

(4-35) wait man karim **i kam**

(That’s what) Europeans brought.

(4-36) mipela **i no** lukim.

We didn’t see that.

(4-37) mi stap longpela taim long ples bilong hos **i stap** longen.

I stayed in the place where a horse farm has existed for a long time.

(4-38) gaten bilong maunten sait **i gat** narapela pasin.

In the gardens around mountain side, there is another custom.

((4-35)- (4-38) Simbu: Highlands /M/30)

(4-39) oke putim ston **i go** insait na putim kaikai **i go** insait.

Okey, put stones inside of the pan, then, put food inside of it.

(Manus: Islands /F/54)

(4-40) saksak em, **i no** gaten kaikai

As for sago, it's not a garden vegetable.

(Madang : Coastal/F /38)

(4-41) mipela **i bin** statim ol...long wanwan ol ples ol **i gat** interest long
statim kindagaten

We started them... for each one of the places, people have an
interest in starting a kindergarten.

(Madang : Coastal/F /42)

As we have seen in the examples above, both in the Highlands and in other areas, in a large number of the cases, the occurrence of *i* is closely related to the limited number of following words. This trend is very commonly observed; however, to what extent the particle is “reinterpreted” is not clear from the primary data. Thus, although the phenomenon is very common, what Smith refers to as “being re-analyzed as an integral part of a collocation which is approaching the status of a lexeme” takes place or not is still open to question. Further investigation is needed to clarify the whole situation.

4.1.5.5 The conjunction *taim*

One of the controversial issues about regional varieties of Tok Pisin in relation to substratum languages in Highlands area is the use of the term *taim* ‘time’, described by Dutton and Bourke (1990). As we have seen in Chapter 2, they illustrate the unusual use of the conjunction *taim* in the Tok Pisin

variety of Nembi plateau of the Southern Highlands Province. They report when forming a temporal clause, the conjunction *taim* ‘when’ is usually placed in the clause initial position in the standard varieties of Tok Pisin, whereas in this variety, it is placed in the clause final position, as they exemplify:

“Wokim pati pinis *taim*...

When the party is over...”

(Dutton and Bourke 1990: 252)

They also report that there is exactly a parallel construction in the substratum language of the variety. Thus, they note:

Thus time clauses in Nembi have a structure in which the word for ‘time’ *romb* occurs at the end of the relevant clause. In addition, that clause precedes the main clause in the sentence in which it occurs, just as it does in the Nembi variety of Tok Pisin.

(Dutton and Bourke 1990: 256)

However, despite the parallel structure between the substratum language and the variety of Tok Pisin, they suggest that the unusual use of *taim* might be related to the speakers’ group identity and solidarity. They argue that this may not be the “substratum influence” since the similar Tok Pisin construction is not observed in other Tok Pisin varieties spoken in the areas where the substratum languages are linguistically close to Nembi, such as Kewa and Mendi, in spite of the fact that these languages have similar constructions to Nembi for forming a temporal clause. In other words, they suggest that a similar structure between a substratum language and a target language does not necessarily have a cause and effect relationship; accordingly, so-called “substratum influence” is not easily identified. However, Holm and Kepiou (1993) illustrate the fact that the same construction of the time expression is also observed in the Mendi variety of Tok Pisin, which is a counterexample of the Dutton and Bourke’s argument about the absence of the structure in the adjacent languages. Thus, Holm and Kepiou point out, as Dutton and Bourke themselves remark in a postscript to their paper, “other linguists pointed out

that clause-final *taim* had been observed not only elsewhere in the Highlands, but also on the island of New Ireland” (p.350). Holm and Kapiou, then argues “[t]hese usages might well reflect the parallel substrate influence of different local languages” (ibid).

In this sub-section, I will investigate 1) whether the similar construction is observed in the primary data of Highlands Pidgin, comparing with the data of other areas, and if it is, 2) whether the parallel construction exists in the informant’s substratum language, Dom. If both of these phenomena are observed in the primary data, then the data may support Holm and Kapiou’s argument, that is, the construction of the use of *taim* may reflect the feature of substratum languages.

In fact, the use of the conjunction *taim* is commonly observed in the primary data of Highlands Pidgin. Contrastively, in the data of Islands and Coastal areas, the occurrence of the same construction is not found at all. Examples of the Highlands Pidgin are:

(4-42) na wait man i no kam **taim**, ol sa wokim bumbum na
And **when** whites have not yet come, they used to make a traditional torch, you know.

(4-43) na haus bilong yu i stap antap **taim**, em go insait na mi tok yu na yu lukim em ya
And **when** your house was in the upper side, he went into your house and I told you (about that), then you saw him, you know.

(4-44) papa bilong mipela em yangpela, ol i yangpela man **taim**, ol mekim.
Our fathers were young, **when** our fathers were young men, they did (it).

((4-42)-(4-44) Simbu: Highlands /M/30)

As is seen in the examples above, the conjunction *taim* is placed in clause final position and precedes the main clauses. Thus, the use of the conjunction *taim* placed in the clause final position is evidently observed in the variety of Tok Pisin spoken by the informant who speaks Dom as his first language.

However, according to Dutton and Bourke, Tok Pisin speakers on the Nembi plateau only use the conjunction in clause final position, whereas in the primary data, the informant of Highlands Pidgin uses the conjunction *taim* in clause initial position as well, as in (4-45) below.

(4-45) *taim* ol wokim faia yu bai swet

When they set on fire, you may sweat.

(Simbu: Highlands /M/30)

Thus, in the variety of the informant of Highlands, the two constructions coexist. Both of the uses are productive and it is difficult to determine which of the uses is predominant according to the primary data. At least, in this variety, the use of the clause final *taim* definitely exists and is frequently observed.

With regard to the substratum language of his variety, Dom, there is a parallel construction of a temporal clause in the language (Tida 2006: 121). According to Tida (personal communication), a temporal noun can be modified by a clause and the noun phrase can adverbially function as a temporal phrase. As a result, the sentence has a parallel construction with the Tok Pisin sentence as in (4-42), (4-43) and (4-44) above. Therefore, the primary data seems to support Holm and Kepiou's argument, that is, the construction of the use of *taim* may reflect the feature of substratum languages. However, since the primary data of Highlands relies on only one informant, to what extent this can be generalised is open to question.

4.1.6 Summary

In this section, we have seen features which have been reported as characteristics of Highlands Pidgin by examining the primary data. Among these features, some features are evidently observed as characteristics of the variety as has been reported in previous studies, such as the frequent use of the directional markers *i go* and *i kam*, and the frequent use of *longen* as a

relativiser. The lexical items which are related to cultural domains show the regional diversity and seem to be differently developed among regions. The use of the conjunction *taim*, which was reported by Dutton and Bourke (1990), is observed in the primary data of Highlands Pidgin. As we have seen above in 4.1.5.5, this observation seems to support Holm and Kepiou's (1993) argument that the construction in Tok Pisin might be related to the substratum influence. Most of these features are not categorical, rather a matter of degree, and can be seen in other areas as well but less frequently.

Meanwhile, it is clearly observed that the uniformity of the language is progressing from several perspectives. The trend of cliticisation is obviously progressing in all of the varieties and there seems to be little regional difference in the process of cliticisation. Newer development of the particle *i* is observed without regional distinctions. It is also observed that some features which used to be reported as characteristics of Highlands Pidgin have disappeared, such as the use of the word *kirap* as an aspect marker and lexical differences of kinship words. It can be inferred that because of the increasing uniformity, the differences of the regional varieties which are influenced from their substratum languages might be neutralised.

4.2 Where should Highlands Pidgin be placed?

On the basis of the observations above, where should Highlands Pidgin be placed in the context of current Tok Pisin? As Smith (2002) points out, in current Tok Pisin varieties, it is observed that both uniformity and diversity are progressing in the language. As we have seen in the previous section, some features can be regarded as characteristics of Highlands Pidgin, thus, the diversity characterised by the features should be taken into consideration when we capture the linguistic reality of Tok Pisin.

Nevertheless, it seems that the primary data more prominently suggests the uniformity of the language. That is, the difference between Highlands Pidgin and other regional varieties is diminishing. On the one hand, some features

which previous studies describe as characteristics of Highlands Pidgin seem to be disappearing, while on the other, some linguistic trends such as cliticisation and the trend of the use of *i* as a relativiser are progressing regardless of the regional varieties. Concerning the progressing of the uniformity, it is difficult to determine how and to what extent this particular variety, Highlands Pidgin, or any of other varieties impact on the process. Meanwhile, it is observed that the process is not a one-way assimilation to “mainstream” varieties, on the contrary many complex factors are considered to be the reasons of the change. For instance, the use of *longen* as a relativiser seems to be one of the characteristics of Highlands Pidgin but at the same time, the use seems to prevail from Highlands Pidgin to other varieties. Also, the anglicisation of the language neutralises the differences between the varieties. This suggests that the border of the standard versus non-standard varieties becomes less clear and the criteria of the “standard” variety should be re-considered.

Another point we should consider is the language situation surrounding the first and (very fluent) second language Tok Pisin speakers. For many people in PNG today, the distinction between first and second language is much less clear than it used to be, just like in the case of many informants of this study. In such a situation, the meaning of taking regional varieties into consideration has also changed. When Tok Pisin mainly functions as a second language, it is important to examine the influences from substratum languages, and identify the factors that result in characteristics of regional varieties. It is still the second language of many speakers; however, in the current language situation where many people use the “second” language as fluently as the first, the question of which language affects which is not as clear as it may have been, especially when the second one is the national lingua franca and has greater influence.

In conclusion, some differences which are observed as (basically non-categorical) characteristics of Highlands Pidgin should be noted to capture the linguistic diversity of Tok Pisin. However, based on the facts that (1) the uniformity of the language is progressing from a number of linguistic aspects and (2) the change is not a one-way assimilation to “mainstream”, and (3) the

distinction between first and second language is diminishing, there is little reason to rule out Highlands Pidgin from the “mainstream” of the language, although some features still can be noted as characteristically Highlands. Further investigation is needed in order to make use of the knowledge about the variety within the context of language maintenance and standardisation of Tok Pisin.

Chapter 5. Some considerations about Anglicised Pidgin

The other “non-standard” variety of Tok Pisin which I will investigate in this chapter is Anglicised Pidgin. Anglicised Pidgin is a term for the varieties which are considered to have become relatively more “anglicised” than “pure” varieties. Since the language contact between Tok Pisin and its lexifier language English continued even after the stabilization of Tok Pisin, each of the varieties has been more or less influenced by English. Previous studies (e.g. Romaine 1992, Smith 2000, 2002) have revealed how current Tok Pisin is influenced by English in all of the linguistic components such as phonology, morphology and syntax. Meanwhile, the extent of the anglicisation of the varieties varies depending on social and geographical factors.

Traditionally, ever since Mühlhäusler (1975) identified four sociolects of Tok Pisin, rural varieties have been regarded as “pure” and mainstream Tok Pisin whereas urban varieties are anglicised and “non-standard”, as seen in the debates in McElhanon (ed. 1975). Smith (2000, 2002) criticises the urban-rural dichotomy, although he himself acknowledges this as one of the most important factors of the anglicisation, and proposes the degree of English-medium education as a critical factor. His argument might be supported by the fact that these urban varieties were labelled as **Tok Skul** ‘School Pidgin’ by the language speakers (Mühlhäusler 1997: 65). In such a situation, Romaine (1992) argues that this “purism” now becomes a potent force among Papua New Guineans themselves and states, “[a]nglicisation is thus seen to undermine the integrative function of Tok Pisin and its perceived value as a national language” (p. 325). Therefore, it has been considered that anglicisation might not only be a sign of a non-standard variety but also as a step toward decreolisation, namely, a step toward an opposite process of creolisation, assimilation to English.

It should be noted; however, as Romaine (1992) points out, there are no clear-cut boundaries among the varieties. In terms of the original linguistic diversity of the indigenous languages in the country, she points out “[a]n

attempt to count distinct languages will be an artefact of classificatory procedures rather than a reflection of communicative practices” (p.23). In addition to such complex linguistic background, as a pidgin language, Tok Pisin functions as a communicative tool beyond the “regional boundaries”. Thus, Mühlhäusler (1997) states, “[t]he fundamental rationale of dialectology, that geographic isolation leads to the development of new subvarieties, is difficult to apply to Pidgins, as one of their principal functions has been to promote cross-linguistic and inter-regional communication” (p.67). Smith (2000) also shows, when English borrowing or code switching takes place in Tok Pisin, there are no clear-cut boundaries among the types of incorporations, either. He illustrates that there is a continuum, in his words, “a cline of types merging into one another,” between Tok Pisin and English. Smith states:

At one end of the spectrum are sudden and abrupt switches from what is obviously one language to another. At the other are borrowed items fully integrated phonologically, morphologically and syntactically into Tok Pisin and widely understood by the Tok Pisin speaking population.

(Smith 2000:273)

As he points out, it is observed that among the varieties which form a continuum, “a cline of types merging” takes place between Tok Pisin and English. Some of the varieties which are located close to one end seem to be highly anglicised whereas others, which are located close to the other end, conservatively retain the features of Tok Pisin.

If these observations are correct, how and to what extent are the varieties anglicised? How is the anglicisation actually, as Romaine states, undermining the function of Tok Pisin? And where should we place the anglicised varieties of Tok Pisin in the current language situation in Papua New Guinea?

I will address these questions by reanalysing the previous studies and examining primary data. In the analysis, I will explore the extent of anglicisation with a main focus on two parameters: one is plural marking in current Tok Pisin, and the other is code switching between English and Tok

Pisin. Based on the discussion in this chapter, I will then discuss to what extent Tok Pisin is in the process of decreolisation in Chapter 7.

5.1 Anglicisation in phonology

Firstly, I will examine the anglicisation of Tok Pisin phonology. I will overview the expansion of Tok Pisin “core phonology”, and henceforth explore whether traditional phonological rules of Tok Pisin can be applied to current Tok Pisin varieties, and the extent to which these rules can be applied to the anglicised varieties.

5.1.1 The core phonology and phonological expansion

Tok Pisin phonology has a large number of variations. They vary in many different ways due to the various linguistic backgrounds of its speakers, while Laycock (1985) presents ‘core phonology’ as “shared by virtually all speakers of Tok Pisin” (p. 295). The core phonology consists of five basic vowels, /i, e, a, o, u/ and around 20 consonants. Romaine (1992) follows this concept and presents a table of an adapted version of the core phonology as in (Table5-1).

Table5-1. Core phonology of Tok Pisin (Laycock 1985, adapted by Romaine, 1992: 179)

stops	p	t	k
	b	d	g
nasals	m	n	ng
fricatives		s	h
continuants	w	l	y
flaps		r/l	

In addition to these phonemic inventories in the core phonology, many new distinctions are reported in today’s Tok Pisin such as between *p/f*, *r/l*, and *s/ch/sh* (Romaine 1992). Smith (2002), according to his corpus, includes /f/ and /v/ in the core phonemes and distinguishes /l/ from /r/ as different phonemes. He also introduces another seven anglicised phonemes; / θ, δ ,

tʃ, dʒ, z, ʒ, ʃ / . However, as Smith himself states, it is difficult to find minimal pairs for these newly introduced items and consequently to regard them as distinctive phonemes. Thus, at the moment, it might be better to consider these items as additional variations or ad hoc borrowings. Nevertheless, this potential phonological expansion is widely observed. In the primary data, there are many examples which are phonetically similar to English pronunciation, as in (5-1), (5-2) and (5-3) below.

(5-1) em yar bilong bush [buʃ] diwai
It's a casuarina tree of forest.
(Sepik: Coastal/F/52)

(5-2) mi ken toktok long telefon [tɛlɛfɔn] na mobail o dispela samting.
I can talk over a phone or a mobile or these kinds of things.
(Morobe: Coastal/F/38)

(5-3) tri yu bai storim buk na ol klos bilong yu na ol samting change
[tʃeɪnʒ] bilong yu.
Third (room), you can store your books and your clothes and changes.
(Simbu: Highlands/M/30)

In the examples above, each of the underlined words has an established Tok Pisin form, *bus* [bus], *telipon* [tɛlɪpɔn] and *senis* [sɛnɪs] respectively, and an English equivalent. The speakers seem to employ the English-like pronunciation despite the existence of the Tok Pisin forms. However, they also use the traditional Tok Pisin forms, as in the following examples.

(5-4) yu save long rabbit, i gat long **bus** [bus] kain olsem *bandik* i stap.
You know rabbits, there are, in forests, kinds of bandicoots inhabit.
(Madang : Coastal/F/37)

(5-5) tasol nau mipela wokim ya mipela **senisim** [sɛnɪsɪm] pasin ken
But these days, as for the way we do, we changed the way again.

The same speaker uses both new and old forms for *change* in (5-3) and (5-5). In (5-3), he refers to the clothes whereas in (5-5), the word *senis* ‘to change’ is a verb stem followed by the transitive suffix *-im*. He also uses the word *changim* [tʃeinʒɪm] ‘to change’ in another place, thus, it seems that there is an alternation for the verb ‘change’, but for the noun ‘clothes’, only the new form is observed. It is not clear, however, whether these examples are additional variations or the cases that Smith (2002) refers to as “new phonological distinctions” that “may serve a useful role in distinguishing what were homophones according to a more standard phonology” (p.52).²

It has been pointed out that among these newly introduced distinctions, some seem to become more common but others appear less frequently. Romaine (1992) presents an implicational relationship between the contrast *p/f* and *s/sh*, namely, the distinction between /p/ and /f/ usually precedes the distinction between /s/ and /sh/, although it is not clear whether the primary data supports her argument or not because of its small size.

In terms of vowels, there are examples in which non-traditional contrast is observed.

(5-6) nau mipela stori long kar **ken** [kɛn].

Now, we will talk about cars again.

(5-7) tasol kumu planti yu **can** [kæn] mumu.

But if you have a lot of greens, you can cook them with the earth oven.

((5-6), (5-7) Simbu: Highlands/M/30)

The contrast between *ken* [kɛn] ‘again’ and *can* [kæn] ‘can’ forms a minimal pair and the latter example is observed in some varieties.

However, whether or not this contrast is established as a common use in

² Smith also illustrates cases wherein the new distinctions produce new homophones such as **tri** for ‘three’ and ‘tree’.

Tok Pisin is not clear as far as the primary data is concerned. According to Mihalic (1971), the Tok Pisin equivalent of English ‘again’ is /gen/, as is attested in many other examples, and its variation /agen / is attested as well. Moreover, /ken/ [kɛn] is still widely used as the meaning of English ‘can.’ Thus, although the vowels form a minimal pair in some varieties, whether they can be regarded as phonemes or not in mainstream Tok Pisin still needs to be observed.

As we have seen above, although some speakers seem to distinguish the newly introduced segments which are influenced by English, it does not necessarily mean that they replace the new forms with the older ones. Instead, as Romaine (1992) points out, it seems that they add more English-like variations to their repertoire. Nevertheless, it is actually observed that the expanding process is an ongoing change in current Tok Pisin. The process seems to vary among the varieties. Continuing observation is needed to see how it evolves in the future.

5.1.2 Phonological rules in current varieties

As is often the case with Pidgin languages, there are some phonological rules in Tok Pisin which Mühlhäusler (1997) refers to as to minimise the communicative cost. He accounts for this as:

The fact that Pidgins were second languages and learnt, in most instances, by adults imposed considerable restrictions on their phonological flexibility. Generally speaking, all phonological processes favouring production at the cost of perception were discouraged. At the same time, segments and sequences that were difficult to produce were avoided.

(Mühlhäusler 1997: 187)

With respect to the current creolised varieties, however, as Mühlhäusler also points out, “[o]nce creolization has occurred, Creole phonologies can continue to change, due to internal pressures or outside borrowing” (1997: 191). In the primary data, there are cases which seem to violate phonological rules which

are established in earlier stages of Tok Pisin. For example, some newly introduced Tok Pisin words do not follow the consonant cluster dropping regulation, which Mihalic (1971) remarks as: “[c]onsonant clusters at the end of words drop the final consonant, e.g. *ailan* ‘island’” (p.8). Examples are in (5-8), (5-9) and (5-10) below.

(5-8) so olgeta man ol piksarim Madang em sampela **best** ples em nau.

So all men describe Madang as a kind of best place, you know.

(East New Britain: Islands/ M/32)

(5-9) ol i wokim dispela nikol **projekt**.

They work on this nickel project.

(Madang: Coastal/F/42)

(5-10) ol ken kisim ol toktok na ol **prodakt** bilong ol i go long, long ol gras rot pipol.

They can catch people’s voice and their products can be got to the grass root people.

(Bougainville: Islands /F/57)

In the three examples above, although it is difficult to determine whether or not the word is established Tok Pisin or ad hoc borrowing, the final consonant cluster is clearly pronounced like in English. It is also observed, however, that not all of the newly introduced Tok Pisin words violate the restriction. In (5-11) below, the word *eksperien* ‘experience’ is pronounced by following the rule, with final consonant dropping. Also, in (5-12), the English word ‘*understand*’ is embedded as a verb stem and followed by the transitive suffix *-im*. The final consonant dropping rule is applied to the stem.

(5-11) so wanpela gat mo **eksperien** long... ye.

so, a person can get more experience for... yeah.

(5-12) ol i no **andastanim**, a, pidgin, ol i tokples.

They don't understand Tok Pisin, they speak indigenous languages.

((5-11),(5-12) Madang: Coastal/F/42)

The fact that the “final consonant cluster dropping” rule can be applied to verb stems indicates that it is applied before the suffixation happens. Accordingly, it suggests that in Tok Pisin phonology, the rule is applied to underlying forms, although examples are too few to generalise this suggestion. Another example from the *WANTOK Niuspepa* of October 11-17, 2007 is in (5-13).

(5-13) em i wok bilong olgeta long pait **agensim** AIDS

It is a project for all of the fights against AIDS.

In this case, the “transitive” suffix *-im* is attached to English origin word ‘against’ and the word *agensim* seems to function as an equivalent of the English preposition, *against*. In this case, again, the final consonant *t* is dropped and the suffix is attached to the stem.

Let us examine other examples. Mihalic (1971) mentions that “the consonants /b/, /d/, /g/, are always unvoiced at the end of words and thus turn to /p/, /t/, /k/ ; e.g. *rap* “rub”, *gut* “good”, *bik* “big”. It seems that the rule still applies to the newer terms as seen in (5-14) and (5-15).

(5-14) olsem wanpela **board** [bɔt] ol i bung na ol i toktok long samting long
skul

Like a board, they meet and talk about the issues of school.

(Madang: Coastal/F/42)

(5-15) taro, kaukau, yam em ol mein **fut** [fut] bilong mipela

Taros, sweet potatoes and yams, these are our main food.

(Madang: Coastal /F/37)

In (5-14), the word *board* ‘board’ might be a borrowing word from English whereas the Tok Pisin phonological rule is adapted and the final consonant is devoiced. In (5-15), *fut* ‘food’ (usually, the equivalent of English *food* is *kaikai* but in this case, the word seems to be used to refer to ‘main food’) is also pronounced following the Tok Pisin phonology.

Based on these observations, although some examples can be signs of changes of phonological regulations, in many cases established rules can still apply to newly introduced words in Tok Pisin. Thus, so far as the primary data is concerned, drastic change of phonological rules is not observed up until the moment.

5.1.3 Summary

As we have seen above, in terms of the phonemic expansion, the increase of the use of English-like pronunciation is observed in the primary data as has been reported by previous studies. In some cases, it is observed that even when established Tok Pisin forms exist, anglicised forms are selected. Thus, the possibility cannot be denied that, for example, if the forms develop further as distinctive phonemes with stylistic prestige, then the outcome might be English-like phonology. Or if Tok Pisin continues to borrow lexical inventories from English which take over the original phonetic forms and phonological contrasts, then the Tok Pisin phonology would assimilate to English. However, at the moment, the English-like forms seem to be additional variations and the established forms are not fully replaced by the new forms; they still remain and are commonly used.

In terms of phonological rules, it is observed that established rules are still applied to newly borrowed words so that the words are at least phonologically adapted into Tok Pisin. Thus, in spite of the signs of anglicisation which are observed in previous studies and in the primary data, it is difficult to conclude that the Tok Pisin phonological system has drastically changed or it assimilates to English. It seems that although Tok Pisin-English bilingual

speakers have the full set of English phonemes (Laycock: 1985), it does not always mean that the speakers apply English phonology into Tok Pisin when they speak Tok Pisin. To sum up, at the moment, the two languages coexist in different phonological systems.

5.2 Anglicisation in morphology

Tok Pisin has a simple morphology. As Smith (2004) states, “the only affixes normally encountered are the *-im* suffix, derived from English *him* and attached to transitive verbs, and two *-pela* suffixes³, derived from English *fellow*”(p. 720). However, it has been reported that besides these suffixes, other English-originating suffixations have been observed in Tok Pisin (e.g. Smith 2002). In particular, the ongoing change of plural marking system has been repeatedly pointed out (e.g. Romaine 1992, Smith 2002). In the following section, I will first describe the number marking system in Tok Pisin, and investigate how and to what extent the number marking system is influenced by English, according to previous studies and the primary data. I will then overview the prevalence of other suffixations in Tok Pisin.

5.2.1 Plural marking in Tok Pisin

Tok Pisin has number as a grammatical category. For nouns, it is usually an opposition of singular versus plural: one versus more than one, although this might not be the case in some varieties where their substratum languages have richer number systems. Nouns in Tok Pisin are optionally marked by the pre-nominal plural marker *ol* in general, as we can see in (5-16):

(5-16)

mumu em mipela kukim **ston**, pinis, rausim **ston**, mipela karamapim ol
kaikai insait bilong foil o lip banana, pinis, putim antap long hap,
fireplace ya ol kukim **ston** longen, oke pinis, putim **ol ston** i go bek
antap long em gen.

³ One has a role of marking adjectives and the other has a role of marking plural pronouns.

‘*mumu*’ is that, we heat **stones**, after that, get out of the **stones**, we fold the foods in foil or banana leaves, and then, put them on the place, the fireplace we heated the **stones**, then after that, put the **stones** back on top of the foods again.

(Manus: Islands /F/54)

In (5-16), the speaker referred to the same stones in the sentence and among the four occurrences of the word *ston*, only the last token is marked by the plural marker *ol* but the former three were not marked at all. Similarly, in the case of (5-17), it is clear from the context that all of the words *bilum*, ‘string bag’, to which the speaker referred, were plural but they were not marked except for the last token.

(5-17)

na **bilum** bilong mi, mi no save putim prais bilong **bilum** i go antap nogat. mi save salim long *forty* kina, *thirty five* kina *twenty five* kina twelp kina mi save salim. mi no save kisim bikpela mani long dispela **ol bilum**

And as for my **string bags**, I don’t put high price for the **bags** to be expensive at all. I sell them for forty kina, thirty five kina, twenty five kina, twelve kina, I sell (them) in this way. I don’t get big money for these **string bags**.

(Sepik: Coastal/F/52)

As seen in these examples, it is obvious that plural marking is optional, not obligatory, in Tok Pisin. However, it does not imply that the occurrence of the plural marker is *always* unpredictable. In fact, some of my informants agree that in the cases of (5-16) and (5-17) above, the appearances of the *ol* of the last tokens are highly predictable, probably because of a pragmatic reason, although it is not very clear whether the predictability comes from syntactic, semantic or pragmatic reasons. Thus, “optional” here means that the semantic distinction of the number is not always reflected by forms, but if necessary, it

is represented. In such languages where number marking is optional, one can produce acceptable phrases or sentences without determining the number of NPs. Thus, when it comes to interpretation, it is sometimes difficult or even impossible to determine the number of the given NPs without arbitrariness since the number in question is not specified in the first place. As a result, we cannot completely avoid some ambiguity and arbitrariness during the process of the data analysis. It is sometimes observed that one NP can be interpreted either singular or plural. Moreover, it is possible that the same NP is referred to by both singular and plural pronouns as in (5-18) below.

(5-18)

Man o meri husat i gat binatang bilong sik AIDS, bai i no gat mak long body na **em** bai i stap i orait inap planti yia. Bai yu no inap save sapos binatang bilong AIDS (HIV) i stap long **ol**.

A man / Men or a woman/ women who has/have the AIDS virus will not have any symptoms and **he or she** will be in good condition for many years. You cannot know whether or not the AIDS (HIV) virus is staying at **them**.

(information pamphlet for AIDS)

In (5-18), the subject of the first sentence can be interpreted as both ‘*man and woman*’ and ‘*men and women*’. In the second clause it is referred to by **em**, the third person singular pronoun, whereas the same NP is referred to by **ol**, the third person plural pronoun in the next sentence. Also, the two pronouns are not required to coherently agree with each other. Rather, because the number is not specified from the first place, it is flexible to use either singular or plural pronouns as far as both of the interpretation can be allowed.

It is also possible that the plural marker appear with nouns which are classified “uncountable” in English as in (5-19).

(5-19)

em i no *as long as* **ol mani** ol wok lain i mekim wok bilong ol em bai i
no, em bai i no hat, em orait tasol.

It's not, as far as **money (pl)** the working people earn is concerned, their
work wouldn't be so hard, it's just OK.

(Bougainville: Islands /F/57)

In (5-19), the plural marker *ol* precedes “mass” noun, *mani* ‘money’ and shows plural meaning of the noun. A “mass” noun with the plural marker and a “counting” noun without the marker are both acceptable to produce an NP. In Tok Pisin, therefore, the distinction between mass and counting nouns is not regarded as an overt category in terms of its grammaticality, and usually, one can produce phrases either with or without the plural marker regardless of the countability of the nouns.

As we have seen above, plurality in Tok Pisin is optionally marked by the pre-nominal marker *ol*. In addition to the traditional way of plural marking by *ol*, it has been reported that the English-originating suffixation of suffix *-s*, becomes common as we can see in (5-20) and (5-21).

(5-20) I BRUKIM **RAITS** BILONG OL MANMERI NA PIKININI

It will violate the **rights** of men, women and children.

(campaign poster to stop domestic violence)

(5-21) Dan, go kisim wanpela i kam na soim na **lips** bilong em.

Dan, go and take one and show the **leaves** of it.

(Madang: Coastal /F/37)

In (5-20), the suffix *-s* is attached to an abstract noun whose concept seems to be newly introduced to Tok Pisin, whereas in (5-21), the suffix is attached to an established Tok Pisin word. In the latter case, the form does not follow the English original form of attaching the allomorph of the pluralisation, thus, it suggests that the suffix *-s* is recognized as a plural marker in the context of

Tok Pisin grammar. Also, there are cases that the plurality is marked redundantly by both *ol* and *-s* as in (5-22). In (5-22), the word *life jacket*, a borrowing word from English, and the spelling is also in English way, is marked by both *ol* and *-s* simultaneously.

(5-22)

EM I TAMBU TRU LONG RAUSIM **OL LIFE JACKETS** NA OL
NARAPELA SAMTING LONG DISPELA BALUS

IT IS ILLEGAL TO REMOVE **LIFE JACKETS** OR ANY OTHER
EQUIPMENT FROM THIS AIRCRAFT

(warning in an airplane)

In addition to the double marking, in this example, the corresponding phrase for the English *any other equipment* is *ol narapela samting*, literally ‘(PL) other thing’, where the English singular NP corresponds to the Tok Pisin plural. In the next example (5-23), we can see the co-existence of these ways of plural marking in the speech of the same speaker. In the first sentence, the plurality of the word *provins* ‘province’ is marked by *ol*. Then in the second sentence, the plurality is not marked at first, and it is ambiguous as to whether the NP is singular or plural. The NP *narapela provins* can be interpreted as either ‘other provinces’ or ‘another province’. And in the subordinate clause, code switching occurs and the English form *provinces* is used to indicate the plurality.

(5-23)

bat long Mosbi na **ol narapela provins** em i ekspensiv. so taim yu go
long **narapela provins** yu askim ol man bai ol tok olsem tok long
Madang em moa nais *than other provinces*.

But in Port Moresby and **other provinces**, it’s expensive. So when you go to the **other provinces/ another province** and ask people, they will say that Madang is better than **other provinces**.

(East New Britain: Islands/ M/32)

In this way, several ways currently co-exist to mark plurality in Tok Pisin. In previous studies, it has been pointed out that the plural marker *ol* is sensitive to animacy and syntactic accessibility, namely, syntactic categories of the NPs (Mühlhäusler 1981). And the *-s* suffixation has been reported to be applied to limited lexical items (Hall 1966), that is, the sporadic appearance of the suffixation is not productive; accordingly, it had not affected the plural marking system in this language. However, based on the observations of recent varieties some researchers predict the systematic change of plural marking in Tok Pisin. For example, Smith (2002) suggests possible expansion of the productive use of the suffix *-s* as well as more redundant and obligatory plural marking, from the variety of the first language speakers to mainstream Tok Pisin. Moreover, this spread of the suffixation *-s* has sometimes been regarded as one of the indexes of the anglicisation of the language. Romaine (1992) calls the situation “the competition between two systems”, that is, traditional pre-nominal plural marking by *ol* versus English original *-s* suffixation. In the following subsection, I will investigate to what extent the anglicisation is progressing in the plural marking system in Tok Pisin.

5.2.1.1 Distribution of the plural marking

As we have seen above, the plurality in Tok Pisin can be marked or not marked in four different ways: 1) not marked or marked by zero (ϕ), 2) marked by *ol*, 3) marked by *-s* and 4) marked by both *ol* and *-s*. I will first look at the distribution of these four patterns.

In cases where the plurality is not marked, as I mentioned above, it is sometimes difficult to determine the plurality of an NP, that is, the NP in question can be interpreted as either singular or plural. I excluded these ambiguous data as much as possible and included NPs which are obviously plural from the context; however, there still remains some arbitrariness and ambiguity. There is also some difficulty in the cases when an NP is marked by the suffix *-s*. The morpheme to which the suffix attaches can be an established Tok Pisin morpheme, or an ad hoc borrowing. This time, I

include the ambiguous examples except those cases in which English is obviously spoken, that is, when it is clear that it happens not just as a borrowing (on the morpheme or a word level), but also when phrase or sentence level code switching occurs. Table 5.1 shows the distribution of the marking in the primary data.

Table 5.1 Plural marking in Tok Pisin

zero (ϕ)	<i>ol</i>	-s	<i>ol</i> + -s	total
90	420	42	9	561

In Table 5.1, we can observe that the plurality is still mainly marked by *ol*. Zero marking is common and normal whereas *-s* suffixation still remains as rare cases. I will examine the data in some detail in the following subsection.

5.2.1.2 Process of pluralisation

The plural marking by means of the suffix *-s* in Tok Pisin has been observed in previous studies. Some researchers propose further interpretations, for example, Mühlhäusler (1981) predicts that “the development of number marking in Tok Pisin goes from a lexico-semantic to a syntactic process. Paralleling this development there is a change from context-dependency to sentence- and phrase- level redundancy” (p. 80). In this subsection, I will assess whether these predictions are realised in the current varieties.

Judging from the examples in the primary data, it seems that the plural marking in Tok Pisin is still largely context-dependent in spite of Mühlhäusler’s prediction. Firstly, there are cases that the plurality is not marked at any form, but can be clearly understood from extra-linguistic background. In (5-24), the plurality of the nouns is not represented in any way, whereas the listener can understand that the speaker refers to plural ‘children’ and ‘domestic animals’ because of the cultural background

knowledge, namely, in this area of Papua New Guinea, people usually have more than one child and more than one animal.

(5-24) **pikinini** bilong mipela bai toktok, distep, yu bai les, mipela save lukautim **animol** tu.

When our **children** talk and disturb, you will be tired, and we keep **domestic animals**, too.

(Simbu: Highlands/M/30)

Secondly, the argument that this language is not sensitive to countability can be supported by the fact that there are many cases in which it is difficult to determine the plurality. For instance, in (5-25), it is clear from the context that the car or cars the speaker used is/are signified, but it is not clear if they used one car or more than one car.

(5-25) sampela ples, *when* **kar** i no inap long go mipela wokabout.

In some places, when the **car/ cars** cannot access, we walked.

(Madang: Coastal/F/42)

It should be noted that when we discuss the plural marking in Tok Pisin, we mainly explore how it is represented; however, a certain extent of data is excluded from the analysis because of the ambiguity or the low sensitivity to countability. Thirdly, the common and normal appearance of zero marking in Tok Pisin suggests that it is still difficult to regard the plural marking as a syntactic process. The data in Table 5-1 excludes the ambiguous samples, thus, all of the examples of the zero marking are the cases where in the plurality is clear from the context but are not marked by any of the plural markers. Examples are:

(5-26) na ol i planim ol i wokim **houl**, sem **houl**

And they plant (yams), they dig holes, like holes.

(Madang: Coastal/F/42)

(5-27) oke, **sampela ples** ol save groim **kakao diwai** em nau

Well, in **some places**, they used to grow **cacao trees**, you know.

(Sepik: Coastal/ M /24)

(5-28) mipela i gat **planti pisin**. kain kain **pisin**.

We have **a lot of birds**. Many kinds of **birds**.

(Madang: Coastal /F/37)

In (5-26), in terms of phonology, the speaker uses English-like variation *houl* [houl] ‘hole’ but the number is not marked in spite of the clear plural meaning. In (5-27) and (5-28), it seems that when the noun is preceded by a quantifier, the redundant marking is not preferred. Mühlhäusler (1981, 1985c) suggests the increase of the redundant number marking by first language speakers and Smith (2002) predicts that it might prevail over main stream Tok Pisin; however, as far as the primary data is concerned, NPs with quantifiers are much less frequently marked by *ol* or the suffix *-s*. Table 5-2 shows the number of co-occurrences between the main quantifiers and the plural markers.

Table 5-2 The co-occurrences between the quantifiers and plural markers

	planti	sampela	olgeta	numeral
marked	4	3	0	12
unmarked	30	17	15	5

In Table 5-2, it is obvious that the redundant plural marking is not preferred when a quantifier modifies an NP. The exception is the case when numerals modify an NP, largely because of the fact that the use of numerals are in many cases related to time expressions where many English origin expressions are customarily used such as *deis* ‘days’ and *ias* ‘years’.

To sum up, according to these observations, (concerning that the plurality is sometimes inferred from knowledge of cultural background; low sensitivity to countability which makes NPs ambiguous with respect to number, and frequent zero marking especially in cases involving quantifiers) the data suggests that plural marking in this language is still mainly a lexico-semantic

process. Thus, from this viewpoint, despite the prediction made in the previous studies, the trend to assimilate to English has not progressed much in so far as the primary data is concerned.

5.2.1.3 Low productivity of *-s* suffixation

The use of the suffix *-s* as a plural marker in the earlier stages of Tok Pisin was limited to a few lexically determined items, as twelve words were documented by Hall (1966). Some of the listed words can be seen in the primary data as in (5-29).

(5-29) na five **ias** em i go.

Then five **years** have passed.

(Madang: Coastal /M/28)

The use increases in current anglicised varieties, for example, Romaine (1992), documents a total of 667 tokens of 195 words with the suffix. Also, it is observed that, as Smith (2002) points out, the use is not always consistent, as seen in the primary data in (5-30) and (5-31) below.

(5-30) hausis ol i stap longpela taim, planti **ias**.

The houses, they will exist for a long time, many **years**.

(5-31) em bai stap planti **ia**.

It (the house) will exist for many **years**.

((5-30), (5-31) Simbu: Highlands/M/30)

Some observations are reported about the productivity of the suffix. Smith (2002) discusses the issue and states, “[i]t might be expected that words newly borrowed from English which are frequently heard in the plural are more likely to retain the *-s* plural form” (p. 72). And he also states, “[i]t may also be thought that *-s* marking is restricted to recent borrowings from English”

(ibid). These observations are supported by many examples in the primary data as in (5-32).

(5-32) galik **nats** ya em mipela save kisim i kam brukim na kaikai.

They are garlic nuts, which we used to gather and break and eat.

(Madang: Coastal /F/37)

In (5-32), the English origin word **nats** ‘nuts’ is supposed to be frequently heard in the plural and the –s suffix is attached to the Tok Pisin form. However, as Smith also points out, there are counter examples as in (5-33) and (5-34). In (5-33), as the word *firewood* is a mass noun in English, it is not frequently heard in the plural. The word is not a recent borrowing either, as it has the established Tok Pisin form *paiauwut*. In (5-34), the suffix is attached to the well established Tok Pisin word *lip* ‘leaf’.

(5-33) kukim *finish* ol go bungim ol dispela hap **firewoods** long hap *rubbish* or *something* ol i bilong diwai o bilong grass

After the burning off, they go to collect **firewood** there, rubbish or something of trees or of grasses.

(Madang: Coastal/F/42)

(5-34) Dan, go kisim wanpela i kam na soim na **lips** bilong em.

Dan, go and take one and show the **leaves** of it.

(Madang: Coastal /F/37)

These examples suggest that now the suffix –s is not restricted to limited lexical inventories or newly borrowed words but can be attached even to traditional Tok Pisin words. Previous studies, such as Romaine (1992) and Smith (2002) also suggest this productivity of the suffix. However, despite these counter examples, as far as the primary data is concerned, the examples above seem to be exceptions and most of the data supports the argument that the suffix still has low productivity. The lexical categories of the words to which the suffix –s is attached are shown in Table 5-3. Among the words in the list, two of the frequently attested words *auas* ‘hours’ and *yias* ‘years’ are

listed by Hall as lexical items. The word *deis* ‘days’ is not in the Hall’s list but it also belongs to time expressions, which is one of the most anglicised domains. Among the rest of the items, many of them can be categorised as recent borrowings or used for special references, for the sections in *Wantok Niuspepa*, or the words frequently heard in plural. As a result, comparing with the productivity of the traditional plural marker *ol* as we have seen in Table 5.1, the range to which the suffix *-s* can be attached to is very limited. It seems that the range wherein which the suffixation can happen extends, as the examples (5-33) and (5-34) show; however, primary data suggests that the extent of the range is still limited and suffixation in plurality is not productive in Tok Pisin.

Table 5-3 Lexical categories of words attached *-s* in Tok Pisin

lexical category	time expressions	recent borrowing			other (“mass” or well established Tok Pisin words)
			special reference	frequently heard in plural	
examples	auas 5 ‘hours’ ias 9 ‘years’ deis 6 ‘days’	wads 1 ‘words’ provinsis ⁴ 2 ‘provinces’	sections 1 pages 2 terms 1	siz , sits ‘seeds’ 16 nats 1 ‘nuts’	firewoods 1 lips 4 ‘leaves’ bois 2 ‘boys’
total	20		7	17	7

5.2.2 Other suffixes

Besides the suffix *-s* for pluralisation, some occurrences of suffixation borrowed from English have been reported in previous studies. The occurrences are, however, sporadic and few are found in the primary data.

⁴ The term *provins* can be categorised as a well established Tok Pisin words.

Mühlhäusler (1985b) observes that English suffix *-ing* is borrowed and reinterpreted as the function of the Tok Pisin transitive marker *-im* (p. 339). The following examples are attested in his corpus:

(5-35) sapos ol i kisim liklik moni baimbai ol i **spending** moni long kaikai tasol.

If they get a little money, then they will spend the money just for foods.

(5-36) **filim** bilong mi i olsem.

My feeling is like this.

((5-35),(5-36) recorded by Mühlhäusler in 1972-77)

In (5-35), the form of the suffix *-ing* is borrowed whereas the function is to carry the transitivity, which is the function of the Tok Pisin transitive suffix *-im*. It seems that, as Mühlhäusler points out, the form of *-ing* is borrowed but the function is reinterpreted; as a result, the two suffixes, *-ing* and *-im*, are being confused. Thus, in (5-36), *-im* appears where *-ing* is expected to be. In the primary data, similar examples are found as in (5-37).

(5-37) ol **spending** taim bilong, long wok gaten nabaut ya

They spend the time for, gardening or something.

(Simbu: Highlands/M/30)

There are also a few examples of the occurrences of the suffix *-ing* as in (5-38), nominal or adjectival use which can also be interpreted as nonce borrowings.

(5-38) em olsem ol *special cooking* nabaut mipela save wokim

It is kind of our special cooking we used to do.

(Manus: Islands /F/54)

Since only a few examples are observed, the productivity of the suffix is assumed to be low. With respect to the suffix *-ed*, no example is found in the primary data. Smith (2002) comments on the sporadic appearance of these

suffixes as they are used “in an unanalyzed way”, and suggests that “the speaker is resisting morphological change, and is preserving the distinction between the English and Tok Pisin system” (p. 90). Thus, it is observed that despite some examples of confusion we have seen in (5-35), (5-36) and (5-37), the suffixation does not impact on Tok Pisin morphology in a systematic way. Primary data can support Smith’s suggestion, although as Smith also states, “a precursor of morphological change remains to be seen as Tok Pisin develops” (ibid).

5.2.3 Summary

Based on the observations above, in terms of the suffixation, it seems that the anglicisation in morphology has not progressed as it was expected to in Tok Pisin, up until the present. As has been pointed out in previous studies and supported by many examples in the primary data, signs of the anglicisation are evident; however, it still remains a minor change in Tok Pisin morphology. Plural marking by the suffixation is observed, as has been repeatedly pointed out, whereas plurality in Tok Pisin is still optional and mainly marked by the traditional plural marker *ol*. It seems to still be a lexico-semantic process rather than a syntactic process and the productivity of the suffix is much lower than the traditional plural marker *ol*. Co-occurrence of quantifiers and plural marking is not preferred so that the redundant plural marking has not developed much. Other suffixation is only sporadically observed and does not seem to be used systematically. All in all, the extent of influence from English in Tok Pisin morphology remains at a low level in so far as the primary data is concerned.

5.3 Anglicisation in lexicon

Anglicisation in lexicon of Tok Pisin seems to be progressing in all of the varieties. In some semantic domains, the replacement of traditional terms with English borrowings is almost completed and as a result, it brings neutralisation between varieties which were influenced by their substratum

languages. In the domains where the change is prominent, related morpho-syntactic changes also take place.

5.3.1 Anglicisation in counting system

One of the domains which seem to be replaced by English is the counting system in Tok Pisin. Wurm (1971), Laycock (1970) and Mihalic (1971) document the traditional counting system as follows:

Table 5-4 Traditional counting system

	eleven	twenty	twenty one
Wurm (Highlands)	wanpela ten wan tenpela na wanpela eleben	tupela ten twenti wanpaun	tupela ten wan twenti wan wanpaun wan
Laycock (Coastal and Lowlands)	wanpela ten wan (elewen)	tupela ten (olosem twenti)	N/A
Mihalic (standard dictionary)	wan(pela) ten wan eleven	tupela ten twenti	tupela ten wan

In Table 5-4, some regional difference is observed depending on the varieties on which they are based. (Since the detailed description of each of the terms is not provided, it is not clear how these differences are formed. The difference between *eleben* and *elewen*, for example, might be influenced by substratum languages, whereas it does not necessarily indicate the phonological difference of the two varieties. As for the term *paun*, according to Mihalic (1971), it means ‘an Australian pound in money’. Thus, it seems the word was introduced to Highlands Pidgin while it is not described, either). While the traditional Melanesian counting system, such as “*wanpela ten wan*” for eleven and “*tupela ten*” for twenty, is documented in all of the varieties. In the primary data, however, none of these Melanesian or any other non-English origin counting systems appears as in the examples below.

(5-39) krismas bilong mi em *twenty four*.

My age is twenty four.

(Madang: Coastal /M/24)

(5-40) i gat *twenty* deis i stap ya.

Twenty days remain.

(Simbu: Highlands/M/30)

(5-41) Tok Pisin em inap olsem tok ples bilong planti ol lain long PNG olsem *ninety nine percent*.

Tok Pisin can be, such as a local language of many people in PNG, say, ninety nine percent of them.

(Bougainville: Islands /F/57)

As we can see in the examples above, the English style counting system appears in all of the varieties and it seems that the traditional system has been replaced. Accordingly, regional differences which were seen, for example, between Wurm (1971) and Laycock (1970), seem to have disappeared as well. Moreover, when these numbers modify nouns as numerals, the traditional adjectival suffix *-pela* does not appear as seen in (5-40) and (5-41) above. That is, the lexical replacement affects the morphosyntactic features of the language.

5.3.2 Anglicisation in time expressions

In relation to the counting system, another domain which is observed to be highly anglicised is the description of time. Smith (2000) refers to the time expression as a domain where code switching is easy to occur and states, “this could no doubt be due to the fact that many such precise time measures were introduced through the medium of English and have no direct parallel in traditional life” (p. 279). In this type of highly anglicised domains, it is sometimes very difficult to determine whether a certain expression is Tok Pisin or whether code switching occurs as in (5-42) below.

(5-42) bikpela mumu em bai em nau se *six or seven hours*, liklik mumu olsem *four, five hours and* bikpela nau, liklik tru olsem *one, two hours*
The big *mumu*(earth oven), it will be, it will take, kind of six or seven hours, small *mumu* about four or five hours, and these are big, if it is very small, it will take one or two hours.

(Manus: Islands /F/54)

In (5-42), when the speaker refers to time expression, it always occurs as code switching. The forms are, phonologically, morphologically and syntactically English; however, similar expressions have developed in Tok Pisin as we have seen in (5-40) above. In (5-43) below, the traditional name of months is replaced by English expression:

(5-43) so ol i kisim gutpela taro long dispela taim March, April
So they gather good taros in this time, March and April.

(Madang: Coastal /F/42)

Romaine (1992) reports that the lexical replacement by English is progressing in the domain of animals (p.157) and Smith (2002) supports this phenomenon, although this is not observed in the primary data, probably because of its small size. Whether these lexical replacements are completed or not is not clear in the primary data; however, in terms of anglicisation of the lexicon, it is observed that there are domains where the process is rapidly progressing, or has already been completed.

5.4 Anglicisation in syntax

With respect to anglicisation in syntax, some syntactic structures have been discussed in previous studies. As we have seen in 4.1.5, the functional status of the so-called ‘predicate marker’ *i* has been disputed. And we found that primary data supports Smith’s argument, that is, it is too early to declare the

general decline of the feature of *i*, and the reinterpretation of the particle is progressing. From the viewpoint of anglicisation in syntax, this phenomenon suggests that on the one hand, the particle retains its original feature. It also develops a new function, that is, anglicisation is not much observed in terms of this structure. Among other features which have been discussed in the context of the anglicisation of syntax, I will discuss two issues in this section: relative clause formation and English-based conjunctions.

5.4.1 Anglicisation in relativisation

Tok Pisin has many strategies for relativisation. One of the most common strategies is using the word *longen*, and this is particularly common in Highlands varieties, as we have seen in 4.1.3. An example is:

(5-44) ol i no yusim dispela lait yu tok *longen*

They didn't, use the light **which** you referred to.

(Simbu: Highlands/M/30)

Also, the non-traditional use of the particle *i* as a relativiser, as we have seen in 4.1.5, becomes common as in (5-45) and (5-46) below.

(5-45) em i gat ol *different sections* olsem sios nius, wanem samting *i* kamap
long sios

They have different sections such as church news, whatever things
which happen in church.

(Bougainville: Islands /F/57)

(5-46) mipela harim stori olsem wanpela man *i* gat sanguma dispela man *i* gat
sanguma em mipela kukim kaikai mipela save gipim.

We heard a story that a man **who** had magical power, the man **who** had
magical power, for him, we cooked food and we used to give it to him.

(Simbu: Highlands/M/30)

Another relativiser which is commonly used in all of the varieties is the particle *ya* (also spelled *ia*). Sankoff and Brown (1980) first pointed out the use and states, “the embedded relative is bracketed off from the matrix sentence by the particle *ia*” (p. 212). Actually, in examples in the primary data, in most of the cases one or the other particle is dropped, as Sankoff and Brown themselves admit. Examples are:

(5-47) *dispela ya em, ol, ol sa kolim kapul, enimol ya ol sa kolim kapul.*

This is **what** they call *kapul*, (this is) the animal **which** they call *kapul*.

(Manus: Islands /F/14)

(5-48) *pisin ol save flai ya, em mipela save kaikai.*

Birds that used to fly, **which** we used to eat.

(Madang: Coastal /F/37)

Other ways to produce relative clauses in Tok Pisin are reported in Mühlhäusler (1985d), including relativising with absence of overt markers and the use of relative pronouns. In terms of the English-originating relative pronouns *husat* and *we*, Smith (2002) states that “the pronouns **husat** and **we** are being increasingly used, especially in written Tok Pisin” (p.151). Similarly to Smith’s observation, the use of these pronouns in written text is very common, as in the quotation from *WANTOK Niuspepa* of October 11-17, 2007 in (5-49) and (5-50).

(5-49) *Mipela i laikim divelopmen we bai i nogat bagarap bilong envaironmen olsem solwara, rif, pis.*

We like development **which** will not destroy the environment such as sea, reef and fish.

(5-50) *Ol pipel i pret na i no amamas long nogat toksave i kam long Mel*

Togolo husat i kantri menesa bilong Nautilus long PNG.

People are afraid and unhappy since no information has not come from Mel Togolo **who** is the country manager of Nautilus in PNG.

Smith further argues that “it is seen in the present corpus that, for some speakers at least, the use of these relative pronouns has become a regular feature of speech also” (p. 151). When it comes to oral text, however, the examples of these relative pronouns drastically decrease and only sporadic occurrence is observed in the primary data as in (5-51) and (5-52) below. Accordingly, the primary data does not support Smith’s argument although this could be due to the small size of the data.

(5-51) *sampela ya mipela kisim donation long ol sampela lain husat employ mipela long baim crayon*

From somebody, we got donation, from some people **who** employ us, to buy crayon.

(5-52) *first thing em ol kliarim bus we ol i ting ol i planim*

The first thing (they do) is that they clear the bush where they think they plant.

((5-51),(5-52) Madang: Coastal/F/42)

Based on the above observations, many different ways to produce a relative clause in Tok Pisin have been established as it has been reported. It seems that in addition to the traditional ways, such as using “ya bracketing” and using the relativiser *longen*, (although the use seems relatively new as we saw in Chapter 4), the use of the particle *i* as a relativiser becomes more common. With regard to the anglicisation of relativisation, there seems to be some difference between written text and oral text. Concerning written texts, as Smith (2002) points out, the use of relative pronouns *we* and *husat* becomes very common, thus, from the point of view of syntax, anglicisation seem to be progressing to some extent. However, in oral texts, the examples of the use of relative pronouns remain small in number, and anglicisation is not much observed, as far as the primary data is concerned.

5.4.2 Anglicisation in conjunctions

It has been pointed out that some English originating forms were frequently attested as conjunctions in Tok Pisin. For example, Smith (2002) remarks, “the use of **bat** in a way apparently identical to that of **tasol** was frequently attested” (p. 187). That is, instead of the traditional adversative conjunction *tasol*, the use of *bat* increases. In this section, I will address the issue by focusing on three conjunctions: *bat*, *so* and *bikos*.

The traditional adversative conjunction *tasol* is commonly used as we can see in (5-53).

(5-53) mi ken spik Pidgin o inglis mi ken olsem harim harim. *tasol* mi no save long i no ridim ridim, wanem ya ,stori o ridim mani mi no raitim wantok samting dispela em nogat.

I can speak Tok Pisin, and as for English, I can hear. **But** I didn't read, read, kind of, a story or read a price, or I was not able to write to friends, these things I was not able to.

(Morobe: Coastal/F/38)

As is seen in (5-53) above, the conjunction *tasol* is frequently used in all of the varieties. However, the use of *bat* also increases, as we can see in (5-54) and (5-55) below.

(5-54) em meri Manus *bat* em stap longtaim long Madang.

She is a Manus woman **but** she has stayed in Madang for a long time.

(Madang: Coastal /F/42)

(5-55) *bat* yu kam long Madang ten kina gutpela preis bilong yu, yu bai pulap na bai yu pulap, em nau.

But if you come to Madang, ten kina is good enough money for you, you will be enough, you will be enough, you know.

(East New Britain: Islands/ M/32)

As Smith points out, the use of *bat* in the examples above is “apparently identical to that of *tasol*” and it seems that currently these two forms coexist. Similar coexistence happens between *olsem na* and *so*, which indicate causative relations as in (5-56) and (5-57). Also, the use of *bikos* is frequently attested as in (5-58).

(5-56) *tasol yu no luksave long haus olsem na yu ting olsem em gutpela yet.*

But you don't know much about houses, **as a result**, you think it's still OK.

(5-57) *so i gat liklik hul long baret*

That's why there is a small hole in the groove.

((5-56),(5-57) Simbu: Highlands/M/30)

(5-58) *na mi amamas long wok wantaim pepa bikos mi lukim olsem pepa i helpim planti ol pipol long yumi long PNG.*

And I am happy working with this paper **because** I think the paper helps many of us people in PNG.

(Bougainville: Islands /F/57)

To sum up, in terms of anglicisation in conjunctions, it is obviously observed that some English origin terms such as *bat*, *so* and *bikos* becomes common use in current varieties. Yet, traditional terms are also still used frequently, and the old terms and new terms currently coexist. Further observation is needed to investigate this issue in the future.

5.5 Code switching

Code switching in Tok Pisin has been discussed from socio-linguistic viewpoints by some researchers such as Sankoff (1980d) and Mühlhäusler (1979). In the primary data, however, such code switching motivated by social factors do not seem to be observed, thus, in this section, I will focus on

the structural aspect about the issue. As we have seen in the previous sections, although each of the Tok Pisin varieties is more or less anglicised in many ways, in the majority of the cases, it is evident that the language which is spoken in the primary data is Tok Pisin. However, as Smith (2002) refers to his corpus, it is observed that “there is the occasional insertion of what stands out as an English phrase or expression. Between the two poles lies a grey area where it may be difficult to say exactly what language certain forms belong to” (p. 202). In such a “grey area” in his corpus, Smith uses Myers-Scotton’s (1993) Matrix Language-Frame Model (MLF model) and shows that in the overwhelming majority of cases, the “matrix” language, which is how Myers-Scotton conceptualised the structurally dominant language in code switching, is Tok Pisin. This indicates that even in such cases of the “grey area” between Tok Pisin and English, we can determine that the spoken language is Tok Pisin in most of the cases and this fact suggests the enormous vitality of the language.

In this section, I will follow Smith’s argument by using the MLF model and examining the primary data, and explore whether or not Smith’s finding can be supported by the primary data. Namely, when code switching between Tok Pisin and English happens within a sentence, is the dominant language Tok Pisin in most of the cases?

5.5.1 The Matrix Language-Frame model

According to Myers-Scotton’s definition, code switching (CS) is “the selection by bilinguals or multilinguals of forms from an embedded variety (or varieties) in utterances of a matrix variety during the same conversation.” (Myers-Scotton 1993: 3) In order to account for the structures in intrasentential code switching, she sets the Matrix Language –Frame Model as “a production-based model which sees CS constraints as set by processes which operate well before the positional level at which surface orders and structures are realised.” She also defines the ‘matrix language’ (ML) as the main language in code switching and it “sets the morphosyntactic frame of

sentences showing CS”. The other participating language is the ‘embedded language’ (EL), which plays a lesser role (Myers-Scotton 1993: 3-6). Thus, according to the MLF model, the morphosyntactic restriction of the sentence is set by the grammar of ML; accordingly, we can identify the dominant language in a code switching situation by examining the morphosyntactic structure of the sentence.

Let us briefly overview the outline of the MLF model. According to a preview of the Matrix Language-Frame model in Myers-Scotton (1993), she formulates:

One of the languages involved in CS plays a more dominant role. This language is labelled the Matrix Language (ML), and its grammar sets the morphosyntactic frame for two of the three types of constituents (those showing morphemes from the two or more participating languages) and ML islands (constituents composed entirely of ML morphemes.) The third type of constituent, the EL island, is entirely in the EL. It is produced when ML morphosyntactic procedures are inhibited and EL procedures are activated (p.6).

Then Myers-Scotton distinguishes ‘system’ and ‘content’ morphemes as the major organising device to set up the frame. She uses Jake and Myers-Scotton’s (1992: quoted by Myers-Scotton 1993) definition of three properties of content versus system morphemes: “They are [+/- Quantification], [+/- Thematic Role-Assigner] and [+/- Thematic Role –Receiver]” (1993: 99). Using these properties as parameters, we can classify morphemes into either system morphemes or content morphemes. Table 5-5 is an example of the classification based on Myers-Scotton (1993: 101).

Table 5-5 Examples of categorizing system and content morphemes

(based on Fig 4.2 in Myers-Scotton 1993: 101) θ Role is used to denote 'thematic – role'

properties		system morphemes	content morphemes	
+Quantifier		quantifiers possessives tense/aspect determiners		
-Quantifier	-θ Role Assigner/Receiver	complementizers, structurally assigned agreement (subject- verb agreement)		
	$\pm \theta$ Role Assigner/Receiver	+Role assigner		verbs prepositions
		-Role assigner	copula 'do' verbs possessive 'of'	
		+Role receiver		nouns pronouns adjectives
		-Role receiver	dummy pronominals, parts of some idioms	

In order to further clarify the MLF model, Myers-Scotton proposes the following hypotheses.

The Matrix Language Hypothesis: The ML sets the morphosyntactic frame for ML + EL constituents.

This hypothesis is realised as two testable principles: the Morpheme-Order Principle ('Morpheme order must not violate ML morpheme order') and the System Morpheme Principle ('All syntactically relevant system morphemes must come from the ML').

The Blocking Hypothesis: The ML blocks the appearance of any EL content morphemes which do not meet certain congruency conditions with ML counterparts.

The EL Island Trigger Hypothesis: Whenever an EL morpheme appears which is not permitted under either the ML Hypothesis or the Blocking Hypothesis, the constituent containing it must be completed as an obligatory EL islands.

The EL Implicational Hierarchy Hypothesis: Optional EL islands occur; generally they are only those constituents which are either formulaic or idiomatic or peripheral to the main grammatical arguments of the sentences.

(Myers-Scotton 1997: 7)

Using this terminology, let us move on to apply this MLF model to the primary data and assess whether or not what Smith found in his corpus is similar to the present corpus. That is, the extent to which “the matrix language of the present corpus can be clearly identified as Tok Pisin” (2002: 204).

5.5.2 Tok Pisin-English code switching in the MLF model

There are many examples of code switching between Tok Pisin and English in the present corpus as in the following examples. English words and phrases are italicised.

(5-59) Goroka em wankain tasol em *different* liklik.

In Goroka, it's similar, but it a bit different.

(Simbu: Highlands/M/30)

(5-60) mi na narapela meri mipela was... *supavaisim* long en

Another woman and I, we was... supervise it.

(Madang: Coastal/F/42)

(5-61) em olsem ol *special cooking* nabaut mipela save wokim

It's like special cooking or something we used to make.

(Manus: Islands /F/54)

(5-62) ol ken save long ol samting kamap *at the same time* ol ken kisim skul
long en, olsem

They are able to know things coming up, at the same time, they can be
informed about that, things like that.

(Bougainville: Islands /F/57)

(5-63) *headquarter* long *sport office*, *disable*⁵ *sport office* tokim mi olsem bai
yu trein yet na mi *struggle* trein hat na ol bin tokim olsem bai mi go insait
bilong *Asian Pacific Game* long ailan.

The headquarter of the sport office, the disabled sport office talked to me,
“You should train more,” and I struggled to train hard, then they talked to
me about going to the Asian Pacific Game in the island.

(Madang: Coastal/M/28)

In fact, when intrasentential code switching happens in the primary data, in most of the cases, the switches occur on the level of single morpheme, single word or phrase, as in the examples above. In the case in (5-60), the term *supavaisim* is a case of code switching consisting of a mixed constituent, the root *supervise* from English and inflexional morpheme *-im* from Tok Pisin, according to Myers-Scotton's analysis. In the example (5-64) below, the Optional EL island occurs.

(5-64) bikos em, tok inglis em, tok, tok, toktok bilong *international*, *it's an international language*, *uh*, na em mas stap.

Because it's, English, it's a language, language of international, it's an international language, uh, so it must remain.

(Bougainville: Islands /F/57)

⁵ This description is followed by the informant's utterance.

As in the examples above, in most of the cases, applied the MLF Model, the language spoken can be identified as Tok Pisin. There are, however, cases including some problematic expressions. For example, in (5-65), the term ‘*and then*’ belongs to English, and if so, it can be classified as system morpheme in the model and it disagrees with the fact that the function of other system morphemes such as the transitive suffix *-im* suggests the ML in the sentence is Tok Pisin.

(5-65) so mipela save raitim sampela, em hat tumas, mipela sa raitim lo
English dispela word ya in in *English and then* mipela traim lo
ekspleinim the idea, ye, em.

So we used to write, if the concept is too hard to understand, we use to write in English for the word, in English and then we try to explain the idea, yeah, that’s what we do.

(Bougainville: Islands /F/57)

Therefore, as Smith (2002) clearly points out in the following quotation, there still remain some problematic cases.

The crucial question is where to draw the line between what is incorporated as a regular item in Tok Pisin’s lexicon, and what is a foreign form. Myers-Scotton does consider this issue (1993b:163)⁶ and concludes that there is basically no difference in the process by which code-switching and borrowed forms are produced. However, the lexical entries of borrowed forms become part of the mental lexicon, whereas in code-switching this is not the case. It should be remembered that Myers-Scotton’s theory was developed with African languages which were typologically quite different from one another. Its applicability to Pidgins such as Tok Pisin, where the lexis is mainly drawn from English anyway, is more open to question. Moreover, checking out the inventory of the ‘mental lexicon’ is by no means a straightforward task. There seems no a priori reason to assume that the process by which the ‘new’ words above enter the language is any different from the one whereby old established items such as *putim* ‘put’ or *kilim* ‘kill’ became established.

⁶ original note. In this study, I refer to the same source, Myers-Scotton (1993).

In addition, as Smith points out regarding his data, the nature of the genre (monologue in an interview setting) is another limitation of the primary data. He states, “code-switching may be more common in naturalistic social settings and in certain genres such as parliamentary debates” (Nekitel 1990 referenced by Smith 2002:204).

Thus, it might be expected that in different situations or in other domains, code switching might happen more frequently. More problematic cases might be found in such cases. For example, the following text was found on the website of Tok Pisin service of Radio Australia, accessed in December 2008. (<http://www.radioaustralia.net.au/tokpisin/waystolisten/>)

taim nogut, ol, ol bikpela *headache* yupela kamap long Papua New Guinea long dispela taim i forsim pipol bilong kamapim planti planti krait *through* long kantri. wanpela het toktok bai yumi tok olsem “devols fain wok *for* idle hen” olsem satan bai painim wok bilong man no gat wok na stap nating nating

This is a bad season, a big headache you have to face in Papua New Guinea in this season is that people are forced to come up against many many crimes throughout the country. One leader says, we would say as “The devil will find work for idle hands”, that is, Satan will find work for a man who doesn’t have work and idles around. (my translation)

In this text, although some words and morphemes such as *headache*, *fors-im*, (force + the suffix *-im*) and the prepositions *through* and *for* are not established Tok Pisin words and they seem to be occurrences of single word or morpheme level code switching or ad hoc borrowings, the whole text can be identified as Tok Pisin, according to the MLF Model. However, the English proverb quoted in the text seems to be a kind of mixture of the two languages. It follows Tok Pisin phonology, for the final “d” is dropped both in *fain* ‘find’ and *hen* ‘hands’, and follows Tok Pisin syntax, without any articles and no plural marking for ‘hands’. In sum, the matrix language

appears to be Tok Pisin. Whereas all of the vocabularies and the proverb itself come from English and to make the meaning clear, it is successively paraphrased into more common Tok Pisin expressions. Thus, the verb *fain* is changed to *painim* and the preposition *for* is to *bilong*.

It seems that, according to its settings and domains, the primary data is located closer to Tok Pisin within the “grey area” between the “two poles” of English/ Tok Pisin and a much larger corpus is needed to clarify the issue.

However, it seems that, in spite of the existence of some problematic cases and the limitation of the nature of the data, what Smith found in his data is basically verified by the primary data. Namely, the matrix language of the present corpus can be clearly identified as Tok Pisin.

5.6 Examples of highly anglicised varieties

In the previous sections, we have seen the examples of anglicised Pidgin focusing on each of the linguistic components. We can observe that Tok Pisin narrations composed of these anglicised features from various perspectives in highly anglicised varieties. Mühlhäusler, Dutton and Romaine (2003) provide a large number of samples of these texts. Let us look at the examples and see how they are anglicised compared to traditional or standard Tok Pisin. Following quotation is a narration of 8 year old girl from Lae, recorded by Romaine.

Nau liklik gel ia em pikim flaua finish putim go insait long bag blem na em karim i go nau nogat. Dispela bear disla draipela wulf ia em go ia nogat em pinisim bubu blem olsem bubu blem na silip i stap. Slip i stap nau, little red riding hood ia pikim flaua pinish nau em kam noknok long doa bilong bubu. Noknok na bubu- wulf ia changim nek blem i go olsem na em tok, ‘kam in, dot.’

(Mühlhäusler, Dutton and Romaine 2003: 268-9)

English translation (in the original source)

Now the little girl finished picking the flowers and put them in her bag and carried them off. This wolf finished off the grandmother and he pretended to be the grandmother. He put on all the grandmother's things and was sleeping. He was sleeping now. Little Red Riding Hood finished picking the flowers and came knocking on her grandmother's door. Knock. Knock. The wolf changed his voice like this and said, 'come in.'

(ibid: 270)

The anglicisation is commented by the author as in the following quotation. The comment refers to the whole narration, whereas I quote a part of the narration above.

The text is notable for its considerable phonological reduction characteristic of the younger urban generation: e.g., save to sa, bilong to blem, pela to pla, laik to la, etc. Also noteworthy is the considerable use of English lexis, e.g., forest (cf. Tok Pisin bus), bata (cf. Tok Pisin gus), bag (cf. Tok Pisin bilum), wulf, bear, kek, noknok (cf. Tok Pisin paitim doa). Sometimes the English words alternate with their Tok Pisin equivalents, e.g., gel/meri, jump/karap. Some of the English terms are adapted morphologically and phonologically, e.g., flaua (cf. the more usual Tok Pisin plaua), finish (cf. Tok Pisin pinis), while others vary, e.g., change/changim. The mixing of English and Tok Pisin leads to compromise forms which are intermediate between the two varieties, as for example when the wolf says, 'Kam in dota.' The term dota ('daughter') is not used in Tok Pisin, and kam in is not typically Tok Pisin. One would expect insait instead. This may be a use of quotational code switching.

(Mühlhäusler, Dutton and Romaine 2003: 267)

The comment on the narration covers main topics we have been discussing in this chapter. It can, thus, be inferred that the phenomenon of anglicisation which is observed in the primary data can be seen in other anglicised varieties as well.

5.7 Summary

According to the parameters I have investigated in this chapter, I conclude that on the whole, in the domain of daily conversation in which I mainly conducted interviews, the degree of anglicisation remains at a low level despite some evidence of influence from English and some non-traditional expressions which seem to have become common usage. Phonological rules which were developed in earlier stages of the language can still apply to newly introduced items. Also, in spite of the fact that newer distinctions of segments seem to increase, speakers do not drop the older system. Plural marking is still optional and mainly marked by *ol*. No other systematic morphological change is observed. With respect to lexical change, however, the data suggests that in some domains, such as time expressions, replacement by English is progressing, although further investigation is needed to capture the phenomenon precisely. With regard to syntactic changes, again, old systems and new systems coexist, such as the use of relativiser and conjunctions. A somewhat different situation is observed between written and oral texts concerning these syntactic issues, and further investigation is needed on this topic as well. In code-switching situation, in most of the cases it happens, it can be identified that the matrix language is Tok Pisin. In conclusion, Tok Pisin survives at the moment and the two languages coexist. I will deal with the reasons why Tok Pisin survives in such continuing language contact situation with its lexifier language and has such extreme vitality and the background which enable to this, in the next chapter.

Chapter 6. Some sociolinguistic properties of Tok Pisin and other languages in Papua New Guinea

As we have seen in the previous chapters, although the language contact between Tok Pisin and its lexifier language English has continued since the end of the colonization, Tok Pisin basically maintains its own features and functions as the virtual national lingua franca in Papua New Guinea today. Although some evidence of anglicisation is observed, the vitality of the language is remarkable and it coexists with English, which is against some researchers' prediction. Romaine (1992), for example, states "[i]t is probably impossible to overthrow the present linguistic hierarchy without making the effort of far-reaching socio-political reform" (p.329). I will explore the resource of the vitality and the situation in which such maintenance and coexistence take place in this chapter. In order to address the issues, I will first describe the current language situation in Papua New Guinea and the social factors which might impact on the situation in some detail. Then I will examine how Tok Pisin survives in the society today.

6.1 A quantitative analysis of Tok Pisin and other official languages

A quantitative analysis of three official languages, Tok Pisin, English and Hiri Motu and in the post-independence period of Papua New Guinea was provided by Sankoff (1980d). At that time, although the role of these official languages in Papua New Guinean society had become more and more important, the number of the speakers, based on the figures in 1971 census, was relatively limited, as she commented "[w]e know that 46.9 percent of the Papua New Guinean population does not speak any of the official languages." However, in the past three decades, the language situation drastically changed from what Sankoff revealed in 1980. Since the survey items of National Census were changed, we can no longer extract the figures of the speakers from the census; instead, according to SIL (2003), the population of Tok Pisin speakers is 121,000 first language speakers, including 50,000 monolinguals plus 4,000,000 second language speakers. The total citizen population of

Papua New Guinea is 5,140,476 according to the Papua New Guinea 2000 Census National Report (henceforth 2000 Census), thus, approximately 80 percent of the citizen population are considered to be Tok Pisin speakers. And in fact, as many of my informants acknowledge, although many Tok Pisin speakers still retain the linguistic identity of their indigenous languages, they speak Tok Pisin as fluently as their local languages and, many of them, who are regarded as second language speakers, cannot determine which language is their first language and which is their second, not in the sense of the order of acquisition but in the sense of the dominant or the most comfortable language for the speaker. Mühlhäusler (1997) provides the term “primary language” to “designate the language that is best mastered.” (p. 9) for such a situation wherein the language a speaker first acquired is not necessarily the best mastered one. For recent bi- or multilingual speakers who have enough proficiency in more than one language, it is still difficult to determine their primary language⁷. In either case, whether it is the primary language or not, the speakers usually exhibit high Tok Pisin proficiency. Thus, it is observed that the difference between their language ability, (firstly, within one person comparing with the ability of Tok Pisin and the same speaker’s local language, and secondly, between speakers who speak Tok Pisin as their primary language and as their secondary language) becomes less and less clear today.

The literacy rate is provided by the 2000 Census as we can see in Table 6-1. Tok Pisin is referred to as Pidgin, Hiri Motu is referred to as Motu, and Tokples is the cover term for indigenous languages as it is reported: “In PNG, over 800 different local languages have been identified. These are usually referred to as Tokples” (2000 Census: 51).

⁷ For instance, the informants claim that the most comfortable language for them varies depending on interlocutors, topics, domains and other situational factors. Further research should be conducted with respect to the metalinguistic concepts of the indigenous speakers.

Table 6-1 Literacy rate of citizen population aged 10 years and over by language, sex and sector, PNG, 2000 Census. Data abstracted from Papua New Guinea 2000 Census National Report

NOTE:

This table is included on page 95 of the print copy of the thesis held in the University of Adelaide Library.

We can see that Tok Pisin literacy is always higher than English literacy regardless of the sectors and sexes. In the urban sector, the difference of the literacy rate between English and Tok Pisin is slim, while in the rural sector, English literacy is even lower than Tokples literacy. In terms of Motu literacy, the census mentions that the low literacy rate of Motu is attributed to the fact that Motu is a basically regional lingua franca spoken mainly in the Southern coastal region in the country, and the speakers are relatively few. Thus, I will focus on the other two official languages, Tok Pisin and English here. One possible reason for the low rate of English literacy in the rural sector is due to the difference of industrial structures between the urban and rural sectors. That is, it is observed that the use of English is active in the business situations in the urban sector, as English is regarded as “the language of business and commerce” (2000 Census: 51), and in the urban sector, “monetary employment was nearly four times as common as non-monetary employment” (2000 Census: 63). By contrast, in the rural sector, the majority of people are engaged in subsistence activity. It is reported that:

In urban areas, wage jobs were most common for both males and females, accounting for 75% and 46% of urban employment, respectively. Subsistence activity was also important for females (24%) but less so for males (9%). In

the rural sector, 66% of male employment and 78% of female employment was subsistence activity.

(2000 Census: 64)

It seems that within such subsistence structures, in the rural sector, the opportunities to use English might be limited, and its function as a common language is restricted to limited domains as well as it is limited to a minimum level. Meanwhile, Tok Pisin, which covers practical use in daily life and a wide range of domains, seems to enjoy the status as the multifunctional common language.

Another parameter which is related to the language situation is the level of the school attendance. The level is different between the urban and the rural sectors as it is said, “[j]ust over three-quarters of people counted in urban areas had received some schooling compared to less than half in the rural areas.” (2000 Census: 47) In addition, the difference between the provinces is also prominent as it is referred to:

By province in 2000, over 80% of males aged 5 years and over in Manus and NCD and females aged 5 years and over in Manus, and just under 80% of females in the same age group in NCD, had ever attended school. The next ranked province was East New Britain with 76% and 74% for males and females, respectively. In contrast, the lowest ranked province for both males and females was Southern Highlands. The five Highlands provinces had lower levels of school attendance than all other provinces with less than half of males and less than a third of females ever having attended school.

(2000 Census: 47)

These figures seem to support Smith’s argument which questions the rural–urban dichotomy in the context of anglicisation of Tok Pisin. Smith (2002) illustrates that the most anglicised forms are found in Manus and New Ireland where urban areas are not extensive and argues:

A more critical factor in Manus, as well as in some other provinces such as New Ireland, appears to be the combination of the widespread primary use of Tok Pisin

and the high degree of English-medium education, whether in an “urban” or “rural” context (p.211).

The provinces where the rate of school attendance is high and those where Smith found the most anglicised forms nearly overlap. The fact that the varieties used in school was labelled **Tok Skul** and recognised as an anglicised variety (Mühlhäusler 1997: 65) might support Smith’s argument. It can be inferred that where the rate of school attendance is high the English-medium education is carried out more effectively. And it might be natural that the variety of Tok Pisin which the receivers of such effective education speak is likely to be influenced by English. This inference suggests the validity of Smith’s argument that the degree of English-medium education is an important factor of the degree of anglicisation of the speaker’s Tok Pisin. However, in general, as Smith himself acknowledges, the urban-rural dichotomy has been an important factor for the anglicisation of Tok Pisin and the census itself is based on the urban-rural distinction. We will return to this point in 6.4.

6.2 The transition of characteristics of bi- and multilingualism in Papua New Guinea

Bi- and multilingualism in Papua New Guinea has prevailed since the precolonial period (Sankoff: 1980d). Sankoff shows how multilingualism developed in the traditional society in different situations such as trading, intermarriage and showing the rhetorical skills for community leaders. She also describes the spread of some local lingua franche mainly by the Christian missions in the colonial period. These languages were, at that time, already “losing ground to English, Tok Pisin, or Hiri Motu, though to the extent to which they continue to be used as religious languages” (p. 122). The three official languages were traditionally second languages, as Sankoff stated they were “learned by the people of Papua New Guinea in addition to their native languages, and having very few if any native speakers” (p. 127). However, as we have seen in the previous section, this is no longer the case. Besides the fact that the borders between the first and the second languages are getting

blurred, monolingual speakers of Tok Pisin increase. In addition, people who speak English as their first language appear to increase among town dwellers in most recent cases. Therefore, as Sankoff points out, multilingualism has not been an uncommon phenomenon during Papua New Guinean history; however the characteristics of multilingualism in terms of both individual and social aspects today are different from what they used to be in the precolonial and colonial period. It is observed that, with respect to individual multilingualism, traditionally, it was characterised as one local language and one or more additional languages including local lingua franca, whereas today, it is characterized by one dominant common language, Tok Pisin, and one or more local languages, and/or in most recent cases, English. And with respect to social multilingualism, it has been pointed out that the indigenous languages which were exclusively used in traditional domains are replaced by Tok Pisin. Mühlhäusler (1997) accounts for this phenomenon with reference to development stages of Pidgin languages. He states:

During expansion, on the other hand, Tok Pisin began to replace the traditional vernaculars, a situation of relatively stable co-ordinate bilingualism giving way to a changeable situation of compound bilingualism⁸, where Tok Pisin was used in more and more traditional domains.

(Mühlhäusler 1997: 266-7)

As he states, Tok Pisin has already reached the stage of compound bilingualism in relation to indigenous languages. Mühlhäusler further observes that in urban areas, this Tok Pisin–Tokples bilingualism is replaced by Tok Pisin–English bilingualism. It is, however, not observed in rural areas and it seems that there is a large regional gap concerning this phenomenon. The low literacy rate in English in the rural sector might explain this observation. We will further consider the prevalence of English in urban areas in 6.4.

⁸ (original footnote) Whilst there are doubts as to the psychological validity of this distinction, at the level of the sociology of language it is a useful one. The former refers to situations where languages are kept functionally separate, the latter to one where either of the languages can be used in either function or domain.

To sum up, bi- and multilingualism in Papua New Guinea today can be characterised as one multifunctional common language, namely, Tok Pisin and additional languages. Firstly, in relation to indigenous languages, Tok Pisin is used almost universally in the country besides the local languages. The majority of Tok Pisin speakers are still categorised as second language speakers (SIL 2003), whereas in many cases the distinction between the first and second language is hard to determine. Secondly, in relation to English, the regional gaps are striking. As we have seen from the literacy rate in the census, it seems the urban-rural distinction is an particularly important factor here. In general, English is spoken in restricted domains as the census refers to “the language of business and commerce” and whether the Tok Pisin-English bilingualism which Mühlhäusler (1997) observes in urban areas, extends to rural areas in the future is still open to question.

We will see how these two common languages, Tok Pisin and English, are used in public in the next section.

6.3 The Common languages in the public use

In order to examine the common languages in public use, I will mainly examine written texts in public use for the speakers’ daily life here. First, I will look at Tok Pisin which is used in posters, signage and so on for the purpose of directly and effectively contact with grass root people. Then I will analyse an interview of a journalist of *WANTOK Niuspepa*, a weekly newspaper which is written in Tok Pisin.

6.3.1 Tok Pisin and English in written texts

When we look at the written tests, it is observed that the use of Tok Pisin is common in posters, booklets, signboards, advertisements and so on. And this seems to reflect the fact that Tok Pisin literacy is the highest in the whole country for their main target demographic, namely, grass roots people. Let us

first look at examples of small public notifications. Fig 6-1 is a signboard which warns to keep out.

Fig. 6-1



NOKEN SINDAUN OR SANAP

‘Keep out’

Fig. 6-1 is a warning written on a signboard on a fence of a supermarket in Madang in 2007. It can be literary translated as ‘Do not sit down or stand up’, which means ‘keep out’. An English word *or* is used where Tok Pisin equivalence *o* is expected to be, whereas it might be a case that English spelling is used for expressing a Tok Pisin word since the context is totally Tok Pisin and this kind of confusion of spelling is common in Tok Pisin written texts. It seems that this warning is exclusively directed toward local people under the assumption that they understand Tok Pisin written texts but foreigners do not. Although Madang is a resort town where many foreign tourists visit, there are many similar signs, posters and advertisements which clearly and exclusively target local people.

Fig. 6-2 is a public poster which is against domestic violence.

Fig. 6-2

NOTE:
This figure is included on page 101
of the print copy of the thesis held in
the University of Adelaide Library.

BEL ISI IMAS STAP OLTAIM

“Mitupela gutpela papa na mama,
mitupela **ino save** bagarapim
pikinini bilong mipela.”

“Taim pikinini bilong mipela ino
harim tok, mipela sindaunim em na
toktok wantaim em.”

Keep calm, Always

“As we two are good parents,
we **don’t** do violence to our child.”

“When our child doesn’t listen to
us, we let her sit down and **talk**
with her.”

The poster is placed on the wall of CWA (Country Women’s Association) Madang, which is a non-profit organization in Madang and functions as a local community centre and as accommodation for the public. There are at least two effects by the use of Tok Pisin in the poster. It looks very natural for the family in the poster, which looks like a genuine Papua New Guinean family, to use Tok Pisin. And, more importantly, it can be understood by many local people in almost all the areas of Papua New Guinea.

Fig 6-3

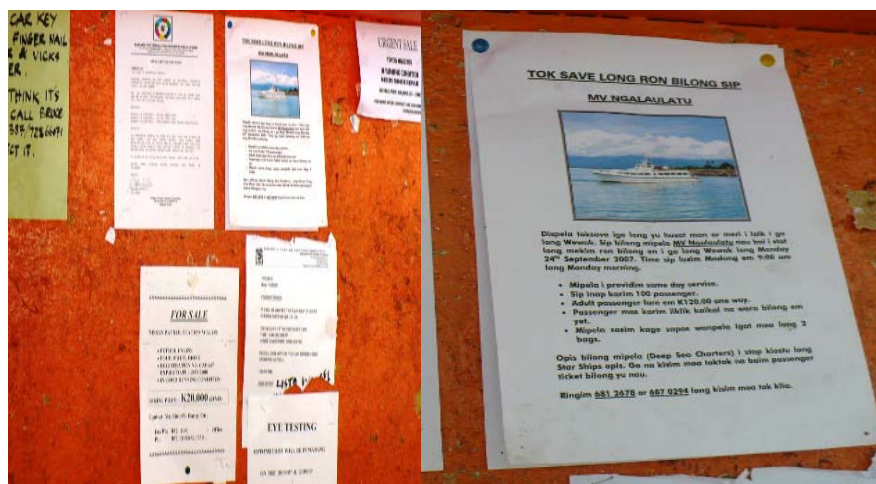


Fig 6-3 is the notice board is in front of the Madang Post Office. On the board, there are some notices in Tok Pisin and some are in English. The following notice is for people who want to go to Wewak from Madang by ship. (The texts on the notice and the translation are given in the next page. Relevant texts are numbered and underlined). The language in use is Tok Pisin (my translation). As we have seen in Chapter 5, (1) time expressions are replaced by English as in ‘Monday 24th September 2007’ and ‘Monday morning’. Whereas (2) plural marking does not happen in the phrase of ‘Sip inap karim 100 passenger’, even though it employs English spelling *passenger*, not the established Tok Pisin word *pasendia*. It is possible; however, the English spelling sometimes is used for Tok Pisin expressions. In the case (3) ‘2 bags’, the suffix *-s* is used. Also, some non-standard, unnecessary loan words are used as in (4) **Mipela i providim same day service** and **adult passenger fare**. In standard Tok Pisin forms, they would be, for instance, **dispela sevis em i bilong wanpela dei tasol** and **pe bilong ol bikpela manmeri**.

It seems that as a strategy to give information to grass root people, Tok Pisin is selected, and as we have seen in 6.1, Tok Pisin literacy is always higher than English literacy, accordingly, it might be an effective way for marketing.

<p>TOK SAVE LONG RON BILONG SIP MV NGALAUATU</p> <p>Dispela toksave igo long yu husat man or meri i laik i go long Wewak. Sip bilong mipela MV Ngalaulatu nau bai i stat long mekim ron bilong en i go long Wewak long (1)<u>Monday 24th September 2007</u>. Time sip lusim Madang em 9:00 am long (1)<u>Monday morning</u>.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ (4)<u>Mipela i providim same day service</u> ▪ Sip inap karim 100 (2) <u>passenger</u>. ▪ (4)<u>Adult passenger fare</u> em K120.00 one way. ▪ Passenger mas karim liklik kaikai na wara bilong em yet. ▪ Mipela sasim kago sapos wanpela igat moa long (3)<u>2 bags</u>. <p>Opis bilong mipela (Deep Sea Charters) i stap klostu long Star Ships opis. Go na kisim moa toktok na baim passenger ticket bilong yu nau.</p> <p>Ringim 681 2678 or 687 0297 long kisim moa tok klia.</p>	<p>Information about shipping navigation MV NGALAUATU</p> <p>This information is for men or women who want to go to Wewak. Our ship, MV Ngalaulatu will soon start cruising to Wewak at Monday 24th September 2007. Departure time from Madang is 9:00 a.m. on Monday morning.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ We will provide same day service ▪ This ship accommodates 100 passengers. ▪ Adult passenger fare is K120.00 one way. ▪ Passengers should bring some food and water for themselves. ▪ We will charge for cargo if you have more than 2 bags. <p>Our office (Deep Sea charters) is close to Star Ships office. Go and get more information and buy your passenger ticket now.</p> <p>Call 681 2678 or 687 0297 for more detail</p>
--	--

6.3.2 An interview of a journalist in *WANTOK Niuspepa*

WANTOK Niuspepa is a weekly newspaper written in Tok Pisin. I carried out an interview of one of the writers of the newspaper. (appendix 1) Let us first look at what the journalist, who writes articles in Tok Pisin, says:

Veronica Hatutasi, (a journalist of *WANTOK Niuspepa*)

(wantok niuspepa em wanem samting?)

What is the *WANTOK Niuspepa*?

wantok niuspepa em niuspepa it kamap long em Tok Pisin em toktok stret long planti manmeri bilong Papua Niu Guini. em olsem *ninety nine percent*.

WANTOK Niuspepa is a newspaper, it is published in Tok Pisin, the language of many people in Papua New Guinea, say, ninety nine percent.

(na wanem tingting bilong yu long bihain taim bilong Tok Pisin)

What do you think about the future of Tok Pisin?

mi lukim olsem befo ol bikman i no bisi tumas long Tok Pisin bat nau i luk olsem Tok Pisin i wok long kamap strong. em wok lo kamap strong mekim mak bilong em insait long PNG.

I see the situation that before the leaders were not worry so much about Tok Pisin but these days, they look at Tok Pisin as getting stronger. It is getting stronger and has become a mark of people in PNG.

so Tok Pisin mi lukim olsem bihain taim long en em bai strong. em bai sanap strong *versus* wantaim inglis.

So, as for Tok Pisin, I think that in the future of the language, it will be strong. It will stand strong versus against English.

dispela, mi no, i no minim olsem tok inglis bai pinis, nogat. Tok Pisin tu i, a, tok inglis tu i kamap stap strong. bikos em, tok inglis em, tok, tok, toktok bilong *international, it's an international language, uh*, na em mas stap. ol tok Pisin tu em lo PNG em bikpela samting. so mi ting olsem em bai stap strong, em

This does not, I don't mean English will disappear, I don't mean it. Tok Pisin, too, uh, English too, it will continue to be strong. Because it's, English is an international language, it's an international language, so it will stay as it is. Tok Pisin, too, in PNG, it is a big thing. So I think it will remain strong.

Veronica Hatutasi repeatedly emphasises that English and Tok Pisin have coexisted as common languages, the former is mainly a means of formality and communication with foreigners and the latter for the internal daily communication. In this context, in contrast to English, many of my informants emphasise that for them, Tok Pisin is 'our' language, even in the cases where they also can speak English very fluently.

6.4 A reanalysis of the rural-urban dichotomy in Tok Pisin

As we have seen in Chapter 5 and 6.1 above, Smith (2002) criticises the rural-urban dichotomy in the varieties of Tok Pisin. His argument seems to be supported by the figures in 2000 census, which suggests that the degree of education might be a more important factor which can impact on varieties of Tok Pisin regardless of the rural-urban distinction. However, as Smith himself acknowledges, indeed this may have been an important factor concerning the anglicisation of Tok Pisin and, it seems that most recently, the social situation has changed toward the direction which expands the gaps between rural and urban areas. That is, the world-wide Information

Technology revolution which is introduced recently to this country has strongly influenced Papua New Guinean town dwellers just like people in other countries. On the other hand, the majority of rural habitants have been aliens to the IT revolution without the necessary social infrastructures. For instance, during my field trip in 2007, I observed totally different situations between urban and rural families. In the families I stayed with or visited in Port Moresby, the capital city, they watch Australian TV programs everyday and even though personal computers are uncommon in a family, children have access to the Internet in their schools. And in all of the families, although parents usually speak Tok Pisin for daily conversations, conversations among children usually take place in English. I also saw many cases of parents talking to children in Tok Pisin and children answering in English. It seems to trace the situation that many indigenous languages declined and were replaced by Tok Pisin. Therefore, although the degree of anglicisation in Tok Pisin, mainly in domains of daily life, remains at a low level as I proposed in Chapter 5, we cannot deny the possibility that what currently happens to Tok Pisin in urban areas might be a more sudden replacement with English rather than a gradual assimilation to English. On the contrary, in the family homes I stayed in or visited in the rural areas, there is no electricity, no TVs, no computers and no Internet. Even in such a remote village without electricity, some families have a generator and I saw the people in the village came together to see watch a DVD program. However, in general, the opportunities to be exposed to English through IT media are very limited for rural habitants compared with urban habitants. In the rural areas, I saw Tok Pisin being used by both adults and children, and Tokples is also sometimes used, but I never saw English used in daily conversation. The difference between the two typical situations is evident. The rough landscape prevents people in rural areas from improving infrastructure; as a result, the development of IT media does not reach to the rural areas. Thus, I argue here that the recent IT revolution strongly impacts on the distinction between urban and rural areas with respect to languages. It seems the high proficiency of people in English is greatly promoted by IT in urban areas and that it has influenced their varieties of Tok Pisin. Whereas for people in rural areas, the IT media usually have nothing to do with their languages. This trend is extremely prominent in

younger generations. One possible outcome is, if the lack of improvement of the infrastructure in rural areas continues, the common language in urban areas and in rural area would be different languages, English and Tok Pisin. In the current situation, Tok Pisin is still powerful in urban areas; however, further observation is needed to assess the situation exhaustively.

6.5 Tok Pisin Literacy Class

Fig. 6-4 Tok Pisin literacy class in CWA Madang



The increased use of Tok Pisin motivates grass roots people, who are sometimes excluded from the education or have dropped out of it, to read and write in Tok Pisin. One of the attempts to meet the needs is a Tok Pisin literacy class which is held in CWA Madang, a non-profit organization in Madang province (Fig.6-4). It is held once a week and basic reading and writing skills are taught to women, many of whom otherwise would have no chance to be educated. It brought the women literacy as a useful daily communication tool, not as unfamiliar difficult yet prestigious international language tool. Thus, one of the attendants states:

mi ken spik Pidgin o Inglis mi ken olsem harim harim

I can speak Tok Pisin, and as for English, I can hear. (i.e. understand it).

tasol mi no save long i no ridim ridim, wanem ya ,stori o ridim mani mi no raitim wantok samting dispela em nogat

But I didn't read, read, kind of, a story or read a price, or I was not able to write to friends, these things I was not able to.

so mi amamas olsem ol lain long hia em putim skul, save mipela, em lainim

So I am happy as people here, they give us knowledge, they teach us.

mipela kamap olsem pikinini olsem skul em liklik elementari skul kain olsem

We come up just like school children, like small elementary school children, just like that.

mi tok, ting i olsem mi save mi ken ridim liklik stori mi ken ol namba prais o samting we mi no ken

So I tell you this, I think, I can read short stories and number of prices or things I was not able to read.

(Morobe: Coastal/F/38)

This attempt depends on rather individual efforts and is not systematically organised or related to the public education system. However, the comments from the attendants show that the potential needs of Tok Pisin literacy can be great and the attempt to let people develop skills of reading and writing in Tok Pisin is successfully accepted by Tok Pisin speakers.

6.6 Summary

It is observed in this chapter that there are many complex reasons relating to the language contact, language shift and language maintenance of Tok Pisin. So far as the primary data is concerned, Tok Pisin and English coexist without drastic change in society. Any single reason cannot explain the vitality of the language but the combination of many factors seems to function together and mutually influence each other. There are many factors which might contribute to the maintenance of Tok Pisin: the industrial structure of the country, the tradition of bi-multilingualism, and the overwhelming practical usefulness, public acceptance, and recent positive attitude to the language.

It is difficult to predict the future of Tok Pisin; however, we should always take these social factors into consideration, especially when the language maintenance is to be a subject of language planning in this country.

Chapter 7. Conclusion

In this study, I have addressed the issues of language contact and language shift in Tok Pisin, mainly focused on two varieties: Highlands Pidgin and Anglicised Pidgin. These “non-standard” varieties play an important role in the language situation in Papua New Guinea today, since the social and linguistic situation in the country has continuously changed and the language contact between Tok Pisin and both substratum languages and the superstratum language, English, continues. Reanalysing previous studies and examining my primary data in the previous chapters, I will provide the following conclusion.

In Chapter 4, I have discussed the characteristics which have been considered to be Highlands features and the role that Highlands Pidgin plays in the current language situation in Papua New Guinea. On the one hand, some features which previous studies describe as characteristics of Highlands Tok Pisin, such as the use of the word *kirap* as an aspect marker, seem to be disappearing. This suggests that the difference between Highlands Pidgin and other regional varieties is diminishing and the uniformity of the language is progressing in current Tok Pisin, while on the other, some linguistic trends such as cliticisation and the tendency to reinterpret *i* are progressing regardless of the regional varieties in question. This also suggests uniformity, since it seems to neutralise the difference among the features which are affected by substratum languages. It is also observed that some language use, such as the use of the directional marker *i go* and *i kam* is not exclusive to the Highlands, but its regional distribution is uneven and it is used much more productively in Highlands Pidgin than in other varieties. This kind of preference is commonly observed and it might be regarded as the characteristics of the varieties. In other words, most of the regional characteristics which are found in this study are based on the rules which Sankoff's (1980c) refers to:

What the community refers to as different speech varieties (particularly in the case of non standard varieties) may show some rules in common with each other, some rules categorically different, some rules variably different, and so on (p.76).

However, as for some lexical terms which are related to traditional cultural events such as *karim lek* and *dabol seven*, the observation suggests that these features are related to cultural diversity, and as for the unusual use of the conjunction *taim*, it might be considered to be influenced by substratum languages.

Another point which should be taken into consideration is the fact that the distinction between first and second language is much less clear than it used to, just in the case of many informants of this study. In such a situation, the meaning of taking regional varieties into consideration has also changed. When Tok Pisin mainly functions as a second language, it is important to examine the influences from substratum languages, and identify the factors that result in characteristics of regional varieties. It is still the second language of many speakers; however, in the current language situation where many people use the “second” language as fluently as the first, the question of which language affects which is not as clear as it was, especially where the second one is the national lingua franca and has great influence.

Based on these facts (that the uniformity of the language is, in general, progressing and the change is not a one-way assimilation to “mainstream”, and the distinction between first and second languages is diminishing,) there is little reason to rule out Highlands Tok Pisin from the “mainstream” of the language, although some features still can be noted as characteristically Highland. In order to fully understand the influence of this variety on language contact and language shift in Tok Pisin; however, further detailed investigation is needed.

In Chapter 5, I have discussed the other variety which has been considered “non-standard”; namely, Anglicised Pidgin. I have examined the degree of

the anglicisation of each linguistic component. According to the parameters I have examined in Chapter 5, such as phonological expansion, plural marking and other morphological changes, lexical changes, syntactic changes and the language spoken in the code-switching situation, I conclude that the degree of anglicisation, so far as the domains of daily conversations are concerned, remains at a low level despite some evidence of influence from English. The phonology of mainstream Tok Pisin in its earlier stage remains dominant and in spite of the introduction of newer distinctions of segments, speakers do not drop the older system. Plural marking is still optional and mainly marked by *ol*. Other suffixation has not systematically developed in this language. And in code-switching situations, in most of the cases the matrix language is Tok Pisin. It should be noted; however, in a certain domain of lexical items such as counting system and time expression, it seems that the replacement by English has been almost complete. In terms of the syntactic change, the traditional system and newly introduced system currently coexist, such as the conjunctions **bat** and **tasol**.

Based on these observations, at the present, I argue that the most appropriate answer for the question, which Bickerton (1975) proposes as title of his paper, “Can English and Pidgin be kept apart?” is “yes.” It seems that, as Mühlhäusler (1982) points out, there is a tacit assumption that “the eventual outcome of contact between an English-derived pidgin and English is English.” However, as he argues, “[y]et it is not obvious why the mixing of two linguistic systems should lead to the replacement of one system by another” (p. 454). In fact, they have been kept apart up until now, as we have seen in the previous chapter.

In Chapter 6, I have provided some sociolinguistic considerations in order to capture the language situation revealed in the previous chapters. There are many factors which might contribute to the maintenance of Tok Pisin: the industrial structure of the country, the tradition of bi- and multilingualism, overwhelming practical usefulness of the language, for example as a commercial strategy to reach the consumers, and recent positive attitudes to Tok Pisin. The combination of these factors seems to mutually influence and

function together, as a result, maintenance of Tok Pisin persists as the national lingua franca. Currently, as we have seen in this study, the vitality of Tok Pisin is overwhelming; however, the recent IT revolution strongly impacts on the rural-urban dichotomy with respect to the languages, which was once questioned by Smith (2002). Thus, we cannot deny the possibility that if the lack of improvement of the infrastructure in rural areas continues, a sudden replacement with English happens only in urban areas, and as a result, the common language in urban areas and in rural areas would turn out to be different languages, English and Tok Pisin.

In conclusion, based on my observations and analysis, I propose the argument that Tok Pisin has been a language completely distinct from English, which supports Smith's (2002) viewpoint. Also, my description illustrates current Tok Pisin as coexisting with English without drastic social or economic change. As I quoted in Chapter 6, Veronica Hatutasi, a journalist of the *WANTOK Niuspepa* said;

mi lukim olsem befo ol bikman i no bisi tumas long Tok Pisin bat nau i luk olsem Tok Pisin i wok long kamap strong. em wok lo kamap strong mekim mak bilong em insait long PNG.

I see the situation that before the leaders were not worry so much about Tok Pisin but these days, they look at Tok Pisin as getting stronger. It is getting stronger and has become a mark of people in PNG.

so Tok Pisin mi lukim olsem bihain taim long en em bai strong. em bai sanap strong versus wantaim inglis.

So, as for Tok Pisin, I think that in the future of the language, it will be strong. It will stand strong versus against English.

As we have seen in this study, despite the pessimistic prediction about the future of Tok Pisin by many researchers such as Laycock (1985), the language

not only survives but maintains its extreme vitality. Whether the situation continues or not in the future is open to question; however, the structural features of Tok Pisin and its remarkable vitality which are revealed here can inform the study of language contact, language shift and language maintenance.

Appendix 1 An interview of a writer in WANTOK Niuspepa (Sample of speech from Islands)

18/9/2007

Port Moresby

Interviewee :Veronica Hatutasi (Bougainville /Female /57 /journalist)

(wantok niuspepa em wanem samting?)

wantok niuspepa em niuspepa it kamap long em Tok Pisin em toktok stret long planti manmeri bilong Papua Niu Guini. em olsem ninety nine percent.

(ninety nine percent?)

ye.

(so yupela raitim dispela pepa long Tok Pisin olsem wanem?)

o... ol papa bilong dispela kampani i bin statim wantok niuspepa em ol, ol fopela sios i papa long em Katolik, Luteran, Yunaited Church na Anglikan Church. Ol i statim dispela pepa long so dat nius i ken go long ol gras rot pipol bilong Papua Niu Guini. Ol ken save long ol samting kamap at the same time ol ken kisim skul long en, olsem. Olsem na oli statim wantok niuspepa.

(oke. so wanem ol gutpela samting yu lukim long wok long pepa i save kamap long wanpela taim insait long wanpela wik)

mi wok olsem wanpela reporter wantaim wantok niuspepa. na mi amamas long wok wantaim pepa bikos mi lukim olsem pepa i helpim planti ol pipol long yumi long PNG especially ol gras rot pipol planti i no nap i no save em hat long ridim pepa long tok inglis

(tok englis)

long Tok Pisin em inap olsem tok ples bilong planti ol lain long PNG olsem ninety nine percent. so mi lukim olsem pepa i wok long skulim planti ol lain long ples ol redim nius, nius, se kamap ol bikpela nius long kantri na long world na i gat ol nius bilong region, long olgeta popular region bilong Papua Niu Guini ples sa put in na planti ol lain long ples ol save ridim ol nius sa kamap long wan wan provins bilong ol. mi gat ol different sections olsem sios nius, wanem samting i kamap long sios ol ken ridim health education i gat tok pilai ol entertainment pages i stap. i gat ol sports pages i stap long em. olgeta samting i stap. so mi ting olsem wantok i wok long playing part bilong em long skulim na edukeitim ol pipol bilong PNG.

(na wanem tingting bilong yu long bihain taim bilong Tok Pisin)

Mi lukim olsem befo ol bikman i no bisi tumas long Tok Pisin bat nau i luk olsem Tok Pisin i wok long kamap strong. em wok lo kamap strong mekim mak bilong em insait long PNG. na nau mipela gat wantok nispepa i gat ol... wanpela radio station tu kamap lo Tok Pisin,

(kamap long Tok Pisin)

so Tok Pisin mi lukim olsem bihain taim long en em bai strong. em bai sanap strong verses wantaim inglis. dispela, mi no, i no minim olsem tok inglis bai pinis, nogat. Tok Pisin tu i, a, tok inglis tu i kamap stap strong. bikos em, tok inglis em, tok, tok, toktok bilong international, it's an international language, uh, na em mas stap. ol tok Pisin tu em lo PNG em bikpela samting. so mi ting olsem em bai stap strong, em.

(oh, stap strong. na em isi o hatpela long editim o putim kamap wantok niuspepa?)

a, nogat, long mi sampela taim mi, mi olsem wanpela reporter bat taim editor i no stap mi save olsem et taf et olsem eting. so mi lukim olsem i no em olsem I ting olsem ol narapela ?? tasol em, em ino as long as ol mani ol wok lain i mekim wok bilong ol em bai i no, em bai i no hat, em orait tasol. ye. bat I mean, yu mas raitim inglis long, uh not English, Tok Pisin mipela save yusim long Wantok, em standard Tok Pisin. so mipela mas behainim wei bilong em a, wei lo rait blo Tok Pisin em lo? olsem nabaut nabaut disla standad fom, bai mipela save bihainim em, uh, late Father Frank Mihalic, em wokim diksionari na ol dispela samting so mipela sa behainim dispela standat Tok Pisin ya.

(na taim ol planti niupela samting i wok long kamap, yupela save ekspleinim o mekim klia long Tok Pisin olsem wanem?)

ye. planti I mean Tok Pisin em wanpela it's like a growing language, ya. i no olsem dai dai wanem ya, so mipela tu long Wantok i mas up to date. keep up to date wantaim ol, ol niupela samting wok long kam insait. so mipela save ekspleinim, mipela save ekspleinim long wei we mipela i ting olsem wanpela mekim klia go long ol lain, bilong ol pipol bilong PNG yet. ye. bai mi luk, mipela i lukim dispela niupela ol samting and then wanpela traim long ekspleinim olsem olsem.

(oke. tenkyu na narapela question, inap yu gipim mi sampela iksampol o piksa long ol niupela samting ol toktok long Tok Pisin.)

Okei, maybe sampela ol niupela samting we we can tingim mostly planti taim em ol, sampela ol technical terms uh, long maybe long mining na lo science na lo save bilong medicine em ol sampela long, em teknologi em ol niupela samting i wok lo kam insait we mipela save, mipela mas painim wei bilo ekspleinim uh, yes, like, for example niupela teknologi taim pes bai mipela raitim mipela save tok niupela teknologi o ol niupela niupela makisin? o niupela rot like teknoligi it's like it includes save communication uh, mipela save tok o niupela rot long salim tok i go i kam.

(salim tok i go i kam)

I mean the word it stands, you have to, mipela save tingim maybe the idea and the concept, uh, em disla mipela save tanim lo Tok Pisin, yeah. em. so mipela save raitim sampela, em hat tumas mipela sa raitim lo English dispela word ya in in English and then mipela traim lo ekspleiinim the idea, ye, em.

(so em, yu, yupela rait long...)

dispela niupela words sampela can raitim, raitim long English sa niupela stret and then bai mipela i raitim bilong sait olsem mipela ekspleiinim mekim klia olsem em olsem olsem. dispela samting em olsem.

(na wanem tingting bilong yu long wok bilong dispela pepa)

mi ting wok bilong dispela pepa olsem mi eksplenim pinis em olsem em ol bin statim long skulim ol, ol gras rot pipol na, mi ting olsem em bai wokim dispela pepa dispela wok i go yet bat nau mi lukim olsem planti ol lain long gavman ol kampani i wok long lukim Wantok olsem em wanpela medium, uh, wanpela rot ye ol ken kisim ol toktok na ol prodakt bilong ol i go long long ol gras rot pipol. gavman tu yu?? putim ol dispela toktok long em olsem lukim olsem pepa em wok long go long ol gras rot pipol

(gras rot pipol)

ol bai ridim dispela pepa na ol bai save ol can, gavman wokim olgeta samting. some i lukim olsem Wantok that strongpela bikpela future bilong bihain taim bilong em ya. em bai sanap strong wantaim ol narapela, ol narapela pepa ol narapela media.

(gutpela tru.)

so mi amamas long wok wantaim Wantok Niuspepa.

(tenkyu. tenkyu tumas long olgeta askim.)

English translation

(What is WANTOK Niuspepa?)

WANTOK Niuspepa is newspaper, it is published in Tok Pisin, the language of many people in Papua New Guinea. It's, say, ninety nine percent.

(Ninety nine percent?)

Yeah.

(So, how come you write this paper in Tok Pisin?)

Well, the founders of this company started Wantok Niuspepa, the four churches which are founders are the Catholic, Lutheran, United Church and the Anglican Church. They started this paper, so that news can reach grass root people in Papua New Guinea. They can be informed when things come up, at the same time, they can get the knowledge about that, things like that. That's why they started WANTOK Niuspepa.

(OK. So, what do you think are the good things about working for such a weekly paper?)

I am kind of a reporter with the WANTOK Niuspepa. And I am happy working with the paper because I think that the paper helps many of us people in Papua New Guinea, especially the grass root people, many of them cannot, it's difficult to read the newspaper in English.

(In English.)

In Tok Pisin, they can, as a local language of many people in PNG, about ninety nine percent. So, I think that the paper gives knowledge to many people in rural areas, they read news, news such as big news that happens in the country and the world and there is local news, in all of the popular regions of the Papua New Guinean regions it refers to, and many people in rural areas, they can read news that happens in each one of their provinces. I (We?) have different sections, such as church news, whatever things happen in church, they can read, health education, there are word games, entertainment pages existing. There are sports pages in it. Everything is there. So I think that WANTOK is playing a part in leading and educating people in PNG.

(What do you think about the future of Tok Pisin?)

I see the situation that before the leaders did not worry so much about Tok Pisin but these days, they look at Tok Pisin as getting stronger. It is getting stronger and has become a mark of people in PNG. And now we have, WANTOK Niuspepa has one radio station, too, broadcasting in Tok Pisin.

(broadcasting in Tok Pisin)

So, as for Tok Pisin, I think that in the future of the language, it will be strong. It will stand strong versus English. This does not, I don't mean English will disappear, I don't mean that. Tok Pisin, too, uh, English too, it will continue to be strong. Because it's, English is an international language, it's an international language, so it will stay as it is. Tok Pisin, too, in PNG is a big thing. So I think it will remain strong.

(Oh, it will remain strong. And is it easy or difficult to edit WANTOK Niuspepa?)

Well, no, for me, sometimes I, I am just a reporter, but when the editors are absent, I use to work as head of staff, as editing. So I think that it's not, I think it's something different ??, but, it's not, as long as the money the

working staff earn by their jobs, it won't be hard, it won't be hard, it's just OK. But I mean you must use English, uh, not English, the Tok Pisin we use in WANTOK is standard Tok Pisin. So we have to follow the way of it, a way of writing in Tok Pisin. It's law? or things like that. This standard form we will follow is the late Father Frank Mihalic's, he made the dictionary and these things so we are accustomed to follow this standard Tok Pisin, yeah.

(When you come across new concepts, how do you explain those in Tok Pisin?)

Yeah, in many cases, I mean, Tok Pisin is a, it's like a growing language, you know. It's not like dying one yeah, so we, too, in WANTOK, have to be up to date, keep up to date with those, those new things coming inside. So we use to explain use to explain in a way we think that make it clear to reach to people in PNG. I will look, we look at these new things and then, someone tries to explain such and such.

(OK, thank you and another question, can you give me an example of these new concepts in Tok Pisin?)

OK, maybe some new things we can think of, in many cases they are technical terms, for, maybe for mining and for science, and knowledge about medicine, it's, they are some things for, technology, new concepts are coming inside where we know, we have to find a way of explaining, uh, yes, like, for example, new technology, when a page will be written, we used to use new word, technology or new, new ?? or new road like using technology, it's like it includes knowledge of communication, uh, we know words or new ways for sending and receiving messages.

(send and receive messages)

I mean the language it stands, you have to, we used to think of, maybe the idea and the concept, uh, this we use to translate to Tok Pisin, yeah. Right. So we use to write something, if it's too hard to understand, we use to write this word in English. in, in English and then we try to explain the idea, yeah, you know.

(So, that, you, you write...)

These new words somebody can write, write in English, like very new, and then we will write one side in this way and we explain to make it clear as it is, like this way. This is what it is.

(What do you think about working in this paper?)

I think working in this paper is as I have explained, it's like it has started to educate people, grass roots people and I think that it will make this paper, this paper will progress, but now, I think that many of people in government, companies, start to think of WANTOK as one media, one way they can have their talk, and their products reach grass root people. The government, too,

you ?? put? these words of them as seeing this way, the paper is going to go to the grass root people.

(Grass root people.)

They will read this paper and they will know they can do, all the things the government does. Some think that the future of WANTOK, it' strong and great future, yeah. It will stand strong with other, other media.

(Very good.)

So, I am happy with working with WANTOK Niuspepa.

(Thank you very much for all of the questions.)

Appendix 2 Sample of speech from Highlands

October/2001

Simbu Province

Interviewee : Mintai Markus (Simbu /Male /30)

Interviewer : TIDA Syuntarô

(nau mi laik askim yu long kaikai ol kaikai long hia yupela save kaikai longen pasin bilong kaikai kukim o dispela kain. oke olgeta taim yupela save kaikai em kaukau.)

kaukau em mein futi.

(mein fut. oke kaukau yupela save kukim olsem wanem?)

sapim kukim long fot na kaikai sampela taim i gat pati o i gat toktok kukim ston na mumu na moning taim kukim bilong sit bilong faia nabaut na kaikai i gat tripela we long kukim kaukau na kaikai. em i tok pinis ya. wan em mumu na kaikai tu em kukim long fot na kaikai tri em kukim long faia na kaikai.

(oke mumu kukim long pot kukim long paia. oke kukim long paia em bilong monin taim tasol a?)

morning taim o belo

(belo tu?)

um. na apinun.

(apinun tu?)

apinun tu. planti taim yu kaikai long fot i go long les yu can kukim long faia na kaikai.

(um. na wanem kain we bilong kukim em nais?)

kukim long faia.

(kukim long faia yu laikim.)

na mumu.

(mumu.)

em bai gat smel na test bilong em gutpela.

(na kukim long pot i no gutpela tumas.)

em i no gutpela tumas nogat test bilong em.

(oke. na yupela save supim long paia nabaut ya,)

kaukau i gat smel na i gat test bilong em kukim long mumu ston holim i gat smel na test bilong em stap yumi kaikai yumi bai pilim swit bilong kaikai.

(um?)

yumi kaikai yumi bai pilim swit bilong kaikai.

(oke.)

kaukau em gat tripela rot long kukim.

English Translation

(Now I'd like to ask you about foods, foods of here you use to eat and the way of cooking, how to cook or these kinds of things. OK, what you always eat is sweet potato.)

Sweet potato, it's the main food.

(Main food. OK, how do you cook sweet potatoes?)

Cut them and cook them in a pot and eat. Sometimes when there is a party or meeting, we heat stones and do mumu (earth oven) and in the morning time, we cook it in ashes of fire or something and eat it. There are three ways how to cook and eat sweet potatoes. We have already talked about that. The first is mumu and eating it, second is to cook it in a pot and eat it, third is to roast it in fire and eat it.

(OK, mumu, cooking in a pot, roasting in fire. OK, as for roasting in fire, is it only in the morning?)

In the morning, and at lunch time.

(At lunch time, too?)

Yes, and afternoon.

(Afternoon, too?)

Afternoon, too. Many times what you cooked in the pot becomes worse, then you can roast it in the fire and eat it.

(And which way of cooking is tasty?)

Cooking in fire.

(Cooking in fire, you like it.)

And mumu.

(Mumu)

It will smell good and the taste is good.

(And cooking in a pot is not so good.)

It's not so good. There isn't a good taste.

(OK, and you used to put it to fire or something.)

The sweet potatoes smell and there is taste of it, when you cook it for mumu, stones hold them and there is a good smell and the taste remains, when we eat we feel sweet of the food.

(Pardon?)

When we eat, we feel sweet of the food.

(OK.)

We have three ways for cooking sweet potatoes.

Appendix 3 Sample of speech from Coastal areas

27/9/2007

Madang Province

Interviewee : Imelda Dampat (Madang /Female /37)

em bilong pulapim dispela samting, buai

(buai, um)

bilum ya em bilong pulapim buai, daka, kambang,

(yes, yes)

em olgeta manmeri save lukim ol, ol save karim ya em save pulapim kain olsem.

smok

(yes, oke, smok. buai, daka, kambang na smok.)

smok, em. ol save pulapim dispela na karim i go bai ol kaikai. kisim na kaikai.

(na buai, yupela save kaikai buai,)

kaikai buai ya, em i no bilong kaikai na bel pulap nogat. em olsem bilong olsem lip stik o kain olsem o pikei bilong mipela. pikei bilong mipela ol Papua New Guinea.

(Papua New Guinea. olgeta pipol kaikai buai?)

um. olgeta pipol kaikai buai, smok

(o yes, kaikai buai na smok. em i no pulapim lon belo tasol,)

em, em pikei. pikei. pikei bilong Papua New Guinea.

(pikei bilong Papua New Guinea. PNG.)

PNG. shortim tasol.

English translation

(*The string bag is*) for filling with these things, betel nuts.

(Betel nut, uh)

As for string bags, they are for filling betel nuts, betel pepper vine, and lime into them.

(Yes, yes)

It's, all the people used to think it, they used to carry it and fill it with some kinds of tobacco.

(Yes, OK, tobacco, betel nuts, betel pepper vine, lime and tobacco.)

Tobacco, yes. They used to fill it up and carry and they will chew it. Take it and chew it.

(And betel nuts, you used to chew it)

Chewing betel nuts, it's not something to eat and stomach will be filled with, no. It's like, kind of lip stick or kind of chewing gum for us. Chewing gum for us, Papua New Guineans.

(Papua New Guineans. All the people chew betel nuts?)

Yes, all the people chew betel nuts and smoke.

(Oh, yes. Chewing betel nuts and smoking. It's not filling for the stomach but,)

It's, it's chewing gum. Chewing gum. Chewing gum of Papua New Guinea.

(Chewing gum of Papua New Guinea. PNG)

PNG. it's just a shortened form.

Bibliography

- Bailey, Richard W, and Görlach, Manfred, eds. 1982. *English as a world language*. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press.
- Bickerton, Derek. 1975. "Can English and Pidgin be kept apart?" In McElhanon, ed.: 21-7.
- Byrne, Francis, and Holm, John, eds. 1993. *Atlantic meets Pacific: A global view of Pidginization and Creolization*. Amsterdam: Benjamins. (Selected papers from the society for Pidgin and Creole Linguistics).
- Crowley, Terry. 1990. *Beach-la-Mar to Bislama: The emergence of a national language in Vanuatu*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Duranti, Alessandro. 1997. *Linguistic anthropology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Dutton, Thomas E, and Bourke, R. Michael. 1990. "Taim in Tok Pisin: an interesting variation in use from the Southern Highlands of Papua New Guinea". In Verhaar, ed.: 251-62.
- Dutton, Thomas E, and Thomas, Dicks. 1985. *A new course in Tok Pisin*. Canberra: Australian National University (Pacific Linguistics C-110).
- Foley, William A. 1986. *The Papuan languages of New Guinea*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Gilbert, Glenn G. 1987. *Pidgin and Creole languages: Essays in memory of John E. Reinecke*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
- Givón, Talmy. 1990. "Verbs serialization in Tok Pisin and Kalam: A comparative study of temporal packaging". In Verhaar, ed.: 19-55.
- Hall, Robert A. 1943. *Melanesian Pidgin English: Grammar, texts, vocabulary*. Baltimore: Linguistic society of America.
- .1966. *Pidgin and Creole languages*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Harris, Roy, ed. 1983. *Approaches to Language*. Oxford: Pergamon.
- Holm, John, and Christopher Kepiou. 1993. "Tok Pisin i kamap pisin gen? Is Tok Pisin Repidginizing?" In Byrne and Holm, eds.:341-53
- Hymes, Dell, ed. 1971. *Pidginization and creolization of languages : proceedings of a conference held at the University of the West, Mona, Jamaica, April 1968*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Laycock, Donald C. 1970. *Materials in New Guinea Pidgin (Coastal and Lowlands)*. Canberra: Australian National University (Pacific Linguistics D-5).
- .1985. "The future of Tok Pisin". In Wurm and Mühlhäusler, eds.:665-8.
- Litteral, Robert L. 1990. "Tok Pisin: The language of modernization". In Verhaar, ed.: 375-85
- Lynch, John. 1979. "Changes in Tok Pisin morphology". Paper presented at the 13th Congress of the Linguistic Society of Papua New Guinea, Port Moresby.
- .1990. "The future of Tok Pisin: Social, political, and educational dimensions". In Verhaar, ed.: 387-97.

- McElhanon, K A, ed. 1975. *Tok Pisin i go we?* Port Moresby: Linguistic Society of Papua New Guinea (Kivung Special Publication 1).
- Mihalic, Frank. 1971. *The Jacaranda dictionary and grammar of Melanesian Pidgin*. Milton: Jacaranda.
- .1975. “Standardisation in Pidgin”. In McElhanon, ed.:54-8.
- Milroy, Lesley, and Muysken, Pieter, eds. 1995. *One speaker, two languages: cross-disciplinary perspectives on code-switching*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Mühlhäusler, Peter. 1975. “Sociolects in New Guinea Pidgin”. In McElhanon, ed.: 59-75.
- .1978. “Samoan Plantation Pidgin and the origins of New Guinea Pidgin”. *Papers in Pidgin and Creole Linguistics*, 1: 7-119. Canberra: Australian National University.
- .1979. “Code switching in Papua New Guinea: Local languages versus New Guinea Pidgin, Hiri Motu and English”. In Wurm, ed.: 157-75.
- .1981. “The development of the category of number in Tok Pisin”. In Musken, ed.: 35-84.
- .1982. “Tok Pisin in Papua New Guinea”. In Bailey and Görlach, eds.: 439-66.
- .1983. “Language and communicational efficiency: The case of Tok Pisin”. In Harris, ed.:157-77.
- . 1985a. “External history of Tok Pisin”. In Wurm and Mühlhäusler, eds.: 35-64.
- . 1985b. “Variation in Tok Pisin”. In Wurm and Mühlhäusler, eds.: 233-73.
- . 1985c. “Inflectional morphology of Tok Pisin”. In Wurm and Mühlhäusler, eds.: 335-40.
- . 1985d. “Syntax of Tok Pisin”. In Wurm and Mühlhäusler, eds.: 341-421.
- . 1987. “The history of research into Tok Pisin 1900-1975”. In Gilbert, ed.: 177-209.
- .1997. *Pidgin and Creole Linguistics*. London: University of Westminster Press.
- .2003. “Sociohistorical and grammatical aspects of Tok Pisin”. In Mühlhäusler, Dutton and Romaine, 2003.: 1-34.
- Mühlhäusler, Peter, Dutton, Thomas E, and Romaine, Suzanne. 2003. *Tok Pisin texts: From the beginning to the present*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Mundhenk, Norm. 1990. “Linguistic decisions in the Tok Pisin Bible”. In Verhaar, ed.: 345-73.
- Muysken, Pieter, ed. 1981. *Generative studies on Creole languages*. Dordrecht: Foris.
- Myers-Scotton, Carol. 1993. *Duelling languages: grammatical structure in codeswitching*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- .1995. “A lexically based model of code-switching”. In Milroy and Muysken, eds.: 233-56.
- Nekitel, Otto I. M. S. 1998. *Voices of yesterday, today and tomorrow : Language culture and identity*. New Delhi: UBS Publishers’ Distributors.

- Reesink, Ger P. 1990 "Mother tongue and Tok Pisin". In Verhaar, ed.:289-306.
- Romaine, Suzanne. 1992. *Language, Education and Development :Urban and rural Tok Pisin in Papua New Guinea*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Sankoff, Gillian. 1975. "Wanpela lain manmeri ibin kisim Tok Pisin ikamap olosem tok ples bilong ol: Yumi ken bihainim gutpela Tok Pisin bilong ol". In McElhanon, ed.: 102-7.
- .1980a. *The social life of language*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- . 1980b. "Political power and linguistic inequality in Papua New Guinea" In Sankoff 1980a.: 5-27.
- . 1980c. "A quantitative paradigm for the study of communicative competence" In Sankoff 1980a.: 47-79.
- . 1980d. "Multilingualism in Papua New Guinea" In Sankoff 1980a.: 95-132.
- Sankoff, Gillian., and Brown, Penelope. 1980. "The origins of syntax in discourse: A case study of Tok Pisin Relatives". In Sankoff 1980a.: 211-55.
- Saville-Troike, Muriel. 2003. *The Ethnography of Communication.: An Introduction* Oxford: Blackwell.
- Schneider, Edgar W, Burridge, Kate, Kortmann, Bernd, Mesthrie, Rajend, Upton, Clive, eds. 2004. *A Handbook of Varieties of English. Volume 2: Morphology and Syntax.* : Berlin. New York: Mouton.
- Siegel, Jeff, ed. 2000. *Processes of Language Contact: studies from Australia and the South Pacific*. Montreal: Les Editions Fides.271-91.
- SIL. 2003. *PNG Language Resources: Language Tok Pisin*.
http://www.sil.org/pacific/png/show_lang_entry.asp?id=tpi,
 accessed 12 September 2008
- Smith, Geoff P. 1989. *A crash course in Tok Pisin for Newcomers to Papua New Guinea*. Lae: The Papua New Guinea University of Technology.
- . 2000. "Tok Pisin and English: The Current Relationship". In Siegel ed.:271-91.
- . 2002. *Growing up with Tok Pisin*: London: Battlebridge.
- . 2004. "Tok Pisin in Papua New Guinea: phonology", In Schneider et al. eds.: 720-41.
- Tida, Syuntarô. 2006. *A Grammar of the Dom Language A Papuan language of Papua New Guinea*, unpublished PhD thesis, Kyoto University.
- Verhaar, John W. M, ed. 1990. *Melanesian Pidgin and Tok Pisin*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- . 1995. *Toward a reference grammar of Tok Pisin: an experiment in corpus linguistics*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Wolfers, Edward P. 1971. "A report on Neo-Melanesian". In Hymes, ed.: 413-9.

- Wurm, Stephen A. 1971. *New Guinea Highlands Pidgin: Course Materials*. Canberra: Australian National University (Pacific Linguistics D-3).
- . 1975. "The question of language standardisation and Pidgin". In McElhanon, ed.: 108-17.
- , ed. 1979. *New Guinea and Neighboring Areas: A sociolinguistic laboratory*. Hague: Mouton.
- . 1985. "The status of Tok Pisin and attitudes towards it". In Wurm and Mühlhäusler., eds.: 65-74.
- Wurm, Stephen A, and Mühlhäusler, Peter, eds. 1985. *Handbook of Tok Pisin*. Canberra: Australian National University (Pacific Linguistics C-70).