Marcin Walczyński

A LIVING LANGUAGE

Selected aspects of Tok Pisin in the press (on the basis of "Wantok" newspaper)

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This book is dedicated to my parents whose support has always been so strong.

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Pidgins and creoles "(...) are testaments to the creativity of humans faced with the need to break down language barriers and create a common medium of communication". (Winford 2003: 1-2)

Neo-Melanesian (Pidgin English) has been with us in the Territory of New Guinea for just a century now. Some hundreds of thousands of people make use of it every day. Many of the Europeans among them call it a blessing; others would rather label it a curse. (Mihalic 1989: ix)

INTRODUCTION

Scholars dealing with history, linguistics, literature or any other branch of humanistic studies quite often stress the fact that the discoveries made within the frameworks of these scientific disciplines are not so spectacular and noticeable and easily applicable as the ones made within the natural or technical sciences. Nevertheless, humanities constitute one of the most important milestones of modern scholarship. They attempt to answer many questions connected with human existence, with the coexistence of humanity and matter. Finally, they pose questions about the sense of a human being and humanity and the world which surrounds people.

One of the branches of humanities which deals with the issues of human existence is linguistics. By posing numerous and multifaceted questions and attempting to find answers to them, language scholars prove that one of the most important aspects underlying the primacy of humans over other entities is language, understood as a means of communication, a means of expressing thoughts, emotions, feelings and attitudes and as a carrier of culture, beliefs and traditions. Therefore, as argued in this book, language should be studied rather in context than in isolation since it "lives" among people – not in a vacuum. Language plays a vital role in society because it is the power that, in a sense, shapes society, and – on the other hand – it is the outcome of society members' behaviours and activities or more generally – culture. Language is a force, thanks to which people can organise themselves for in order to do so, they have to communicate their messages. It is thus right to say that society cannot do without a system of communication –

i.e. language, and that language cannot exist in a vacuum – *i.e.* when there are no people (or more precisely – a community) who use it. This interdependence between language, society and society's culture can be studied within the frameworks of many sciences; however, this book has been written generally in such a way as to be a kind of an intersection and a meeting point for anthropological linguistics, sociolinguistics and language contact studies. These three branches of linguistics contribute greatly to creolistics – the study of pidgins and creoles. Sometimes it even appears that creolistics may be thought of as part of these disciplines. This indicates that anthropological linguistics, sociolinguistics, and language contact studies and creolistics overlap in many points. Overlapping and closely related with one another, the three fields constitute the research frameworks for studying pidgin and creole languages and the linguistic communities which make use of them by trying to account for linguistic phenomena through the prism of such concepts as culture or society.

The present work has grown from the author's interests in the relationships between language and society, in the role of languages in societies and the social and cultural factors contributing to the formation, development or even death of languages. Most interesting, from the author's perspectives, are pidgins and creoles since they are good examples of how societies can overcome communicative barriers when they are in need of a mutually comprehensible vehicle of verbal communication. It this respect, the above-quoted Winford's words are justified as pidgins and creoles clearly demonstrate that humans are able to use their powerful mental potential to bring new entities such as languages into being if there is such a need.

From among many pidgins and creoles that have emerged in various parts of the world, Tok Pisin (also known as Neomelanesian Pidgin English, Melanesian Pidgin English, Tok Boi, New Guinea Pidgin) – the major pidgin language of Papua New Guinea, a country with approximately 800 languages, has become the author's focus for research. This language is particularly interesting from the angle of the society-oriented language studies as it constitutes a good instance of what contacts between people of different linguistic backgrounds and cultures may lead to. However, due to the fact that this book touches upon only selected issues, it cannot be regarded as a complete and comprehensive study of the language in question. On the basis of the corpus material composed of 14 issues of *Wantok* – a newspaper published in large part in Neomelanesian Pidgin English, selected aspects of Tok Pisin are discussed and exemplified.

Generally speaking, this book strives to fulfil five main aims and objectives. First of all, it is an attempt to demonstrate that pidgins and

creoles are worthy of serious linguistic study as in the past they used to be criticised as well as ridiculed and if some mentions of them were made, they were usually in the forms of humorous references and anecdotes told by the speakers of European languages who, by doing so, wanted to show that pidgin speakers were barbarous and primitive people, incapable of any reasonable thought. They quoted in this respect a whole gamut of pidgins formed in Africa, Americas, Asia, Australia and Oceania which were simple (or, as they thought, simplistic) forms of communication, so different from and incomparable to the base languages, upon which they were formed. Indeed, it appears that these languages are different from other natural systems of communication because they are usually not transmitted from one generation to another, as most natural languages are, and, in the majority of cases, they cannot be so easily located on language family tree models as natural languages can for they are mixtures of a few languages used by the parties interacting in such intercultural contacts and not direct descendants evolving from previous language forms. Along with the development of linguistic thought, pidgins and creoles started to be viewed as interesting objects of linguistic inquiry, which resulted in establishing a separate branch of linguistics devoted to these languages – creolistics. Today, creolistics is a thriving field of language study, which can be supported by the wealth of many hypotheses, theories and postulates put forward to account for various aspects of pidgins and creoles such as, for example, their genesis, life cycle or functions they are to serve. In this book, in particular in Chapter 1 and Chapter 2, an attempt is made to shed light on the most crucial observations made within creolistics. One of such aspects is, as aforementioned, the genesis of the languages in question. Although many theories have been postulated as to the origin of pidgins and creoles, it seems that it is not possible to account for the genesis of *all* pidgins and creoles by means of a single theory and therefore a combination of a few theories may provide answers to the question of pidgin and creole origin, especially the connection of the assumptions of the polygenetic theory – that pidgins and creoles are similar because of similar social conditions under which they came into being – and the universalist approaches which attempt to account for the emergence of pidgins and creoles in terms of universal tendencies and processes employed during the simplification and acquisition of the languages in question. Chapter 3 completes the theoretical part of this study by showing that pidgin and creole languages are applied in more and more domains of social life and that they have started to be important elements of pidgin- and creole-speaking communities.

Secondly, the study aims at showing the role of Tok Pisin in one of the most multilingual countries of the world – in Papua New Guinea. This is done by discussing Tok Pisin internal history – *i.e.* the linguistic growth – and external history – *i.e.* the socio-cultural factors underlying the emergence and development of Neomelanesian Pidgin English. The role of this pidgin in the region of Melanesia is discussed against the background of the linguistic situation of the area, where so many different languages are used. Additionally, this language has been so important in this region that its official status, next to English and Hiri Motu (a local pidgin), was constitutionally sanctioned. What is more, being such a significant means of communication, Tok Pisin became diversified into four main sociolects, of which the rural variety was selected as the one to be subjected to standardisation, which has certainly contributed to making this language serve a wider array of functions such as the language of church, the media, politics or certain levels of education *etc*. Such issues are discussed in Chapter 4.

Thirdly, owing to the fact that *Wantok* – the newspaper which the research parts of this book are based on – is claimed to be written in the standard form of Tok Pisin, the next goal is to assess whether *Wantok* is really an example of a printed medium with standard Tok Pisin in use. The analysis of the selected aspects of the spelling system as well as the major parts of speech has shown that the language forms found in *Wantok* conform to the norms of the standard variety. Nevertheless, it also exhibits some strong influences from English – Tok Pisin lexifier language. These influences, however, are found not only, as might be expected, in lexicon, in particular in heavy borrowing of English words but also in certain aspects of grammar such as plural markers or prepositions. Another purpose of this study is to demonstrate that Tok Pisin is so developed now that it has started to have some registers which manifest themselves primarily in the enlargement of its lexicon in certain semantic domains such as church, education, politics *etc.*

Fourthly, Tok Pisin is used in so many areas of social life that it is definitely more expanded than other pidgins. This has been confirmed by another analysis carried out in Chapter 6 which has shown that Neomelanesian Pidgin English lexicon and grammar are adequately developed to realise the majority of language functions (*i.e.* emotive, referential, phatic, conative). However, on the basis of the corpus, it can be concluded that the poetic and metalinguistic functions have not yet been fully developed. Nonetheless, the fact that the poetic function has been identified in very few cases does not mean that this function is not activated in Tok Pisin at all. On the contrary, this function must be developed in Tok Pisin but primarily in its spoken version. This must be so because, as is now and then claimed, the body of oral (unwritten)

literature (*e.g.* folktales, rhymes, myths, legends) created in Neomelanesian Pidgin English is growing. The analysis has demonstrated that the Tok Pisin of *Wantok* has very few linguistic means to realise the metalinguistic function. It may be therefore assumed that Tok Pisin speakers rarely talk about language matters, and if they do, they do it, for example, in English or, perhaps, in their local, village languages.

The fifth aim of this book is to answer the question of why certain types of *Wantok* writing – or more precisely, advertisements, public notices and announcements – are published in English. *Wantok* is sometimes referred to as a Tok Pisin-only newspaper but it is not really so. The coexistence of Tok Pisin and English in this newspaper can be called *textual diglossia*. Chapter 6 provides an analysis of textual diglossia observed in *Wantok*, with numerous examples excerpted from the corpus. The conclusions from this study are interesting: the choice of language depends on the audience and the advertised product/service: when the target groups of an advertisement or a public notice are average Papua New Guineans, then such a text is published in the pidgin; when an international audience is the target, then English is used instead of Tok Pisin.

Finally, at this point a few words should be said about the structure and organisation of this book. It is composed of six chapters which can be divided into two parts: Chapter 1, Chapter 2 and Chapter 3 are more theoretically-oriented and present the most important issues relevant to the study of pidgins and creoles and also to Tok Pisin. Chapter 4, Chapter 5 and Chapter 6 constitute the second part which focuses entirely on Neomelanesian Pidgin English and its selected aspects observed in *Wantok*.

Chapter 1 is an introduction to creolistics. This chapter presents various approaches to the definitions of the key creolistics concepts (*pidgin*, *creole*, *lingua franca*, *creoloid*). Then, it briefly sketches the history of creolistics with special attention dedicated to the most important linguists working on pidgins and creoles. Finally, it also provides the outlines of the major theories of pidgin and creole origin which have been formulated to explain the similarities found among these languages and the factors contributing to their emergence.

Chapter 2 should be read as a continuation of Chapter 1 since it also focuses on general aspects of creolistics but now from a different perspective. First of all, Chapter 2 includes a map of pidgins and creoles and a discussion on their distribution and typologies. Furthermore, it is also a place where an extensive presentation of one of the most important concepts devised within creolistics is made. This is the pidgin/creole life cycle, by means of which it is much easier to trace back the development of pidgins and creoles and even to divide this develop-

ment into a number of stages along two continua: the developmental one, which encompasses four major stages (a jargon, a stable pidgin, an expanded/extended pidgin and a creole) and the restructuring one, which may include many varieties classified basically as basilects, mesolects and acrolects. Chapter 2 also provides some information on how and why pidgins and creoles may (and *do*) become extinct.

Chapter 3 completes the theoretical considerations of pidgin and creole languages by showing pidgins and creoles in certain social contexts. The following issues are touched upon: standardisation of the languages in question, their role in education and in bi- and multilingual communities as well as in literature and in the mass media. It follows from Chapter 3 that the role and functions of these languages are quite significant, especially in communities with many mutually unintelligible languages.

In Chapter 4, attention is directed to Tok Pisin, the representative of pidgins and creoles, which has been studied by many scholars during their field work as well as during the linguistic observations – the method also applied in this book. Thus Chapter 4 presents the internal and external history of Neomelanesian Pidgin English, its coexistence with a huge multitude of other languages used in Papua New Guinea, including English and the other official language – Hiri Motu, and its role and functions in Papua New Guinean society. Interestingly, scholars have distinguished four main sociolects of this pidgin and the rural variety spoken in the Province of Madang was selected to be standardised. This is also one of the topics dealt with in Chapter 4.

Chapter 5 discusses the methodological issues which are relevant to the analyses carried out both in Chapter 5 and Chapter 6. Some remarks are also made on the corpus to be investigated. In the analytical part of Chapter 5, Tok Pisin spelling system and parts of speech are discussed and supported by the examples derived from the corpus. Another topic analysed in this chapter is the headlines in Tok Pisin which are taken to represent the interface of Tok Pisin lexicon and grammar. This chapter ends with a summary of the findings on the emergence of Tok Pisin registers and the influence of English on Neomelanesian Pidgin English observed on the basis of *Wantok*.

Chapter 6 presents the other two aspects of Tok Pisin: firstly, Tok Pisin is analysed in terms of its having adequately developed linguistic means to realise the six basic language functions. The majority of these functions are activated in the language under scrutiny but, nevertheless, it is sometimes replaced by English, in particular in advertisements, public notices and announcement. The question of why it is so is addressed in the last part of Chapter 6.

On the whole, the present work aims at showing that Tok Pisin is a living and continually developing language which can be successfully used in the majority of communicative situations. It also has the objective of showing that *Wantok* is not a Tok Pisin-only newspaper and that it, in a way, reflects the society of Papua New Guinea where there are many languages and where the two most important ones are Tok Pisin and English, used in a diglossic relationship.

At the end, it is necessary to mention that all the translations from Tok Pisin into English were made by the author himself and only later were they checked by Chontelle Thiele – a native speaker of Neomelanesian Pidgin English, to whom the author is greatly indebted.

CHAPTER 1

PIDGINS AND CREOLES – DEFINITIONS, APPROACHES AND GENESIS THEORIES

The first chapter serves as an introduction to the study of pidgin and creole languages which is nowadays known as *creolistics*. It starts with the definitions of the most important terms which are relevant to pidgin and creole linguistics. In the case of two terms – *pidgin* and *creole* – such presentations of various approaches to the definitions of these two key notions are preceded by brief notes concerning the etymologies of these words. Then, attention is directed towards the history of research into the languages in questions. As emerges from this insight into the historical aspects of creolistics, pidgin and creole language were, for various reasons, interesting for both linguists and non-linguists. The former started to be particularly active in pursuing research into the languages under discussion and this consequently has led to the formation of many theories of pidgin and creole genesis which are discussed in this chapter. Finally, owing to this wealth of theories, some scholars have started to view English, in particular its early versions, and African American Vernacular English as languages with creole status. This is briefly discussed in the last sections of this chapter.

1.1. Primary definitions

Since the inception of linguistic studies in pidgins and creoles, many linguists have attempted to provide precise and accurate definitions of what a pidgin and a creole are. The field of linguistics which entirely deals with pidgin and creole languages is known as *pidgin and creole linguistics* or *creolistics*. Because of the fact that this discipline of language study has been rapidly developing with more and more linguists engaging in the study of various pidgins and creoles, new understandings of the well-established concepts appear. Thus this section is devoted to the explanations of the notions which are considered to be the key concepts in the discussion of separate pidgins and creoles as well as in the general treatment of creolistics.

1.1.1. Understanding the term *pidgin*

The goal of this section is to precisely define the term *pidgin*. However, before providing various understandings of the notion in question and coming up with one consistent and systemised definition of the term *pidgin*, a few remarks on the etymology of the word *pidgin* are made so as to shed light on how complex the problem of the origin of the word *pidgin* is.

1.1.1.1. *Pidgin* – the problem of etymology

Many researchers have challenged themselves to define the types of languages which have come to be called *pidgins*. There have been a few attempts to explain the etymology of the word *pidgin*. Therefore, there are a number of theories concerned with the origin of this word. Peter Mühlhäusler, an outstanding linguist researching pidgins and creoles, enumerates some of them. One of these proposals holds that *pidgin* is "Chinese corruption of English *business*, used widely for any action, occupation or affair" (Oxford English Dictionary, after: Shi 1992). Linguists dealing with pidgins accept the fact that it was Chinese Pidgin English (used around the city of Canton) which was the first language to be known under the notion *pidgin*. Peter Mühlhäusler ([1986] 1997: 2) observes that:

> In the 18th and early 19th century, Chinese P[idgin] E[nglish] is referred to by a variety of names of which 'Canton English' is found most often. The three earliest indications that it was also known as 'Pidgin English (but not in that spelling) were all published in 1859: "pigeon English" (Anon. 1859: 20, relating to a visit to Macau in 1857, "Pigeon Englese" (Wood 1859: 296) and "pigeon-English" (Smith 1859: 29).

From this quotation, it is evident that the name *Pidgin English* (however, in a slightly different spelling) was already used in the 18th century. The first written record in which the name *Pidgin English* (just in this spelling) appears is *The Treaty Ports of China and Japan* by W. F. Mayers, N. B. Dennys and C. King of 1867 (Mühlhäusler [1986] 1997). Nowadays, however, this term (*i.e. pidgin English*) does not refer only to pidgin English as spoken in China but also to other pidgins with the English language as their lexical base.

The very name *pidgin English* was probably created on the basis of the term *business English* (Shi 1992). Philip Baker and Peter Mühlhäusler (1990) found a few instances of the term *pigeon* which was used to mean "business". They discovered this word in the following passages (Mühlhäusler [1986] 1997: 1):

> Ting-qua led me into… a temple of Poo Saat. "This Jos", pointing to the idol, … "take care of fire 'pigeon[1]'", fire 'business' (unpaginated diary of Robert Morrison, entry dated 21 September 1807).

> *Pigeon* or *pidginess* 'a corruption of the English word business' (Morrison 1834: 3).

The second fragment was taken from the earliest dictionary of Chinese Pidgin English – *A Chinese Commercial Guide* written by John R. Morrison (1834). This fact clearly indicates that the hypothesis of *pidgin* coming from the Chinese deformation of the English word *business* seems quite probable.

Another explanation of the word *pidgin* suggests that it comes from the Chinese deformation of *ocupação* – the Portuguese word denoting "business" (Mühlhäusler [1986] 1997: 1) or "occupation" (Shi 1992). The historical evidence points to the fact that in the past it was the Portuguese traders and merchants who were the first Europeans to make business with the local Chinese people. Moreover, the Portuguese language was the basis for Pidgin Portuguese which was created in Macau – today an administrative region of China[2]. This, however, does not allow to claim that *pidgin* comes from *ocupação* as, arguably, both of the words seem phonologically too distant. Mühlhäusler seems to be of a similar opinion because he claims that ([1986] 1997: 2) "(…) unless a word resembling both *pidgin* and *ocupação* – phonetically and semantically – can be shown to have existed in pidginized Portuguese from Canton and/or Macau prior to 1807, English *business* must be considered by far the most likely etymon".

The other proposal trying to account for the etymology of *pidgin* holds that this word was derived from the Hebrew language, from the word *pidjom* meaning "exchange, trade, redemption" (Holm 1988: 8). Franz Winterstein (1908, after: Shi 1992) states that *pidjom English* describes a kind of sociolect used by the Jews inhabiting the ghetto in London at the beginning of the 20th century. Interestingly enough, Dingxu Shi (1992) observes that, taking into account the first dates when the terms *pidgin English* and *pidjom English* were used, it is apparent that the latter was derived from the former as "an imitation of *pidgin English* when the latter [pidgin English] became known to the West in the late ninetieth century" (*ibid.*).

The next proposal of the etymology of the word *pidgin* was suggested by David Kleinecke (1959) who is of the opinion that the word *pidgin* comes from *pidian* which is the Yayo (South American) lexical

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[1] Underlining by M.W.
[2] https://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/geos/mc.html (accessed in 2006).

item denoting "people". This root is present in the names of different tribes, for instance, *Mapidian*, *Tarapidian* (Todd 1990). Robert A. Hall, Jr. (1966: 7) writes:

> (...) we do have in (...) records the attestation of the term *Pidian*, refering to the local Indians and probably taken from an indigenous word meaning "people". In the popular English pronunciation of the time, *Pidian* would have become *Pidgin*, just as *Indian* became *Injun*, *soldier* became *soljer* etc. If this etymology is valid, the term "pidgin" would have originated in one of the very first English colonies, with some such meaning as "native who is willing to trade", and "pidgin English" would have been "the English used by and in contact with the Pidians or Pidgins". This term, brought back from South America, may well have been known to sailors centered on the lower reaches of the Thames or in other English seaports, who would then have carried it to the East Indies and to China. This derivation is far more likely than that usually suggested, namely that *pidgin* was a variant form of the English word *business*, created by the non-English speakers of Chinese Pidgin English.

It is therefore possible that the origins of the word *pidgin* should be looked for in the South American Indian language of Yayo. The historical evidence presented by Robert A. Hall, Jr. shows that it might have been possible for *pidgin* to have developed from Yayo *pidian* and then transported to China, where the first known Pidgin English in Asia was created.

Yet another etymology of the word *pidgin* is provided by John Holm (1988: 9) who suggests:

> (...) Portuguese baixo 'low', used to distinguish pidgin Portuguese (baixo português) from standard Portuguese in Portugal's Asia empire during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Baixo português was in fact the trade language that preceded English on the coast of China, and there are no more phonological problems (and certainly fewer semantic ones) in deriving pidgin from /baišo/ rather than from /bıznıs/.

Holm claims that pidgin Portuguese, whose Portuguese name is *baixo português*, could have been a source from which the word *pidgin* developed. Moreover, he is of the opinion that such derivation would have been devoid of any phonological problems as it is easy to trace back the word *pidgin* to *baixo* in terms of phonology.

Suzanne Romaine, an outstanding professor of English and authority on pidgins and creoles, states that ([1988] 2000), apart from the above discussed etymologies of the term *pidgin*, there is another one. This theory was formulated by professor Hsü Ti-san of Hong Kong University. Ti-san suggested that the notion *pidgin* might have developed out of two Chinese signs: *pei* and *ts'in,* which, when taken together,

stand for "paying money". A slightly different spelling is quoted by Mufwene (2006: 314): *bei chin*. Romaine concludes that ([1988] 2000: 13) "[t]his would be consistent with the function of pidgins as trade languages".

Other proposals which try to account for the source of the word *pidgin* suggest that *pidgin* is "South Seas pronunciation of English 'beach' (*beachee*) from the location where the language was typically used" (Mühlhäusler [1986] 1997: 1) or that this word is derived "(…) from **pisin** 'bird' believing that Tok Pisin [Papua-New Guinea Pidgin English], like other languages was given to humans by birds" (*ibid.*)

Such a big multitude of different proposals which attempt to explain the origin of the word *pidgin* bears witness to the fact that the very word and its meaning have yet to be precisely defined and made unequivocal so as to avoid any terminological ambiguity and misunderstanding.

1.1.1.2. Defining the term *pidgin (a pidgin language, a pidginised language)*

During the few decades of pidgin and creoles studies, various linguists have made an effort to define precisely what *a pidgin* (*pidgin language*, *pidginised language*) is. Precise and accurate definitions of the term in question were particularly necessary in the past when people thought of pidgins as broken or imperfect languages. There was a widespread misunderstanding concerning these languages. Georg Heoltker, a missionary working in Papua New Guinea, made a long list of different names by which Tok Pisin – Pidgin English of Papua New Guinea – was referred to:

> "a strange universal language", "a screamingly funny way of speaking", "a comical", "amusing", "ingenious", "terrible", "arbitrarily pruned language", "a wondrous mishmash", "a hotchpotch", "ugly jargon", "the most difficult language to learn in the world", "a dreadful parody of the Anglo-Saxon language", "ghastly mutilated English", "very apt caricature of English", "a peculiar, cross-bred physiognomy", "incredibly primitive with amazing simplicity", "of cannibalistic primitiveness", "the most dreadful language of all", etc. (Hoeltker 1945: 53, quoted after: Mühlhäusler, Dutton, Romaine 2003: 1)

This set of unfair names for pidgins can be further extended by the following terms: "Bastard Jargon", "Bastard Language", "Hybrid Language", "Mongrel Lingo" (Adler 1977: 6). This may indicate that the study of pidgin languages was marginalised in the past. Few linguists realised the role and function that those languages were playing in different parts of the world where there was no other language, by

means of which people of different linguistic origins could successfully communicate with one another. Moreover, people generally had no knowledge of what a pidgin was and therefore there was an erroneous opinion that those tongues were ridiculous imitations of well-developed systems (*i.e.* such languages as English, Spanish, French *etc.*). Robert A. Hall, Jr. says (1955: 13):

> The term [pidgin] is almost always taken to mean some kind of broken, imperfect, jargon-like speech. A Chinese laundryman saying "No tickee, no washee"; a tourist to New Guinea reporting that a piano is called "Him fellow big bukis you fight him, he cry"; an immigrant labourer asking "where-a ya work-a, John?"; a school-boy saying "At's-thay ot-nay Ig-pay Atin-lay", in his best Pig Latin – these are some of the types of speech, real or imaginary, that typify the general misunderstanding of Pidgin English. But any such interpretation, widespread though it be, is far from accurate.

The terminological disputes concerning *a pidgin* have been going on since the very beginning of the discipline. Many researchers, while attempting to provide a definition of *a pidgin*, stress different facts about this type of languages. David DeCamp rightly observes that (1977: 3, after: Romaine [1988] 2000: 23):

> [s]ome definitions are based on function, the role these languages play in the community (…). Some are based on historical origins and development (…). Some definitions include formal characteristics: restricted vocabulary, absence of gender, true tenses, inflectional morphology, or relative clauses, etc. Some linguists combine these different kinds of criteria and include additional restrictions in their definitions.

Although so far much has been done to specify the status and role of pidgins, until recently the above quote was still valid as various researchers seemed to notice only selected aspects of these systems. Linguistics, especially those fields which study pidgin languages, lacked a holistic and multi-faceted definition of *a pidgin language*.

In 1953/1958[3] UNESCO published the report *The Use of Vernacular Languages in Education*[4] in which *a pidgin* is defined as (1953: 46):

> [a] language which has arisen as the result of contact between peoples of different language, usually formed from a mixing of the languages.

The UNESCO definition of the language in question is quite narrow because it merely describes the very basic fact about pidgins, namely, that these systems emerge due to the interactions between societies of

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[3] The first impression was published in 1953 whereas the second one in 1958.
[4] http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0000/000028/002897eb.pdf (accessed in 2006).

various linguistic backgrounds. The definition lacks the information about what these tongues look like.

Although UNESCO noticed the importance of pidgins, it is Robert A. Hall, Jr. who was the first person to defend the status and role of these languages. His *Hands Off Pidgin English!* (1955) is considered to be the first serious publication on the topic of pidgins. Hall's discussion, however, is based on Melanesian Pidgin English of Papua New Guinea. Nevertheless, this book contains a precise definition of *a pidgin*. In Hall's words (1955: 20): "(…) a pidgin language is one with two special characteristics: (1) it is native to none, or virtually none, of those who speak it; (2) it is sharply reduced in structure and vocabulary, as contrasted with the language from which it is derived". This definition specifies simply but precisely what *a pidgin* is.

After Hall had shed light on the structure and functions of pidgin languages that are used all over the world, many other linguists ventured upon the studies of these tongues. This has led to the fact that today there are many definitions of a pidgin language which stress different aspects of these systems. Richard R. Hudson ([1980] 1996: 61), for example, defines pidgins as:

> (…) varieties created for very practical and immediate proposes of communication between people who otherwise would have no common language whatsoever, and learned by one person from another within the communities concerned as the accepted way of communicating with members of the other community.

The core of Hudson's definition is concentrated on the sociolinguistic aspects which are connected with pidgins. Thus the above-quoted explanation provides basic characteristics which are attributed to pidgin languages. Pidgins, as is justly observed by Hudson, emerge to bridge the gap of a mutually understandable vehicle of communication between communities who do not share any other languages which could serve successfully as a means of communication.

The importance of contact situations in the creation of pidgins is also highlighted by John Holm (2000: 5) who says that:

> A *pidgin* is a reduced language that results from extended contact between groups of people with no language in common; it evolves when they need some means of verbal communication, perhaps for trade, but no group learns the native language of any other group for social reasons that may include lack of trust or close contact. (…)

William A. Foley sees pidgins in a very similar manner although he puts more stress on the fact that the emergence of the languages in question is conditioned by economy. What he means by that is that pidgins emerge because there is a need for a new language to be created in

order to be a medium of communication in business, trade *etc*. In Foley's words (1988: 163) "[p]idgins grow out of economic necessity. Because of economic relations of trade or enforced labor, it becomes imperative for groups in these contact situations to find a common language". Foley's definition of a *pidgin* also encompasses some more characteristics and thus for Foley (1988: 162):

> [a] pidgin is a [contact[5]] language which is an amalgam of linguistic elements of two or more languages and which arises in social and economic transactions between at least two groups speaking different languages, by a process of restriction and simplification of one of the languages of these groups, usually that in a socially superior position.

Foley's point of view on pidgins is shared by many more modern linguists who define the languages in question in terms of their social embedding. It means that they see pidgins as direct products of contacts between members of linguistically different communities.

A slightly different approach to the definition of a pidgin is taken by Mark Sebba who regards pidgins as "auxiliary languages" whose aim is to enable communication between people who are native speakers of other tongues and who use "the communicative strategies" to build another language – a pidgin. In Mark Sebba's words (1997: 14):

> [p]idgins result from the communicative strategies of adults who *already* have a native command of at least one language. Pidgins have therefore been called 'auxiliary' languages because they are needed by their speakers in addition to their own native languages, to bridge a communicative gap with speakers of some other language.

Sebba's point is quite interesting as he emphasises that pidgin languages function as "additional" vehicles of communication. It should be, however, suggested that the main role of the tongues in question is to aid verbal communication and exchange of information (which is primarily centred around the topics connected with business or trade) between groups of different linguistic backgrounds.

Sara G. Thomason, a professor of linguistics, while defining *a pidgin*, pays attention not only to the social nature of these languages but also to their grammatical and lexical structure. She claims (2001: 159):

> Traditionally, a pidgin is a language that arises in a new contact situation involving more than two linguistic groups. The groups have no shared language – that is, no single language is widely known among the groups in contact – and they need to communicate regularly, but for

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5 The original spelling used in Foley's article is "contract" but this is probably a misspelling.

limited purposes, such as trade. For some combination of social, economic, and political reasons, they do not learn each other's languages, but instead develop a pidgin, with vocabulary drawn typically (though not always) from one of the languages in contact. The new pidgin's grammar does not come from any one language; instead it is a kind of crosslanguage compromise of the grammars of the languages in contact, with more or less (usually more) influence from universals of second-language learning: in particular, ease of learning helps to determine the linguistic structure of a pidgin.

An interesting point made by Thomason concerns the fact that the grammar of pidgins is "a kind of crosslanguage compromise" (*ibid.*). It means that the grammatical structure of a pidgin is of mixed nature. It is built of elements coming from the tongues which are regarded as "parent languages" of a given pidgin. Thomason also takes heed of the fact that the emergence and functioning of pidgins are connected with language universals whose operation is particularly visible in the process of learning a second language.

The resemblance of pidgin formation to learning a second language seems crucial in Peter Mühlhäusler's definition. He suggests that ([1986] 1997: 6):

> [p]idgins are examples of partially targeted second language learning and second language creation, developing from simpler to more complex systems as communicative requirements become more demanding. Pidgin languages by definition have no native speakers – they are social rather than individual solutions – and hence are characterized by norms of acceptability.

What is interesting, in the above-cited definition Mühlhäusler claims that pidgins can undergo certain transformations in the direction of more structurally and functionally advanced languages if the needs to use a more complex system arise. This understanding of pidgins refutes all the statements which hold that pidgins are not subject to any internal and external development as it was thought in the past. Mühlhäusler clearly defines pidgins as languages which can develop when their users need more sophisticated means of expression in these pidgins.

After quoting and discussing various ways of looking at pidgins, it is now possible to come up with a definition of *a pidgin* which will be multi-dimensional and multi-aspectual. *A pidgin* is a language whose emergence is the result of contacts between the representatives of different linguistic backgrounds who, having no other means of verbal communication, contribute to the creation of a pidgin language by means of using the vocabulary of the language (such language is known as *superstrate* or *lexifier*) of (commercially) more powerful of the groups

and supplementing it with grammar(s) taken from the language(s) (*i.e. substrates*) of the commercially weaker groups. The contact situations which are necessary for a pidgin to arise are either of business (*e.g.* trade) or social nature (*e.g.* slaves from different speech communities invented a pidgin to facilitate communication amongst them). An important fact is that pidgin languages do not have any native speakers and for all pidgin speakers, a given pidginised tongue is a second/third language which is usually learned and not acquired[6]. The grammatical structure of a pidgin is usually based on the grammar(s) of local languages (that is, a language or languages of communities which are dominated in contact situations) whereas the lexis is derived mostly from the language spoken by the dominating group, and hence there is such a great percentage of borrowing from the lexifier language.

The use of pidgin languages is restricted as they function primarily as vehicles of business communication. Obviously, a pidgin can start developing into the direction of a more structurally and functionally advanced language up to the point when it is no longer regarded as a pidgin but as a creole (when there are some native speakers of this language).

The above understanding of *a pidgin* can be considered to be the basis and the starting point for further detailed discussions of the nature and characteristic features of such linguistic entities.

1.1.2. Understanding the term *creole*

This section presents different approaches to the definitions of *a creole language*. Defining this language and identifying a proper etymology of the word *creole* are not so problematic as it was with *pidgin*. First, the origin of *creole* is discussed and then, the explanation of the term *a creole (creole language, creolised language)* is provided with a number of relevant quotations which support the general understanding of the concept in question.

1.1.2.1. The etymology of *creole*

The etymology of the word *creole* is not so vague as that of the word *pidgin*. It is generally acknowledged that *creole* stems from the Portuguese word *crioulo* which is used to denote a white European man who

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6 Learning a language is different from language acquisition as the former occurs in linguistic environments where a given language is used natively as a means of communication in the majority (if not all) situations, which is not the case with pidgins, as their function is limited to be a simple language of business communication and therefore a pidgin is rather learned than acquired. However, when creolisation starts, then a creole is rather acquired than learned.

was raised in an overseas colony (Platt and Platt 1975). Holm, however, while explaining the term in question, states (1988: 9) that the origins of the word *creole* are to be found in Latin *creāre* ("to create") which entered Portuguese lexicon and changed its form and semantics into *criar* which stood for "to raise (*e.g.* a child)" (*ibid.*). The next step in developing the present-day form of the word *creole* was deriving the past participle form – *criado* ("a person raised; a servant born into one's household") from *criar* (*ibid.*). Then, the word *crioulo* (with the addition of a diminutive suffix) began to denote a slave of African origin but who was born on the American continent(s). The meaning of *crioulo* was broadened and it referred to all people of European origin who were born in America(s). Later, the word *crioulo* was also used to characterise the culture and speech manners of both African and European people who were born and brought up in the New World. Holm also claims that this word "(…) was later borrowed as Spanish *criollo*, French *créole*, Dutch *creol* and English *creole*" (1988: 9). A similar explanation of the origin of the word *creole* is provided by Robert A. Hall who states that the term *créole* started to be used with reference to the language of slaves who worked on plantations in West Indies and Louisiana. This notion meant "'indigenous' (from Spanish *criollo* 'native')" (Hall 1966: xiii).

Suzanne Romaine's viewpoint on the etymology of the word *creole* is almost the same as the one presented above. What is different is the form of the Portuguese item *crioulo*. Romaine ([1988] 2000: 38) derives the word *creole* from "(…) Portuguese **crioulu** via English and French (…)". Nonetheless, Romaine's opinion is consistent with the views of other researchers who generally acknowledge that *creole* comes from Portuguese *crioulo* (*crioulu*).

Peter Mühlhäusler, however, takes a somewhat different approach to the etymology of *creole*. In his opinion ([1986] 1997: 6), "[b]oth form and meaning suggest an etymology *criar* 'to nurse, breed, nourish', but there may also have been reinforcement from another, yet unknown, source language". From what Mühlhäusler claims, it is evident that despite the fact that the origin of the word *creole* seems to be well identified, it may not be necessarily so. The case might be that there is some other language, which has yet to be identified, which contributed to the development of the term *creole*.

Apart from expressing the view that there might have been some other source of the word *creole*, Mühlhäusler seems to confirm the above-discussed etymology by saying that ([1986] 1997: 6):

> [o]riginally, the meaning of **crioulo** was 'a white man or woman originating from the colonies', but the word has since adopted a number of additional meanings including 'slave born in a colony' and 'locally-bred,

non-indigenous animal. Its most common meaning in English, according to the *Concise Oxford Dictionary*, is '(descendant of) European or Negro settler in W[est]. Indies, or stemming from these areas' and is used with nouns referring to something like 'exotic' or 'spicy'.

As it can be seen, the problem of the etymology of the word *creole* is less complex than that of the origin of the word *pidgin*. There is a greater degree of certainty concerning the origin of *creole*, and what is more important, it can be surely said that the etymology of the word *creole* can be traced back primarily to the Portuguese language. Through the mediation of some other languages (*e.g.* French), the present form – *creole* – has come into use.

1.1.2.2. Defining the term *creole (a creole language, a creolised language)*

Creoles or *creole languages* or *creolised languages* are usually defined as "pidgins which have become native languages for their speakers" (Sebba 1997: 135). A similar approach to the definition of *a creole* is presented by William A. Foley who claims that (1988: 176):

> (…) a creole is a pidgin which has become the native language of a community. In being nativized the language must expand to fill a much larger range of linguistic functions, such as promoting social cohesion, expressing abstract ideas and feeling, producing language art, etc. To cope with these increased functional demands, creoles are generally more elaborated structurally than pidgins.

Both of the above-quoted definitions stress the fact that any pidgin which starts to be spoken as a first – native – language becomes a creole. This, however, is not what all creolists agree with. Many claim that a creole does not need to have a pidgin as its ancestor because it can develop without any pidgin being its developmental stage.

Additionally, the process of pidgin becoming a creole "involves an expansion of expressive forces in response to communicative needs" (Romaine [1988] 2000: 38). This means that a given creole must be rich enough in terms of the communicative functions it has to fulfil. When a language is no longer merely an additional, auxiliary means of communication, and when it becomes the first – and therefore – the primary language used in a society, it needs to undergo the expansion of function, which involves the use of this language to express more sophisticated communicative needs. Such a language is then used in education, press or church. Additionally, the development of a pidgin into a creole is related to the internal changes which take place in language – that is – the expansion of phonological, morphological, syntactical and lexical systems.

A good summary of the features attributed to creoles is given by Mark Sebba. He states that creoles (1997: 167):

- are the result of contact involving two or more languages;
- develop out of a prior pidgin;
- may develop gradually from a stable pidgin or abruptly from a rudimentary pidgin;
- have native speakers of their own but may also be spoken in pidgin form by some speakers;
- are grammatically simpler than their lexifier languages;
- usually share structural features such as preverbal tense, modality and aspect marking.

The above description is all-embracing as not only does it focus on social factors which determine the emergence of a creole (out of a pidgin) but it also provides some crucial information on the grammatical and lexical aspects of this type of languages.

In conclusion, it can be stated that a creole (a creole language, a creolised language) may (but does not have to) be a developmental stage of a pidgin. Any pidgin, to develop into a creole, must undergo the process of creolisation. Creolisation is connected mainly with the fact that a given generation begins to speak a pidgin language natively, that is, they regard (and use) it as their first language/mother tongue, and therefore, the pidgin gains native speakers. This aspect is often regarded as a prime factor which helps to determine the status of a given language (*i.e.* pidgin *vs.* creole). What should be said is the fact that in many cases it is very difficult to demarcate precisely a borderline between a pidgin and a creole. It is so because pidgins and creoles are often not uniform entities in the regions where they are used. There arises a problem of acknowledging whether a given language is still a pidgin or already a creole as these languages can have a number of varieties, some of which may have already undergone creolisation while other forms can still function merely as pidgins.

1.1.3. Understanding the term *lingua franca*

The other term whose clarification is necessary for the purpose of this book is *lingua franca*. This concept is generally understood as: "(…) any form of language serving as a means of communication between speakers of different languages" (Swann *et al.* 2004: 184). From the definition above it is clear that actually any language can be regarded as a lingua franca provided that it is used as a vehicle of communication between people coming from different linguistic backgrounds. Therefore, *lingua franca* can be used to refer to natural languages, to artificial languages

as well as to pidgins and creoles because all of them can be used as a medium of communication between linguistically different communities.

It has been taken for granted that the term *lingua franca* can merely denote a type of languages. Rarely is it remembered that the origins of this notion are to be found in the name of a language spoken in the Middle Ages around the Mediterranean Sea – *Lingua Franca*. The very name *Lingua Franca* is thought to have been first applied by Arabs who believed that Western Europe was inhabited by Franks and to name the inhabitants of that part of Europe, they coined the name "the language of Franks" of "Frankish language" (*e.g.* Adler 1977).

The first scholar to write extensively on Lingua Franca was Hugo Schuchardt. Among his numerous research interests there is Lingua Franca which, as he claims (1980: 67), is "(…) a go-between language, formed out of Romance lexical material, which appeared in the Middle Ages among Latins and Arabs, later even among Turks". Lingua Franca – also known as *Sabir* (*e.g.* Adler 1977) – was composed of the elements derived from various languages which were mother tongues of sailors, traders and crusaders. Those people interacted with one another in the region of the Mediterranean Sea and due to the lack of a common spoken language, Lingua Franca came into use. The fact that Lingua Franca served as a vehicle of international communication contributed to the extensive broadening of its name into a linguistic term *lingua franca* (or *lingue franche*). In Mark Sebba's words (1997: 17):

> [t]he term 'lingua franca' itself is an extension of the use of the name of the original 'Lingua Franca', a Medieval trading pidgin used in the Mediterranean region – an important maritime trading zone where traders' native languages included many very different languages such as Portuguese, Greek, Arabic and Turkish.

In the history of the world, there have been many languages which could be labelled *lingua francas*, which results from the fact that they are (were) used by millions of people living in vast territories. Those languages made it possible for their speakers to communicate with one another even if their first languages did not belong to the same language family. The most known lingua francas of the world are: Greek, Latin, French, English, Russian. Apart from natural languages which function(ed) as lingua francas, it is also possible to indicate some artificial (planned) systems such as Esperanto or Volapük. Pidgins and creoles are also clear cases of lingua francas as their primary function is the same as that of any prototypical lingua franca – to bridge the gap of a common language understandable by the interacting parties.

To sum up, a lingua franca is a language used in a sizeable territory by large numbers of speakers who are often of different linguistic origins. In many cases a tongue being a lingua franca may become an official language of a given country and therefore it may find its application in court, education, politics, economy, literature *etc.*

1.1.4. Understanding the term *creoloid*

An interesting linguistic phenomenon which is often invoked while talking about pidgins, and, in particular, about creoles is *creoloid* (or *semi-creole*).

Creoloid is frequently defined as "(...) a second-language variety that bears resemblance to a creole language, insofar as it involves significant restructuring of the target language and is used for communication between speakers from originally different language backgrounds" (Swann *et al.* 2004: 62).

The research into creoloids was initiated by John Platt (1975) who is given the credit for coining the term. While examining Singapore English, Platt noted that it had several varieties, among which one was particularly interesting because it was quite similar to creole languages. English was introduced to Singapore through colonialism. However, the real growth of Singapore English is due to the education of the speakers of Malay, Chinese and Indian languages, thanks to whom this variety emerged. During the linguistic analyses of Singapore English, John Platt drew the conclusion that its structure was quite similar to the acrolectal variants (those which are very similar to the language from which lexicon was derived) which were based on English. However, the creoloid did not develop out of a pidgin, as is the case with many creoles. It developed through the transfer of the characteristic features of local languages (*i.e.* Malay, Chinese, Indian languages) into the standard variety used in this region. What is interesting, many linguists think that distinguishing creoloids from the whole array of language types is unnecessary. John Holm (1988: 10), for instance, is of the opinion that the term *creoloid* may "(...) be used only to mean languages that superficially resemble creoles in some way (*e.g.* by being morphologically simpler than a possible source language), but which, on close examination appear never to have undergone creolization". Sarah Thomason is also quite sceptical as far as the use of the term under discussion is concerned. She states that it is very difficult, if not impossible at all, to suggest appropriate criteria, by means of which it could be possible to identify a language as a creoloid. Thomason, furthermore, adds that:

> (...) there are prototypical creoles, and also languages whose origins share some, but not all, of the linguistic and especially the sociolinguistic

features of creole genesis. In other words, something like a continuum between normal transmission and broken transmission[7].

Some researchers, however, see some positive points in differentiating creoloids from creoles and from other kinds of languages. This is so because the use of the concept *creoloid* emphasises the fact that a given target language has been subjected to restructuring which often occurs in society with a few languages. This, consequently, may lead to the creation of a new, and, what is most significant, neutral lingua franca used by people of different linguistic origins (Swann *et al.* 2004).

As shown above, there are some languages whose classification is quite problematic. To avoid such classification problems, it is sometimes possible to come up with new terminology which could be used in linguistics. One of such notions is *creoloid* whose status is still much debatable and needs further research.

1.2. History of pidgin and creole linguistics

The serious studies of pidginised and creolised languages were undertaken not long ago – in the fifties and sixties of the 20th century. Before that time, the questions concerning pidgins and creoles were generally not raised as these tongues were regarded as "bastard" or "gibberish" systems (Hall 1973: 92). Any language of this type was deemed to be a "mongrel jargon" (Hall 1974: 143), and therefore, not worthy of any deeper examination. Furthermore, the linguists of past decades were interested more in the very structure of different languages whereas little attention was paid to social contexts in which all tongues function.

However, before the actual beginnings of pidgin and creole linguistics, there were a few scholars whose actions towards the descriptions of pidgin and creole natures were extremely crucial as far as that, then new, branch of language studies is concerned. The following presentation of scholars who (have) dealt with this field of linguistics and their scholarly achievements is chronologically ordered, and thus, starts from the very first accomplishments up to the recent observations made within the frames of pidgin and creole linguistics.

What should be stated before the discussion of the history of the study into pidgins and creoles is that there is a strong probability that pidginised and creolised forms could have been in use long before writing was invented. People have always come into contact with one another, which might have resulted in a number of contact languages, to which pidgins and creoles belong. The language of Ancient Egypt, for

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[7] Thomason, Sarah (1996) Voice in LINGUIST List 7.1721, http://www.linguistlist.org/issues/7/7-1721.html, (accessed in 2007).

example, might have developed from a pidgin used among the communities inhabiting the Nile valley (Zyhlarz 1932-1933, after: Holm 1988). It is also sometimes claimed that some varieties of classical Greek and Latin were pidginised. This might have been so because Greeks and Romans conquered many territories coming in contact with the communities inhabiting those areas. Consequently, new pidgins could have been born as a result of the contacts among the conquerors and the conquered. However, due to the fact that there is little (written) evidence which could support the above claims, linguists can only speculate about the existence of the earliest pidgins in ancient times.

The earliest notes about pidgin languages were made in the Middle Ages and referred to pidgin Arabic which was spoken in Mauritania. The author of this small document – al-Bakrī criticised black people for having broken the Arabic language (Holm 1988). Lingua Franca is another instance of a pidginised language which existed in the Middle Ages and in which a few texts were written. The first document in this pidgin comes from Tunisia (Grion 1891, Whinnom 1977 after: Holm 1988).

The first profound examinations of pidgin and creole languages were pursued by the missionaries of the United Brethren Church (also known as Moravian Church) who worked in Surinam and on the island of St. Thomas. Moravian missionaries tried to teach creole Dutch to the local people, who were slaves, which later resulted in a few grammar books, dictionaries and other literature written in this creole (Holm 1988).

The first names associated with the earliest research on pidgins and creoles are Joachum Melchor Magens and Lodewyk Dominicus. The former tried to depict the grammatical system of Virgin Islands Creole Dutch (what is interesting, Mühlhäusler claims ([1986] 1997: 28) that Magens' *Grammatica over det Creolske sprog, som bruges paa de trende Danske Eilande, St. Croix, St. Thomas, og St. Jans i Amerika*, published in 1770 in Copenhagen (Holm 1988), was "(…) the first systematic account of any Creole") whereas the latter compiled words and phrases of Java Creole Portuguese (Hancock 1987). However, as Ian Hancock states: "(…) neither of them addressed the question of the actual formation of these languages" (1987: 459).

Pierre Pelleprat is considered the first scholar to write on the process of pidginisation. He attempted to explain this linguistic phenomenon by analysing some authentic language samples. According to his views, it is Africans who adopted some French characteristics and introduced them into their tongue. These alterations were then accepted and used by speakers from Europe (Hancock 1987). Contrary opinions on the same process are found in the articles written by André

Chevillard. He thought that European speakers of French tried to make their language comprehensible to Africans and therefore, they simplified the speech to facilitate communication with the inhabitants of the African continent (*ibid.*).

The linguist who opposed then the common view that pidgins and creoles were corrupted and bastard was William Greenfield. In 1830 he presented his dissertation on Sranan (Surinam Creole English) which was to rebut the accusation of many people who deemed that English-based pidgins and creoles were barbarous and imperfect versions of English deformed by black people (Holm 1988). The main goal of Greenfield's publication was to show that Surinam Creole English was a genuine, well-developed system which was quite distinct from English. Moreover, Greenfield carried out a comparative analysis of Surinam Creole English and Virgin Islands Creole Dutch (Negerhollands Creole Dutch). This research provided evidence for the claim that pidginised and creolised tongues undergo similar linguistic processes to any other language (*ibid.*).

Another scholar who wrote on pidgin languages and related phenomena was Edouard Bertrand-Bocande. His work, published in 1849, was devoted to Guinea Creole Portuguese. He was in favour of the opinion that pidgins are rather primitive and their speakers are not as intelligent as the speakers of European languages. Furthermore, he thought that grammatical systems of European languages, which are components of pidgins, were spoiled by Africans (Holm 1988).

The first comparative grammar of creoles titled *Contribution to Creole Grammar* appeared in 1869. Its author, Addison Van Name, analysed a number of tongues spoken in the Caribbean. The linguistic research he had conducted led to the conclusion that the processes which took place within these systems did not differ from the mechanisms employed in any other language and only the pace of these operations was quicker due to the socio-cultural factors in which the creation of these tongue was embedded. Among various aspects of creole languages touched upon by Van Name from the comparative perspective, there are syntax, lexicon, phonology or creole genesis (*ibid.*). What is interesting, Van Name was one of the first scholars to notice the importance of studying pidgins and creoles. He states that (1869: 123, after: Mühlhäusler [1986] 1997: 22):

> [t]he Creole dialects which have grown out of different European languages grafted on African stock, though inferior in general interest to even the rudest language of native growth, are in some respects well worth attention.

James Cresswell Clough was another person who devoted some of his publications to the issue of pidgins and creoles. In his opinion, these languages arose owing to the contacts between developed and uncivilised societies or communities of divergent origins (Hancock 1987). Clough also thought that the simplifications of the system were introduced as the speakers of the dominant language had to accept the mistakes made by the learners, that is, by those uncivilised people. James Cresswell Clough is also known as the first linguist who categorised various pidgins and creoles. In this classification he included such languages as Chinook Jargon, Lingua Franca (*i.e.* Sabir) or Sranan. Additionally, he also classified Black English as a pidgin tongue, which can be considered the first step in the study of this variety of English (*ibid.*).

In 1876, another researcher – Charles Godfrey Leland – published his articles connected with the study of pidgins and creoles. He dealt in particular with China Coast Pidgin English and Angloromani (*ibid.*). At about the same time – in the 1880s – there was a remarkable increase of interests in pidgins and creoles. They were, however, not studied as a specific class of languages but rather as individual cases. From that period come the first publications about the nature and character of particular English-, French-, Spanish- and Portuguese-based pidgins and creoles. The last decades of the 19th century were also the time of intensifying the scientific debate concerning the origin of the languages under discussion. Along with this, the whole theoretical and methodological frameworks for pidgin and creole studies were developed (Holm 1988). One of the linguists who contributed to the advancement of 19th-century creolistics was Albert Gatschet, whose primary interests lay in Papiamentu, a Spanish-based creole of Curaçao (Hancock 1987). A quite important person of that time who studied pidgins and creoles was a Portuguese linguist – Adolpho Coelho. He is known in creolistics circles for he produced a very ample paper titled *Os dialectos romanicos, ou neo-latinos na África, Ásia e Ámerica* (English translation: *The Romance or neo-Latin dialects in Africa, Asia and America*), in which he presented a study of various Portuguese-based creoles (*ibid.*, Holm 1988). Not only did he compare a great number of languages but he also illustrated his analysis with many authentic texts. As Hancock states (1987: 461), this book: "(...) was more comprehensive that the title implied, for it made reference to a number of non-Romance-related pidgins and creoles as well". Coelho's work was very enthusiastically welcomed in the Portuguese academic circles, and helped to direct the linguists' attention to this kind of tongues. What is more, Coelho is given the credit for being the first linguist to formulate a postulate – later to become known as the universalist theory – which holds that creoles come into

being because of some universals driving second language acquisition (Holm 1988).

The universalist position was soon criticised by the French linguist – Lucien Adam, who was of the opinion that pidgins and creoles were not the products of second language acquisition but rather the products of mixing the grammar of a substrate language with the lexicon of a superstrate language. This approach is often termed as substratum theory (*ibid.*, Mühlhäusler [1986] 1997) .

Although all of the aforementioned scholars contributed, to a greater or lesser extent, to the development of pidgin and creole linguistics, the real pioneer in this realm was the German linguist educated in Austria – Hugo Schuchardt (*e.g.* Hancock 1987, Holm 1988, Platt and Platt 1975). As Hancock puts it (1987: 461):

> [Schuchardt] has come to be regarded as the father of modern creole studies, for the sheer volume of material he produced over a period of thirty-five years, rather than for his ideas which, though valuable, were not always coherent.

Schuchardt's main scientific interests were focused on Romance languages but he also wrote extensively on pidgins and creoles. Among many topics in pidgin and creole studies that Schuchardt showed an interest in were pidgin and creole origins (Schuchardt is sometimes considered to be the first scholar who postulated the "baby talk" theory (Holm 1988)), pidgin and creole development and structure, the role of substrate languages in the formation of pidgins and creoles, language contact and language variation. What is interesting, unlike the previous scholars, he paid attention to the social contexts in which these tongues arise. This fact is attested by, for example, Fought (1982: 419, after: Holm 1988: 29) who says that Schuchardt's "(...) work contributed significantly to the emergence of sociolinguistics (...)". In the light of the above, it can be said that Schuchardt's research influenced a wider range of linguistics, not only the branch devoted to pidgins and creoles. Thanks to the vast array of linguistic topics Schuchardt was engaged in and numerous articles he wrote on pidgins and creoles, even nowadays Schuchardt and his ideas constitute a rich source of subjects taken up by many linguists. Mühlhäusler is of the opinion that ([1986] 1997: 32):

> Schuchardt remains a source of inspiration for present-day scholars for a number of reasons, notably his highly detailed descriptions of many of the world's lesser-known Pidgins and Creoles, in particular those related to Portuguese, and because he advanced ideas far ahead of his times, such as the post-Creole continuum, species-specific language, and the relationship of Black American English to its Creole predecessors.

Another significant scholar who touched upon the issues of pidgins and creoles was the Dutch professor of Greek – Dirk Christiaan Hesseling. Hesseling's primary interests were in Koiné Greek. The study of this dialect inspired him to take up some further research in language contact and language mixing, which, in turn, led to his interests in general features of pidgins and creoles. Having found that many creoles were similar in many aspects, he came to the conclusion that they were so because of "the suddenness of the contact situation" (Hancock 1987: 362).

The first two decades of the 20th century witnessed no remarkable discoveries in the realm of pidgin and creole studies. However, in the successive years, more and more works on different aspects of sociolinguistics began to be published.

Joseph Vendryes, a professor lecturing in Paris, raised the problem of the components of creole grammatical and lexical systems. In his book *Le langage, introduction linguistique à l'histoire* (English translation: *Language. A Linguistic Introduction to History*) (1921), he referred to the issue of substrate and superstrate languages and concluded that grammar of a creole was less complex than the grammatical system of the lexifier language (Vendryes 1921, after: Hancock 1987).

Also, Otto Jespersen, a very famous linguist, professor of Copenhagen University, wrote a few articles about pidgins and creoles. He claimed that these systems emerge out of purposefully simplified European-based tongues. However, in his view, pidgins are just inadequately learnt forms of European languages which, in the course of time, are very likely to become more similar to the languages from which their lexicon was taken (Holm 1988).

Another scientist of that time who tried to work out his own theories concerning pidgins and creoles was Rodolfo Lenz. He examined Curaçao Creole of Iberian origin. Lenz noted that the contact situation which led to the creation of the creole was based on a vertical relation between the upper and the lower. Furthermore, he noticed certain similarities in the development of many creolised tongues, which were due to "a shared 'logic'" (Hancock 1987: 463).

A great survey of pidgin and creole linguistics was presented by Carlo Tagliavini. He elaborated on the history of the research of the languages in question in the entry titled *Crèole lingue* which was included in *Enciclopedia Italiana di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti* published in 1931 (*ibid.*). Tagliavini classified creole languages according to certain linguistic characteristics. As regards the origin of these systems, he proposed a hypothesis that each creole evolved as an independent entity, however, their speakers were influenced by the so-called "psychological process" (*ibid.*).

Ernst Schultze, a German scholar, whose primary field of study was geography, in 1933 published an essay concerning pidgins and creoles. Although the publication was rather of sociological than linguistic nature, the author depicted many tongues, among which he included Papiamentu, Lingua Franca, China Coast Pidgin (*ibid.*). Schultze's work "(...) was the first attempt to provide a systematic classification of Pidgins and Creoles according to sociological criteria" (Mühlhäusler [1986] 1997: 36).

At the same time, that is, in 1933, a very important linguistic dissertation by Leonard Bloomfield appeared. Bloomfield, apart from other aspects of language study, wrote about pidgins and creoles. He tried to describe the mechanisms of creolisation and, according to Hancock (1987: 463) "(...) was probably the first to use the term 'de-creolize'".

A year later – in 1934, another linguist referred to creoles. László Göbl-Gáldi presented a contrastive analysis of French-based creoles. A few years later, he suggested that creolisation studies should be conducted on a wider scale for this might be beneficial for entire linguistics (*ibid.*).

Another significant action taken towards the development of pidgin and creole studies was the book *Surinam Folk-Lore* by Melville and Frances Herskovits (1936). The authors provided a wealth of authentic Sranan materials. Furthermore, they conducted a comparative analysis of a few pidgins and creoles and came to the conclusion that Sranan along with Saramaccan, Jamaican, Bohemian and a few other pidgins were similar in very many aspects of vocabulary (*e.g. ibid.*, Holm 1988).

John Reinecke is also considered to be an important figure in the study of pidgins and creoles. What is interesting, whereas Hugo Schuchardt is often regarded as the father of pidgin and creole studies, John Reinecke is deemed to be the father of modern creolistics (Holm 1988). His publications include a great collection of research conducted on pidginised and creolised tongues. The doctoral thesis he wrote at Yale University was then the best work on Hawaiian Creole English as well as on pidgins and creoles in general. Moreover, he compiled a very rich bibliography which included nearly all of the works until that time. Reinecke wrote also about standard languages, comparing them with less prestigious systems (*e.g.* Hancock 1987, Holm 1988). Reinecke did also some typological work – he classified pidgins and creoles into three categories: plantation creole dialects, settlers' creole dialects and trade jargons/pidgins. This typology was later developed and included some more types of languages – not only pidgins and creoles. The set of languages suggested by Reinecke was thus expanded and included such

categories as: maroon creoles, colonial dialects, foreigner's mixed speeches, dying minority languages, lingua francas and others (Holm 1988: 40-41). Although Reinecke's contribution to the theory of pidgin and creole studies is rather limited, he was one of the first to look at the languages under discussion from a sociological perspective. Holm (1988: 40) rightly notes that Reinecke "(…) not only staked out the full scope of the discipline but also established its sociological foundations, ensuring that it would be a part of what was to become sociolinguistics".

Although all of the scholars and their achievements mentioned above were significant for the development of pidgin and creole linguistics, one of the most known pidgin and creole linguists is, undoubtedly, Robert A. Hall, Jr. Hall is important in creolistics for his works marked a new phase of an intense development of pidgin and creole studies. In most of his publications, he dealt with various aspects of Melanesian Pidgin English, today known as Tok Pisin. The book *Hands off Pidgin English!* (1955), in which he described the grammar of this tongue as well as its sociolinguistic background, laid substantial foundations to this developing discipline (Platt and Platt 1975). What should be stressed here is that Hall's interests were not only focused on this one example of pidgins and creoles and, as a result, he wrote a series of essays and more lengthy papers in which he generally elaborated on the history, development and character of the languages in question; a good case in point being his *Pidgin and Creole Languages* (1966). Many contemporary sociolinguists regard Hall as the founder of modern pidgin and creole studies. Hall started his career as an active creolist in the 1950s and it is – more or less – then that the sub-field of sociolinguistics, namely, pidgin and creole linguistics, started to be viewed as an absorbing and challenging realm of studies.

This sudden increase of preoccupation with these tongues resulted in the First International Creole Conference organised by Robert Le Page – lecturer of the University College of the West Indies (which was the first pidgin and creole research institution (Holm 1988)) in March/April 1959 in Jamaica. Those who gathered there decided that pidgin and creole linguistics ought to constitute an independent field of study. From that time, an intensive development of this scientific realm can be observed. The First International Creole Conference was not a particularly big event in terms of the number of participants – there were only thirteen of them (Mühlhäusler [1986] 1997) – but this was a meeting during which a variety of significant issues was discussed (*e.g.* the monogenetic theory of pidgin origin).

In the subsequent decades, there were more and more linguists launching into research on various aspects of pidgins and creoles. This

can be confirmed by the fact that the second conference on pidgins and creoles in 1968 gathered over 50 experts and the next events organised by pidgin and creole linguistics attracted even more (*ibid.*). Among the more and more developing group of creolists, the most prominent have been: David DeCamp, who wrote about Jamaican Creole and the notion of creole continuum, Frederic Cassidy, who also devoted some of his essays to Jamaican, as well as to the general theories pertaining to pidgin and creole tongues, Ian Hancock, who extensively wrote on Atlantic creoles, Morris Goodman, who postulated a hypothesis that English-based creoles derive from Caribbean languages, Derek Bickerton, who proposed the language bioprogram[8] hypothesis, Peter Mühlhäusler, who dealt mainly with Tok Pisin, Don Laycock, who also researched various facets of Tok Pisin, Suzanne Romaine, who is known for her informative books on sociolinguistics, bilingualism as well as on pidgins, creoles and Tok Pisin in particular, and others (*e.g.* Hancock 1987, Holm 1988, Mühlhäusler [1986] 1997, Platt and Platt 1975).

The growing interest in pidgin and creole studies can also be observed in the sheer volume of literature which is published on the topic related with pidgins and creoles. A number of specialised academic journals such as *Journal of Pidgin and Creole Studies*, Am*sterdam Creole Studies* or *Papers in Pidgin and Creole Linguistics* enlarge this inventory. Moreover, along with the advent of the era of the Internet, the knowledge of creolistics started to be spread by means of various newsletters or discussion lists.

Pidgin and creole linguistics has recently become an attention-grabbing discipline in which much has yet to be thoroughly analysed and depicted. So far, most of the research has concentrated on European-based pidgins and creoles whereas relatively little attention has been paid to non-European tongues of this type. Nowadays, apart from typical grammatical and lexical descriptions of these systems, more scientists shift their focus of interest towards such issues as multilingualism, code-switching, second language acquisition and pidginisation/creolisation or registers within pidgins and creoles.

The upsurge of interest in this still developing branch of linguistics will certainly bring more precise data concerning the languages in question, and therefore, the existence of pidgin and creole linguistics as an independent field of language study will be unquestionable.

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[8] Despite the fact that British spelling conventions are adhered to in this book, this particular word is spelt throughout the whole book according to American spelling conventions because such was the original Bickerton's spelling.

1.3. Theories of pidgin/creole origin

Along with the development of pidgin and creole linguistics, many researchers have tried to come up with a consistent theory[9] of the origin of these tongues. However, there is still no agreement as to which postulate is the most appropriate and adequate.

It has been found that various theories of pidgin and creole origin as a focal point take at least one of the four features attributed to pidgins and creoles: a) great similarity among pidgins and creoles, b) greater simplicity in relation to other natural tongues, c) more mixture in grammar than in other languages, d) greater pidgin and creole language instability (Muysken and Smith 1995).

This section presents an overview of the most important theoretical concepts which have been proposed in order to explain the genesis of pidgins and creoles.

1.3.1. Monogenetic theory with relexification

The monogenetic theory, also known as *the theory of monogenesis* or *the relexification theory* (*e.g.* Mühlhäusler [1986] 1997)), has basically two versions. The main idea that lies behind both versions of this theory is that pidgin languages come primarily from one source – "a common 'generic' ancestor" (Platt and Platt 1975: 105) or, as Romaine puts it ([1988] 2000: 86), "(…) that all pidgins are genetically related to one proto-pidgin". Such a view entails applying the technique of historical linguistics, namely the family tree model of language change, which was postulated by August Schleicher in 1871 (Jeffers and Lehiste 1984).

In the first version of monogenesis, West African Portuguese Pidgin is considered to have been this single source whereas in the second variant, the language from which other pidgins developed is Lingua Franca.

As for West African Portuguese Pidgin, it is claimed that this language was used for about three centuries (from the 15th century to the 18th century) around the coast of West Africa (Muysken and Smith 1995). What is more, a number of Portuguese-based creoles have been thought to have developed out of this West African Portuguese Pidgin. Some researchers went even further and stated that other Dutch-based, English-based or French-based creoles were also descendants of this pidgin. They used the notion of relexification to support their claims.

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[9] In the literature on pidgin and creole genesis, the words "theory" and "hypothesis" are quite frequently used interchangeably and this fashion is adhered to in this section.

Relexification is a linguistic process which consists in replacing the early lexicon with the vocabulary of the dominant language (McMahon 1994) with preserving grammar (Mühlhäusler [1986] 1997). The idea that it might have been Portuguese Pidgin that formed the basis from which all other languages of this type developed was suggested by Robert W. Thompson, who states (1961: 113) that West African Portuguese Pidgin "(...) may have provided the model for the two great branches of Pidgin English, China Coast Pidgin and Neo-Melanesian".

What is interesting, the influence of Portuguese on European-based pidgins and creoles can be observed in the existence of a few words of Portuguese origin. Sebba (1997: 73) provides two instances of such lexical items, one being the word *piccaninny*, which stands for "a child" or "small", and the other *savvy* – meaning "know".

A slightly different position was taken by linguists who claimed that West African Portuguese Pidgin had not been this single source but that this language itself had emerged from another tongue – namely Lingua Franca, spoken in the basin of the Mediterranean Sea in the Mediaeval times. However, as stated by den Besten, Muysken and Smith (1995: 88) "[t]he possibility of a role for Lingua Franca in the formation of W[est]A[frican]P[ortuguese]P[idgin] cannot of course be denied, but cannot be proved either".

Lingua Franca, sometimes also referred to as Sabir (Adler 1977) or "a relic of Sabir" (Romaine [1988] 2000: 87), was a pidgin language composed of Italian, Provençal, Portuguese and other Romance elements which was used in the Middle Ages by shipmen, traders and crusaders. And it is hypothesised that this language gave rise to all the European-based pidgin languages. This, again, might have occurred through the process of relexification.

Relexification, which is often invoked within the context of the monogenetic theory, is undeniably a very potent linguistic process but in many cases it is extremely difficult to assess its role in the formation of pidgins and creoles with European bases. It is so due to the lack of convincing information on the details concerning the proto-pidgins (both West African Portuguese Pidgin and Lingua Franca). Loreto Todd (1974) charted a hypothetical diagram (Figure 1), by means of which she presents the development of European-based pidgins and creole via relexification (diagram adopted from Romaine [1988] 2000: 89).

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                          Sabir (Lingua Franca)
                                  |
                        Proto-Portuguese pidgin
         ┌────────────────────────┴────────────────────────┐
   Atlantic Portuguese pidgin                    Indo-Pacific Portuguese pidgin
  ┌──────────┬──────────┬──────────┐         ┌──────────┬──────────┐
Portuguese pidgin  Hispanized. P.p.  etc.  Anglicized P.p.   Gallicized P.p.
 ┌────┴────┐     ┌────┴────┐        ┌────┴────┐      ┌────┴────┐
Guiné Crioulo  etc. Papiamentu  etc.  Jamaican etc. Krio  Louisiana Haitian  etc.

              ┌──────────┬──────────┬──────────┐
        Gallicized P.p.  Nederlandicized P.p.   etc.      Anglicized P.p
       ┌────┴────┐      ┌────┴────┐         ┌────┴────┐
   Seychellois etc. Mauritian  Afrikaans  etc.  China coast p.  etc.  Neo-Melanesian
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Figure 1. Hypothetical family tree model for all European-based pidgins and creoles

Apart from the two versions of monogenesis discussed above, there is a third one which is sometimes known as restricted monogenesis. This approach accounts for the development of English and French pidgins and creoles. It is thought that pidgin and creole languages which are based on English come from West African Pidgin English and those based on French – from West African Pidgin French (den Besten, Muysken, Smith 1995). Den Besten, Muysken and Smith (1995) are of the opinion that pidgins and creoles belonging to these two groups are in many cases similar but there are also some features which distinguish them as these properties do not occur simultaneously in the two groups. However, the problem with restricted monogenesis, as they point out, lies somewhere else because what is still unknown is whether English-based pidgins and creoles used in the Atlantic are derived from the same source as English-based pidgins and creoles spoken in the Pacific. The same question calls for an answer in the case of Atlantic and Pacific French-based pidgins and creoles.

Along with the advancement of creolistics, more and more researchers took up the question of pidgin and creole genesis. Much weaker versions of monogenesis were suggested by Morris Goodman (1964) and by William Stewart (1967). Their models were diffusionist in nature, which means that they saw West Africa as the place where single lexical base pidgins and creoles developed and from which other varieties spread. Goodman dealt with French-based pidgins and creoles and in his view, various French-based pidgin and creole languages had one common source in West Africa. The original language was a kind of mixture of African indigenous languages and the language of French

colonisers. Then, the original tongue was imported to other places by African slaves. Goodman states that (1964: 130) "[t]he West African jargon or pidgin (...) began to develop independently in the various colonial areas to which it had been transported and to become more stable as it came in increasing measure to supplant the native languages of Africans" (quoted after: Holm 1988: 49). What is important, Goodman objected to the assumption that there had been some kind of Portuguese proto-pidgin from which all other European languages of this type might have formed.

Similarly, Stewart believed that Atlantic English-based pidgins and creoles had a common source in West Africa where some Africans, who were later captured and shipped to America, had managed to grasp the basics of British colonisers' language.

Another weaker version of monogenesis, known as the domestic origin hypothesis, was put forward by Ian Hancock whose main assumption is that (1969: 7):

> (...) the English-derived creoles spoken today on the West African coast, and in South, Central, and North America, represent the modern descendants of a single early pidgin spoken probably with local variants along the West African coast from the early sixteenth century. (quoted after: Holm 1988: 50).

The domestic hypothesis as well as the diffusionist models seem less controversial than the two versions of monogenesis as they do not hold that *all* pidgin and creole languages have a single origin. They focus on languages within a single lexical base and make no claim that there was some kind of Portuguese proto-pidgin.

Monogenesis was quite an important step in theorising about pidgins and creoles. Although linguists agree that relexification can play a significant role in language development, they have also noticed a number of fallacies of the monogenetic theory. First of all, Portuguese proto-pidgin was assumed to be a lingua franca and an international dialect spoken by people of various linguistic backgrounds but, as Baker (1995) states, there is no evidence which could be used in favour of this claim. Moreover, so far nobody has provided any believable explanation of the reason why people might have opted for the relexification of their original language, depriving themselves of a single and commonly understandable vehicle of communication. What is also important, monogenesis seems to totally neglect the fact that many other non-European pidgins and creoles exist. Finally, in the words of den Besten, Muysken and Smith (1995: 88), "the idea that all pidgins and creoles, or even all creoles, or even all creoles in the Atlantic area, require to be derived from a single case of pidginisation is completely irrational".

1.3.2. Polygenetic theory/Independent parallel development theory

The polygenetic theory, or *polygenesis*, stands in opposition to the monogenetic theory as the former does not assume that all pidgins and creoles originate from one source. On the contrary, this postulate holds that pidgins and creoles develop independently but in a similar way due to the fact that, first of all, similar linguistic material is used (*i.e.* the elements derived primarily from Indo-European languages) and secondly, the growth of such pidgins and creoles is conditioned by similar social, historical and cultural factors (Romaine [1988] 2000). This is summarised by Holm (2000: 49) who says that "(...) many [creolists] believe that pidginization and creolization occurred in different places at different times but under parallel circumstances that produced parallel results".

While discussing creoles, Hugo Schuchardt also noticed that they had not developed from a single origin but they all had emerged through analogous processes. He is of the opinion that:

> (...) there exists no common Negro creole from which they [Negro creoles: Cape Verde Negro Portuguese, Curaçao Negro Spanish, Guyana Negro French, Negro Dutch, Surinam Negro English] could have issued. That is correct. We have no diverge, but rather a parallelism. They are fashioned out of the same material according to the same plan, in the same style. (Schuchardt 1980: 95)

Polygenesis is often given next to the notion of independent parallel development, which was worked out by Robert A. Hall. The very name – parallel development – was probably taken from historical linguistics because this concept is invoked within the frameworks of the wave theory. As such, parallel development is defined as "[a] change common to more than one language (be they related or not) that is not due to inheritance from a common ancestor" (Jeffers and Lehiste 1984: 33).

Hall attempted to find some grounds for the similarities found in various pidgins and creoles and he came to the conclusion that they must have been the results of similar mechanisms in operation (Sebba 1997). Thus, according to this postulate, pidgin and creole languages need not have a single origin – some kind of proto-pidgin, nor need they have any link with the Portuguese proto-pidgin.

To substantiate the validity of polygenesis/independent parallel development and the incorrectness of monogenesis, Heidi and John Platt (1975: 106) give a few examples of pidgins which show no influence of Portuguese. Among the class of such tongues, they include Sango of the Central African Republic, Chinook Jargon, Amerindian

Pidgin English, Pitcairnese and others. Furthermore, polygenetic aspects are present in nearly all other theories of origin. Therefore, polygenesis (Holm 2000), or rather its particular assumptions, has gained some recognition in pidginists and creolists' circles.

Like the theory of monogenesis, the polygenetic theory is not ideal and a number of problems are connected with this approach. Sebba (1997), for example, holds that cases of true parallel development have never been salient and the supporters of monogenesis have always managed to find some connection (often too far-fetched) between a given pidgin and the Portuguese proto-pidgin. However, it seems that pidgin and creole languages which were not previously studied well enough, particularly pidgins and creoles of Africa, Asia and Oceania, now provide a good deal of evidence that they are rather the products of like developmental processes taking place under similar social, historical and cultural conditions and not the offspring of some kind of proto-pidgin as postulated by monogenesis.

1.3.3. Universalist theories

Language universals have always drawn linguists' attention. These are specifically human properties which are responsible for the acquisition of language. Thus language universals make it possible for people of various linguistic origins to acquire any language in which they happen to be born and brought up. Liliane Haegeman puts it in the following manner (1994: 12):

> The idea is that human beings have a genetic endowment that enables them to learn language. It is this innate capacity for language learning common to all human beings (...). Of course, it would be unreasonable to posit that some individuals – those that will become native speakers of English – are born with a specific grammar of English and that others – those that will end up speaking Italian as their first language – are born with the grammar of Italian readily stored in their minds. Human beings with normal faculties are able to learn any human language. The innate linguistic endowment must be geared to any human language and not to just one.

As elucidated by Haegeman, any person who is not in any way mentally invalid, can acquire (or, as Haegeman calls it, learn) any language because their mental linguistic capabilities are not limited by the linguistic environment in which they are born. The postulate that there are some linguistic universals is part of universal grammar: a set of features which are present in all languages of the world. This approach was formulated by generative linguists working in the tradition started by Noam Chomsky, who, while defining universal grammar, says that it

"(…) may be thought of as some principles, common to the species and available to each individual prior to experience" (1981: 7).

Language universals have also been incorporated into the theory of pidgin and creole languages since these tongues are sometimes claimed to be the testing ground for many hypotheses about the operation of these universal laws because, as is occasionally argued, pidgins and creoles are just the results of various universal principles at work. This is supported by the data taken from different existing and extinct pidgin and creole languages which exhibit many similarities in their morphology, phonology, semantics or syntax.

Interestingly enough, pidgins are in most cases the products of the process of the simplification of the structures and lexicons of other languages and this simplification is sometimes thought of as being driven by some universal law. This is observed by Loreto Todd who says that (1990: 40):

> [t]he similarities in all pidgins from the past as well as the present, and from all continents, may well be accounted for if we can show that human beings are biologically programmed to acquire *Language* rather than any particular language, and that the programming includes an innate ability to dredge our linguistic behaviour of superficial redundancies where there is a premium on transmitting facts, on communicating, as it were, without frills. It is not being suggested that we are consciously aware of *how* we adjust our language behaviour. But the fact that we do adjust and the fact that people of different linguistic backgrounds adjust their language behaviour in similar ways, suggests that the behaviour is rule-governed and may be the result of linguistic universals.

The universals, to which Todd refers, may be of different character. They could be constraints on pidgin complexity and learnability. It is obvious that any pidgin is composed of simple structures which make it possible for learners to grasp this language relatively fast. This constraint could be then formulated as "little complexity to facilitate learnability". As has been mentioned above, also the strategies of language reduction (*i.e.* simplification) may be regarded as universal principles because what counts during this process is, as Sebba calls it (1997: 96), "maximal communicate efficiency". Another possible constraint may refer to meaning-form relationship. It again may allow certain structures to be incorporated into the pidgin language, eliminating at the same time other constructions. Pidgin and creole theory makes it clear which universals are considered procedural and which constitutive (Muysken and Veenstra 1995). The strategies and procedures which are employed in the aforementioned process of the simplification of the target language may be deemed to be procedural. Constitutive univer-

sals, on the other hand, are those which are responsible for what pidgin grammar may look like. They are concerned with pidgin and creole grammatical features such as allowable word orders, serial verbs, markers of tense, modality and aspect or markers of plurality.

Among the theories which try to account for pidgin and creole genesis by means of language universals, the most prominent are: language bioprogram hypothesis and semantic transparency hypothesis. They are discussed below.

1.3.3.1. Language bioprogram hypothesis

A direct reference to the claim that the human mind is equipped with a genetically inherited set of universal principles which enable all people to acquire a language is *the hypothesis of language bioprogram* formulated by Derek Bickerton. Bickerton has dealt primarily with the genesis of creoles, paying relatively less attention to the formation of pidgins. He has aimed at providing the answer to the three fundamental questions: how creoles emerged, how children acquire language, and how human language arose (Romaine [1988] 2000).

Bickerton has found evidence to support his hypothesis in the following structural features of creoles: (1) movement rules, (2) articles, (3) tense-modality-aspect markers, (4) realised and unrealised verb complements, (5) relativisation, (6) negation, (7) existential and possessive, (8) copula, (9) adjectives used as verbs (with tense-modality-aspect markers), (10) question word order, (11) question words, (12) passive (Romaine [1988] 2000: 47-48, Sebba 1997: 173-174). In Bickerton's views, if a language has all or the majority of the above features, it may be classified as a creole but not all creole languages are good enough to be analysed within the framework of his bioprogram hypothesis.

A good candidate for his model, apart from the fact that it should possess the above structural characteristics, should meet two basic requirements: first of all, it ought to have a pidgin as its predecessor which was used by one generation of speakers (*i.e.* a given pidgin should undergo creolisation within the first generation of pidgin speakers), and second, the majority of population (*i.e.* approximately 80 per cent) should speak a few various languages, and the rest – about 20 per cent ought to be the speakers of the dominant (*i.e.* lexifier) tongue[10]. By setting such stringent requirements, Bickerton wanted to limit the research field because, as he thinks, "[by] limiting our research area in this way, it becomes possible to concentrate on those situations in

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[10]   This criterion was later relaxed by Bickerton (Romaine [1988] 2000).

which the human linguistic capacity is stretched to the uttermost" (Bickerton 1981: 4).

Bickerton's claims relied very heavily on the processes of language acquisition and language evolution (*e.g.* Bickerton 1981, McMahon 1994, Platt and Platt 1975, Romaine [1988] 2000). For Bickerton, these two phenomena are extremely crucial for the explanation of creole origins. The systems of creolised languages contain elements which are said to be universal among all languages of this type (the above 12 features), and moreover, are acquired by children without great effort and within a short period of time. Children surrounded by pidgin speakers have no patterns of a correct creole language (*i.e.* input), therefore, by means of the linguistic universals (precisely, the bioprogram) they are capable of generating and developing the rules and principles which so far have not existed in their parents' pidginised tongue (*e.g.* Bickerton 1981, Romaine [1988] 2000, Sebba 1997). Thus a new generation brought up in society speaking a pidgin turns this language into a creole and then the process of creolisation takes place. The example which is often quoted by Bickerton is Hawaiian Creole English which developed from Hawaiian Pidgin English under the conditions Bickerton regards necessary for the operation of the bioprogram. While conducting the analysis of Hawaiian Creole English and its predecessor – Hawaiian Pidgin English, Bickerton found a number of interesting points. Firstly, he noticed that the Hawaiian Pidgin English speakers' native (*i.e.* first) languages were structurally quite different and some of them lacked certain properties such as relative clauses, tense-modality-aspect markers, embeddings *etc.*, and therefore, children acquiring the creole did not have a consistent set of grammar rules to acquire. Those children somehow constructed the missing parts of grammar in such a way that Hawaiian Creole English developed relative clauses, tense-modality-aspect markers, embedded clauses, articles and so on (*i.e.* the 12 features).

Novel and innovative as this approach initially was, Bickerton's hypothesis has been under trenchant criticism for Bickerton has made many dogmatic claims, stating, for instance, that all – or almost all – creoles employ definite, indefinite and zero articles (Eklund 1996). It has been shown that even if a language turns out to be a creole in Bickerton's view, it does not have the structural properties which Bickerton finds crucial. Mühlhäusler ([1986] 1997: 200-202) gives an example of Unserdeutch as having few such features[11] but perfectly meeting the criterion of having developed from a pidgin within one generation. On the other side there is Tok Pisin which has eight

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[11] Three features; one feature is not discussed owing to the lack of data.

features, but which does not fulfil the requirement. It therefore emerges that the model formulated by Bickerton is (at least partially) flawed. Another critical point pertains to the fact that Bickerton seems to totally neglect the social, historical and cultural conditions which are inherent to the process of creole formation since he is of the opinion that a child acquiring a creole has no other alternative tongue to master. This view seems to be not always true because it has been claimed many times that in pidgin- and creole-speaking communities bi- and multilingualism – with a few alternative languages to be learnt by children – are the norm rather than the exception. Finally, Bickerton denies the possibility that a substrate language (or languages) may have an influence on the creole language and that this influence can account for the phenomena connected with creole formation (Sebba 1997).

Although deficient in many points, Bickerton's creole genesis hypothesis has stirred up a great deal of academic discussion. The issues covered in the bioprogram hypothesis have been touched upon not only by linguists but also by psychologists and anthropologists. Nowadays, however, Bickerton's language bioprogram hypothesis is hardly verifiable because, according to Romaine (1994a: 169), "[n]o children are currently acquiring a creole language under the relevant circumstances required to validate the operation of bioprogram".

1.3.3.2. Semantic transparency hypothesis

The hypothesis offered by Bickerton has not been very convincing but it is generally agreed that some kind of universals might be important in the processes of pidgin and creole genesis. It has already been said that universal principles invoked within pidgin and creole language theory may be stated in terms of various constraints on what is possible and what is not in pidgin and creole languages. One of such constraints is connected with the relationship between meaning and form and is often referred to as *semantic transparency*. This theory holds that "(…) the structure of creole languages directly reflects universal semantic structures" (Muysken and Veenstra 1995: 124). To put it differently, pidgin and creole languages are semantically transparent, which means that the constructions used in these languages are the realisation of universal semantic structures. This can be exemplified by the markers of tense-aspect-modality, which, as stated by Muysken and Veenstra (*ibid.*), are reflections of "separate logical operators". Another instance of semantic transparency may be found in gender-specific forms of pidgin and creole nouns (if such exist). Sebba (1997: 50) quotes in this respect Tok Pisin which marks gender by a separate lexical item: *man* (male) or *meri* (female). In such a way, the following items: *bulmakau*

meri ("cow"), *bulmakau man* ("bull"), *dok meri* ("bitch") and *dok man* ("hound", "male dog") (Mihalic 1989) are perfect examples of semantic transparency.

As has been shown, semantic transparency hypothesis assumes some role of universals because it seems that those universals determine what a pidgin or creole language may have in its structure and what it cannot.

1.3.4. Substratum theory

It has been claimed many times that pidgin and creole languages exhibit in their structures a considerable influence of substrate languages. However, before embarking on the presentation of the essence of *the substratum theory*, it is necessary to shed some light on what in this context the substratum or substrate language is.

The notion of *the substratum* or *substrate language* is frequently put next to such terms as the superstratum or superstrate language and the adstratum or adstrate language. Substrate languages in the context of language contact are defined as linguistic systems which influence phonetics and other areas of grammar of the newly formed speech. In other words, substrate languages contribute to the development of grammatical structures (*i.e.* morphology, phonetics, phonology, syntax) whereas the lexicon of the new pidgin is derived primarily from a language which, in this case, is called *superstrate*. What is interesting, pidgin languages usually emerge in situations in which there are at least two parties of unequal social status. This status is, as if, reflected in the grammatical and lexical structure of the new variety because the socially dominant group's (*e.g.* colonisers' or slavers') language – *i.e.* the superstratum – is responsible for the majority of vocabulary whereas the socially dominated group's (or groups') languages – *i.e.* the substratum – donate their grammar(s). The third term – *the adstratum* or *adstrate language(s)* – is used with reference to language contact situations in which two or more varieties are spoken more or less to the same degree and none of them is in any way dominant. Of course such languages may, and in fact *do*, have an influence on one another, which can be seen in mutual borrowing but their speakers' statuses are equal and, consequently, such languages are also usually of equal importance. What is more, the adstratum is sometimes referred to in pidgin and creole linguistics as a language which was involved in the creation of a new pidgin or creole but which is neither a superstrate nor substrate language (Arends, Kouwenberg, Smith 1995).

The substratum theory holds that the creation of a given pidgin language is a result of mixing the superstratum with the substratum

and that the grammatical structure of pidgins and creoles is the reflection of the structure of the substrate languages (*e.g.* McWhorter 1997). Those who think this theory is right point to the properties that have been established both in pidgins and creoles and tongues which are said to constitute the substratum of those pidgin and creole varieties. These features are believed to have been transferred by pidgin creators from their original native languages to the new pidgin or creole because there was a need for this new pidginised or creolised variety to have a complete grammatical system (*ibid.*). Among such features which have been identified by the proponents of the substrate theory are, for instance, serial verbs or verbs functioning as adjectives which are present in Atlantic pidgins and creoles and their West African substrate languages. Similar observations have been made about pidgins and creoles spoken in the Pacific region and their Oceanic substrates (Romaine 1994a). Stephen Wurm, for example, has found that the postmodifiers of Tok Pisin are derived from Tolai which is regarded as one of the substrate languages of Tok Pisin. He claims that:

> [t]he appearance of adjectives of different classes preceding or following the nouns which they determine attributively is a typical feature of the Austronesian Tolai which shows the phenomenon uniquely amongst New Guinea Austronesian languages. It may well have entered Pidgin from this source. (Wurm 1977: 515, quoted after: Mühlhäusler [1986] 1997: 115)

Although, as is the case with the previously discussed theories of pidgin and creole origin, the substratum postulate can be applied to a number of features, especially those concerned with pronunciation and phonetics, it is not applicable to all aspects. Many researchers disfavour, for instance, the explanation of various syntactic phenomena within the substratum theory since they are of the opinion that it is not so easy as it may seem to determine the exact source of a given syntactic pattern present in the pidgin. It may happen, and indeed has happened, that one structure is attributed to a few languages which may form a language family. A good case in point is the system of Tok Pisin pronouns which includes inclusive (*yumipela*) and exclusive (*mipela*) forms of the pronoun "we". Obviously this feature is of Austronesian origin because English – being Tok Pisin superstrate language – does not make such distinctions in its system of pronouns. As it seems, it is quite difficult to establish which substrate language may be responsible for this aspect for, as claimed by Sebba (1997: 95), "(…) this distinction is found in most of the languages of the Pacific region (…)". Furthermore, the methodology applied within the substrate theory has been much discussed and often criticised (especially by the scholars working in the

universalist tradition). One of such critics is Derek Bickerton (1981: 48) who sees the substratum theory methodological procedures in the following way:

> substratomaniacs (…) seem to be satisfied with selecting particular structures in one or more creole languages and showing that superficially similar structures can be found in one or more West African languages.

What Bickerton had probably in mind while formulating the above-quoted words was that now and again linguists trying to find some correspondences between a given pidgin or creole and its substratum just pick up some features from a given pidginised or creolised language and attempt to relate them to some languages which they deem the substratum, having no solid methodological justification. Such a procedure, although coined by Joey L. Dillard (1970) mainly to refer to the practice of some linguists working on English creoles spoken in the Caribbean and in the USA and tracing the features of those languages in varieties of British English, was called *the cafeteria principle* (*e.g.* Arends, Kouwenberg, Smith 1995, Romaine [1988] 2000).

On the whole, although the substratum theory has an explanatory potential (because it is indeed possible to trace some pidgin and creole properties back to a language or languages which may constitute the substratum), its methodology seems not sound enough and, as it turns out, under the cover of a methodologically founded procedure researchers can arrive at the answer they wish to obtain just by applying the cafeteria principle, which may in effect falsify the facts about the origin of pidgins and creoles.

1.3.5. Baby talk hypothesis/Foreigner talk hypothesis

One of the most hotly debated theories of pidgin and creole origins is *the hypothesis of baby talk* or *foreigner talk* (it is every now and then claimed that the foreigner talk hypothesis was developed on the basis of its earlier version – the baby talk hypothesis (Sebba 1997)). The terms *baby talk* and *foreigner talk* are frequently used interchangeably but there is, at least, one crucial difference between them. This disparity lies in the fact that *baby talk* refers to a kind of speech used in addressing children (and not, as it may suggest, the language of babies or of young children because such is called in linguistics *child language*). Such language may be characterised, among others, by many diminutives or nicknames. *Foreigner talk*, on the other hand, is a kind of speech used when talking to foreigners – *i.e.* people who have little or no command of a certain language. In spite of this difference, in the context of pidgin and creole genesis the notions – *baby talk* and *foreigner talk* –

can be both applied to highly reduced varieties (of dominant languages) which may have given rise to pidgins, and subsequently, to creoles. Some scholars instead of applying the terms *baby talk* and *foreigner talk* prefer to use the notion *the reduced code* which means the "reduced (…) version of the superstratum language" (Lefebvre 2004: 12).

The baby talk/foreigner talk hypothesis is connected with the name of Hugo Schuchardt (Holm 2000). The main claim of Schuchardt's postulate is that a pidginised language arises as a highly simplified language which is quite similar to the one parents use in communication with their small children or to the one native speakers of dominant languages use while conversing with non-native users (*e.g. ibid.*, Romaine 1994a). In other words, this theory holds that pidgins and creoles emerge out of tongues whose lexical and grammatical systems have been radically modified by dominant language speakers to facilitate verbal communication between them and people speaking the substrate tongue(s). April M. S. McMahon (1994) exemplifies this hypothesis by using non-European societies and European colonisers. The latter purposefully simplified their language so that the colonised (substrate users) could understand the superstrate speech, which, in turn, could have trigged off the process of pidginisation. Charles Ferguson directly states that (1971: 147-148):

> (…) the foreigner talk of a speech community may serve as an incipient pidgin. This view asserts that the initial source of the grammatical structure of a pidgin is the more or less systematic simplification of the lexical source language which occurs in the foreigner talk register of its speakers, rather than the grammatical structure of the language(s) of the other users of the pidgin.

Some linguists thought that the learners (*i.e.* the speakers of substrate languages) played no (or very little) role in creating such languages because they were deemed to be intellectually inferior to the speakers of a dominant language. In this view, it is the dominant language speakers who had to simplify their tongue, to use this baby talk (or foreigner talk), in order to make communication possible. This opinion can be inferred from the following quotation:

> Speakers of a lower language may make so little progress in learning the dominant speech, that the masters, in communicating with them resort to 'baby-talk'. This 'baby-talk' is the master's imitation of the subjects' incorrect speech. There is no reason to believe that it is by no means an exact imitation, and that some if its features are based not upon the subjects' mistakes but upon grammatical relations that exist within the upper language itself. The subject, in turn, deprived of the correct model, can do no better now than to acquire the simplified 'baby-talk' version of the upper language. (Bloomfield 1933: 472)

It can be, however, assumed that the learners who were addressed in baby talk (or foreigner talk) *did* play some role in creating this simplified variety (*i.e.* in pidginisation) because the input language they received was grammatically and lexically restricted and they modelled their speech just on the basis of this restricted input. On the other hand, it is also not justified to see the process of pidgin formation only as a second language learning with no active role of dominant language speakers. Thus it can be said that the baby talk/foreigner talk theory conflates the roles of both groups in contact: the simplification of the lexifier language by its speakers to foreigner talk and the imitation of this simplified variety by the superstrate language speakers. Furthermore, the active role of both parties in the creation of foreigner talk is borne out by the fact that creating a new pidgin has always been connected with the choice of lexical items or the negotiation of meaning. This is what Sebba (1997) claims by giving the examples of Norwegians and Russians who were both active parties in the formation of their pidgin language – Russenorsk.

It has been observed that foreigner talk results from the operation of many processes, which are discussed, for example, by den Besten, Muysken and Smith (1995). Their claim is that *accommodation*, *imitation*, *telegraphic condensation* and *convention adoption* play crucial roles in generating foreigner talk. The process of accommodation rests on using simplified phonetics and phonology (*e.g.* by using fewer weak forms and more pauses or by speaking at a slower pace *etc.*), reduced syntax (*e.g.* by constructing much fewer complex sentences which are in general shorter, by omitting auxiliaries, by using a similar (in many cases even invariable) word order for questions and statements *etc.*), narrowed semantics (*e.g.* by using general, unspecified concepts) or limited lexicon (*e.g.* by using repetitions as intensifiers). Another process inherent in foreigner talk – imitation – is observed in the speech produced by a native speaker. Native users of a given lexifier language repeat the forms they hear in the non-native speaker's variety. This imitation might by motivated by the fact that the native speaker is likely to find the forms used by the non-native user generally easier and better comprehensible to non-native speakers. Then, in foreigner talk there is also telegraphic condensation (it leads to forms such as the ones found in telegraphs: few (if any) copulas, articles, prepositions) which, arguably partly overlaps with the accommodation of syntax because it has to do with eliminating such elements as auxiliaries, copulas, operators, articles *etc.* Convention adoption consists in using pidgin-specific sounds, strong pronouns, local lexical items *etc.*

Interestingly, Ferguson (1971) has noted some striking similarities between baby talk/foreigner talk and pidgins. He is of the opinion

that actually all languages have such varieties which are used by people who are not capable of having a perfect command of the standard varieties (such as foreigners, the deaf or the hearing-impaired, babies). Such systems are usually significantly reduced in terms of the complexity of grammar and lexicon so as to facilitate communication in them and hence both pidgins and foreigner talk varieties have unexpressed copulas, the sentences are evidently shorter and simpler, spoken discourse units (*i.e.* utterances) also tend to be briefer. This may point to the fact that maybe some pidgins (precisely speaking, incipient pidgins, *i.e.* jargon or pre-pidgin varieties), *did* develop from foreign talk dialects of their superstratum.

The theory of baby talk/foreigner talk discussed within the context of pidgin and creole genesis may bring to light two interesting facts: first of all, it is found in many sources that the parties among whom foreigner talk (and later on a pidgin language) developed thought of themselves as speaking the language of the other group. This phenomenon is known as *double illusion* (Silverstein 1972, after: Sebba 1997) and was observed in the Russian and Norwegian communities speaking Russenorsk (Broch 1927), among the speakers of an early pidgin of Australia or in Quebec between the French and Indian speakers of a jargon (Sebba 1997). Secondly, because the discussed theory makes references to the simplification of the superstrate language, it also sometimes invokes *the factorisation principle* which was formulated by Anthony J. Naro (1978). This principle holds that each meaningful unit should be expressed by one stressed (in phonetic-phonological understanding) form. Naro analysed Portuguese pidgin and his conclusion was such that it was formed by the Portuguese who consciously modified the Portuguese language while teaching it to the Africans. More importantly, the evidence collected by Naro suggested that this pidgin had originated in Europe and not in Africa, as is sometimes suggested by the supporters of other pidgin and creole genesis theories, in particular those of the monogenesis.

All things considered, the role of foreigner talk has not been questioned as far as the very early phases of pidginisation are concerned (*i.e.* the jargon or pre-pidgin stages) but the evidence for the operation of foreigner talk at later stages of pidgin formation seems to be lacking. This was observed, for example, by Mühlhäusler ([1986] 1997) who found out that foreigner talk might have been involved in the creation of the very first version of a language which later developed into Tok Pisin, but generally this is where the role of foreigner talk ends. Furthermore, foreigner talk is very variable because it may reflect cultural patterns of a given community in which this dialect comes up. Another critical claim about the theory of foreigner talk is made by Volker Hin-

nenkamp (1984) who, on the basis of a research project he had carried out on German foreign talk, is of the opinion that of course simplification may matter to the formation of pidgin languages but foreign talk which emerges through significant grammatical and lexical simplification and reduction of the target language is so diverse and inconsistent that it cannot be seriously taken as a decisive factor in pidginisation.

At the end of the discussion of the foreigner talk/baby talk hypothesis, it is worth saying that this postulate is occasionally deemed to be one of the universalist theories. Language universals are invoked in this context because, as believed, for example, by Ferguson (1971), they may be responsible for the fact that foreigner talk varieties share many properties resulting probably from the universal principles underlying language simplification which were somehow adhered to by native speakers producing foreigner talk when talking to non-native speakers.

1.3.6. Imperfect second language learning theory

Having come to the conclusion that various theories which were proposed to explain the genesis of pidgins and creoles cannot really account for the peculiarity and origins of the languages under discussion, some linguists turned their attention to the way in which these, and generally all, languages are learned. They postulate that pidgin and creole genesis is strictly connected with *imperfect second language learning*. A statement of this kind was made by Otto Jespersen who thought that pidginised and creolised tongues were varieties of languages on which they were based but "(…) learnt imperfectly" (Jespersen [1922] 1969: 225). It is thus at times made explicit that pidgins originated as the results of imperfect learning of the superstrate languages primarily in the context of slavery.

The notion *second language learning* is sometimes used as equivalent to *second language acquisition* although it has already been explained in this chapter that language learning is different from language acquisition in that the latter is rather an unconscious process of becoming a native speaker of a given tongue whereas learning is more conscious a process which is usually aimed at native-like competence and proficiency in the target language but the full (*i.e.* native-like) competence is infrequently achieved. The lack of full competence in the target language is characteristic of many pidgin-speaking communities. The members of such communities rarely (if ever) become fully proficient in the target language and the system they have learned is often the pidgin language.

As for pidginisation seen as imperfect second language learning, an interesting point is made by John Schumann who goes quite far and

postulates that (1978: 110) "(…) pidginization may characterize all early second language acquisition and that under conditions of social and psychological distance it persists". This would mean that any process of learning a second language involves the phase of creating pidgin-like structures and only later, when this process continues, does it have a chance to develop into competence in the target language. However, if social conditions are unfavourable (*e.g.* access to the target language is limited) or there are some psychological factors (*e.g.* the negative attitude to the target language or to its native speakers), this pidgin-like system may become fossilised (*i.e.* stabilised without further lexical and grammatical expansion) (Sebba 1997). What is interesting, the aforementioned social and psychological factors were often found in the communities where pidgins came into being: the indigenous peoples or slaves did not have full access to the target language nor were the colonisers and slavers willing to teach their native languages (*i.e.* lexifiers) to the colonised and captured slaves, respectively. What is more, both parties usually had very negative feelings about each other's languages: the slaves or the conquered peoples regarded the target tongues as the masters' (even oppressors') languages whereas the masters thought that their subjects were primitive and so were their indigenous languages. As an outcome, the language that was learned was, as rightly observed by Sebba (1997: 79), "a grammatically impoverished version of the lexifier with a very restricted vocabulary".

What is more, this approach, like baby talk hypothesis/foreigner talk hypothesis, is sometimes subsumed into the universalist theories. This is so because language learning (or acquisition) is believed to be driven by some universals. The procedural universals are supposed to operate in the process of language learning and if pidginisation and creolisation are treated as specific types of language learning, they must also proceed according to some universal principles which, conversely, put some constraints on this process. Constitutive universals, on the other hand, are observed on the level of grammar, in particular in constructions found both in pidgin and creole grammatical systems and in child's grammar.

The theory of pidginisation seen as second language learning has certainly many strong points but nevertheless, there is one crucial problem with this approach. If pidgins and creoles are imperfectly learned varieties of the dominant languages (as viewed, for example, by Jespersen [1922] 1969), they should be put next to the regional dialects of these lexifier languages. This is, however, not the case for such pidginised and creolised languages are nowadays rarely thought of as being varieties of dominant languages. In modern creolistics they are seen

rather as systems which are related to the superstrate tongues but not as regional or social variants of the lexifiers.

1.3.7. European (regional) dialect origin hypothesis/Superstrate hypothesis

The lexical and grammatical structures of pidgins and creoles display the influence of mainly two types of languages: the substratum – responsible for grammar and the superstratum – responsible for lexicon. Scholars who see pidgin and creole origins above all in the impact the substrate languages had on a given pidginised or creolised variety have proposed the above discussed substratum theory. There are, however, some linguists who seem to view this matter differently. They postulate that superstrate languages, especially the European ones, in the forms of their regional non-standard dialects, to which pidgin and creole creators were exposed, have exerted a crucial influence on pidginised or creolised languages and for that reason this approach has been named *the superstrate hypothesis* or *the regional dialect hypothesis*.

McWhorter (1997) opines that the superstrate hypothesis was particularly popular among French linguists who regarded the formation of pidgins and creoles solely as a result of the natural evolution of regional dialects of French, with little or no involvement of the substratum or language universals.

This hypothesis is nevertheless weak in a few points. Linguistic evidence suggests that there was no single predominant regional dialect from which a given pidgin or creole could have developed or at least such a dialect has not been established yet. On the contrary, it has been found that a number of regional varieties of the European languages (in particular English and French) might have played a role in pidgin or creole formation. Moreover, the proponents of the superstrate hypothesis have not managed to convincingly trace back some peculiar features (such as the absence of copula in French-based Haitian creole or the phrase-final place of adpositions in Saramaccan) to the regional varieties of the dominant languages (French and English, respectively). Thus, as has been shown, this theory again does not allow to unequivocally determine the origin of pidgins and creoles.

1.3.8. Common core hypothesis

By means of *the common core hypothesis*, its espousers have tried to explain the grammatical similarities found among the newly created pidgin languages and their parent tongues. The father of this theory (and of many other ideas connected with the genesis of pidgins and creoles) – Robert A. Hall (1961) – was of the opinion that pidgins

emerging through a merger of a European-based superstrate language and some local indigenous substrate tongues have a grammatical system which is common to both (or more) languages in contact. This shared grammar is what Hall called "the common core". This view is quite well represented in Figure 2.
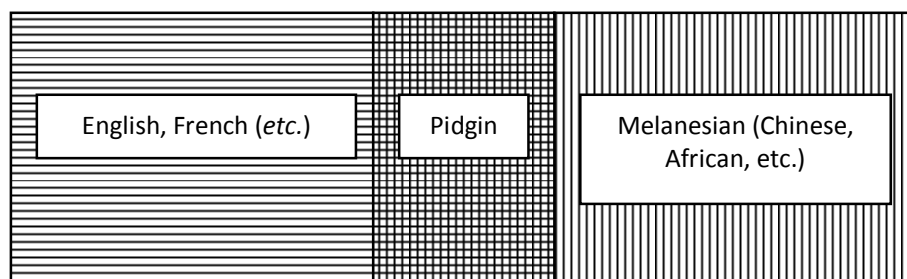
Figure 2. The common grammatical core[12]

The place where both components (*i.e.* the squared area in Figure 2) – a European lexifier language and local substrate tongues – overlap is thought to constitute this common core of pidgin grammar. From this model, it emerges that pidgin grammar is thus composed only of the elements that are shared by both types of languages in contact – the lexifier and the indigenous local dialects.

In its basic form, the common grammatical core resembles what might be the result of the convergence of varieties. Convergence in this context is understood as a language contact process which leads to structural similarities between the languages in contact. However, convergence should be excluded here for the contact situations leading to the creation of pidgins and creoles do not meet the criteria set for the occurrence of this process. One criterion – the intensiveness and regularity of contacts is obviously fulfilled but the other one – that languages should be more of less of equal status – is not.

Interestingly, this theory is sometimes classified as one of the universalist approaches to pidgin and creole genesis owing to the fact that, as stated by Sebba (1997: 78), "(…) the 'common core' (…) is just the part where any *universals* of human language are likely to be found, and the more languages involved in the contact, the smaller and more 'universal' the common core is likely to be".

Mühlhäusler ([1986] 1997), however, maintains that this way of explaining pidgin and creole origin is not adequate because it omits such important points as language change dynamics. This model does not account for the fact that languages undergo constant changes and that in the course of time there might be a different shared part (*i.e.* the

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[12] Source: Hall 1961: 414, after: Mühlhäusler [1986] 1997: 113.

core) of the grammars of the languages in contact. The common core hypothesis may merely present the initial situation and, arguably, cannot be applied to further development of a given pidgin into, for instance, a creole language. The language quoted by Mühlhäusler (*ibid.*) to instance the above is Tok Pisin whose lexifier has not undergone any drastic modification but one of its substrate languages – Tolai – has. Moreover, according to this model, the speakers of the lexifier and of the substrate language should have known both tongues[13] equally well and should have been bilingual. This would imply that they might have had access to both languages. However, if that had been so, there would probably have been no need to create another language – a pidgin – because those people would have been able to communicate in one of the parent systems that eventually gave rise to the pidginised variety. The final claim made by Mühlhäusler (*ibid.*) to pinpoint the weaknesses of the common core theory is that pidgin and creole linguists have collected many instances of various grammatical structures which cannot be shown to have been derived from any parent language.

On the whole, the common core hypothesis may seem quite interesting as regards the grammars of the languages in contact but, as in the case of some other theories, scholars have identified some serious drawbacks. Therefore, this postulate is nowadays very rarely, if ever, seriously regarded as a possible explanation of pidgin and creole origins.

1.3.9. Gradual development theory

The interests in *the gradual development theory* arose from the fact that in many cases it was observed that the development of creole languages was rather a long-term process and not as maintained, for example, by Bickerton (1981, 1984), a process which occurs within one or two generations of speakers. What Bickerton (1981) and, for instance, Thomason and Kaufman (1988), claim is that creolisation can be characterised by its abruptness. They take the view that the slave communities were rather linguistically mixed and many African languages of which the slaves were native speakers were of no use because in order to communicate with one another, the slaves needed to have at least one shared contact language and they, in fact, created such a system. Thomason and Kaufman additionally state that even such slaves' children would have to learn this new common pidgin although they might have had the knowledge of their parents' language(s) too. For this reason, Thomason and Kaufman seem to, at least partially, agree with Bickerton

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13 In this case it is theoretically assumed that the mixture of *two* languages can give rise to a new pidgin.

in proposing that creolisation is an abrupt process. They express their viewpoint in the following way:

> We therefore hypothesize for the creoles under discussion, for example Isle de France Creole and probably some of the Caribbean creoles, a process of abrupt creolisation (whose products correspond to what Bickerton calls early-creolized creoles). In this process the emerging contact language at once becomes the primary language of the community and is learned as a first language (though not necessarily as their only first language) by any children born into the new multilingual community. That contact language therefore expands rapidly into a creole rather that stabilizing as a functionally and linguistically restricted pidgin (…). (Thomason and Kaufman 1988: 150)

Although they stress that this is not the only way in which creolisation may proceed, the "abruptness" view has easily found its opponents, one of whom is Jacques Arends, who put forth the gradual development theory (1993) (also referred to as *the gradualist model* or *the gradual creolisation hypothesis* (Arends, Bruyn 1995)). Arends, while having a closer look at Sranan (one of the pidgins/creoles spoken in Surinam), noticed the gradualness of creolisation. His observation was motivated by the demographic, historical and sociological data concerning the Surinam population, in particular the slaves working on Surinam plantations. It seems that creolisation could not have occurred in Surinam so quickly as postulated by Bickerton because the population figures indicate slaves' high mortality rate and – at the same time – low birth rate among slaves. This may mean that Sranan for many generations functioned solely as a pidgin because there were few children who could turn this pidgin into a creole. It therefore appears right to claim that creolisation of Sranan was a gradual process which involved at least a few generations of pidgin speakers. Similar studies have been conducted on other creoles (*e.g.* Haitian creole, Jamaican creole, Mauritian creole, Saramaccan (*ibid.*)).

Arends's view (*ibid.*) that creolisation is not an instantaneous process is supported not only by, as has been aforementioned, demographic, historical and sociological evidence, but by linguistic data as well. He notes that, for example, in the course of time Sranan developed two different types of copula although initially it made use of only one type. Similar observations have been made with reference to the emergence of the comparative, some types of which were further developed and some were missed. What is more, grammaticalisation understood as a process whereby content or functional items become grammatical

items[14] can be considered the next proof of the fact that creolisation is indeed a rather lengthy process. Concluding the discussion of this theory, Arends (1993) characterises creolisation as a gradual, progressive process in which it is not so easy to distinguish the stages of a pidgin and a creole. What is more, creolisation, being quite complex and differential, involves rather adults than children for it has more to do with second language learning than the acquisition of a first language.

The theory of gradual development seems to be taken into account by various linguists, among whom is, for example, Peter Mühlhäusler ([1986] 1997) who has suggested three kinds of developmental continuum of creolisation[15]. This may bear out the claim that in the majority of cases (though probably not in all) creole languages develop not rapidly but rather gradually.

1.3.10. Nautical jargon theory

Many lexical items pertaining to the shipping and sea let some observers propose *the nautical jargon theory*. This hypothesis "(…) assumes that pidgins are derived from the lingua franca used by the crews of ships, presumably through trading and other contacts" (McMahon 1994: 255). The importance of nautical elements in the lexical systems of pidginised and creolised tongues was noticed by many linguists such as, for example, Carlo Tagliavini, John Reinecke (Hancock 1987). The latter was particularly preoccupied with developing this theory. He claims that:

> [o]ne of the most favourable situations for the formation of such dialects is found aboard merchant vessels which ply the seven seas and ship large numbers of foreign sailors – and indeed the seaman is a figure of the greatest importance in the creation of the more permanent makeshift tongues. (Reinecke 1937: 434, quoted after: Mühlhäusler [1986] 1997: 94-95).

When creolistics was in its infancy, there were quite a few scholars who believed that pidgin origins were to be looked for in a jargon created for communicative purposes on ships and which was later on transmitted to people living in Africa, Asia or Oceania. Many of such scholars, however, based their statements on conjectures and not on observed linguistic facts. Notwithstanding, some more profound work on identifying the elements of a nautical jargon was done especially in

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[14] For instance, Tok Pisin *baimbai* in the past was only a content (*i.e.* lexical) word denoting "later", "afterwards" but, having gone grammaticalisation and significant reduction (into *bai*), now it is used as future tense marker (Arends, Bruyn 1995).

[15] This issue is discussed in detail in Chapter 2.

relation to pidgin and creole languages based on English and French. One of such persons who did some research to support the nautical jargon hypothesis was Ian Hancock who attempted to relate Atlantic creoles to the 17th nautical variety of English (Mühlhäusler [1986] 1997). As for French-based pidgins and creoles, the two most prominent figures trying to establish some relation between them and a nautical variety of French were Jules Faine (1939) and Alexander Hull (1968). Especially Hull thought that French-lexifier pidgins and creoles were descendants of a French nautical dialect formed through regional dialect levelling16 (Holm 1988). Den Besten, Muysken and Smith (1995) additionally say that the nautical elements are observable in pidgins and creoles based on Dutch.

The main evidence given in support of this theory is in lexicon which, as remarked, for instance, by Romaine ([1988] 2000), includes words connected with maritime profession. A good example of the above is provided by the lexicon of Krio – an English-lexifier pidgin of Guinea Coast – including such words as: *gjali* ("galley") or *kjapsaj* ("to capsize") which typically belong to a maritime jargon (Besten, Muysken and Smith 1995: 92). Another language which exhibits clear influences from nautical vocabulary is Haitian Creole French which has, for example, *ralé* ("to pull") derived from French *haler* ("to haul") (Holm 1988: 78).

The linguistic data in the form of lexical items derived from nautical terminology have not persuaded too many contemporary linguists of the validity of the nautical jargon hypothesis. It is so because the nautical vocabulary of many pidgins and creoles may result simply from the fact that those pidgins and creoles emerged in such locations as maritime trade centres, seaports, harbours *etc.*, where shipmen and sailors interacted with local populations. What is more, the role of a nautical jargon in the genesis of many pidgins and creoles still needs research (not only into linguistic but also into historical, sociological and demographic aspects) and at this point no conclusive statement should be made about the role of these nautical dialects in the formation of the languages under question.

1.3.11. Pidgin/creole native speakers' explanations

Suzanne Romaine ([1988] 2000) presents a few interesting facts about how pidgin and creole speakers view the genesis of their languages. She

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16 Dialect levelling is understood as a language contact process in which the interacting language varieties lose some of the features that the other language in contact does not have; this is somewhat similar to convergence but in essence, these two processes cannot be regarded as identical.

quotes in this respect ([1988] 2000: 109-110) a speaker of Tok Pisin who is of the opinion that their language emerged through imitating English used by the English colonisers.

Another instance provided by Romaine (*ibid.*) comes from Hawaii where Hawaiian Creole English is spoken. The appearance of the pidgin is due to language mixing, borrowing and relexification. What is more, there are some parallels (they are called "phonic association") between the words "pidgin" and "pigeon".

All in all, it might be quite interesting to collect more information on what the pidgin and creole speakers think of the origins of their languages. This may reveal many facts about how they see their languages, what the attitude to pidgins/creoles is (was), how the use of pidgins/creoles is culturally conditioned (*i.e.* how the local culture is reflected in the pidgin/creole language and how this language is immersed in the local culture) and many other important aspects.

1.4. Controversy over Middle English – the Middle English Creole Hypothesis

Along with the development of creolistics, there were some attempts at examining the languages upon which many pidgins and creoles are based. One of such languages was of course English. Some scholars analysing the structure, use and history of this tongue have come to the conclusion that initially English was a creole language. Hence, they formulated *the Middle English Creole Hypothesis* because they noticed huge differences between Old English and Middle English. The supporters of this conception, with their leaders and the fathers of the hypothesis – Charles-James N. Bailey and Karl Maroldt (1977) – have provided some support for their claim.

First of all, they established that approximately 40% of Middle English vocabulary and structure (*i.e.* lexicon, semantics, phonology, morphology) were of mixed character and therefore they viewed this language as a descendant of Old French, which was believed to have been Middle English superstratum, and of Anglo-Saxon English as the substratum as well as of Old Norse also taking some part in this creolisation. As remarked by Ryan (2005)[17]:

> They [Bailey and Maroldt] do not ask *if* Middle English is a creole language, but rather how it became so: was it the product of Old French mixing with Anglo-Saxon, Anglo-Saxon mixing with Old French, or so thorough a union that it is impossible to say definitively? Bailey and

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[17] Ryan, B. (2005) "Middle English as Creole: "Still trying not to refer to you lot as 'bloody colonials'" http://homes.chass.utoronto.ca/~cpercy/courses/6361ryan.htm, (accessed in 2011).

Maroldt champion the "major" influence of Old French before 1200 and the "minor" influx of Central French during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Their findings are based on percentage of French loans in the English lexicon, morphological compounds (mixing of French and Anglo-Saxon stems and affixes), phonology, syntax, and tense. For Bailey and Maroldt, that Middle English is a creole of Old French superstrate and Anglo-Saxon substrate is "by and large," "all and all" without question.

In other words, the fathers of the Middle English Creole Hypothesis are certain that Middle English was a creole and what they attempt to show is how this creolisation occurred. What led them to the conclusion about Middle English being a creole is a number of reductions in Middle English, also observed in pidgins and creoles. They noticed, for instance, numerous reductions in inflections, declensions and conjugations, syntax and cases (as a result of these reductions, only the genitive and common cases were retained) as well as quite a big number of borrowings.

Among other supporters of this hypothesis were, for example, Anthony Warner and Patricia Poussa. The former was of the opinion that Middle English had been a merger of English and Latin. He researched John Wycliffe's sermons and found that both – those who wrote them and those who read them – must have had a good command of both languages (*i.e.* English and Latin) and that probably led to the fact that English started to play the functions formerly played by Latin (*ibid.*, Warner 1982). Poussa, on the other hand, saw this matter differently. She attributed a greater role to the Scandinavian influence on Old English. To put it differently, she believed that the creolisation of spoken Old English was motivated by the Scandinavian influence because Old English and the Scandinavian language were in direct contact. Under the Scandinavian influence, Old English might have lost many complexities, including gender distinctions or inflections; it also borrowed numerous lexical items (Poussa 1982, Ryan 2005).

The views expressed by the supporters of the Middle English Creole Hypothesis were questioned by several scholars who were rather reluctant to believe that Middle English had been a creole. One of such scholars was Christiane Dalton-Puffer who claims that the speakers of Old English shifted to "dominant minority language" (*i.e.* Norman French) thus putting Old English to death (Dalton-Puffer 1995: 40). Dalton-Puffer's claim includes several arguments for why she thinks there was a case of language death; she mentions abandoning the use of proper names, easing certain language rules and using Middle English only in informal circumstances (and French or Latin – in the formal ones), contributing to a kind of diglossia (Ryan 2005). As stated by

Ryan, "Dalton-Puffer argues this language death hypothesis to emphasize the near-impossibility of arguing conclusively on Middle English's status as creole" (Ryan 2005).

Another scholar who was sceptic about the Middle English Creole Hypothesis was Manfred Görlach who claimed that Middle English could not have been a creole since it had not been a pidgin (Görlach 1986). What is more, some linguists think that creolisation could not have taken place in the case of Middle English, which is evidenced by the high number of English irregular verbs (283) which are quite rare in contact languages. Additionally, the impossibility of Middle English creolisation is supported by the argument of William Rothwell. From his point of view, the fact that there are certain elements of one language in the structure of another, as was the case with Anglo-French in Middle English, cannot validate such a serious claim that Middle English had undergone creolisation. He claims that English borrowed certain aspects of French because it was available for the speakers of Middle English as "the common stock of linguistic material available for use" (Rothwell 1998: 164). Rothwell put forward one strong argument for the impossibility of creolisation: in this process – there must be a kind of linguistic imbalance: one language must be quite well developed and the remaining ones should be rather meagrely developed. This was, however, not the case with Old English, Middle English, French and Anglo-French which were all rather strongly developed (Ryan 2005).

Another noteworthy argument against the hypothesis under discussion was offered by Andrei Danchev (1997) who states that the term *creolisation* should be connected to a growing complexity of language structures and lexis. It is a certain development of complex forms out of simple forms because the users of a creole have bigger linguistic needs; they need the language to express more and more concepts, which, in a natural way, leads to the development of lexical and syntactic resources. However, in the case of Middle English, it was rather a simplification. Therefore, although it is certainly true that Middle English had several features characteristic of creoles, it might not be unambiguously reckoned to have been such a language.

To sum up, the question of Middle English status as a creole language still seems quite controversial. It obviously needs more research but arguably for the time being it is best to agree with Dantchev and some other scholars who do not share the view that Middle English had been a creole despite the fact that this language *did* have a few creole-like features.

1.5. Controversy over African American Vernacular English

Another controversial issue which is quite frequently connected with creolistics is the status of African American Vernacular English (AAVE) also known as Black English Vernacular (BEV) (*e.g.* Gramley and Pätzold 2004). Sometimes instead of the name *African American Vernacular English* (AAVE), the term *African American English* (AAE) is used but it should be borne in mind that African American Vernacular English might be thought of as a predecessor or as a non-standard variety of African American English (Spears 2008). For the purpose of this section, however, it might be assumed that what Spears calls African American English also concerns African American Vernacular English.

Arthur K. Spears states that:

> A[frican]A[merican]E[nglish] is of interest for creole studies (…) because it displays some features of grammar and language use associated with creoles (…). It is also of interest because it has been claimed by some to have had a creole predecessor, by others merely to have been influenced by creoles and West African languages to a significantly greater extent than other American English dialects. (Spears 2008: 512)

The debate about the status of this language concentrates not only around linguistic aspects but also politics and sociology are often invoked in such discussions. The scholars are still divided and some see African American Vernacular English as a creole whereas others claim that this is a dialect of English.

Some scholars claim that AAVE is a language form which has its origin in a plantation creole spoken among many Africans brought to America in order to work on plantations in the American South (and this assumption is sometimes known as "creolist hypothesis" (Spears 2008)). Consequently, they claim that such a plantation pidgin must have been derived from West African Pidgin English (*cf.* Gramley and Pätzold 2004: 262). If that is considered true, then scholars will find in the structure of AAVE elements which are quite different from those found in English. Those who claim that AAVE has its roots in a creole invoke certain linguistic features which may be attested to creole languages. One of such features is the copula verb, the other ones – rhythm and intonation, negation, plural marking *etc*. (*e.g.* Sebba 1997, Spears 2008). According to Mark Sebba, AAVE exhibits several features attributed to creoles but this language did not develop as a result of creolisation known in the majority of cases of creoles but in some other way. Of course, AAVE developed among plantation workers of different linguistic origins but it does not necessarily have to lead to the formation of a creole. Linguistic evidence for the creole origin seems to be even weaker. Sebba says that "[i]f AAVE has its origins in a creole, it has cer-

tainly decreolised and assimilated to American English to a large extent" (1997: 276). This would mean that if this language were a creole, it would have to have several intermediate forms, forming a kind of creole continuum. It appears that there is no such continuum of forms. In this regard, Sebba claims that "(…) critics of the creole-origin theory for AAVE point to the lack of a clearly creole 'basilect', or a continuum which indicates beyond doubt that a basilect must have existed, even if it has died out" (*ibid.*).

Another position is taken by those scholars (termed as "the Anglicists" by Spears (2008)) who share the opinion that A AAVE (and AAE as well) is a dialect of English. It is again worth quoting Sebba who says that this is a dialect of English which developed from "the conservative variety of English which was brought to North America by the English colonists" (Sebba 1997: 276) and which developed on plantations. The slaves learnt the language from their English masters preserving until now certain features of this "conservative variety of English". This might have been so due to the fact that the African-American people were kept in a social isolation and having restricted access to "standard" English spoken by their white English masters, they modified the "English" they learnt from their owners. Moreover, they were generally illiterate and poor. This contributed to the "conservation" of certain features (*ibid.*). Gramley and Pätzold (2004: 262) state that "BEV/AAVE, so conceived, is only divergent from St[andard]E[nglish] in its surface forms".

There is of course the third approach to the status of AAVE, according to which both English and the plantation creole influenced the present-day African American Vernacular English.

As emerges from the above sketchy discussion, it is still not clear what status AAVE should be assigned. Therefore, more research is needed and it should encompass not only linguistic aspects but also those political and social ones, without which it is impossible to unequivocally determine the status of the language in question.

1.6. Chapter 1 recapitulation

Pidgins and creoles, as has been shown throughout this chapter, have become firmly established as objects of linguistic investigations. This is well shown in a number of aspects.

First of all, nowadays although there are still some terminological discussions going on with reference to the definitions of *a pidgin* and *a creole*, it is generally agreed that these varieties form two specific types of languages with their own characteristics and peculiarities often stimulated by social factors.

Secondly, the history of research into the languages under discussion proves that these systems drew people's attention a long time ago. It is, nonetheless, relatively recently that the serious study of pidgins and creoles was undertaken. What is more important, however, it has been convincingly argued that such languages do not deserve such unfair names as quoted, for example, in 1.1.1.2.

Thirdly, the surprisingly great profusion of different theories formulated to explain the origin of the languages in question can be viewed as another indication of the fact that linguistic studies on pidgins and creoles are more and more advanced and gain more recognition as a significant branch of linguistics. It should, however, be borne in mind that, as has been demonstrated above, none of the theories has the explanatory potential which could account for the genesis of *all* pidgins and creoles. What may only be suggested is that the development of each pidgin or creole might, to a smaller or greater extent, fit one of the scenarios of the genesis of these languages, as envisioned by the origin theories, or that such pidgin or creole development is conditioned by a set of factors to which individual theories appeal. Some of the hypotheses are obviously easily questionable (*e.g.* monogenesis) as there is no convincing evidence in their support but these claims have shed some light on how complex these languages and their genesis might be. As was demonstrated above, even the statuses of Middle English and African American Vernacular English are still uncertain and more research is needed to fully determine the origins of these languages. For the time being, it is difficult to unequivocally state what the status of these language is and this also shows that creolistics is a multifaceted and complex research area within linguistics.

CHAPTER 2

PIDGINS AND CREOLES: DISTRIBUTION, TYPOLOGIES
AND DEVELOPMENT

The aim of Chapter 2 is to demonstrate that pidgin and creole languages are living linguistic entities which emerge in many places in the world; which are of various types and characters; and finally which come into being, develop and go extinct. This chapter starts with the topic of the distribution of pidgins and creoles. It is shown that the tongues under discussion have come into being virtually everywhere in the world although the biggest concentration of these tongues is in the Pacific and in the Atlantic.

The next issue discussed in this chapter is the sociolinguistic typology of pidgins and creoles. In the classification of pidgin and creole languages, little attention is paid to their lexical or grammatical features. Instead, such aspects as the domain of use and sociohistorical and socioeconomic factors are focused on. Therefore, as it turns out, there are at least a few different typologies of pidgins and creoles, some of which are presented in this chapter.

Finally, the linguistic growth of pidgins and creoles is presented. The development of the languages under analysis is frequently discussed in terms of pidgin/creole life cycle which encompasses four main stages: a jargon, a stable pidgin, an expanded/extended pidgin and a creole. Each phase of pidgin/creole life cycle is discussed and exemplified. However, the original version of pidgin/creole life cycle did not include the phase of pidgin/creole death and therefore the model presented in this chapter has been revised to include this stage. The characteristics of the linguistic phenomenon of language death and various ways in which languages, especially pidgins and creoles, may become extinct constitute the last part of this chapter.

2.1. Distribution of pidgins and creoles

As can be seen from the map of pidgins and creoles presented below, these languages are spoken almost everywhere in the world. However, the biggest concentration of pidgins and creoles is in the Atlantic, in the South Pacific and in West Africa. The majority of them are European-based languages (with the lexifiers being English, French, Portuguese,

Spanish and – to a lesser extent – Dutch, German and Russian). There are also some pidgins and creoles with non-European bases such as Arabic, Chinese, Japanese, Swahili or based on languages belonging to the Austronesian, Bantu, Eskimo or Papuan language groups. Linguists have also discovered some signed pidgins (*e.g.* Plains Sign Language and Plateau Sign Language, both spoken in North America, or Scandinavian Pidgin Sign Language used in Scandinavia).

English-based pidgins and creoles are/were[18] used in West Africa (*e.g.* in Cameroon, the Gambia, Ghana, Liberia, Nigeria, Sierra Leone), in the Atlantic (particularly in the Caribbean: the Lesser Antilles, Guyana, Venezuela, Jamaica, Costa Rica, Panama, Nicaragua, Surinam) and in the Pacific (*e.g.* Australia, China, Hawaii, Japan, Papua New Guinea, Samoa, Singapore, Solomon Islands, Vanuatu, Vietnam).

Pidgin and creole languages based on French are/were spoken in the Atlantic (*e.g.* Louisiana (the USA)), the Caribbean (*e.g.* Dominica, Haiti, Panama, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, Trinidad and Tobago, Venezuela), in the region of the Indian Ocean (Mauritius, Reunion, the Seychelles) as well as in Africa (*e.g.* Burundi, Ivory Coast). Some French-based pidgins and creoles were also spoken in Vietnam and in the Pacific (*e.g.* Vanuatu).

Portuguese-lexifier pidgins and creoles are/were used in the Atlantic (Brazil, Surinam), in West Africa (*e.g.* Cape Verde, the Gambia, Guiné-Bissau, São Tomé and Principe, Senegal), in Southern Angola (*e.g.* Angola), in Eastern Africa (*e.g.* Kenya, Madagascar) as well as in the Pacific (*e.g.* Indonesia, Macao, Malaysia) or in India and Sri Lanka. Pidgins and creoles based on Portuguese were also spoken in Iran, Iraq and Saudi Arabia but nowadays they are extinct.

Spanish-based pidgin and creole languages are/were used in both Americas (*e.g.* Colombia, California, Ecuador, Venezuela) and in the Philippines.

Pidgin and creole languages with the Dutch base are/were used in the Caribbean (*e.g.* Virgin Islands) as well as in South Africa.

German-based pidginised and creolised tongues were used in China, Papua New Guinea, Estonia or Latvia. Gastarbeiterdeutsch, whose status as a pidgin is debatable, is still used in Germany.

A closer look at the map of pidgins and creoles can reveal a few interesting facts about the character and origin of these languages. First of all, the location of many European-based pidgins and creoles is connected with European colonial expansion into the regions of Africa, South America, Asia or Oceania. Such European countries as Great Britain, France, the Netherlands, Portugal or Spain were quite active in those areas and therefore pidgins and creoles based on English, Dutch,

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[18] Some pidgins and creoles are already extinct.

French, Portuguese or Spanish are quite frequent there. These pidginised and creolised languages usually emerged in the context of plantation labour and/or slavery. Secondly, many pidgins and creoles are/were spoken in seaside territories. This may be explained by the fact that during the era of colonialism ships were actually the only possible means of long-distance intercontinental transport and, as a result, there is such a big concentration of pidgin- and creole-speaking communities in seaports or seaside towns. Additionally, many pidgins arose on ships among crew members hailing from different linguistic backgrounds.

While talking about the geographical distribution of pidgins and creoles, creolists point to a few problems connected with giving the precise number of pidgin and creole languages. The changes in the number of pidgin and creole languages are observed, among others, by Romaine ([1988] 2000: 15) who summaries a few publications dealing with this issue and says the following:

> In his survey of pidgin and creole languages of the world, Hancock (1971: 510-11) provides the map (…), on which he locates 80 pidgin and creole languages. In a later count, he (1977) gives the number as 127. In his preface to a collection of papers published in 1979 Hancock says that Meillet and Cohen's (1978) *Survey of Languages of the World* lists 200 pidgin and creole languages.

As can be inferred from the above quotation, the number of pidgins and creoles has constantly been changing, and – what is interesting – so far no conclusive data referring to their number have been offered.

It is difficult to give the exact number of pidgins and creoles spoken in the world because these languages are in many cases only auxiliary means of verbal communication with no written records. If there are no written records and the language exists only in a spoken form, it has much more chance to die out unnoticed by linguists. Moreover, numerous pidgins and creoles are created as short-term linguistic entities which fulfil a rather limited set of functions and when the needs that brought them into being pass, such languages go out of existence as well. This leads to situations in which nothing or very little is known about the existence of such pidginised languages, and – as a result – having no written history, many of such pidgins have never been included into any list of pidgins and creoles. What is more, it is not easy to classify such languages only on the basis of spoken and often anecdotal references made by travellers or tourists who are not trained in linguistics.
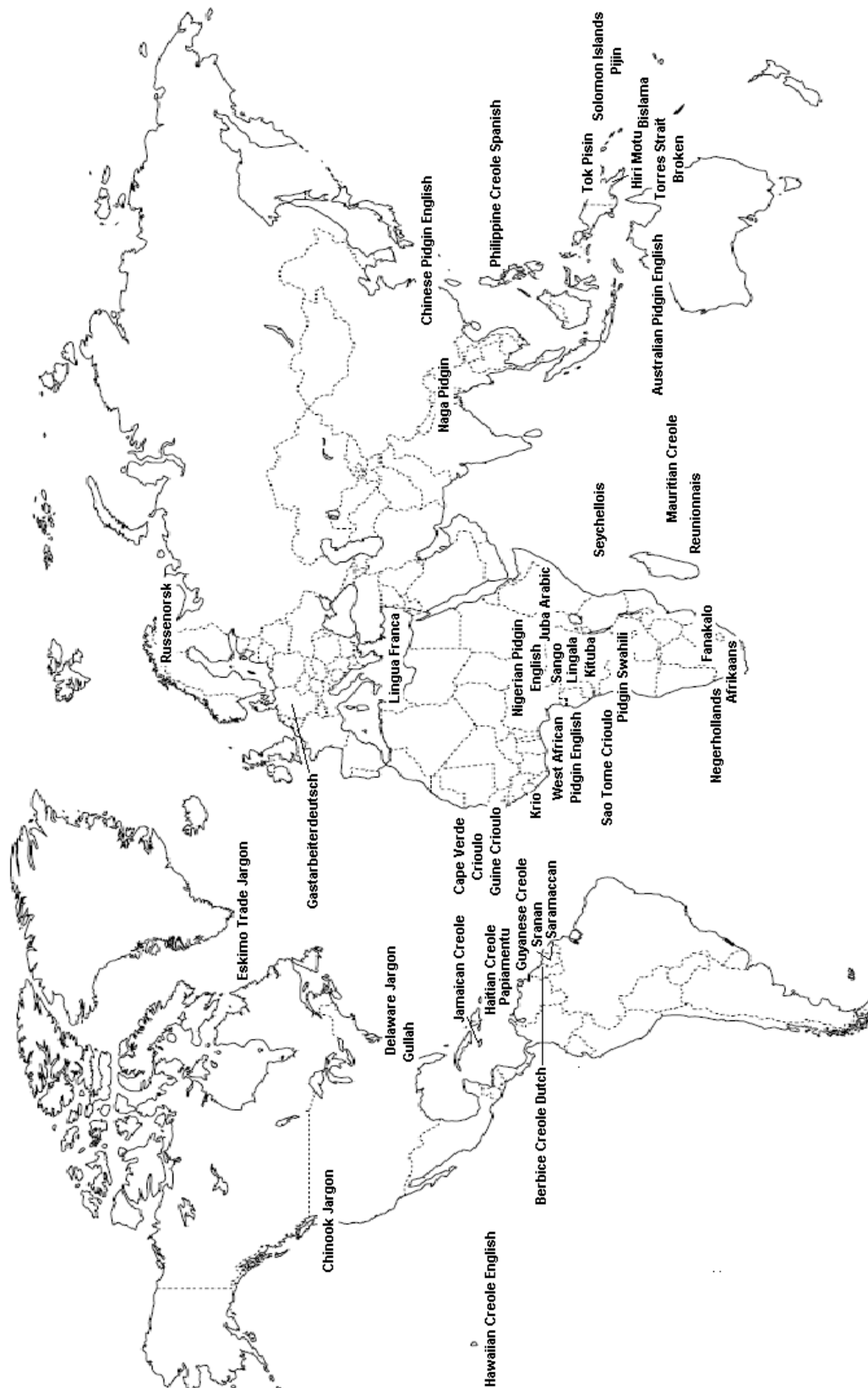
Figure 3. Distribution of the most frequently cited pidgins and creoles[19]

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[19] The map was drawn up on the basis of Arends, Muysken and Smith (1995), Hancock (1977), Holm (1988), Sebba (1997). The model of the map of the world was taken from: http://english.freemap.jp/world_e/img/2/1.pdf [accessed in 2008] under Creative Commons Attribution 3.0 License (http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/3.0/).

The other difficulty that is encountered when talking about the number of pidgins and creoles is the terminological ambiguity. As presented in Chapter 1, the creolistics terminology, especially its aspects connected with the definitions of what *a pidgin* and *a creole* are, is applied variously by different linguists and for some a given language may be a pidgin, some other researchers may deem it to be a creole, and still some other scholars may regard this language as neither a pidgin nor a creole but, for instance, as a regional variety of some other language.

Finally, the list of pidgins and creoles is still being expanded as new languages of this type are discovered. This is so because it is only recently that pidgins and creoles have gained recognition as linguistic systems in their own right. Many languages were previously deemed to be highly simplified regional varieties of the world languages such as English, French or Spanish but after a thorough linguistic analysis they turn out to be pidgins or creoles. Additionally, especially pidgins are *ad hoc* linguistic formations and it is right to expect that such languages might be created whenever two (or more) linguistically different groups (who have no single shared vehicle of verbal communication) come into contact.

2.2. Sociolinguistic typologies of pidgins and creoles

Scientists always attempt to group the phenomena they deal with into some clearly identifiable classes. Linguists researching pidgins and creoles are no exception in this respect. They have tried to categorise pidgins and creoles on the basis of different criteria, which has resulted in a few typologies of pidgin and creole languages. One of such classifications, which is often referred to in the literature on pidgins and creoles, holds that that the languages under discussion can be divided into two groups, depending on the place where they are spoken. Hence, there are Atlantic pidgins and creoles, used throughout the Atlantic region, and there are the Pacific ones, spoken along the Pacific area.

This section focuses on those attempts at classifying pidgins and creoles which are based on, broadly speaking, historical and sociolinguistic criteria. What it means is that the typologies discussed below take historical, social and sociolinguistic factors into consideration, which, in the case of many pidgins and creoles, are quite similar. Of course, it cannot be said that *all* pidgins and creoles were formed under the same historical and social circumstances but, nevertheless, many of them developed due to parallel processes and these can form the basis for a sociolinguistic typological classification.

2.2.1. Domain-based typology of pidgins

Pidgin languages can be grouped according to the domains in which they have been used. Peter Bakker (1995) presents a classification of pidgins into four main types which are *maritime/nautical pidgins*, *trade pidgins*, *interethnic contact languages* and *work force pidgins*. To this group, the category of *military pidgins* may be added.

Maritime or nautical pidgins are languages which emerged among multinational ship crews. In order to communicate with one another, sailors needed to have some intelligible system of verbal communication and due to the fact that they did not know the languages of other sailors onboard with them, they created such maritime/nautical pidgins. What is more, they used those pidgins in communication with the inhabitants of harbours and port towns which their ships reached. One famous example of a maritime/nautical pidgin is Lingua Franca, also known as Sabir. Another well-known maritime/nautical pidgin was Russenorsk used between Russians and Norwegians in North Europe up till the 20th century.

Trade pidgins functioned primarily as languages of commercial contacts. They developed as the parties wishing to conduct some business transactions wanted to communicate with each other and as they did not know the other party's language nor any other language understandable to both of them, they were forced to create some means of communication. Such trade pidgins are often characterised by a limited set of lexical items (the majority of which refer to commerce) and a highly restricted scope of domains in which they can be used. Bakker (1995) rightly observes that in many cases a maritime/nautical pidgin was also used as a trade pidgin, a good example of which is Russenorsk.

The third class of pidgins is composed of interethnic contact languages. Such tongues emerged not because they were needed on ships or in trade contacts but because of some other social factors such as "(…) the spread of religion, political negotiations, or ceremonies involving people with no common language" (Bakker 1995: 28). As the very name suggests, such pidgins were formed in contact situations in which people of different linguistic backgrounds participated. Among many interethnic pidgins, there is Chinook Jargon spoken in the past in Northwest America or African Ewondo-based Pidgin A-70 (also known as Ewondo Populaire) used in Cameroon.

Work force pidgin languages were formed in such settings as European households in Africa, mines, plantations *etc*. As the name suggests, they functioned as labour languages, *i.e.* various labourers, be they servants in white men's households, miners in African mines or slaves on Caribbean plantations, used such work force pidgins to com-

municate with their masters (*i.e.* in vertical communication) as well as to communicate with their workmates who were of different linguistic origins (*i.e.* in horizontal communication). The instances of work force pidgins are Butler English, spoken in India, or Fanagalo, used in South Africa, Zimbabwe or Zambia.

Military pidgins usually emerged in the context of some military actions carried out in a particular territory. Their creators were soldiers of differing linguistic origins. A good example of a military pidgin in Juba Arabic – an Arabic-based pidgin used among the Sudanese who had been recruited to the Egyptian army. This army, in the 19th century, invaded Southern Sudan and established its posts around the major urban settlement – Juba. Sebba (1997) states that Juba Arabic is nowadays going through the process of creolisation as there are some native speakers of this language.

It is of course possible to enlarge this domain-based division by adding contact languages which are created for other purposes. This, however, would not contribute much to the general social typology of pidgins and creoles as the five types presented above are rather umbrella terms, under which nearly all pidgins spoken in the world can be subsumed.

2.2.2. Sociohistorical typology of creoles

The typology which, for the purpose of this study, has been named sociohistorical, encompasses basically three types of creole languages: *plantation creoles*, *fort creoles*, *maroon creoles* (Bickerton 1988). Sometimes the fourth category is added, which is *creolised pidgins* (Arends 1995). What should be, however, said at this point is that the creole languages included in this typology developed primarily in the era of European colonisation when Europeans conquered the overseas territories and their peoples mainly by means of slavery or indentured labour (a kind of labour that is performed by workers contracted for a certain period, usually lasting up to a few years).

Plantation creoles came into being on plantations. Their creators came from different linguistic backgrounds. In the Atlantic region (*i.e.* in the Caribbean) where there were many plantations, creole creators came from various areas of Africa and hence, they knew many African languages. The slavers usually did not put in one place too many slaves originating from the same place in Africa and speaking a single language so as to prevent any rebellions which could break out among the African slaves. In the Pacific, however, the situation looked slightly different because indentured labour was more popular.

Plantation creoles were formed by slaves and children born of these slaves. They spoke various substrate African languages and they might have also known some basics of the dominant language (*i.e.* the superstratum). Such "linguistic mixture" which occurred on plantations gave rise to plantation creoles. What is interesting, Bickerton (1988), who is credited with making the distinction between plantation, fort and maroon creoles, claims that plantation creoles are better examples of the bioprogram he postulated in his language bioprogram hypothesis. An example of a plantation creole is Jamaican Creole English.

Fort creoles constitute another class of these languages. Such tongues emerged in forts – small towns or posts in West Africa where slavers initially kept their slaves and from which slaves were transported to overseas plantations. It might be assumed that forts were the places where slaves of different linguistic stocks met for the first time and therefore to communicate, they must have devised some means of communication, which – at later stages – might have evolved into creoles. However, creole languages developed primarily in mixed fort households where interethnic communication was present. European men lived with African women and children born of such parents usually spoke creole languages. Guinea Coast Creole English is sometimes quoted as an instance of a fort creole.

The third group of creoles comprises creolised languages which emerged as maroon creoles. Such languages were formed by runaway slaves in the communities they established after escaping from plantations. Those fugitive slaves set up their settlements quite far away from the plantations so as not to be caught by the slavers. This remoteness from the plantation sites also contributed to the differences between maroon creoles and plantation creoles, out of which maroon creolised languages are sometimes said to have developed (Arends 1995). An example of a maroon creole is Saramaccan spoken in Surinam.

The fourth group of creoles consists of creolised languages which developed out of pidgins. In other words, this class of creoles includes languages which had pidgins as their ancestors. The examples of creolised pidgins are to be found in Papua New Guinea (some varieties of Tok Pisin) or in Australia (*e.g.* Torres Strait Creole English used in Queensland).

The division into plantation creoles, fort creoles, maroon creoles and creolised pidgins, as shown above, focuses basically on the social circumstances under which these languages came into being. It is nevertheless useful because it clearly reflects the view that without a history of a given language, little can be said about its sociolinguistic character.

2.2.3. Socioeconomic typology of creoles

An interesting observation was made by Robert Chaudenson (1977) who maintains that socioeconomic factors are of key importance in the processes of pidgin and creole formation. The socioeconomic conditions are connected with the type of society and economy in which the creole creators were immersed. Two such types are distinguished: the society and economy based primarily on commerce (and, to a lesser extent, slavery), and the society and economy based on plantation and slavery. Having made such a socioeconomic distinction, Chaudenson distinguishes two types of creoles. According to him, creoles can be divided into *endogenous* and *exogenous*.

Endogenous creoles are languages which emerged in the regions in which creole creators' native languages were used. Such languages arose primarily between communities whose interactions involved trade. Having arrived at those regions, Europeans, by founding communities in which there were quite many Africans who lived with Europeans as servants or maids, introduced their languages which served as bases for developing creole languages. Due to the fact that the native languages of those places were spoken too, the developing creole languages showed greater structural similarities to the mother tongues of the indigenous inhabitants of those areas. Being so, such endogenous creoles, as claimed by Chaudenson (1977), were more likely to undergo decreolisation towards these native languages. The examples of endogenous creoles are Portuguese creoles spoken in Africa (*e.g.* Casamance, Guinea).

The other group of languages is composed of exogenous creoles. They were formed in the areas where creole creators' mother tongues were not used. What is more, actually no group in contact came originally from the place where this creole emerged and this led to the formation of a creole language. Here, the socioeconomic situation involved plantation labour with numbers of slaves. Exogenous creoles were to be found in the Caribbean where there were many plantation slaves who worked out their own creole languages for the purpose of verbal communication.

Chaudenson (1977) points to a crucial difference between the two types of creoles. The social structure of endogenous creole creators involved a rather homogenous population of Africans who, being in their own area, managed to maintain their ethnic identity and, more importantly, the languages. In the case of exogenous creoles, their African creators, having been shipped to overseas colonies, soon lost their ethnic identity. They did not usually live in groups whose members came from the same geographical location nor did they speak the same

African languages. They were usually separated from people of the same origin because slavers, by subjecting their slaves to deculturation, wanted them to lose their ethnic identity and languages, and consequently to prevent any potential slaves' rebellions.

What is interesting, this classification of creole languages can be successfully joined with the sociohistorical typology presented in 2.2.2. If this perspective is adopted, fort creoles may be subsumed into endogenous creoles for they were usually formed in West Africa – where the native languages of the slaves were used. Maroon and plantation creoles, on the other hand, emerged not in the slaves' homelands but in the places to which they were shipped and therefore they are exogenous. As for creolised pidgins, it would probably be true to say that some of them might be regarded as endogenous and others as exogenous. Tok Pisin is certainly endogenous because, apart from this language, a number of local native languages are spoken in Papua New Guinea. An example of an exogenous pidgin is Pitcairnese, an English-based language spoken on Pitcairn Island. This island was uninhabited until the English-speaking sailors (the mutineers from the Bounty ship) together with a dozen or so Polynesians arrived. They developed an English-based pidgin, which later turned into a creole.

2.2.4. General social typology of pidgins and creoles

The three above classifications deal separately with either pidgins or creoles and not with both types of languages. Now, therefore, it is time to present a unified social typology of pidgins and creoles. Of course, in many respects it draws on the above-discussed typologies but it also sheds some new light on pidgin and creole languages. What is more, this general typology of pidginised and creolised languages extends the types of pidgins classified under the domain-based typology of pidgins to creoles and the types of creoles discussed within the sociohistorical typology of creoles to pidgins.

Sebba (1997: 26) gives a social typology of pidgins and creoles in which there are seven categories: *military and police pidgins*, *seafaring and trade pidgins and creoles*, *plantation pidgins and creoles*, *mine and construction pidgins*, *immigrants' pidgins*, *tourist pidgins*, *urban contact vernaculars*. This classification is based on extralinguistic (*i.e.* social) criteria and not on the linguistic ones.

Military and police pidgin languages emerged in a military or police context. They were usually the sole means of communication for crusaders or soldiers who did not speak the same language(s). It is sometimes claimed that the first attested pidgin language – Lingua Franca, also known as Sabir – was a military pidgin because it was cre-

ated by European soldiers of various linguistic origins who participated in the crusades. An example of a police pidgin is Hiri Motu, earlier known as Police Motu. The previous name (*i.e.* Police Motu) was associated with the fact that initially this pidgin was used by policemen in British New Guinea (Wurm 1987).

Probably it would not be incorrect to regard concentration camp pidgins as belonging to the group of military and police pidgins. Such languages, "real pidgins", as they are called by Adler (1977: 41), were also created in a military context, especially during the Second World War. However, their creators were not people who had the power (*i.e.* soldiers) but, on the contrary, many prisoners whose first languages were, among others, Yiddish, Polish, Czech or German. Concentration camp pidgins were used in all concentration camps and their structures depended on the mother tongues of the prisoners who were at the same time the creators and users of such pidgins.

What is interesting, although some military pidgins may now be in the process of creolisation (*e.g.* Juba Arabic), no creole proper is found in this category. This may be justified by the fact that pidgins, as opposed to creoles, are quite rudimentary linguistic creations employed in simple communication restricted to quite few domains. It is probably such basic communication that was established among crusaders and soldiers and probably this is why no creole evolved out of a military or police pidgin. The other reason might be the fact that only men were in the past allowed into military and police professions so there were no children who could turn such pidgins into creoles. As for concentration camp pidgins, none of them developed into a creole because of the high mortality rate among the speakers of concentration camp pidgins. Hence, such pidgins could not go through expansion nor crystallisation, let alone creolisation.

Seafaring and trade pidgins and creoles constitute another social category of the languages under analysis. The importance of work at sea as a social context for the emergence of pidgins and creoles was noticed quite early, which is reflected, among others, in the nautical jargon theory of pidgin and creole genesis. It seems that many pidgins and creoles are descendants of some nautical jargons used among ship crew members. Such nautical pidgins were often used in trading because many ships transported various goods from one part of the world to another. To sell the products and buy some other natural resources, merchants had to use some language and because of the fact that they originated from various parts of the world and they spoke no mutually understandable language, they had to resort to creating a pidgin.

A number of seafaring and trade pidgins and creoles can be given: Tok Pisin, Russenorsk or Sabir. Tok Pisin and some other pidgins and

creoles spoken in Melanesia are thought to have originated as a single nautical and trade pidgin known as South Seas Pidgin, which later on diversified into a few regional varieties (*e.g.* Sebba 1997) such as Bislama, Solomon Islands Pijin or Tok Pisin. Russenorsk has its origins in seafaring and trade between Norwegian and Russian fishermen. Even Sabir is sometimes claimed to be an instance of a seafaring and trade pidgin.

However, there are some pidgin and creole languages which did not originate at sea and their emergence is attributed solely to the commercial contacts between two or more linguistically different communities. Such is, for example, Chinook Jargon – a pidgin employed in fur trade (*e.g.* Holm 1989, Sebba 1997) or Eskimo Trade Jargon, used in the Artic (in particular, in North America) between Europeans and Eskimos.

Plantation pidgins and creoles emerged in the context of plantation work and slavery or indentured labour. As has been said above, plantations, which were numerous in the Atlantic (especially in the Caribbean), in the Pacific and in Africa, were good places for the development of pidgins and creoles due to the fact that they were usually highly multilingual settings. Shortly after meeting in one place, slaves created pidgin languages so that they could have a mutually understandable means of communication. Later on, when slaves' children were born, those pidgins in many cases turned into creole languages, with these children as their main speakers. If, however, it was the indentured workers that formed a pidgin language out of their mother tongues, such a pidgin was usually taken to other territories when the indentured labourers returned home after fulfilling their duties on plantations resulting from the indentures. There are many instances of pidgins and creoles which were formed on plantations. To mention only a few: Jamaican Creole English, Hawaiian Japanese Pidgin English, Samoan Plantation Pidgin, Miskito Coast Creole English (spoken in Nicaragua), Negerhollands (used in the Virgin Islands) (*e.g.* Arends, Muysken and Smith 1995, Holm 1989, Sebba 1997).

The next social category of pidgins and creoles includes mine and construction pidgins. As the name suggests, mine and construction pidginised languages come into being among people working in mines and on construction sites. It was just in mines in South Africa that pidgin Fanakalo developed among the miners whose mother tongues were quite frequently different from one another. An example of a construction pidgin is Ewondo Populaire (the other name of this languages is Pidgin A-70) which developed in Cameroon while a railway line to the present capital city of Cameroon – Yaoundé – was being built (*e.g.* Holm 1989, Sebba 1997). What is interesting, no mention of any mine

or construction creole is found in the literature. This might be justified by the fact that the contacts that miners or builders had with one another were not intensive and long enough to, first of all, make these languages used in the domains other than the workplace, and secondly, there were no children who are often regarded as the force shaping new creoles.

Yet another social type of the languages in question is an immigrants' pidgin. Immigrants' pidginised languages come into existence among the immigrants' communities whose members have little contact with the language of the country to which they have come. The outcomes generated by such immigrants are sometimes referred to as interlanguages. An interlanguage is a:

> (…) version of a language produced by a second- or foreign-language learner. The term drew attention to learners' unstable but continually developing system, which displays properties that derive neither wholly from their first language nor wholly from the language they are acquiring (…). (Swann *et al.* 2004: 150).

In many cases, it is quite difficult to unequivocally define the status of such interlanguages, and one of the options is to call them pidgin-like or contact languages. It is still debatable, for example, whether Gastarbeiterdeutsch spoken by immigrants in Germany or Cocoliche used by Italian communities in Argentina are pidgins or pidgin-like contact languages. What is more, the English-Polish contact varieties spoken by Polish immigrants' communities in Great Britain and the USA would probably be interesting objects of sociolinguistic observation. Such research could cast new light on how such languages come into being and what these varieties really are.

Tourist pidgin languages are found actually in every place where there are foreign visitors and where the influx of tourists is continued. Sebba (1997) observes that there must be a kind of tradition between the local inhabitants and tourists to speak a language which displays such modifications as are typical of pidgins. Although very few extensive studies on tourist pidgins have been conducted and it is not clear what counts as a tourist pidgin proper, there must be some languages of this type, for instance, in Egypt or Tunisia where the contacts between the local people and tourists are quite frequent, if not continuous. Obviously, there cannot be any tourist creoles because tourist pidgins are too short-lived to undergo any development into stable or expanded pidgins, let alone creoles.

The last class of the general social typology of pidgins and creoles encompasses languages which are referred to as urban contact vernaculars. These are varieties which emerge in urbanised areas among

former villagers who moved to the cities. In the communities which such people establish, there might be members of a few ethnic or linguistic groups. Sebba (1997) is of the opinion that it is usually the younger generation of the community which is responsible for creating such urban contact vernaculars and he gives two examples of such languages. The first one is Sheng – a language of young people in Nairobi (Kenya) which exhibits pidgin features. The other one is Afrikaans-based pidgin Fly Taal spoken in the areas around the major cities of South Africa (*i.e.* Johannesburg, Pretoria) (*e.g.* Holm 1989). Both of these languages are sometimes said to be more like slang varieties than pidgins because of a number of semantically changed words and lexical variability (Sebba 1997).

As has been demonstrated, the criteria for defining the above types of pidgins and creoles are mainly social and actually nothing has been said about the linguistic structures of the languages under scrutiny. This is so because the main perspective adopted in this book is sociolinguistic.

What ought to be kept in mind is that this general social typology of pidgins and creoles is only an attempt at a social classification of these languages and that it does not claim to be in any way exhaustive. Moreover, it may happen, and it indeed happens, that one pidgin or creole can belong to more than one category or that a few other types of pidgins and creoles could be elaborated and added as categories to this social typology.

2.3 Pidgin/creole life cycle

One of the key concepts in creolistics is *pidgin/creole life cycle*. This term was first proposed by Robert A. Hall, Jr. who was of the opinion that pidgins and creoles are quite different from other languages in that they develop by going through a number of stages and these stages form a life cycle. Hall puts it in the following way (1966: 126):

> Unlike "normal" languages, a pidgin language usually comes into existence for a specific reason, lasts just as long as the situation that called it into being, and then goes quickly out of use. "Normal" languages do not have life-cycles; a language is not an organism, but a set of habits, handed down from one generation of speakers to another (…). A "normal" language is one handed down from generation to generation through transference to children who learn it as their first language, and its life is conditioned only by the length of time its speech-community lasts. (…) A pidgin acquires a longer lease on life only by becoming the native language of a group of speakers (becoming creolized), and thereby passes over to the status of a "normal" language. From this point of view, we can speak of pidgins as having "life-cycles" (…).

"Normal" languages, as Hall calls non-pidgin languages, are patterns of verbal behaviours that are transmitted from one generation to another. Pidgins are different in this respect because they are often *ad hoc* linguistic creations called for a specific communicative situation and when such a situation declines, a pidgin dies out as well. However, if the situation which brought a given pidgin into being continues and even develops, such a pidginised language also expands and may go through a few developmental phases. These stages of development form a kind of continuum which is known as *pidgin/creole life cycle*, the model of which was built by Peter Mühlhäusler (1979a, [1986] 1997).
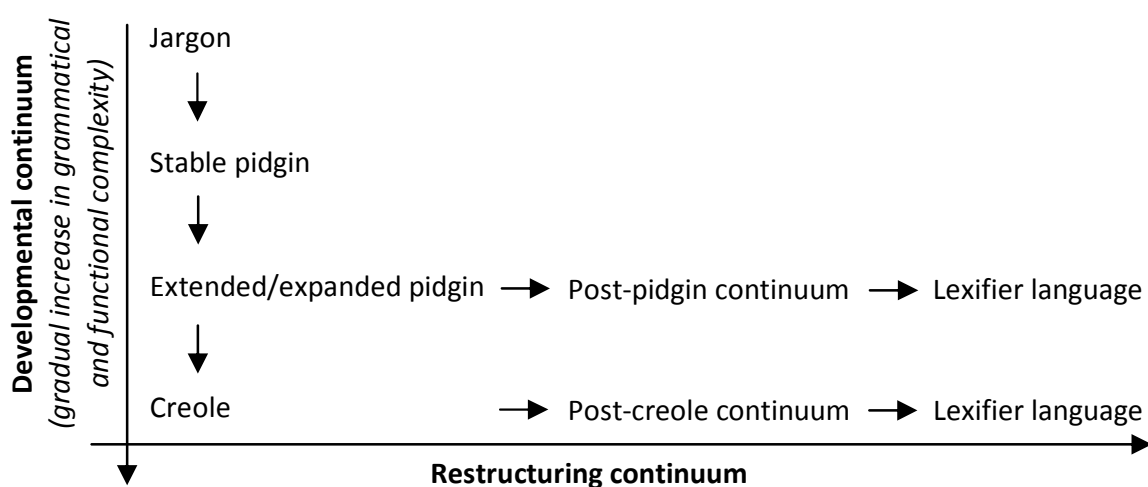
Figure 4. Pidgin/creole life cycle model[20]

As can be seen from the above figure, the pidgin/creole life cycle encompasses four major stages: the jargon stage, the stable pidgin stage, the extended/expanded pidgin stage and the creole stage. There are two axes: the one which shows the level of the development of grammar (*i.e.* syntax, morphology, phonology *etc.*) and vocabulary as well as the expansion of functions which a given language serves is termed *developmental continuum*; the other axis – *restructuring continuum* – shows the degree to which a given language variety is similar to/ different from the lexifier language. It can be argued that the restructuring continuum is equivalent to the term *creole continuum*. The creole continuum (or restructuring continuum) includes all varieties of a given pidgin/creole. The varieties on the left of the creole continuum, the ones that are most divergent from the lexifier language, are known as *basilects* whereas the lexifier language – the rightmost variety – is *acrolect*. The intermediate varieties are known as *mesolects*.

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[20] The figure is based on Mühlhäusler ([1986] 1997: 12), Romaine ([1988] 2000: 117), Sebba (1997: 102).

The life cycle of a given pidginised/creolised language starts usually at the jargon phase[21]. A jargon is usually a very rudimentary speech variety used between two (or more) parties of different linguistic backgrounds. Such a means of verbal communication lacks any stable norms of grammar and vocabulary and, consequently, exhibits much variation in both of these areas. If this jargon is used for a longer period of time, and there start to appear certain norms of grammar and vocabulary which are learnt by the interacting parties as components of a foreign (second) language, then a pidgin emerges. Pidgin languages can be further expanded by their speakers in terms of grammar, lexis and functions they are to play and when such pidgins become the mother (native) tongues for its speakers, they are said to have turned into creoles. All of these stages are discussed in detail in the subsequent sections.

Before the discussion of particular stages of the pidgin/creole life cycle, three points should be made. The first one refers to the terminology. As it appears, the key terms of the pidgin/creole life cycle are sometimes used differently, which obviously leads to ambiguity. The multiplicity of the names used for different developmental varieties which may form the pidgin/creole life cycle is nicely summarised by Bakker (2008: 132):

Bakker's terms	Other terms used by linguists
jargon	unstable pidgin, early pidgin, pre-pidgin, pre-pidgin continuum, primitive pidgin, incipient pidgin, rudimentary pidgin
pidgin	stable pidgin
pidgincreole	extended pidgin, expanded pidgin, stable pidgin, creole
creole	creole

Table 1. Different labels for the stages of pidgin/creole development

As follows from Table 1, there are many terms which are used as the names for the developmental varieties of the pidgin/creole life cycle. Bakker puts this terminological disarray in order and he even uses a new term – *pidgincreole* – which seems an interesting coinage because it directly points to the fact that this stage (*i.e.* the stage of an extended/expanded pidgin) is an intermediary stage between a pidgin and a creole.

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[21] At this point it is worth making a distinction between the term *jargon* understood by sociolinguists and the term *jargon* understood by creolists. In sociolinguistics, the term *jargon* is understood as a set of technical lexical items characteristic of a specific domain (*e.g.* technology, medicine, education *etc.*) whereas in creolistics the notion *jargon* is used to describe the most rudimentary language form, from which a pidgin language may develop.

The second point is connected with the different paths which may ultimately lead to the creation of a creole language. Although it is quite frequently maintained that creolised languages arise out of extended/expanded pidgins, this is not always true because creolisation may happen actually at every stage of the pidgin/creole life cycle. This is connected with nativisation – the process during which a pidgin becomes the first – native – language used by and within a given community. Such a pidginised language, while being made the first/native language, undergoes lexical, grammatical and functional expansion. Mühlhäusler (*e.g.* [1986] 1997) has postulated three scenarios of creole development in which the adoption of a given variety as a native language by a community can occur at different points. The three paths are presented in the following figure:

Type 1: Jargon   **Creole**
(*e.g.* **West Indian English Creole**)

Type 2: Jargon   **Stable pidgin**   **Creole**
(*e.g.* **Torres Strait Creole**)

Type 3: Jargon   **Stable pidgin**   **Extended/expanded pidgin**   **Creole**
(*e.g.* **Tok Pisin**)
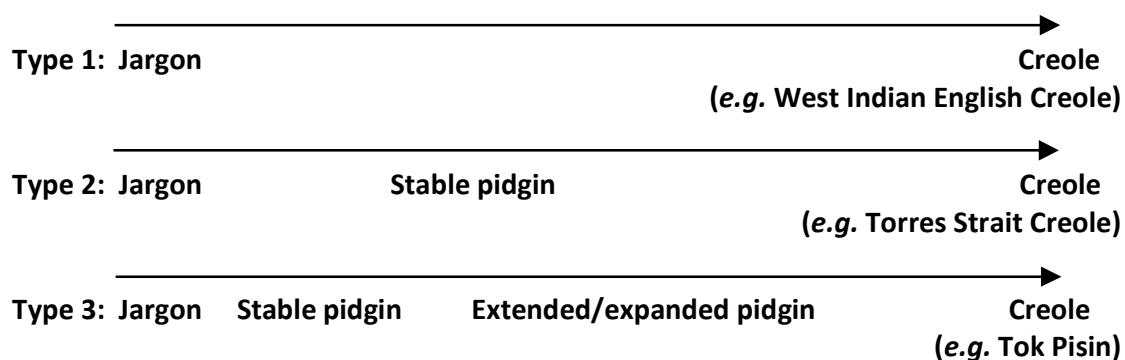
Figure 5. Scenarios of creole development[22]

As can be seen in the above figure, creolisation can occur already at the jargon stage. If a jargon is adopted by a community as a native language, it must be expanded in all areas (*i.e.* grammar, lexicon, functions *etc.*). This type of creolisation, however, has not occurred too often and there are quite few languages which emerged in this way. The two possible examples might be Tayo, used in New Caledonia, and Unserdeutsch, spoken in the past in Papua New Guinea (Mühlhäusler [1986] 1997). The second type of creole formation encompasses three stages and proceeds from a jargon, through a stable pidgin, to a creole. Torres Strait Creole emerged in this way. The third type has four phases: a jargon, a stable pidgin and an extended/expanded pidgin and a creole. This model is exemplified by, among others, Tok Pisin as well as Bislama (spoken in Vanuatu).

Finally, the third point refers to the fact that at any stage of the pidgin/creole life cycle, a given variety may go out of use, and hence die out. This is especially true of jargons which are usually short-lived systems with no written records. A stable pidgin can also undergo extinc-

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[22] On the basis of Mühlhäusler ([1986] 1997: 9) and Romaine ([1988] 2000: 155).

tion if its speakers' target language is one of the dominant/lexifier tongues (*e.g.* English) and they model their pidgin in such a way that it becomes a variety of the lexifier rather than a separate pidgin language. What is more, if a stable pidgin use – for some reasons – dramatically decreases, this language dies out. An extended/expanded pidgin can also be lost due to a number of factors, one of them being the deliberate abandonment of the use of this language and shift to some more prestigious speech instead. Language death is seldom observed in creole-speaking communities although in theory it can happen because, for instance, a given creole may be thought to be an "improper" means of communication and therefore not worthy of being used.

2.3.1. Jargon stage

The first phase of the pidgin/creole life cycle is the jargon stage. A jargon is defined in creolistics as "[a] rudimentary pidgin, also known as a pre-pidgin, which has an unstable structure and limited vocabulary on account of sporadic use and restriction to a few domains like trade or labour" (Swann *et al.* 2004: 157).

Jargons emerge in situations in which only basic verbal communication is necessary and when the linguistic resources are not sufficient to express a particular concept, the speakers of jargons resort to using non-verbal communication (*i.e.* gestures). Such linguistic systems are usually reduced only to a single domain such as trade or the recruitment of plantation labourers. They can therefore be characterised by great individual variation observed on the level of phonetics and phonology, syntax and lexicon. Apart from the lack of consistent grammatical and lexical rules, such pre-pidgins, as they are sometimes referred to, usually have no stable pragmatic and sociolinguistic norms, which means that there are no patterns, according to which a given utterance could be said to be acceptable or not.

Jargon speakers, when considered from the sociolinguistic perspective, tend to use these languages under what Silvestein (1972) calls *double illusion*. Romaine ([1988] 2000), for example, reports that while working in Papua New Guinea she encountered people who thought that the language they spoke was the other party's tongue and not a separate variety. The phenomenon of double illusion disappears along with the process of jargon stabilisation – when jargon users grow more and more aware of the fact that the language they speak is not really the language of the other party but a separate speech system. What it more, jargons, if their stabilisation does not occur, become extinct as soon as the interacting parties lose contact with each other for there is no need for these tongues to exist. Jargons are therefore varieties which are

most likely to quickly die out because in such cases there is no language transmission: parents do not transmit jargons to the next generations.

As aforementioned, jargons are highly variable in terms of their phonology, grammar and lexicon. The speakers of jargons usually draw on their mother tongue pronunciation systems while speaking the jargon to their interlocutors. Speaking English Japanese Jargon, for instance, English speakers used the sounds of English whereas Japanese speakers employed phones they had in their mother tongue (*e.g.* Goodman 1967, Mühlhäusler [1986] 1997). It may therefore be said that jargon pronunciation, which is highly variable, exhibits some influences from the substratum. On the other hand, it is sometimes suggested that the influence of substrate languages on the phonology of jargons is overestimated. Jargon speakers may purposefully modify (*i.e.* simplify) the way they pronounce jargon words to make the interlocutor understand the message. For that reason, they can be said to use a kind of foreigner talk. What is more, jargon users may not wish to simplify their pronunciation to facilitate communication but instead, they may want to make their pronunciation similar to the one the speakers of another group have (Sebba 1997).

It has already been stated that jargon grammar is also quite simplified. The sentences are quite short and usually composed of no more than two words. Morphology is missing, as a rule. Word orders as exhibited in jargons usually reflect the word orders present in the native languages of jargon creators. A good example is provided by Sebba (1997) when he claims that Russenorsk, which some linguists regard as a jargon, had an unstable word order due to the fact that Norwegians' mother tongue was an SVO (subject-verb-object) language while Russians' native language exhibited SVO and SOV word orders.

As far as jargon lexicon is concerned, it is usually very limited and the items which *do* exist in jargon vocabulary stock usually refer to specific domains such as trade contacts or plantation work. Interestingly, a single meaning may be conveyed in a number of ways and by means of different linguistic resources, depending on the occasion as well as on individual speakers who find their own solutions to the problem of cross-linguistic communication (*e.g.* Bakker 2008, Mühlhäusler [1986] 1997). It also happens that a string of words is used to mean a number of concepts and proper understanding is achieved only when context is taken into consideration. Jargon speakers also use holophrastic expressions (*e.g. aidono* ("I do not know") or *orait* ("it is all right") (Mühlhäusler [1986] 1997: 129)).

To sum up this section, it is once again worth repeating that a jargon is the most rudimentary stage of pidgin/creole development with very basic vocabulary and grammar as well as variable pronunciation.

This might be accounted for by the fact that what matters in the situations leading to the formation of jargons is communication itself with no or very little attention paid to how this is obtained (*i.e.* the structures used). Provided that the use of this language is continued for a longer period of time, it has a chance to develop into a stable pidgin. The formation of a pidgin language is known as *pidginisation*. Keith Whinnom (1971), however, has suggested a different name – *tertiary hybridisation* – which is discussed in the next section before the discussion of the stable pidgin stage.

2.3.2. Tertiary hybridisation

It is sometimes maintained that a pidgin language may arise as a mixture of only two languages. Linguistic evidence shows, however, that in most cases there are more than two languages involved in the creation of a pidgin. Russenorsk is often quoted as a language whose emergence was due to the mixture of two tongues, namely Russian and Norwegian.

One of the linguists to note that more than two languages are often involved in the creation of a pidgin is Keith Whinnom (1971) who draws a parallel between biology and linguistics, bringing to light the concept of *tertiary hybridisation*. The concept of *hybridisation* (or more precisely: *primary hybridisation*) in its basic meaning belongs to biology and refers to "(…) the 'smooth' development of several different species from one ancestral species, as with a language gradually splitting up into dialects which become languages themselves" (Swann *et al.* 2004: 138). With this in mind, it might be argued that hybridisation is what linguists call *fragmentation*, best represented by the language family tree model (Whinnom 1971). *Secondary hybridisation* is a process whereby two species crossbreed and, as a result, a new – third – species is formed. It might be thought that pidginisation is an example of secondary hybridisation because it is just two languages which mix and this gives birth to a pidgin. Whinnom, however, is of the opinion that such a scenario is too simple for the great majority of pidgins and, in actual facts, quite few pidgin languages arose in the course of secondary hybridisation. He therefore suggested (1971) that stable pidgins emerge through *tertiary hybridisation*. This is understood as a process of developing a pidgin which, first of all, is used in communication among at least three groups (so it functions as a lingua franca among these parties), and second, is based on the language of one of the groups. The following figure presents the three types of hybridisation:
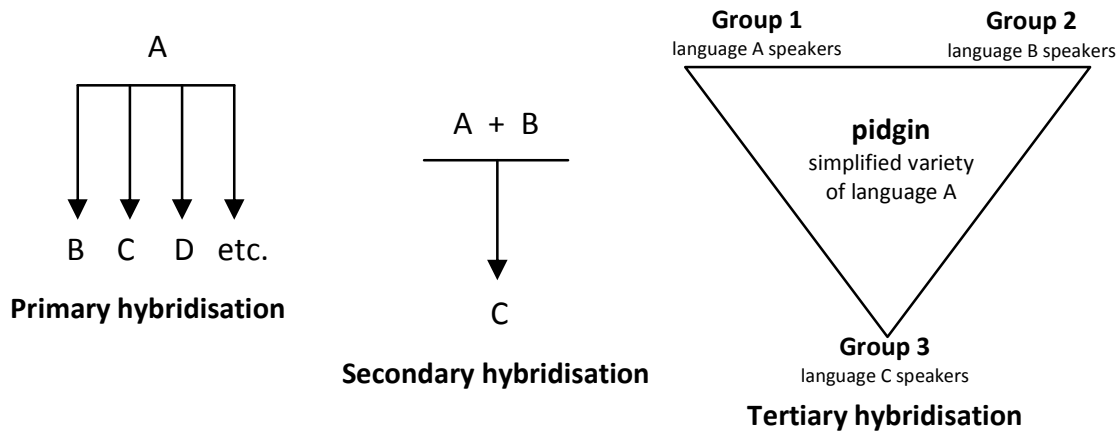
Figure 6. Types of hybridisation

What is more, Whinnom worked out a kind of a model known as *Whinnom formula* (*e.g.* Swann *et al.* 2004, Whinnom 1971), which has the following form:

$$\text{Pidgin} = \frac{\text{Target language}}{\text{substrate language A x B (x C ...)}}$$

From the above formula, it is evident that pidginisation requires one target language (*e.g.* English) and at least two substrate languages. A pidgin language is thus a kind of "linguistic agreement" or, as Swann *et al.* (2004: 332) call it, "a compromise between speakers of language A's version of the target language (usually a socially or politically dominant language) with speakers of language B's version of it (...)". This model, as mentioned above, cannot be applied to all pidgins in the world and among the counterexamples is Russenorsk. Additionally, linguists argue that sometimes pidgins do not involve any target language and what counts for pidgin creators is just mutual understanding achieved through some medium of verbal communication which is usually a pidgin language.

2.3.3. Stable pidgin stage

A pidgin language which emerged as a result of tertiary hybridisation may become stabilised (or – using a different terminology – crystallised), which means that it ought to develop certain grammatical, lexical and pragmatic norms. This stabilisation occurs when none of the interacting parties' languages is the target language and when the pidgin itself becomes such a target language used within a particular community. However, what should be stressed here is that the stabilisation of a pidgin through tertiary hybridisation is not what all linguists agree

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about. Some claim that the emergence of norms leads to the formation of a stable pidgin (Sebba 1997).

Stabilisation is sometimes thought of as the most important phase in the pidgin/creole life cycle because it is at this stage that the path of further development of the languages in question is shaped: the pidgin language may either develop further into the direction of a creole or it may simply become depidginised (*i.e.* transform into a variety of the lexifier language).

Sebba (1997) says that the development of a stable pidgin out of a jargon may be summarised in three stages: at the first stage, the inter-acting parties may use foreigner talk in communication; both parties use simplified versions of their native languages; at the second stage, one of the interacting parties' languages (usually the one of the politi-cally or economically stronger group) is selected to be the medium of communication; the weaker group learns this simplified version of the stronger group's language; at the third stage, the weaker group begins to use the simplified version of the stronger group's tongue in commu-nication with one more group, which leads to the formation of a stable pidgin that at the same time becomes a lingua franca for the groups in contact.

Stabilised pidgins start to have social and sociolinguistic norms: they serve as a means of communication in a bigger number of specified domains; they begin to be used as means of self-expression; more atten-tion is paid to linguistic correctness *etc.* (Romaine ([1988] 2000). How-ever, a stable pidgin should also have its own norms related to gram-mar, pronunciation and lexicon.

Generally speaking, stable pidgin grammar and vocabulary be-come more crystallised, which means that they become more consistent with less variation. However, phonology and phonetics are still quite variable because they are considered to be "the least stable in stabilized [p]idgins" (Mühlhäusler [1986] 1997: 138) and variation can be seen in individual speakers who still rely on their native language sound inven-tories. This is, nevertheless, not so widely prevalent as in jargons be-cause there *do* start to develop certain norms governing pidgin phonol-ogy and phonetics. What is certain, marked sounds of the languages which are pidgin parent tongues are eliminated and this can be exem-plified by the fact that many pidgin English varieties realise typically English sounds such as /ʃ/ or /θ/ as /s/ and /d/ or /t/ respectively (*e.g.* Tok Pisin *sip* ("ship"), *ting* ("think")). In African pidgins which are based on tonal languages (*e.g.* Fanakalo), tones are also reduced and sometimes even replaced by stress (Mühlhäusler [1986] 1997). More-over, two-syllable words are the norm at this stage of the pidgin/creole life cycle. At this stage of pidgin/creole development many English-

based pidgins had a smaller number of vowels in comparison to their superstratum – English. West African Pidgin English, Tok Pisin or Torres Straits Broken had five vowels (/i/, /e/, /a/, /o/, /u/) and only later did more vowels develop (/i/, /e/, /ɜ/, /a/, /o/, /σ/, /u/) (Mühlhäusler [1986] 1997).

Another property of stable pidgins is the lack of inflectional morphology. This may be accounted for by the fact that inflection systems are usually difficult to learn quickly and therefore they are not incorporated into pidgins at the stage of stabilisation. Inflectional morphology develops later.

Stabilised pidgin syntax exhibits a strong tendency towards the SVO word order and, what is interesting, it is observed in a number of unrelated stable pidgins, among which are, for instance, Pidgin Fijian, Bantu pidgins or English-based pidgins. The other less frequent word orders are OSV (*e.g.* in Hiri Motu, used in Papua New Guinea) and SOV (*e.g.* Naga Pidgin, spoken in India) (Mühlhäusler [1986] 1997). The same word order is used for statements as well as for questions and commands. Sentences are usually simple and if there seems to be some complexity, this is achieved by means of simple conjoining the sentences in the order of occurrence. Embedding is rarely observed at this stage.

Another interesting feature of stabilised pidgins is the system of prepositions which are usually quite few. In Pidgin German used in New Guinea, there were no prepositions; in stable English-derived pidgins there are one or two prepositions, *long* being the most common among languages which have only one preposition and *belong* and *long* among two-preposition stabilised pidgins. In general, it can be stated that stable pidgins develop their own grammatical structures which are not found in any of the parent languages.

As far as stabilised pidgin lexicon is concerned, it is much more stable than jargon vocabulary. It also starts to have certain norms, which, according to Mühlhäusler ([1986] 1997: 153-154), are as follows:

1. a standard pronunciation (with some latitude in acceptable variants);
2. a standard range of meanings;
3. conventions regarding the grammatical status of a word;
4. conventions as to its social acceptability.

It emerges from the above list of the features of stable pidgin vocabulary that stable pidgins, in terms of their lexicons, start to resemble fully developed languages for pidgin words are usually pronounced in a similar way (although some little variation occurs). They usually denote

specified concepts (in most cases following the principle: one form – one meaning), which certainly limits the burden of meaning negotiation as was the case with jargons and their speakers. What is more, it is easier to classify these lexical items into grammatical categories such as noun, verb, adjective *etc.* Finally, the users of stable pidgins start to recognise which item belongs to the pidgin and which does not. Among the properties of stable pidgin vocabulary, one is particularly interesting and pertains to the fact that animate nouns are preceded by female or male particles such as *man* and *wuman* (in Samoan Plantation Pidgin English or in Cameroon Pidgin English). Thus "boar" in Samoan Plantation Pidgin English is *man pik* whilst "sow" – *wuman pik* (Mühlhäusler [1986] 1997). Stable pidgin lexicons, due to the lack of word-formation mechanisms (which appear later), must borrow lexical items from other languages. The main donor is obviously the superstratum, however, nearly all pidgins exhibit some elements derived from the substratum. There are many examples to support the above claim: Fanakalo lexicon is in 70% Zulu, the remaining portion being of Afrikaans or English origin; Samoan Plantation Pidgin English vocabulary in 90% is derived from English and the remaining 10% comes from Samoan and other local languages; Hiri Motu vocabulary originates primarily from Motu, and the rest is from English and Tok Pisin (Mühlhäusler [1986] 1997). It is, however, argued, for example, by Sebba (1997) that stable pidgin lexis should be reckoned as its own because, first of all, in many cases the lexifier language from which the lexical items have been borrowed is no longer a target language and it is not used by stable pidgin speakers and secondly, the meanings of stable pidgin words are often not the meanings of lexifier language words. This means that a word, having been incorporated into the lexicon of a stable pidgin, may completely change its meaning. A number of examples are given by Sebba (1997: 117): English *shit* and Tok Pisin *shit* ("excrement", "remains", "residue") or Bengali *dud* ("milk") and Nagamese *dud* ("breast"). What also happens at the stage of pidgin stabilisation in the realm of lexicon is the extension of meaning. This has happened, for instance, in Tok Pisin where *lek* (original English *leg*) may denote "leg", "foot" "hind leg", "footprint" (*e.g.* Mihalic [1971] 1989, Sebba 1997).

As shown above, stable pidgins can be characterised by greater grammatical and lexical complexity than is observed in jargons. Additionally, stable pidgins tend to be less variable than their predecessors – jargons because their speakers, while speaking the languages in question, adhere to certain rules established for stable pidgin grammar, lexicon, pronunciation and use.

2.3.4. Extended/Expanded pidgin stage

The extended/expanded pidgin stage is connected primarily with the functions a given pidgin plays. If a stable pidgin with certain norms of grammar, pronunciation and lexicon is used in more and more domains, it may be said to have entered the phase of extension[23]. Romaine says ([1988] 2000: 138) that an expanded pidgin "(…) is used in almost all domains of everyday life, for self-expression, word play, literature and is instrumental in providing cohesion in heterogeneous groups". The process of expansion does not occur automatically once a pidgin has been stabilised. On the contrary, it occurs only under certain social conditions and therefore there are not too many extended pidgins. The most often cited examples of expanded pidgins are West African Pidgin English and Tok Pisin (Romaine [1988] 2000).

The idea that stable pidgins develop into the extended ones was suggested by Loreto Todd (1974, 1990) when she defined an extended pidgin as a language which starts to play more and more functions in a multilingual community. It does not, however, have to have native speakers yet.

Putting a pidgin into more and more domains may lead to the creation of new types of verbal communication (*i.e.* genres[24]) and, what is connected with this, to the stylistic variation of the pidgin language. The emergence of stylistic variation is used to demarcate the borderline between earlier versions of pidgins (*i.e.* the jargon stage and the stable pidgin stage) and the expanded one.

Interesting things are observed in phonology and phonetics of expanded pidgins. First of all, it has been recorded that speakers of extended pidgins tend to reduce vowels in unstressed syllables (*e.g.* Tok Pisin *baimbai* becomes *babai*, *bai* or *ba* (Mühlhäusler [1986] 1997: 166); *mitupela* becomes *mitla*; or *save* becomes *sa* (Romaine ([1988] 2000: 138-139)). Secondly, the number of vowels in some expanded pidgins increases and, for instance, according to Mühlhäusler ([1986] 1997), expanded Tok Pisin has ten vowels which differ in length whilst Torres Strain Broken has developed a twelve-vowel system. Consonantal systems still exclude certain marked sounds such as are found in lexifier languages (*e.g.* English /θ/). Besides, the speakers of expanded

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[23] The words *extended* and *expanded* as well as *extension* and *expansion* are used here interchangeably, as in the literature on pidgin and creole linguistics.

[24] *A genre* is defined in numerous ways, the three most important being that *genres* are types of literary texts (*e.g.* poetry, novel) or that *genres* are "clusters of different types of spoken and written texts grouped according to their function, formal characteristics and/or rhetorical purposes such as jokes, greeting, school essays, advertisements (…)" (Swann *et al.* 2994: 124) or that genres are language behaviours, activities and practises dependent on the context in which they occur.

pidgins start to differentiate between sounds which at the previous stages were not distinct (*e.g.* /s/ and /t/, /p/ and /f/, /l/ and /r/ (Mühlhäusler ([1986] 1997).

Along with the expansion of functions that extended pidgin languages are put into, there is development in the realm of morphology. Inflectional morphology, absent from the earlier phases of the pidgin/creole life cycle, starts to be utilised. This can be evidenced by Tok Pisin suffixes *–im* (attached to transitive verbs) or *–pela* (attached to many adjectives used in an attributive position) (Sebba 1997: 110). Derivational morphology, on the other hand, affects mostly the lexicon because it becomes expanded partly by word-formation processes, including derivation.

At this stage of the pidgin/creole life cycle embedding appears with complementisers being content words which underwent grammaticalisation (*i.e.* when a content word begins to be used as a function word). This happened to Tok Pisin *olsem*, an adverb meaning "thus, in this way", which was reanalysed and now it also functions as a complementiser equivalent to English "that" (*e.g. Na yupela i no save olsem em i matmat?* ("And you did not know that it was a cemetery?") (Romaine [1988] 2000: 142)) and to Tok Pisin demonstrative *ya*, which previously was used to mean "here" (*e.g. Meri ya i-stap long hul ya em i-hangre.* ("The woman who stayed in the hole was hungry") (Wurm *et al.* 1979, quoted after: Sebba 1997: 114)). Another invention is connected with relativisation. Tok Pisin, for instance, developed a relativiser *we* which is used in the following phrases: *man we i stap long ples* ("the people who live in the village") or *samting we mi bin lusim tingting longen* ("something which I forgot") (Mühlhäusler [1986] 1997: 174).

If an expanded pidgin is used in more and more domains, it must surely develop its vocabulary. This development is seen not only in a growing number of lexical items used within new domains but also in the use of existing words in new stylistic contexts. This means that a pidgin is used not only to communicate basic and simple messages but also to express emotions, to conduct religious rituals, to carry out political disputes, to write newspaper articles *etc.* (*e.g.* Mühlhäusler [1986] 1997). As a result of such expansion, the extended pidgin develops metaphors or euphemisms. This is again well visible in the following Tok Pisin items: *kapsaitim* (primary meaning: "to pour out, to spill something, to overturn"; metaphorical meaning: "to drink hurriedly"), *grinpela man* (primary meaning: "green man"; metaphorical meaning: "beer in a green bottle"), *kepkep* (used as a euphemism for *pekpek* meaning "to defecate"), *supsup* (used as a euphemism for *puspus* meaning "to have sexual intercourse") (Mihalic [1971] 1989, Mühlhäusler [1986] 1997: 183-184). Additionally, in extended pidgins proverbs and

language games start to emerge. Thanks to the development of stylistic resources, the expanded pidgin may be a successful marker of identity, gender or politeness. It therefore can be said that at the stage of expansion, the pidgin language increases not only its referential potential but also its stylistic flexibility both in spoken and written modes (because at this stage, a given expanded pidgin may receive its own writing system).

Lexical development involves creating new items for new concepts through borrowing from other languages or through word-formation processes. This can be illustrated by word-formation mechanisms present in Tok Pisin (*Cf.* Chapter 5). This expanded pidgin makes use of reduplication, abbreviation, affixation, compounding or conversion. It also borrowed words from English, German, Portuguese and local indigenous languages (Walczyński 2005).

As a conclusion of this section, it can be said that expanded pidgins demonstrate much more complexity in terms of grammar and lexicon than their predecessors – jargons and stable pidgins. They are also used more often in new domains, which obviously contributes to the expansion of lexicon. As such pidgin languages may become markers of identity or gender, they may also develop stylistic resources. It is sometimes claimed that in determining the status of a given pidgin variety the development of various styles is more important than the development of grammatical structures.

2.3.5. Creole stage

The next stage of pidgin/creole development is the phase of creolisation[25] whose outcome is a creole language. However, as evidenced by many pidgins, some pidginised languages never reach this stage. It has already been said in Section 2.3. that there are three scenarios of creole formation and that a creole does not necessarily have any pidgin as its predecessor. Creolisation may actually happen at every stage of the pidgin/creole life cycle but, as is sometimes maintained (*e.g.* Sebba 1997), there must be certain extraordinary social conditions which were generated by, for example, slavery. Slavery is given by Thomason and Kaufman (1988) as an example of a social context in which creolisation, in many cases, was abrupt. Creole languages (known in this context as *radical creoles* (*e.g.* Swann *et al.* 2004)) which emerged through

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[25] The terms *creolisation* and *depidginisation* (*i.e.* the development of a pidgin into a creole) are sometimes used interchangeably (*e.g.* Romaine [1988] 2000) although it seems that *depidginisation* (like *decreolisation*) is used more often to describe a process whereby a pidgin changes into the direction of the superstratum (*e.g.* Mühlhäusler [1986] 1997).

what Thomason and Kaufman (1988) call *abrupt creolisation* did not have crystallised (or stabilised or expanded) pidgins as their predecessors. They maintain that slavery settings did not let the contact language (which emerged among slaves originating from diverse linguistic backgrounds and which was later transformed into a creole) have time to stabilise and expand but that it was already formed as a creole by children born into the slaves' multilingual community. The examples of creoles formed through abrupt creolisation given by Thomason and Kaufman (1988) are Isle de France Creole[26], spoken in Mauritius and the Seychelles as well as Pitcairnese. It is, however, generally agreed that many, if not most, creoles are nativised pidgins, *i.e.* pidgins which have acquired native speakers. Pidgin users' children start to expand the language of their parents because they see a strong need to express their thoughts and feelings in a greater number of fields. Thus such a creole is further expanded to such an extent that it fulfils phatic or metalinguistic language functions (*e.g.* McMahon 1994). Along with the expansion in function, the grammatical and lexical systems undergo considerable changes, which leads to a growing complexity of the creole language. However, it seems that a creole language and an expanded pidgin, which both belong to the same life cycle, do not differ much from each other in terms of their structure and function. On the other hand, some linguists sometimes point out that a pidgin and a creole *do* show considerable differences in their syntax systems. Bickerton (1984), for example, when comparing Hawaiian Pidgin English and Hawaiian Creole English, noticed a number of qualitative changes in the syntactic patterns of the two languages. Among others, he stated that Hawaiian Pidgin syntax was much poorer in various markers and quite unstable (*i.e.* it was used differently by different pidgin users) than its creole counterpart, which, soon after creolisation, grew more advanced and complex. Obviously, in the course of time, the creole becomes more distant from its pidgin ancestor but in the initial stages of creolisation few striking differences in grammar and use can be observed.

What should be said here is that an extended pidgin may be in use in a stable speech community for some time and it may even be the main language used by the multilingual members of this community. Only when it starts to be the first (*i.e.* native, mother) tongue for a generation of speakers, does its status change into a creole. This points to the fact that one language may exist in a single community in at least two varieties: both as a pidgin and as a creole. Of course, such a pidgin

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[26] Isle de France Creole is a collective name for Mauritian Creole French (also known as Morisyen) and Seychellois Creole French (also known as Seselwa) (*e.g.* Arends, Muysken and Smith 1995, Baker and Corne 1982).

and a creole have different groups of users. A good example is Tok Pisin which functions in some areas as a pidgin while in other regions as a creole and therefore, as suggested by Sebba (1997: 134), it could be correct to say that there are "pidgin Tok Pisin" and "creole Tok Pisin".

Some scholars have held the view that creolisation is not an unusual linguistic process and the sole difference between creoles and other languages lies in the faster speed of the change because of the social factors involved in creole formation. This opinion was formed by Addison Van Name (Hancock 1987), who saw a parallel between creoles and European languages such as French or English. Adolfo Coelho, a Portuguese linguist, described this process in terms of language acquisition. He thought that the learners of creoles *did* repeat the same mistakes, and these errors became the rules (Hancock 1987). Among other scholars who have dealt with creolisation is Leonard Bloomfield, for whom any jargon becoming the sole language spoken by a given group is a creole. Moreover, as mentioned in Chapter 1, he is thought to have coined the word *de-creolise* for a process opposite to creolisation (Hancock 1987).

The process of creolisation involves, apart from the abovementioned changes in social functions (*i.e.* among others, becoming a first language for some people) a creole language is to play, a number of changes observed on the level of phonology, morphology, syntax and lexicon.

As for creole phonology, the creole speakers have a faster pace of speech; stress is placed on a smaller number of words in a single sentence. Moreover, speech tends to be more connected. Nevertheless, as Hall (1973: 95) puts it, "[t]he pronunciation habits of a native language often carry over into a pidgin and survive, even for generations, in creoles". This means that the creole retains certain phonological features of the pidgin, which might have been transferred by pidgin speakers from these speakers' native languages (*i.e.* substrate tongues). Mühlhäusler ([1986] 1997) gives two reasons why it may be so: first, in and after the initial stages of creolisation, creole speakers have to communicate with pidgin speakers and secondly, creoles are entities which have just emerged so their lifetime is quite short. It may be therefore said that creolised tongues, as if, "inherit" the manners of pronouncing sounds from their predecessors – pidgins. However, creole phonology, which is relatively stable at this stage, can still develop. This may be a result of what Mühlhäusler ([1986] 1997: 191) calls "internal pressures or outside borrowing".

Creole languages also inherit their morphology from the preceding expanded pidgin stage and, if inflection categories developed at the

stage of expansion, few qualitative differences can be spotted between them at the phase of an expanded pidgin and at the phase of a creole.

Another development is to be observed on the level of syntax. Pidgins usually make use of simple sentences because simplicity and clarity of communication are of key importance. Creoles, on the other hand, have more complex syntax. One of the most interesting elements of creole grammar is the tense-modality-aspect system consisting of particles denoting the time of the action or action completion/incompletion. Many creoles exhibit such markers and although they actually start to emerge at the expanded pidgin stage, these tense-modality-aspect particles are certainly innovations. What is interesting, the tense-modality-aspect marking is sometimes regarded as a characteristic property of creoles because such markers are found in the great majority of creolised languages (Bakker, Post and van der Voort 1995). Bakker, Post and van der Voort (1995: 248) are of the opinion that "(…) in creole languages there is a limited number of grammaticalized TMA [tense-modality-aspect] morphemes, which are nearly always preverbal, which always appear in the same order and which apparently have the same semantic values". The system of tense-modality-aspect markers functions, for example, in Saramaccan, and encompasses the following preverbal particles[27]: *bi* (for anterior tense, *i.e.* the past and the past before the past) as in *Ineni bi tabaya* ("They had worked"); *o* and *ske* (for irrealis, *i.e.* the future, conditionality, subjunctivity) as in *Mi o-nján dí físi* ("I will/would eat the fish") and in *Ineni ske tabaya* ("They will go to work"); *tá* and *xa* (for non-punctual aspect, *i.e.* durativity, habituality or iterativity) as in *Mi tá-nján dí físi* ("I am eating fish/I eat fish habitually") and *Ieni xa tabaya* ("They work (habitually)"). Of course, these markers can be combined as in *Mi bi-o-tá-nján dí físi* ("I would have been eating the fish") (Bakker, Post and van der Voort 1995: 250-252).

The next feature of creole grammar is the presence of a system of articles. It is argued that a definite article is used for presupposed-specific nouns (or more precisely – noun phrases), an indefinite article is put next to asserted-specific nouns and the zero article is used with non-specific nouns. Romaine ([1988] 2000: 49) illustrates this with Bickerton's examples (1981: 57) from Seychelles Creole: *mô pe aste sa banan* ("I am buying the banana") (presupposed-specific noun), *mô pe aste ban banan* ("I am buying the bananas") (presupposed-specific plural noun), *mô pe aste ê banan* ("I am buying a banana) (asserted-specific noun), *fakter i n amen let is?* ("Did the postman bring a letter here?") (non-specific noun). What is more, many creoles exhibit a tendency to use adjectives as verbs. Creoles also make use of movement rules which

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[27] The examples are quoted from Bakker, Post and van der Voort 1995: 250-252.

boil down to moving focused constituents to the sentence-initial position. Such rules are observed, for example, in Guyanese Creole (*e.g. Jan bin sii wan uman* ("John has seen a woman") and *a Jan bin sii wan uman* ("It was John who had seen a woman") (Romaine [1988] 2000: 48)). Another interesting thing in this area is the development of serial verbs which are the constructions consisting of two verbs (the first one often being "bring", "come", "go", "take" *etc.*) referring to one (*i.e.* the same) subject and fulfilling such functions as location, direction, benefaction, dative, instrumental and others (*e.g.* Romaine [1988] 2000). It means that serial verbs are used in the places where other languages employ prepositions. Serial verbs are thus found in such creoles as Sranan (*e.g. a waka go a wosu* [he walk go to house] "He walked home" – direction), Guyanese (*e.g. li pote sa bay mo* [he bring that give me] "He brought that for me" – benefaction) or São Tomense (*e.g. e fa da ine* [he talk give them] "He talked to them" – dative) (Romaine [1988] 2000: 56).

Also the lexicon is subject to more modifications. The use of linguistic processes found in all languages is made even more intensively than in the case of expanded pidgins. Vocabulary is enriched by the coinage of new items, reduplication, shifts in meaning (for instance, in Trinidadian Creole English the word *computer* used to refer to "a person counting money", however, its meaning has been expanded and today it stands for "a counting machine" (McMahon 1994)) or borrowing from other languages (in the same English Creole of Trinidad, there is the word *susu* (meaning: "system of mutual saving") which was taken from the Yoruba language, spoken by the black tribe in eastern Guinea (Webster's Third New International Dictionary) (McMahon 1994). Borrowings are especially evident in the creoles based on European languages. Tok Pisin is again a good example for there are numerous borrowed items from modern English. This may be illustrated by *futbal* ("football"), *ka* ("car"), *poto* ("photo"), *spana* ("spanner") and many more (Mihalic [1971] 1989). If a creole borrows words from other languages, these lexical items have to be accommodated to the phonology of the creole language. Furthermore, new words are created to name concepts so far unfamiliar to pidgin speakers.

All in all, creoles are more complex than pidgins in terms of their structural and lexical properties although the feature that is remarkably distinctive of creoles is that, unlike pidgins, they have native speakers for whom such creolised languages are mother tongues.

As the final point in this section it should be said that creole languages have not been yet fully described and linguists lack information on certain aspects of these tongues. This is neatly commented on by Mühlhäusler ([1986] 1997: 210), who says that:

[s]tudies of creolization have concentrated on what is sometimes called "hardcore grammar". Consequently many aspects of these languages remain ill described. Examples of serious gaps in our knowledge include ideophones, discourse grammar, speech acts and many other areas of "higher-level grammar" and language use.

2.3.6. Post-creole and post-pidgin stages and creole continuum

The pidgin/creole life cycle does not have to end with a creole as the ultimate stage. Even a creole language can further evolve into a number of ways and the outcomes of such linguistic processes are usually described in terms of *a creole continuum* which is defined by Swann *et al.* (2004: 62) in the following manner:

> (...) 'Creole continuum' develops when the colonial language is accessible to Creole speakers and there is social mobility and education which make it a desired target. Under these conditions, decreolisation occurs – resulting in varieties that are intermediate between the original Creole and the superstrate. The Creole continuum is segmented by linguists into three significant sections – the *basilect* (or deep Creole), *acrolect* (a variety closest to the superstrate) and the *mesolect* (a set of intermediate varieties between these endpoints). Individual speakers may be described as basilectal, mesolectal or acrolectal on the basis of their casual speech. (...) The term 'Creole continuum' is preferred to the earlier term post-Creole continuum, since the latter misleadingly suggests the demise of the Creole.

As indicated in the above-quoted definition, formerly, instead of the name *creole continuum*, *post-creole continuum* was used. The idea that a creole language may develop even further into post-creole stages was first suggested by DeCamp (1971). A creole language, when used in the environment in which a lexifier language is used, can be transformed by its speakers into varieties which are closer in their structure to this lexifier. However, apart from what is known as *a deep creole* or *the broadest creole* (*i.e.* the basilect) and the lexifier language (*i.e.* the acrolect) which both form two opposite poles of a creole continuum, there are usually a number of intermediate varieties (*i.e.* mesolects), some of which are closer in their structure to the basilect and others to the acrolect. The model of a creole continuum is often exemplified by a set of varieties of Guyanese Creole English, used in Guyana, presented in the following figure:

Basilect (creole)

mi		gii	am
mi	bin	gii	am
mi	bin	gii	ii
mi	bin	gi	ii
mi	di	gi	ii
mi	di	gi	hii
a	di	gi	ii
a	did	gi	ii
a	did	giv	ii
a	did	give	hii
a		giv	ii
a		giv	im
a		giv	him
a		geev	ii
a		geev	im
a		geev	him
I		gave	him

Acrolect (lexifier)
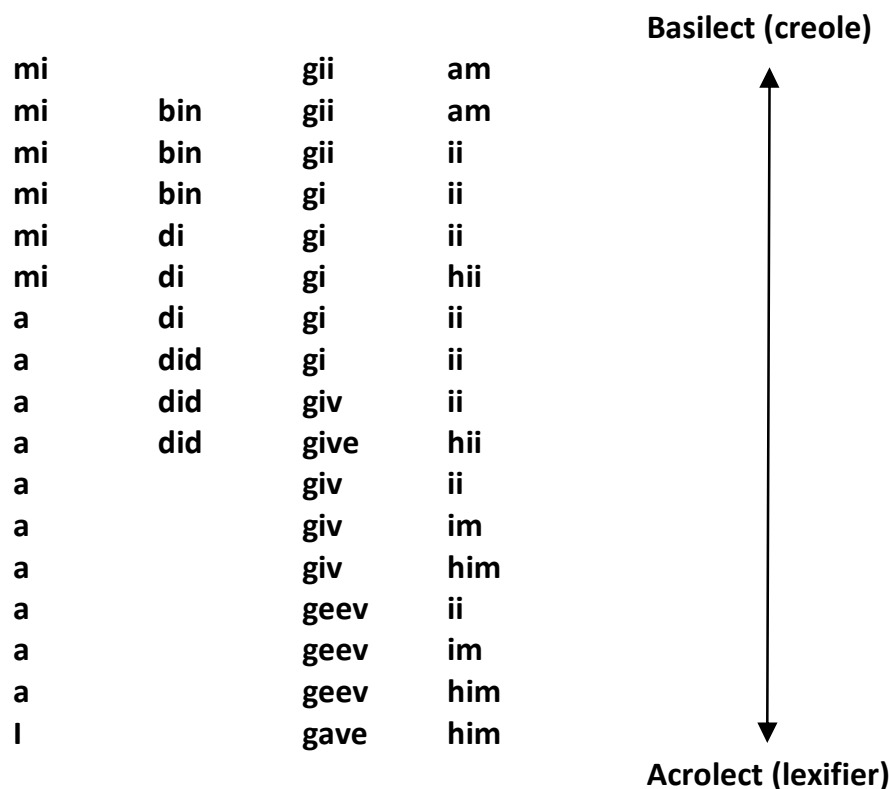
Figure 7. Guyanese Creole continuum[28]

As can be observed from Figure 7, Guyanese Creole English continuum includes many varieties. The acrolectal variety is actually in no way different from standard English whereas the basilectal form (*i.e.* the creole) is significantly restructured. All mesolects are closer either to the creole or to the lexifier but, what should be emphasised, no clear boundary between one mesolect and the other can be marked because they shade into each other, forming a gradient system of varieties. The creole continuum in Figure 7 represents an implicational hierarchy of speech forms[29]. This means that the use of a particular form of one structure determines the use of a given form of some other structure. For example, if a speaker of one of the varieties of Guyanese Creole English uses "a" and "did" and "give", he certainly uses "hii" (*e.g.* Sebba 1997).

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[28] Source: De Rooij 1995: 54.

[29] It should be borne in mind that the technique of implicational scaling has been criticised for it seems to have certain deficiencies. First of all, there is a question of how many speakers (*i.e.* the size of the sample of speakers) should be examined in order to obtain reliable data. DeCamp's (1971) research involving six linguistic features as applied by seven speakers of Jamaican Creole English continuum may be too small to draw any general conclusions. Secondly, as observed by Sebba (1997: 217) "(...) there needs to be an *index of scalability* which indicates how scalable the data actually is". This technique, nevertheless, has been used by some creolists as a key research device for measuring the level of decreolisation (*e.g.* Rooij 1995).

The creole continuum can be characterised by two properties: non-discreteness (the fact that it is hardly possible to mark any clear, *i.e.* discrete, boundaries between varieties neighbouring upon each other on the continuum) and unidimensionality (the fact that the varieties of the continuum are structured along one dimension, namely creole-lexifier, and that the difference between these speech forms is that they are closer either to the creole or to the lexifier) (de Rooij 1995).

DeCamp (1971) is of the opinion that the creole continuum may emerge in communities where people move frequently, which makes them modify their speech forms in such a way that they are closer to the standard variety (*i.e.* the lexifier) and where this is strengthened by education and other activities which *do* have an influence on the creole language (DeCamp 1971, after: De Rooij 1995). The creole continuum is, however, not present in every creole-speaking community. De Rooij (1995), for example, gives Haiti as an example of a region where a creole and a lexifier are spoken but they function as complementary languages forming diglossia (*e.g.* Sebba 1997) – a linguistic situation in which speech varieties spoken in a particular community are used in dissimilar specified domains or functions. This means that these languages are in a complementary relationship because if one tongue is used, for instance, in literature, education or in the media, then the other variety is used in different areas.

From the above discussion it emerges that the concept of *a creole continuum* is directly linked with the process of *decreolisation* – transformation of a creole (*i.e.* the basilect) towards the more prestigious lexifier language (*i.e.* the acrolect). A language which is currently undergoing decreolisation is Guyanese Creole English, whose structure resembles, to a great extent, that of English (*e.g.* Romaine 1994a, Romaine [1988] 2000). Intensive decreolisation may result in *a post-creole*, a variety which has only a few features attributed to a creole, and more characteristics of the dominant tongue. Holm (2000) gives an example of African American Vernacular English, whose structure has deviated from the shape of a creole and taken on the form of American English. In the case of African American Vernacular English only a highly limited set of creole features has retained.

An interesting observation is that creolisation and decreolisation are not processes which exclude each other. They may co-exist within one language. Tok Pisin is an instance of such a tongue where these two mechanisms are present. The members of the young generation use this system as their mother tongue (creolisation); there are also people who receive education in English and the language they speak is modified (*i.e.* decreolised) towards English.

Yet another process observed at the post-creole stage is *recreolisation*, in which the speakers of a given variety modify their speech form in the direction of a deep creole (*i.e.* the basilect). Sebba (1997: 225-226) provides a good example of recreolisation processes in the speech of boys (one of them is of Caribbean origin) living in London and speaking a kind of an amalgam of London English and Jamaican Creole. Among typically English utterances, there are Jamaican Creole sentences such as "me no know if me a go down dere" or "dem punkoot yes me know them". Other cases of recreolisation cited by Sebba (1997) are those of Birmingham young black community's speech and the language used by the young members of a Dominican community living in Bradford, West Yorkshire. Recreolisation can be said to be socially motivated, which means that the recreolising speakers tend to change their speech because they see the creole as a marker of "black Britishness" (Sebba 1997: 231), solidarity or simply as a language of a cultural movement they identify themselves with.

Creoles may also change so that they become pidgins. This process is known as *repidginisation* and was observed, for example, in a few plantation creoles. They were, however, only partially repidginised. What this partial repidginisation means in this context is that a plantation creole, formed mainly by children born on plantations, was used as a vehicle of communication by newly recruited slaves who knew only their mother tongues. They, therefore, had to resort to using the creole in a pidginised form. Mühlhäusler ([1986] 1997) claims that Sranan, being a creole, can be said to have undergone partial repidginisation. Total repidginisation, on the other hand, was observed on Rambutyo Island in Papua New Guinea where children used creolised Tok Pisin as their first language. It turned out, however, that this language was not so useful and the second generation, instead of speaking creolised Tok Pisin as their first language, acquired the local tongue of the island – Rambutyo. In this way, creole Tok Pisin was repidginised because it was used as a second language – in a pidgin form.

So far the discussion in this section has concentrated on post-creole situations whereas little has been said about what is known as post-pidgin stages. The concept of *a post-creole continuum*, on the basis of which the notion *creole continuum* was formed, was expanded to encompass also post-pidgin varieties and therefore in the literature on pidgins and creoles, there are some references to a post-pidgin continuum. A speech form which belongs to the post-pidgin continuum is a pidgin language which, under the influence of the lexifier, has been lexically and/or grammatically modified. Mühlhäusler ([1986] 1997: 211) puts the post-pidgin continuum next to the post-creole continuum and says that:

> [i]n general terms, by a post-Pidgin or post-Creole variety we under-
> stand a Pidgin or Creole which, after a period of relative linguistic inde-
> pendence, has come under renewed vigorous influence from its original
> lexifier language, involving the restructuring and/or replacement of ear-
> lier lexicon and grammar in favour of patterns from the superimposed
> "target" language.

From the above quote it emerges that pidgins, like creoles, can undergo transformation in the direction of a superstrate language. It implies that a given pidgin may not necessarily gain native speakers and become a creole but instead, it may become more similar to the lexifier. However, it might be so that certain forms of one pidgin may develop into creoles whereas others may get closer in their structure and lexicon to the lexifier language. Of course it all depends on how this pidgin is used by its speakers: if it is used to such an extent that it becomes a mother tongue for some generation, then it turns into a creole; when its use is rather marginal and its speakers value more the lexifier language and therefore they attempt to model their pidgin form in such a way that it becomes structurally and lexically closer to the superstratum, then the pidgin might be ultimately united with the lexifier (and even form a regional dialect of this lexifier tongue). The latter process is known as *depidginisation* (although, as stated above, sometimes *depidginisation* is used to mean *creolisation*) and may affect almost all language subsystems (*i.e.* phonology, syntax, lexicon *etc.*) which may extensively draw upon the respective parts of the superstratum. Such depidginisation processes have been observed, for example, in Tok Pisin, whose speakers, thanks to having access to English, have started to make use of certain English-specific sounds such as /ʤ/. This sound was not present in pidginised Tok Pisin and in its place Tok Pisin speakers used /s/. The introduction of new sounds is at least partially due to borrowing from English. The borrowed lexical items may be taken from the lexifier *in toto*, which means that they are borrowed with certain forms, pronunciation and semantics (which may even be later expanded).

Creoles, and pidgins likewise, may not necessarily be the final stages of the pidgin/creole life cycle. It has been demonstrated that both creole and pidgin languages can develop even further into other forms. This may, however, lead to the demise of a pidgin or creole proper and what is left is just some form of the lexifier language.

The complexity of the processes which can be described in terms of pidgin/creole life cycle is presented graphically in Figure 8.
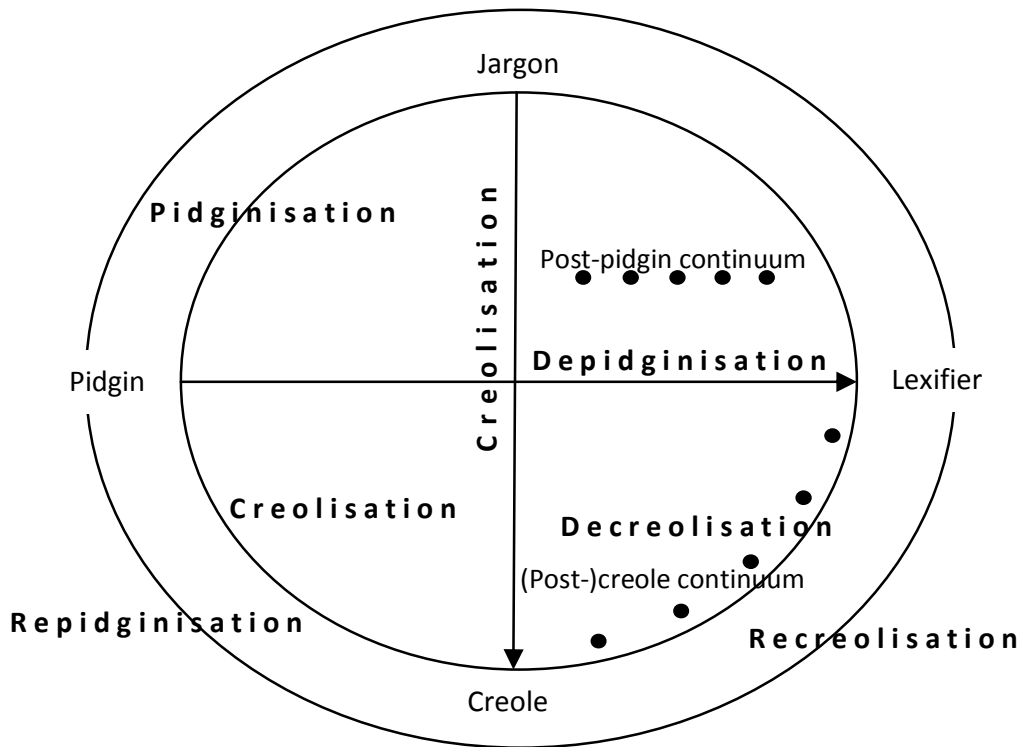
Figure 8. Pidgin/creole life cycle developmental processes

To sum up the discussion of the pidgin/creole life cycle, it can be said that there might be a few developmental stages of the pidgin/creole life cycle: a jargon, which may become pidginised (into a pidgin) or creolised (into a creole); a pidgin which may become creolised (into a creole) or depidginised (into a lexifier), giving rise to a post-pidgin continuum; a creole which may become decreolised (into a lexifier), contributing to the emergence of a (post-)creole continuum or which may become repidginised (into a pidgin); a lexifier language which may become recreolised (into a creole). What is more, the lexifier language which, in some cases, may become the final outcome of the various processes of the pidgin/creole life cycle, plays an active role in the very first phase of this cycle since it is this language that contributes its vocabulary to the developing jargon/pidgin.

2.4. Pidgin/creole language death mechanisms

Pidgin and creole languages are usually discussed in the context of language formation mechanisms whereas relatively little attention is paid to how these tongues die out. Like the formation processes, *i.e.* pidginisation and creolisation, the death of pidgins and creoles is conditioned by numerous linguistic, social, cultural and historical factors which are briefly touched upon in this section. However, at the start of this sub-chapter, some theoretical issues related to language death are presented.

2.4.1. Definition of *language death*

Before discussing language death processes, it is worth providing a definition of *language death*, which is also termed as *language shift*, *language drift*, *language replacement* or *language demise*. Language death may be defined as:

> [t]he process by which a language ceases to be spoken either because its former speakers die out with no surviving offspring or because its former speakers gradually shift to another distinct language, leaving no speakers of the original language. (Swann *et al.* 2004: 168)

From the above-quoted explanation it follows that a language dies out when it is no longer used as a vehicle of communication. However, there have not been too many instances of *sudden language death* – the situations in which the entire community died leaving no survivors speaking this community's language. Sudden language death can be noticed in the cases in which the last speaker of a certain tongue dies (*e.g.* the famous case of Ishi – the speaker of the Yana language). Another type of language death is called *radical language death*. It occurs in the populations which have been subjected to some annihilation but there are a few members who were not killed. They, however, give up speaking their own language and shift to some other tongue (Craig 1997). What is of importance here is the fact that language demise occurs more frequently in the societies where language contact is extensive and where bilingualism is a norm.

A theoretical framework for studying language death was sketched by Hans Jürgen Sasse (1992), who proposed a three-part model. First of all, he notices that the external setting is important. By the external setting, he means historical, social and cultural conditions under which a given language stops being used. Second, there is the speech behaviour of the community with a dying language, which is to mean the attitude to a language, especially in the contact situations in which the interacting communities are of unequal status (and so are languages: one spoken by the minority, and another spoken by the majority group); the third element of Sasse's model includes structural consequences in a dying language – so what happens to the grammatical and lexical structure of the dying language (Thomason 2001).

2.4.2. Pidgin and creole death mechanisms

The model of the pidgin/creole life cycle built by Mühlhäusler (*e.g.* [1986] 1997) seems to omit the phase of language death which may occur at all stages of pidgin/creole development. Thus a jargon may die out when its use is not sustained and it does not develop into a stable

pidgin. What should be added here is that jargons, due to the fact that they are frequently very short-lived speech forms, may become extinct leaving no records. If jargon stabilisation proceeds, then a stable pidgin emerges. On the other hand, if this pidgin speakers' target language is, for instance, English, these pidgin users may model their pidgin in such a way that it enters the post-pidgin stage, eventually becoming a variety of the target/lexifier language. A stable pidgin, when its use – for various reasons – drastically decreases, can finally undergo language demise. In many cases, however, stable pidgins develop even further and transform into expanded/extended pidgins. Like stable pidgin languages, expanded pidgins can also be lost due to a number of factors. A given expanded pidgin-speaking community may deliberately abandon the use of this language, shifting to some other – more prestigious – speech instead. Creolised languages also undergo various linguistic processes whose effect is such that creoles become very similar to their lexifier languages (*e.g.* Guyanese Creole English). However, as is shown below, some creoles may also die out because, for example, they are not regarded as "proper" means of communication.

Thus the model of the pidgin/creole life cycle can be expanded to include the phase of language death. Figure 9 presents an extended model with language death as an addition to the previous version:
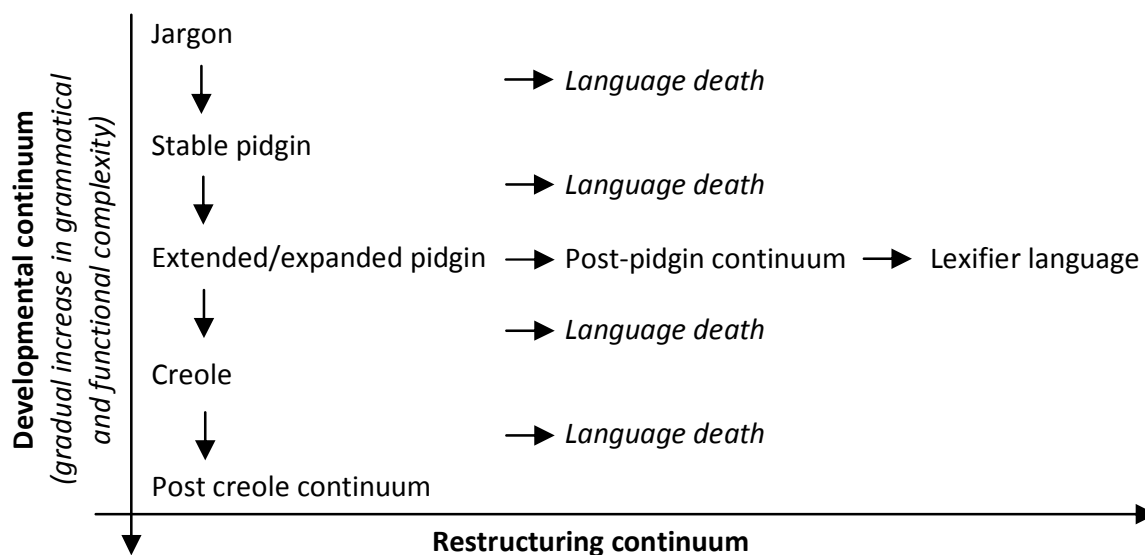
Figure 9. Pidgin/creole life cycle with language death phase[30]

Pidgins and creoles, as any other languages, can follow different routes to their death. Language death mechanisms are conventionally classified intro three types: language attrition, grammatical replace-

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[30] This is a modified version of the pidgin/creole life cycle based on Mühlhäusler ([1986] 1997: 12), Romaine ([1988] 2000: 117), Sebba (1997: 102).

ment and no change whatsoever and these might be the ways in which pidgin and creole languages disappear.

Language attrition is usually understood as "loss of, or changes to, grammatical, lexical, or phonetic features of a language on account of declining use by its speakers as they shift to another language" (Swan *et al.* 2004: 18). In other words, a given language stops being used as a means of communication because its speakers have some reasons for modifying the structure of their language up to the moment when this language is not used any more. This process of language death seems to be the most common mechanism of pidgin demise. Pidgin-speaking communities abandon using their pidgin languages because of a number of reasons. They may associate a given pidgin with their former rulers, superiority or colonialism and shifting into some other language is, as if, getting rid of everything that can be associated with the former occupation and dominance. Such was the case with Vietnamese Pidgin French, also known as Tay Boi, which was used in Vietnam during the French occupation (in the 1860s) (Mühlhäusler [1986] 1997). Tay Boi was used between the French – who dominated – and the Vietnamese who were then the dominated group. The relation between the two interacting groups was vertical with the Vietnamese as the lower stratum, which may account for the reason why they did not want to continue using this language. In this way, Vietnamese Pidgin French died out.

A similar situation was observed in the case of Pidgin Fijian which arose in Fiji on plantations. Among the plantation workers were many Solomon Islanders who tried to establish this language in their own land – on the Solomon Islands. This, however, was not successful because, first of all, more and more Pidgin Fijian speakers were abandoning its use in favour of an English-based pidgin and, secondly, those who spoke Pidgin English were numerically dominant. Thus Pidgin Fijian in Solomons underwent attrition: its linguistic structure was totally lost because its speakers shifted to another pidgin language (Mühlhäusler [1986] 1997). What is interesting, Pidgin Fijian did not survive in Fiji either. Its speakers were gradually abandoning Pidgin Fijian, shifting at the same time to the standard version of the Fijian language. There were also some Indian workers who came to Fiji in search of plantation work and who adopted this language but introduced their own grammatical, phonological and phonetic habits. This gave rise to Indian Pidgin Fijian, which caused simultaneously the death of the original version of Pidgin Fijian. In this way, it can be said that Pidgin Fijian is a good example of a language which underwent the process of attrition.

Pidgin attrition was not always a process motivated by pidgin speakers. Sometimes the authorities made the nation shift to some other language. A good case in point is a number of Portuguese creoles which developed in Portuguese colonies in Asia. Many Portuguese creoles ceased to be spoken because the territories, formerly owned by Portugal, were taken over by the Netherlands. The colony authorities used all measures to eradicate the use of Portuguese creoles and introduced the use of Dutch. Such "forced" shift into Dutch made Portuguese creoles gradually die out (Mühlhäusler [1986] 1997).

The next language death mechanism is *grammatical replacement*, which is understood as the process in which "(…) the original grammar of one language is gradually replaced by the grammar of another" (Thomason 2001: 232). Grammatical replacement is different from attrition in that the language which undergoes attrition loses its lexis and grammar whereas in grammar replacement grammar is not lost but replaced. Sometimes grammatical replacement is associated with lexical replacement. If this is so, grammatical replacement, can be introduced into the monogenetic theory, according to which the base of all European-based pidgins was a single Portuguese proto-pidgin. This language – under the influence of other European languages and under appropriate conditions – could have transformed into many English-, Dutch- or French-based pidgins. If it had been so, grammatical replacement could have been a mechanism which made this Portuguese proto-pidgin extinct.

The third route to language death is associated with *no change at all*. This language death mechanism can be observed when all members of a community die as a result of some annihilation or epidemic. It can be said that this language death mechanism is not contact-induced. Language demise with no change whatsoever is very rare and in pidgin- and creole-speaking communities such cases have not been reported. However, jargons – understood as rudimentary pidgins – usually become extinct without any change in their structure. This is so because, as explained in the previous sections, they are very basic, *ad-hoc* means of communication with a simple structure and when they are not needed any more, they just die out. Because they have very little structure, their death is caused by the lack of the need for which they were formed – not by any change in structure.

Apart from the above typology of language death mechanisms and when a different perspective is applied, two types of language death mechanisms can be distinguished: *language suicide* and *language murder*. Language suicide occurs in the situations with two languages in contact; a pidgin, being one of those related tongues, changes towards the lexifier language. This has been observed in the decreolising Guy-

anese Creole English. Language murder, on the other hand, usually proceeds when one language stops being used and another tongue is introduced as a consequence of some political or social changes in a given country/community. Language murder could have been observed during the first phases of colonialism, for instance, in the Pacific, where quite complex pidgins formed out of local indigenous languages were replaced by structurally simpler European-based pidgins brought to this part of the world by European colonisers. This is also what happened to the above-mentioned Portuguese creoles in Asia (*e.g.* Aitchison 1981, Mühlhäusler [1986] 1997).

At the end of this section, one final comment should be made: pidgins and creoles disappear basically for two reasons. First of all, they are not needed any more. They emerge as a means of communication between parties of different linguistic backgrounds and if this contact is over, there is no need for a pidgin to exist. For example, that was the fate of Russenorsk spoken at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries by Russians and Norwegians who entered into commercial contacts with each other. When those contacts finished, there was no need for using Russenorsk, which gradually became extinct. The second main reason for pidgin and creole death is the negative attitude taken by its speakers towards this language. This was found, for instance, in Queensland, Australia, where parents knowing Queensland Kanaka English Pidgin discouraged their children from using this tongue because of its generally low esteem. Also those children's teachers did not allow them to use this language and in this way forced them to speak proper English only.

Pidgins and creoles, as has been shown, undergo language death processes almost in the same way as other languages. This may be another argument for considering these languages worthy of further study and granting them the status of "full languages" like English, German or Portuguese. It is, however, sad that the dominance of lingua francas such as English or Spanish contributes so greatly to more and more cases of pidgin and creole language death. If such a view is adopted, it might be suggested that many pidgins and creoles should be regarded as endangered languages. Besides, if stopping language death is not feasible, linguists should do everything to document the endangered languages, including pidgins and creoles. It should be done because, as Thomason claims (2001: 223),

> [e]very loss of a language deprives us of a window into the human mind and the human spirit; every language that dies deprives us of a unique repository of human experience and thought. Loss of a language deprives its speech community of much more, because a large part of a culture must inevitably vanish with the language.

2.5. Chapter 2 recapitulation

Chapter 2 has aimed at showing that pidgins and creoles are living languages which undergo a number of linguistic processes leading to their development, sophistication or sometimes even death. As has been demonstrated in Chapter 2, these languages were – and many still are – used almost everywhere in the world. The birth of the majority of them is connected with European colonialism and colonial search for more overseas lands. It is now clear that the existence of many English-, Dutch-, French-, Portuguese- and Spanish-based pidgins and creoles is due to the fact that the speakers of these languages were the colonisers coming into contact with the users of local languages of Africa, the Atlantic or the Pacific. This is, however, not to mean that only these languages constituted lexical bases, upon which pidgins and creoles were formed. On the contrary, there are quite a few pidgins and creoles whose parent languages belong to other language families than the Indo-European one.

Pidgin and creole languages can be classified in accordance with various criteria, of which the sociolinguistic ones have been discussed in Chapter 2. Such classifications are based principally on extralinguistic (*i.e.* social) factors and – as it appears – one pidgin/creole may belong to a few categories at one time, depending on the criteria taken into consideration. The main types of pidgins and creoles are: military and police pidgins, seafaring and trade pidgins and creoles, plantation pidgins and creoles, mine and construction pidgins, immigrants' pidgins, tourist pidgins and urban contact vernaculars.

The languages under discussion are sometimes claimed to differ from natural languages because in most cases they are not transmitted from one generation to another but they emerge rather suddenly and quickly. They may develop into more complex systems provided there are, first of all, a need to use them, and secondly, appropriate conditions for their further expansion. The development of pidgins and creoles is commonly described in terms of the pidgin/creole life cycle, which consists of four main stages: a jargon, a stable pidgin, an extended/expanded pidgin, a creole. Among these four stages, there are certain structural differences: a jargon is rather limited in its function and use, a stable pidgin starts to have some social and linguistic norms which are even more developed in an extended pidgin. A creole emerges when an extended pidgin starts to be spoken natively by some group of people, in particular by children, for whom the language is a mother tongue. Creolisation, however, does not have to follow only this path because there are two others: the first one with a jargon becoming creolised and the other one with an intermediary phase – a stable

pidgin – emerging from this jargon and developing finally into a creole. Pidgins and creoles may also die out for a number of reasons such as, for instance, the lack of a need for using these tongues or their users' negative attitude.

In conclusion, it may be said that pidgins and creoles, although forming a special class of languages, cannot be said (as it used to be) to be worse than natural languages such as English or French. What is so specific about pidgins and creoles is rather extraordinary circumstances under which they come into existence. It seems that the social conditions of communication (*i.e.* the lack of any verbal medium of communication, a strong need to communicate, often supplemented by many gestures, finally achieving a business goal through such an *ad hoc* linguistic formation as a pidgin) matter here more than in the case of the well-developed languages like English or Spanish.

CHAPTER 3

PIDGINS AND CREOLES IN SELECTED SOCIAL CONTEXTS

Chapter 3 aims at showing how pidgins and creoles are used in certain social contexts, in which language plays an important role. However, the scope of discussion is narrowed down and the presentation focuses on the following issues: language planning and standardisation of pidgins and creoles, bi- and multilingualism in pidgin- and creole-speaking communities, education in pidgins and creoles, literature in pidgins and creoles and pidgins and creoles in the media.

Chapter 3, therefore, should be read as complementary to Chapter 2 as these two present pidgins and creoles as linguistic entities whose emergence, development, use and even death are determined and conditioned by social factors and which can be successfully used in many spheres of social life, some of which are discussed in this chapter.

3.1. Language planning and standardisation of pidgins and creoles

In many places pidgins and creoles have been adopted as official or national languages. *An official language* is "[a] language which is used for political, legal and administrative communications within a given political territory" (Swann *et al.* 2004: 227). The official status of a language is usually supported by the law of the country which may have a few official languages, sometimes used in different functions. A national language may be official at the same time, however, this is not always so. *A national tongue* is "[a] language associated with a particular country where it is recognised as a symbol of national identity" (Swann *et al.* 2004: 219). In other words, a language to be recognised as official needs to be regarded as such by state authorities and it is often reflected in country legal regulations such as the constitution. A national language, on the other hand, does not need to be supported by a country's law. What counts here is the fact that a national tongue is used by the majority of the country's population. Good examples of the above dichotomy are postcolonial societies in which English functions as an official language used in administration, politics or business but the national tongues are the indigenous dialects of a particular region. Kenyans, for instance, speak English as an official language, but the national one is Swahili.

Selecting a particular variety as an official language is often connected with what in linguistics has come to be called as *language planning (*or *language policy* (*e.g.* Spolsky [1998] 2003), a term offered by Einar Haugen (Haugen 1987). Language planning refers to endeavours to modify the structure and use of a language in a speech community. This, among others, involves language standardisation, the elevation of the language to the status of an official tongue, the implementation of education in this language, the introduction of certain specific terms and sometimes also the elimination of biased vocabulary (*e.g.* Haugen 1987, Swann *et al.* 2004). The term *language planning* encompasses two important aspects: status planning and corpus planning. *Status planning* is connected with influencing and modifying language behaviours and use within a particular speech community. To put it differently, it involves the selection and promotion of a certain language variety or form as an official language, as a language of education *etc*. It thus has more to do with society's attitudes to specific language forms rather than with the very structure of the language. *Corpus planning*, on the other hand, involves the introduction of changes into the structure and grammar of a given language. This may, among others, encompass coining new lexical items, developing orthography as well as writing grammar manuals and dictionaries. The dichotomy *status planning/corpus planning* is well presented in Haugen's "Matrix of Language Planning Procedures" (*e.g.* Daoust 1997: 449, Haugen 1987: 627), in which he pays attention to two dimensions of language planning, and different aspects involved in these two facets of this process.

	Form (Policy planning)	Function (Cultivation)
Society (Status planning)	1. Selection (of norm) (Decision procedures) *(a) Identification of problem* *(b) Allocation of norms*	3. Implementation (Educational spread) *(a) Correction procedures* *(b) Feedback and evaluation*
Language (Corpus planning)	2. Codification (of norm) (Standardization procedures) *(a) Graphization* *(b) Grammaticalisation* *(c) Lexicalization*	4. Elaboration (Functional development) *(a)Terminological modernization* *(b) Stylistic development*

Table 2. Haugen's model of language planning[31]

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[31] On the basis of Daoust (1997: 449) and Haugen (1987: 627).

From the model of language planning worked out by Haugen it follows that language planning (especially corpus planning) as well as the selection of official languages are inextricably intertwined with what is known as *language standardisation*. However, before discussing language standardisation procedures, it seems crucial to specify what a *standard language* is. This is a language variety which has a stable homogenous written form with no regional variation (although a standard variety may be based on one of the regional varieties), which has prescriptive norms established in grammar books and dictionaries, which is used in very many communicative functions and which has been accepted by its users as a standard language (*e.g.* Hudson [1980] 1996). Haugen (2001: 681) claims that "[a]ny vernacular (language or dialect) may be 'standardized' by being given a uniform and consistent norm of writing that is widely accepted by its speakers".

The process of language standardisation is lengthy and multifaceted as it involves four main stages: selection, codification, elaboration of function and acceptance (or implementation) (*e.g.* Hudson [1980] 1996, Swann *et al.* 2004).

Selection of a particular variety is closely connected with the prestige a given variety enjoys. If this prestige is high and characteristic of middle and upper classes (authorities, politicians, scientists, or generally speaking, the social and intellectual elite), then this esteemed variety is selected as the one to be further modelled into a standard language. Nonetheless, a variety which has to serve as a standard language does not necessarily have to be one of the languages/dialects spoken by a given community. It may also be a mixture of different varieties or even a dialect yet non-existent. When a particular variety has been selected, *codification* must proceed. The process consists in "(…) establishing prescriptive norms of the linguistic code (*i.e.* the language system) (…)" (Swann *et al.* 2004: 41). In general, codification involves writing grammar books and dictionaries which accurately describe the state of the language chosen as a standard dialect and, what seems more important, specify the prescriptive norms of this language. This means that at this stage more important are grammar guides and dictionaries which provide information on what is the element of the standard variety and how it should be used. Such "language codification instruments" are said to differ from the ones that merely describe the language as it is used in the approach to the language because they, being prescriptive in their nature, specify how people *should* speak and not how people actually speak (this is the task of descriptive linguistics). To codify the grammatical and lexical systems, sometimes special academies are formed, the example being *Norsk Språkråd* in Norway (Haugen 2001). People employed there collect linguistic material and

by analysing the corpus, they write down the rules and principles of a given variety. When codification has been completed, the speakers of a standard variety have to learn the language and its correct structures.

Codification is followed by *elaboration of function*. This stage relates to expanding the functions of a particular language as it must be used as a vehicle of communication in public institutions – in government, education or court as well as in literature, science or during religious ceremonies. This will also entail the creation of new words, especially those connected with administration, science or technology. The elaboration of function also involves the formation of rules for formal writing and speaking (Hudson [1980] 1996).

The next stage is known as *acceptance* or *implementation*. This is attainable by promoting the language, that is, by the publication of dictionaries and grammars, by sponsoring language courses for people who do not speak this variety yet. Furthermore, the representatives of the community for which the chosen language has to be the standard have to accept this variety and it often leads to considering the standard variety an official language.

As it appears from the above discussion, language planning and language standardisation go hand in hand. Having a standard variety is occasionally regarded as a true indication of the formation of nationhood. It is so because, as quoted from Hudson ([1980] 1996: 33):

> (…) the standard language serves as a strong *unifying* force for the state, as a symbol of its *independence* of other states (assuming that its standard is unique and not shared with others), and as a marker of its *difference* from other states. It is precisely this symbolic function that makes states go to some lengths to develop one [standard variety].

Language planning and standardisation have also been reported in pidgin- and creole-speaking communities which, in many instances, became decolonised and autonomous by taking over the power in the areas that were previously ruled by the colonisers. The development of nationhood sometimes involved language planning and standardisation. Sebba (1997) is of the opinion that the languages in question deserve to be called "developing languages" for they are potentially capable of being developed to fulfil all functions. In order to fulfil these functions, a pidgin/creole language should be subjected to language planning and standardisation. However, in many cases language planning and standardisation of a pidgin/creole, and what follows, development and elaboration of pidgins/creoles, did not go hand in hand with gaining independence because these nations opted for the coloniser's languages such as English or French to be used in public spheres of life.

As maintained by Sebba (1997), the standardisation of pidgins and creoles is related with the following difficulties to overcome: status, distance, variability and development. Pidgins and creoles generally have not enjoyed high status, which has often been reflected in the derogatory names used to describe these languages. A typical situation that has occurred in pidgin- and creole-speaking communities is diglossia, with the pidgin/creole being the "low" language and the colonial language being the "high" one used primarily by the elite and in all important state domains (*i.e.* education, court *etc.*). In such a case, it is very difficult to standardise pidgins/creoles because these languages are generally of low social status and sometimes the authorities – being themselves the speakers of the colonial languages – prefer not to elevate the positions of pidgins/creoles so as not to lose the power. Another aspect of pidgin/creole standardisation is linked with distance. This has to do with the fact whether a given pidgin/creole is thought of as a variety of the lexifier or as a separate linguistic entity. Obviously, if it is considered to be a dialect of the superstrate, and the distance is really slight, then such a language might not be standardised because the standard model is the lexifier. The third problem to overcome is the fact that pidgins and creoles tend to be highly variable and can exist in a number of varieties of the pidgin/creole continuum. This fact makes it particularly difficult to select the variety to be standardised. Sebba (1997) argues that this problem can be solved by choosing a few varieties and allowing for some degree of variation. Finally, researchers working on standardising pidgins/creoles have to face the problem of the linguistic (*i.e.* stylistic, orthographic *etc.*) and functional development of the languages under discussion.

To standardise a language frequently means to model a given variety on the basis of some other language. Quite often it was the lexifier language upon which the standard variety of a pidgin/creole was based but then there arises the problem of distance. Sebba sums it up by saying that (1997: 240):

> (…) the creole must model itself on the lexifier in order to develop. But in order to be recognised as a separate language, the creole must put distance between itself and the lexifier; otherwise it will still be perceived as a 'substandard dialect' of the lexifier. The creole is thus caught in a trap, between developing on the model of the lexifier on the one hand, and distancing itself from the lexifier on the other.

All of the four problems – status, distance, variability, development – stand in the way to pidgin/creole language planning but it is possible to overcome them, which may be supported by the fact that

actually a few pidgins and creoles have successfully undergone language planning and become standardised.

It has already been said that the first step of language standardisation is the selection of a variety to be standardised. In the case of pidgins and creoles, it might seem that usually the speech form used in the administrative centre of the country was the variety to be subjected to standardisation. However, in some cases, the varieties to be standardised were not the ones spoken in the capital. It was so with, for example, Hiri Motu. Mühlhäusler ([1986] 1997) argues that the non-central form was preferred due to the fact that more Hiri Motu speakers lived outside the capital of Papua New Guinea – Port Moresby. Dutton (1976), however, thinks that both varieties – the one spoken in the capital city and the other spoken in other regions, were equally good to be selected as the standard varieties. The capital variety was certainly more prestigious because it was used in the political centre. Additionally, it was used by the missionaries who wrote their writings just in this variety, as if establishing thereby the standard language. Similarly, the variety of Tok Pisin to be standardised by the missionary Frank Mihalic – the author of one of the most reliable dictionaries of Tok Pisin *The Jacaranda Dictionary and Grammar of Melanesian Pidgin* ([1971] 1989) – was not the dialect of the political centre of Papua New Guinea, Port Moresby, but the one spoken in the rural areas of Papua New Guinean province of Madang (*e.g.* Khabirov 2002). The selection of a variety to be standardised seems to have been problematic also in Sierra Leone where the creole Krio is spoken. The variety spoken by the elite was highly anglicised and the model to be standardised was "the Krio of the villages" (Shrimpton 1995: 223), that is, a deeper (more basilectal) form of the creole.

An attempt at standardising a creole language was made in Haiti, where Kreyòl (also known as Haitian Creole) – a French-based creole – is spoken. Due to the fact that Haiti is largely a monolingual state, standardising its language, especially devising a single and consistent alphabet, was of prime importance. Thus the major effort was put into working out a system of orthography which, after many modifications, was finally prepared jointly by Haitian and French linguists. This was followed by writing dictionaries of Haitian Creole such as *Dictionnaire Français-Creole* by Jules Faine (1974). This corpus planning was accompanied by status planning because Kreyòl became an official language of schooling in 1979 (Sebba 1997).

Another instance of standardising a creole language was observed in the above-mentioned Sierra Leone where – along with Krio – some other languages are spoken. The first major step of standardising this language was connected with devising a system of orthography.

Among the few systems proposed for Krio, the one that became official was the alphabet applied by Clifford Fyle and Eldred Jones in the first *Krio-English Dictionary* published in 1980. In 1985 Krio was introduced in some schools participating in a pilot programme. In 1993 Krio was introduced to all junior secondary schools, however, not as a language of instruction but rather as a school subject students could choose from among language courses. Nevertheless, it seems rather doubtful that Krio will be accepted as a standard language and will be used, for example, in medical journals or just generally in literature (Shrimpton 1995). In 1995, according to Shrimpton, there was not a single newspaper published exclusively in Krio. In addition, Krio is very unlikely to replace English – the official language of Sierra Leone – in the main spheres of public life such as administration, court or the media.

Language standardisation has also been carried out in Curaçao where Papiamentu is used on a wide scale by approximately 90% of the society (Appel, Verhoeven 1995). As Appel and Verhoeven (1995) claim, the standardisation of Papiamentu has entailed codification, namely establishing orthographic conventions, selecting lexical items and working out syntactic patterns. This has of course been connected with the production of teaching materials. Nevertheless, it is difficult to assess the degree of standardisation processes because Dutch is still used as the major official language. What is more, although it has been postulated that Papiamentu be the means of instruction in primary schooling, this policy has a number of Dutch-speaking opponents who are the representatives of the higher social class.

A standardised pidgin or creole can become an official language of a particular country. This, however, has not occurred too frequently and there are actually very few such pidgins and creoles. If they are made official, they usually share this status with some other, usually European, language(s). Two examples which may be quoted in this respect are Tok Pisin (the official language of Papua New Guinea; it shares the official status with English and Hiri Motu) and Bislama (the official language of Vanuatu; it shares the official status with English and French).

As can be seen from the above discussion, the processes of language planning and standardisation have also been carried out in pidgin- and creole-speaking communities. However, sometimes status planning and corpus planning were not successful enough to make a pidgin/creole language well established in a community. This failure is probably due to the fact that the majority of such communities have at their disposal at least one more language – usually the colonial one – which is well adjusted to meeting all the functions society may have in connection with language use. Therefore, to implement pidgin/creole

language planning and to standardise such a language may seem an unneeded effort and this may subsequently contribute to the loss of the use of this pidgin/creole in a community.

3.2. Pidgins and creoles in education

The aspect which is inseparably connected with language planning is education. It is true to say that in many cases education in pidgins and creoles was not possible because of the low status of the languages in question. It was thought that only education in the colonial language would be a key to success and therefore schooling in pidgins and creoles was marginalised. Jeff Siegel (2001) gives a few arguments raised by the educators against using pidgins and creoles in formal schooling. First of all, pidgins and creoles were viewed as the corrupted versions of the lexifier languages and implementing education in them would be "(...) impractical and detrimental to students" (Siegel 2001: 747). Secondly, the great majority of pidginised and creolised tongues have never been standardised and even if there were some efforts to standardise the languages in question, it would be extremely costly and time-consuming to prepare appropriate teaching materials. Another argument against education in pidgins and creoles is that schooling in these language is "(...) a waste of time – time which could be better spent learning the standard [language]" (Siegel 2001: 747). Furthermore, learning a pidgin and in a pidgin, instead of the standard lexifier language, would deprive children of a medium of elevating their social and economic status enjoyed by people who speak the standard variety. This is what Siegel (2001) calls "'ghettoization' argument" and this is what was observed in relation to Torres Strait Creole (Siegel 2002). Finally, some people believe that learning a pidgin as a first language would inhibit learning the standard language because of the interference of certain pidgin features into the standard variety as well as because of the fact that children may confuse the two linguistic systems. This argument was raised in Vanuatu, where Vanuatu Bislama is spoken (Siegel 2002). All these arguments, however, have been contested and contrasted with well-grounded counterarguments. One of such is that making it possible for children to learn in their local speech contributes to the higher self-esteem these children have. Additionally, as research has shown, it is not true that education in a pidgin is an obstacle in the way of acquiring literacy in the standard lexifier language. On the contrary, it seems that attaining knowledge in a pidgin/creole language may be helpful for children as they do not need to put a huge effort into acquiring knowledge through a new medium of instruction – a lexifier language which children have yet no command of. What is

interesting, it has been proven that children who receive bilingual education (*i.e.* in their pidgin/creole as a native language and in the lexifier language) are better at school subjects (including the lexifier language course) than children educated only monolingually in the standard variety. Siegel (2001: 748) says that "[s]tudies in Papua New Guinea, the Caribbean (...) have shown that learning literacy in a pidgin, creole or nonstandard dialect leads to increased reading proficiency in the standard dialect, thus refuting the interference argument".

The implementation of education in pidgins and creoles has been included in official literacy programmes of three types: the instrumental one which stresses the use of a pidgin/creole as a language of instruction, especially in the first years of school education, the accommodation one which concentrates on using a pidgin/creole as a language aiding education (*i.e.* not as a language of instruction but as an auxiliary means of in-class oral communication) and awareness programme in which focus is put on formal studying a pidgin/creole, that is, on making this language a theme of school courses (Siegel 2001). This fact has also been supported by the data from Hawaii where children use their creole mother tongue while interacting with teachers teaching them, for instance, English. As it turns out, Hawaiian children's command of standard English is higher thanks to the use of Hawaiian Creole as an auxiliary language facilitating in-class communication.

The instrumental programmes, which in many cases aim at making a pidgin/creole the language of instruction in primary education, have been implemented in several countries which have pidgins and creoles (*e.g.* Haiti (Haitian Creole), the Netherlands Antilles (Papiamentu), Papua New Guinea (Tok Pisin), Sierra Leone (Krio)). An accommodation programme, in which pidgins and creoles function as auxiliary languages helping school children and teachers interact with one another (particularly at the initial stages of schooling) but not as languages of instruction, exist, for example, in Hawaii (Hawaiian Creole English). The awareness programmes involving formal teaching of a pidgin/creole at school courses during which students learn not only the language proper but also its pragmatics, sociolinguistics, descriptive grammar *etc.* have been introduced, for instance, in Hawaii (Hawaiian Creole English) or in Australia (Kriol). Siegel (2001) points out that the majority of studies into the efficiency of the three programmes and the results achieved through them are positive, which means that the use of a pidgin/creole, especially in the first years of formal school education, helps children in their linguistic and cognitive development.

The three types of programmes are in line with the UNESCO's suggestion that primary education should be conducted in children's mother tongues – in this case – in pidgin languages. This can lessen the

stress pupils may undergo when entering school for the first time and contribute to the better understanding of the knowledge taught by teachers. This is made clear in the following quotation:

> On educational grounds we recommend that the use of the mother tongue be extended to as late a stage in education as possible. In particular, pupils should begin their schooling through the medium of the mother tongue, because they understand it best and because to begin their school life in the mother tongue will make the break between home and school as small as possible. (UNESCO 1953/1958: 47-48)

The fact that pidgins and creoles can be used – to a lesser or greater extent – in school was recognised, for example, in Haiti where it was planned that Haitian Creole would be a means of schooling during the initial four years whereas standard French would be then regarded as a foreign language. After these first four years, French was to become the medium of instruction and Haitian Creole could still be used in vocational schooling. However, this plan was heavily criticised by the speakers of French, which seriously inhibited the attempts at introducing Haitian Creole to schools (Sebba 1997). The failure to make Haitian Creole a language of instruction is probably strengthened by the fact that, as stated by Appel and Verhoeven (1995), many Haitian teachers have little or no knowledge of the official orthographic system of Haitian Creole. Similarly, the introduction of Papiamentu to the school curriculum (first, in the form of foreign language classes, later on as a language of primary schooling) in the Netherlands Antilles may indicate that the authorities of these islands (*i.e.* Aruba, Bonaire, Curaçao) have noticed the importance of this language. This, however, is immediately contradicted by the fact that Dutch is still considered by many to be the "proper" language whereas Papiamentu is thought of as inferior. Although, as aforementioned, there were some attempts to implement primary education in the local pidgin language of this area, this has not been so successful for, as written by Stone and Delfina (2006), most children in this region received education in Dutch which they did not know well enough to achieve good results at school. This points to the fact that even though there are certain programmes which aim at introducing education in pidgins and creoles, they are so heavily criticised by the elite speaking the lexifier language (who view the pidgin as a broken version of the standard tongue unworthy of being taught and learnt) that in effect the education in local pidginised or creolised languages is not implemented.

Sometimes formal education in a pidgin/creole has been preceded by informal education provided by various church missions. This happened, for instance, in Papua New Guinea where missionaries of

different denominations taught Tok Pisin to the indigenes. Mühlhäusler ([1986] 1997: 296) says that "[t]he first group to learn and teach Tok Pisin systematically were the German missionaries who remained after the Australian take-over [of Papua New Guinea]". The missionaries were also the first people to prepare teaching materials such as phrase-books, pidgin booklets, grammatical sketches *etc.* and although very few of them had some knowledge of linguistics, in particular of applied linguistics, teaching methodology and pedagogical grammar, they *did* manage to teach the fundamentals of Tok Pisin to the indigenous people of Papua New Guinea.

As far as learning and teaching of pidgins and creoles are concerned, a mention should be made of what is sometimes referred to as a "transported" pidgin or creole. *A transported language* is the one that has been brought by immigrants from foreign countries (*e.g.* Mühlhäusler ([1986] 1997). There are quite a few transported pidgins and creoles, to mention only a few: Haitian Creole (spoken by immigrants to the USA), Sranan (spoken by immigrants to the Netherlands), Caribbean creoles (spoken by immigrants to Britain). The problem with the transported pidgins and creoles, in particular in Britain, is that, especially in the 1970s and 1980s (*e.g.* Mühlhäusler [1986] 1997, Sebba 1997), it was occasionally suggested that to facilitate the first phases of primary education and increase the immigrants' children's results at school, a creole language could be used in a classroom, with English being introduced at later stages. What is more, even some parents insisted on the creole language being the subject their children were taught but, as usual, there were many opponents of these postulates who did not value the creole language and thought that it was merely a corrupted substandard variety of English. At present, however, such proposals are not put into practice because there is no need to implement education in these creoles for "[v]irtually all Creole users now at school in Britain are actually first-language speakers of British English" (Sebba 1997: 257).

Pidgins and creoles and their role in education have been debated for many decades. In a few instances, these tongues were implemented as the languages of education but in more cases they were not because of the negative attitudes the lexifier-speaking elite took towards them. However, it has been indicated above that research into the function of the languages in question as means of education and into pupils' school results has clearly shown that when children attending primary school are given the possibility of bilingual education, that is, learning in their home languages – pidgins or creoles – next to the standard lexifiers, they achieve better results and their cognitive and linguistic development (also the learning of the standard variety) proceeds better, and

this is what educators and language planners should have in mind while discussing the potential benefits of having pidgins and creoles as languages of instruction.

3.3. Bi- and multilingualism in pidgin- and creole-speaking communities

In the section on pidgins and creoles in education it has been stated that sometimes pidgin- and creole-speaking communities have bilingual education: children, during the first years of primary school, learn in their home languages, and at the later stages of education, in secondary and tertiary schools, there is the transition into the standard variety. However, bilingualism (which in the literature on the topic also includes multilingualism), along with multilingualism, exists in the communities with pidgins and creoles on a much wider scale outside the context of school.

Before embarking upon the issue of pidgin- and creole-speaking communities as the cases of bi- and multilingualism, it seems vital to provide the definitions of these two phenomena. These two concepts (*i.e. bilingualism* and *multilingualism* (or *plurilingualism*)) have been defined differently depending on the criteria taken into account. Bloomfield (1933: 56) views bilingualism as "native-like control of two languages", Haugen (1953: 7, after: Romaine [1989] 1995)) is of the opinion that bilingualism is "(…) the ability to produce complete meaningful utterances in the other language", Dittmar (1976: 170) thinks that bi- and multilingualism are "(…) linguistic situation[s] where two or more languages coexist within the bounds of one society, or are kept in constant contact by politically and economically interests", Mackey's (1987: 700) view is that bilingualism (and multilingualism) is "(…) the knowledge and use of two or more languages", Swann *et al.* (2004: 27) define this as "(…) the use of two or more languages (…) by an individual or by a speech community". In other words, bi- and multilingualism refer to linguistic situations in which the representatives of a particular speech community are able to use two, if it is a case of bilingualism, or more than two (for multilingualism) languages. Bi- and multilingualism can be either individual (*i.e.* observed in an individual person and not necessarily in the whole community) or societal (*i.e.* observed in a speech community – however, not necessarily in all of its members – where a few tongues are used). There is a widespread, erroneous opinion that examples of bi- or multilingual communities are rare. However, it appears that such groups exist and their number is impressive. Moreover, as Crystal claims (1997: 362) "(…) in fact, there is no such thing as totally monolingual country". Even though in some areas only one lan-

guage is considered official, people usually use more than one language. In Japan, for instance, despite the view that this country is the most monolingual of all, there are numbers of people who can speak both Japanese and some other tongue. In developing countries, however, the problem is more complicated as there is often one official language which gained recognition not long ago and therefore has not yet been mastered by people who employ other varieties in communication.

Whenever there are instances of bi- and multilingualism, there arises the phenomenon called *code-switching* (also known as *language-mixing* or *language-switching* (Crystal 1997) or *code-mixing*, *code alternation* or *language alternation* (Swann *et al.* 2004)). It involves the change of a code (*i.e.* a change from one variety (or a language) into another) within a single communication act (*e.g.* conversation). Sometimes, code-switching is related to diglossia because in a given speech community one – "high" – variety may be reserved for certain "higher" domains such as politics, education, religion, literature *etc.* while the other –"low" – variety may be used in less formal – "lower" – situations such as informal conversations with peers, folk storytelling *etc.*

Pidgin- and creole-speaking communities are perfect examples of bi- and multilingualism, in particular of the societal type (*i.e.* societal bilingualism). The very formation mechanism of pidginisation is connected with bilingualism. It results from the fact that different groups having no common means of verbal communication are made to create some other linguistic system, thus (under proper conditions which facilitate the development of this particular language) adding another tongue to their repertoires of languages and thereby becoming bilingual. Even the very setting in which pidgins and creoles come into being is usually not monolingual: plantations where creoles emerged, slave depots, trade situations among people of different linguistic stocks – these circumstances obviously involved many languages, which contributed, to a greater or lesser extent, to the emerging pidgin or creole.

What is interesting, bi- and multilingualism can be classified into different types depending on the development of bilingual speech communities, which, as claimed by Mackey (1987: 705), "(…) have a life-cycle of their own. They come into being, flourish, decay and disappear according to the types of language contact they represent". In this, there is a clear parallel to the pidgin/creole life cycle. What is interesting, the life cycle of a bilingual community and the pidgin/creole life cycle can be discussed together as they develop in comparable ways.

Mackey (1987: 705) says that bilingualism (also understood as the use of more than *two* languages, *i.e.* multilingualism) can be categorised in a few types: incipient, progressive, integral, repressive and re-

sidual. This runs parallel to the development of pidgins, starting with the jargon phase, through stabilisation, expansion up to creolisation.

A bilingual community can be characterised as representing *incipient bilingualism* when a few members of this community have some – even quite scanty – knowledge of the other tongue (*e.g.* a few fixed expressions) acquired through contacts with another speech community. This is what may happen to groups involved in creating a jargon – a rudimentary pidgin. However, what should be stressed here is that bilingualism at this stage is rather individual than societal and, as Mühlhäusler states ([1986] 1997: 265), "[t]here is no social role for a jargon at this point within a speech community, though such functions are quick to develop". Along with the stabilisation of the jargon, incipient bilingualism can develop into the *progressive* one, with more people using the new language. Some members of such communities can be good speakers of the new language, however, generally there is much interference from the first language. This type of bilingualism is connected with specifying the functions a given pidgin/creole is to fulfil in a community. For example, in Papua New Guinea, the stabilisation, and later also expansion, of Tok Pisin meant using this tongue as a neutral language, belonging to no-one – neither to the indigenous population nor to the white incomers. Its use was rather complementary to the indigenous languages for the topics discussed in this pidgin were either neutral or new (to the community) or connected with contact situations.

In the course of time, however, the role of Tok Pisin became more specified. Thus progressive bilingualism gave rise to *integral bilingualism* – a situation in which virtually all members of a speech community can use the other language (or are supposed to do so). This is the point at which, as stated by Mackey (1987: 705), "(...) the new language continues to progress at the expense of the older one, often the ancestral language or ethnic tongue (...)". This also happened in Papua New Guinea where Tok Pisin, next to English and Hiri Motu, was recognised as one of three official languages. The more and more widespread use of the new language (in this case – of a pidgin) can lead to what is called *regressive bilingualism* – with much interference in the old language from the new one. The new tongue starts to be the key medium of day-to-day communication. Integral and regressive bilingualism is related to the stage of pidgin expansion, during which Tok Pisin started to be used in place of the indigenous languages, that is, in contexts traditionally associated with vernacular languages. Moreover, the increasing use of Tok Pisin was observed in the House of Assembly of Papua New Guinea, where initially 40% of political debates were carried out in this pidgin whereas the remaining ones were discussed in English and Hiri

Motu. Along with the development of Tok Pisin, its expansion and creolisation, 95% of all parliamentary transactions were discussed in this language (Mühlhäusler [1986] 1997). The creolisation of a pidgin may lead to *residual bilingualism*, in which the use of the original language of a speech community has been made very limited. It is characterised by the use of a few fixed phrases from the original tongue which children learn from their parents and which function as markers of ethnic identity. However, if these expressions are no longer passed down from one generation to another, the language stops serving as a token of identity and thus it becomes extinct.

Bi- and multilingualism in pidgin- and creole-speaking communities are also observed in places where there is the creole continuum with a number of basilectal, mesolectal and acrolectal varieties. A basilect (*i.e.* a deep creole) is distinctly different from the acrolect (*i.e.* the lexifier) and therefore such communities can be said to be bilingual or even multilingual. What ought to be borne in mind is that usually apart from a basilect, an acrolect and a number of mesolects, there are some local vernaculars. Thus Guyanese society with Guyanese Creole English is certainly a good case in point. The same holds true for Papua New Guinea and Tok Pisin, for Jamaica and Jamaican Creole and for many more pidgins and creoles.

Since the cases of bi- and multilingualism are so common among pidgin- and creole-speaking communities, there is also much code-switching. On the basis of the research carried out in an urban community speaking Tok Pisin, Mühlhäusler (1991) noticed that code-switching was used very frequently. It involved changes from Tok Pisin into English and shifts from English into Neomelanesian Pidgin. Moreover, as he claims, at times it was impossible to determine whether a person being subject to the experiment used English or Tok Pisin. This certainly supports the view that in bi- and multilingual communities, of which pidgin- and creole-speaking societies are good instances, code-switching is quite frequent. What is more, it might be even expected that in the areas where the creole continuum has developed, the amount of code-switching is even greater because the speakers of various lects of the creole continuum, which is a gradient system of varieties, having a command of more than one lect, may shift from one into another, depending on the type of a communicative event. Furthermore, it has already been mentioned that many pidgin and creole societies have a diglossic distribution of languages, including pidgins and creoles. A good example is Haitian society, where French is used in "high" circumstances and Haitian Creole in "lower" situations. Thus French is used mostly in public formal and informal situations and Haitian Creole predominantly in informal circumstances (Mühlhäusler [1986] 1997).

The use of the two codes for different reasons is thus indicative of the diglossic character of Haitian society.

To conclude this section, it is worth emphasising once again that bilingualism and multilingualism among pidgin or creole speakers are not rare since the users of these languages, apart from the knowledge of the languages in question, know their local dialects which have often contributed, to a greater or lesser extent, to the structure of a particular pidgin or creole. The instances of this are to be found in nearly all pidgin- or creole-speaking communities: in Curaçao with Papiamentu speakers which is populated by the descendants of black slaves and white settlers from the Netherlands, including both Gentiles and Jews and where the whites "(…) apparently learned the emerging creole for contact, beginning a long tradition of bilingualism" (Holm 2000: 78); in Haiti where Haitian Creole speakers learn both the creole itself as well as French (Holm 2000); in Jamaica where Jamaican Creole English users are mostly bilingual; in Papua New Guinea where apart from the official tongues English, Hiri Motu and Tok Pisin, most people speak the vernaculars – their indigenous languages. Additionally, in some regions bilingualism is promoted by bilingual education and, as it turns out, learning in a child's mother tongue and in some other language has some positive influence on children's mental development. All in all, pidgin- and creole-speaking communities are by and large bi- and multilingual and the ability to use two or more languages should be developed and promoted among pidgin and creole speakers and not – as in some cases where the lexifier-speaking elite members want this – forbidden and abandoned.

3.4. Literature in pidgins and creoles

Culture is a vast area of human beliefs, values, behaviours, knowledge, abilities as well as other mental and manual products. All of these aspects are reflected in what is commonly regarded as the manifestations of culture, that is, literature, theatre, singing *etc.* At first glance it may seem that pidgin- and creole-speaking communities, especially in times of slavery or plantation labour, did not have active cultural life. However, this view is easily contradicted by the fact that slaves' cultural activities such as creating literature, performing drama or singing were frequently undertaken. The fact that relatively little is known about such activities results from the lack of written records. Nevertheless, literature in pidgins and, above all, in creoles was created but initially it was done primarily in an oral form.

The most common genres of oral literature in pidgins and in creoles were riddles, folktales, myths, proverbs, songs (including sea shan-

ties sung by sailors on multilingual ships or by indentured labourers transported on ships to plantations in the Pacific) and tongue twisters. As claimed by Adamson and van Rossem (1995), many of the genres of oral literature can be characterised by regular rhyming patterns, rhythm and the involvement of audience (by applauding or by replying by means of songs or proverbs). The presence of rhymes and rhythm may be explained by the fact that thanks to such literary devices it was easier to memorise texts.

One question that arises in connection with pidgin and creole oral literature is its function. Adamson and van Rossem (1995) are of the opinion that such literature was created to manifest these people's philosophy of life, values, beliefs, convictions *etc.* Therefore, in oral literature of such societies there are many themes which show certain moral values or which offer advice. Dalphins (1985, after: Adamson and van Rossem 1995) distinguishes five roles of oral literature: archival (collecting historical items), praising and abusing (for adhering to or deviating from the values and norms of a community), political, social (referring to transmitting values and norms connected with social life), audience participation (involving the audience in storytelling). All of these functions have been identified in pidgin and creole oral literature, the example being the oral literature created by the speakers of Caribbean creoles (*e.g.* in Surinam – in contemporary maroon creole-speaking communities).

Owing to the fact that in the majority of cases pidgins and creoles have become written languages only recently, the body of written literature is not so impressive although it cannot be claimed that it is totally non-existent. On the contrary, written literature in the languages under discussion *does* exist and, what is more, pidgin and creole literary tradition is now developing. Written literature in these languages imitates some of the trends found in the oral one. Writers writing in pidgins and creoles make use of such genres as folktales, proverbs, songs *etc.*

Written literature in pidgin and creole languages started to be developed after slavery was abolished and when the speakers of pidgins and creoles began to receive some education. Before that time, the level of literacy among those people was very minimal. Additionally, due to the fact that pidgins and creoles were rather poor in terms of their literary expressiveness, such writers could not express all their emotions because of the lack of language resources which could be successfully used in this domain. Along with the development of these languages, literary expressiveness has also been expanded so that more abstract concepts and emotions could be expressed in pidgins and creoles. This, however, has been significantly impeded as in writing litera-

ture still European languages are more favoured than pidgins or creoles. Adamson and van Rossem (1995: 83-84) confirm this fact and, moreover, give well-founded reasons for this:

> One barrier to the development of creole literary language is that, in many domains of style and subject matter, European languages are preferred. The choice of theme still seems to determine to a great extent the language in which the writer communicates with his/her readers. Some of the poems and novels are completely written in a creole language, but sometimes only the dialogues. Another group of writers write solely in one of the European languages regardless of the theme. An important reason for this situation is economic. The choice not to write in a creole language has its advantages and ensures one a larger readership and the possibility of international recognition. All or most Caribbean writers who have won prizes, such as the Nobel Prize for literature for Derek Walcott in 1992, write in a European language.

The development of early pidgin and creole written literature is connected with a few main tendencies, namely: the use of humour; the religious character of texts in pidgins and creoles; the importance attached to recording folktales; the anonymity of the authors of early pidgin and creole texts or the predominance of early pidgin and creole literature writers of European origin (Reinecke 1981, after: Mühlhäusler [1986] 1997). This means that among the first texts written in pidgins and creoles there were many in which humour played an important role (*e.g.* a funny poem written in Lingua Franca as used in Jerusalem in 1520 or an amusing use of Mauritian Creole French recorded in 1822). Another feature of early writing in pidgins and creoles is that many folktales, or in general – oral literature, functioning so far only in the oral form – were put in writing (*e.g. Fables creoles* of 1828 in Reunion Creole or, as claimed by Reinecke (1981, after: Mühlhäusler [1986] 1997: 314) "the first extensive collection of folk literature in creole" of 1872). The authors of the early pidgin and creole texts were either not known or came predominantly from Europe. Such was the case with Edward L. Joseph, the author of *Warner Arundell, the Adventures of a Creole* (1838) who was born in London. Finally, the early writing in pidgins and creoles can be characterised by the abundance of various religious texts in these languages such as catechisms or the Bible translations.

Religious literature in pidgins and creoles constitutes an important element of pidgin- and creole-speaking societies' heritage as in many cases such documents were the first attempts at creating the orthographic systems of the languages in question. For example, religious manuscripts were written in Sranan by the protestant Moravian Brethren, later also by the Catholic missionaries, who, by producing a num-

ber of sacred texts such as the New and Old Testaments, gospels, religious song books, set the first orthographic conventions for written Sranan. This of course encouraged other lay writers to produce in Sranan other genres of literature (*e.g.* poems, songbooks, theatre plays). Written religious literature in Pacific pidgins and creoles followed a similar path and, what is more, it is said to be the major part of all writings created in these languages. This resulted in numerous translations of the Bible into Tok Pisin, Bislama, Solomon Islands Pijin, Hiri Motu. Like Sranan literature, almost all pidgin and creole literatures of the Pacific were first of religious character and only later were they of secular character (Mühlhäusler [1986] 1997). However, what is interesting, many pidgins and creoles exhibit much internal variation and this variation is also present in the written forms of these speeches. Mühlhäusler ([1986] 1997: 329-330) provides a few samples of *Pater Noster* prayer in Tok Pisin, of which only the first sentences are quoted below:

> Papa bolong mipela i stap antap (...) [Version from 1934; recorded in Vunapope]
>
> Fader bilong mifelo, yu stop long heven (...) [Version from 1937; recorded in Alexishafen]
>
> Papa bilog mi fela, iu stop an top alog peles bilog iu (...) [Version from 1941; recorded in Rabaul]
>
> Papa bilong mipela, yu i stap long heven (...) [Version from 1969, still in use; used in *Nupela Testament*]

Of course, it could be argued that the four versions of *Pater Noster* are simply at different developmental stages; however, it is rather questionable that Tok Pisin, within such a short time span, could have undergone such changes as are observed in the above four versions. Therefore, as clearly indicated by Mühlhäusler ([1986] 1997), the four versions have to be regarded as the (regional) variations of Tok Pisin.

An interesting issue connected with literature in pidgins and creoles is the motivation that was behind creating texts in the languages under analysis. Mühlhäusler ([1986] 1997: 324) says that the reasons for writing in pidgins and creoles were manifold: to entertain; to educate; to prove that a pidgin/creole is adequate to talk about things which are commonly discussed in a "high" language; to exercise "social control"; to promote ethnic and national values; to express artistic values. This yielded a wealth of pidgin and creole literature on, for example, hygienic and medical topics, on ethnical values observed in pidgin- and creole-speaking communities striving for independence, on how to cook or how to rear children. It is sometimes argued that the publication of such writings in pidgins and creoles was connected with a kind

of indoctrination, manifested in, for example, presenting certain issues only from one angle. Mühlhäusler ([1986] 1997: 327) writes that in Tok Pisin:

> (…) introductory books on topics such as cooking (…), child care (…) and health (…) contain references to Christian religion. Their audience is unable to distinguish between the factual and non-factual statements in these books, and it is little wonder that Christian religion has been repeatedly interpreted as a way of obtaining cargo (…). The same problem is seen in many other Pidgin- or Creole-speaking areas.

Such one-sided writings in pidgins and creoles were to help political and religious authorities (*i.e.* governments and missions) control the dissemination of information and guide the interpretation of it. This obviously was to make people think in a particular way, not allowing them to make different interpretations of the events being described. What is more, it may be claimed that by such writing a kind of social control was exerted over pidgin- and creole-speaking communities as they, having no access to any other reliable source of information, had to accept all the presented information as true. The other reason for writing in pidginised and creolised languages was to prove that pidgins and creoles were suitable for "high" literature. In order to do so, some classic texts were translated into these languages, to name but a few: Peter Mühlhäusler's translation of *Mackbeth* (into Tok Pisin), Thomas Decker's translation of *Julius Caesar* (into Krio) (1988) or a number of translated passages of other world literature masterpieces. This is also connected with the promotion of the ethnic and national identity of pidgin and creole communities as they had a linguistic tool, that is, a pidgin/creole, that could be used to express these communities' values, beliefs *etc.*

Creating literature in pidgins and creoles is often deemed as an important process in what Mühleisen calls "status gain" (2005). It has been mentioned several times that pidgins and creoles were in the past regarded as "worse" languages used by primitive and unintelligent people. However, if a pidgin/creole starts to have a written form, its status changes into a higher one. The process of status gain is usually initiated by producing in a given language simple texts such as letters, jokes, songs *etc.* Then, this language is used for more official aims such as writing formal documents or newspaper articles. Besides, a tongue which is used in such fields as science and technology is certainly one of prestige. Mühleisen adds (2005: 4) that "(…) the use of the language for non-fictional and specific purposes (…) is usually interdependent with the development of a standardized orthography". Thus a language which has its own orthographic conventions is on the right tract to

gaining more prestige because a language which functions only orally is rarely considered to be prestigious. This, consequently, is associated with status gain – the use of a language in "high" functions. However, the status of a given pidgin/creole may also be elevated when some important written texts (such as the Bible) are translated into this tongue. Through such translations, a pidgin/creole becomes a medium used in more refined contexts. Both the development of orthographic conventions for so far unwritten pidgins and creoles as well as the translation of some important texts into the languages in question have been observed in pidgin- and creole-speaking communities. This, in many cases, was linked with a new phase of the development of such communities, in particular with their gaining independence and forming separate nationhood with their own (official or national) languages.

During the discussion of the role of pidgins and creoles in literature, it is interesting to pay attention to the stereotypes concerning pidgin and creole users as well as these languages themselves. Because of the low status pidgins and creoles had in the past, these languages and their speakers were often presented stereotypically in literature. It was done in such a way that the connotations with pidgin and creole users' stupidity, backwardness, illogicality were easily inferred. Pidgin/creole speakers who were characters in a given piece of literature were usually presented as primitive, stupid and unintelligent persons and their language as a ridiculous caricature of a lexifier tongue. Mühlhäusler ([1986] 1997) even gives the examples of a few "manual books" showing how to produce a text in what was stereotypically regarded as a pidgin speech. One of such is Herman and Herman (1943, after: Mühlhäusler ([1986] 1997: 304) "where recipes for numerous versions of foreigner talk and Pidgins and Creoles are found". This clearly indicates that in the past pidgin and creole users were often ridiculed for the languages they spoke were thought to be broken and highly reduced versions of the colonial languages and on this basis general and extremely erroneous conclusions about their users were drawn.

As has been presented in this section, the topic of literature in pidgin and creole tongues is very broad. It is commonly viewed that literature encompasses only written texts but, as emerges from the above discussion, there are also quite many pieces of literature which function primarily in the oral form. In pidgin and creole communities oral literature was the first to be created. It included a number of genres such as folktales, songs, proverbs which were memorised by pidgin and creole speakers and performed on various occasions. The first pidgin- and creole-speaking communities did not know writing so it would probably be right to say that orality was prior to literacy. This

means that oral literature was predominant in the early pidgin and creole communities and only later was it written down. The kind of written literature which dominated during the initial phases of the development of written literature was religious. Numerous translations of sacred texts, along with an increasing number of original pidgin and creole prose and poetry, certainly contributed to the expansion of literary expressiveness of the languages under analysis. What is more, the creation of pidgin and creole written literature was connected with spelling standardisation because, as was sometimes the case, the first pidgin and creole writers provided the ground for the orthography systems, which were subsequently refined and constituted parts of standard variety conventions. All in all, it seems that making pidgins and creoles languages of literature has greatly contributed to strengthening the view that these tongues are in no way inferior to their lexifiers and even the stereotypical uses of the languages in question cannot deny this fact.

3.5. Mass media and pidgins and creoles

Although the issue of pidgins and creoles being languages of mass communication has been given relatively little attention when compared to other topics undertaken within creolistics, at least a mention should be made of the use of these languages in the mass media.

The earliest attestation of a magazine written entirely in a creolised language was *Makzien vo Kristen-Soema*, a monthly journal published in Sranan from 1852 to 1932 by the missionaries working in Surinam (*e.g.* Mühlhäusler [1986] 1997). Other papers published in creoles were the magazines in Portuguese Creole of Sri Lanka, *El Civilisado* and *Amigoe di Curacao*, both published in Papiamentu. In the Pacific area, Vanuatu Bislama was sometimes used in summaries published in a French weekly newspaper and in British Residency newsletters in the 1960s. This language has also been used on the radio, with the first broadcast transmitted in the 1960s as well as in the press (*e.g.* in Bislama Vanuatu newspaper *Tam Tam*).

Other pidgins and creoles which were then used in the mass media, in particular in the press, were Pijin of Solomon Islands and Tok Pisin of Papua New Guinea. The first newspapers with Tok Pisin as the language of articles were issued by missions located in Papua New Guinea. Mühlhäusler ([1986] 1997) says that the first magazine to be published in Tok Pisin was *Frend bilong Me* (in 1935, in Alexishafen). The other periodicals published by missions operating in this area were *Pigtel* (in the 1930s, in Alexishafen) as well as *Katolik: Buk long Tok Pisin* (from 1940 to 1941, in Rabaul), later renamed into *Katolik Nius*.

After the Second World War, there was a real increase in the number of papers published in Tok Pisin though many of them ceased coming out after a few years. Among them were *Rabaul News* (from 1946 to 1959) or *Lae Garamut* (from 1947 to 1956). Nonetheless, as Mühlhäusler ([1986] 1997: 333) claims, "[I]n spite of their success most of these regional newspapers closed down in the mid-50s as a result of the disapproval expressed by the United Nations". However, in place of these regional newspapers, the governmental journal *Nius Bilong Yumi* was published (from 1952 to 1982). Along with Papua New Guinea becoming an independent state, new newspapers were published, the most important being *Wantok Niuspepa*, which nowadays comes out regularly – once a week. Tok Pisin has also been made a language of radio programmes, of which today many use solely Tok Pisin. What is more, at present it is possible to receive radio broadcasts in Tok Pisin which are transmitted by ABC (Australian Broadcasting Commission) Radio Australia. The Internet website of ABC Radio Australia makes it possible to listen to the programmes in this language online (http://www.radio australia.net.au/tokpisin/).

A different situation is in the Caribbean where, as reported by Mühlhäusler ([1986] 1997), there are a few television and radio stations broadcasting programmes in French-lexicon creoles of the region although the majority of programmes are broadcast in French and English. The limited use of pidgins and creoles in mass communication stems from a few facts. First of all, the languages in question were thought of as inferior and therefore unsuitable for the use in the mass media. Secondly, in the past the elite speaking the lexifier languages had no need to communicate with the local people speaking pidgins and creoles and that is why mainly the lexifier languages were used in radio stations or newspapers. This trend has been continued until now. Thirdly, pidginised and creolised varieties could not be successfully applied as languages of science and this was one of the reasons why their use in the mass media was so restricted. Finally, it was believed that the use of world lingua francas such as English or French was better as the information published or broadcast in these European languages could reach greater numbers of readers or listeners (Alleyne 1963). The view that pidgins and creoles are generally "low" languages has been manifested in the fact that actually very few countries have their national press, television or radio stations which broadcast in local pidgins or creoles. A noteworthy exception is Papua New Guinea, where, as has already been aforementioned, its language – Tok Pisin is regularly used in the mass media. What is interesting, Papua New Guinea is from time to time quoted as a country where radio played a pivotal role in building nationhood and, what is more, "[w]ithout radio,

it is doubtful whether any national consciousness could be built" (Wilcox 1973: 107). Before independence gained in 1975, in Papua New Guinea radio services were delivered by two bodies: by the Australian administration of this region, which founded the Administration Broadcasting Service (ABS), and by Australian Broadcasting Commission (ABC) radio, which provided the Papua and New Guinea Service. The former was created as a result of the fact that Australian Broadcasting Commission did not want to adhere to the policy of the administrators of the region because it feared that the influence of the administration might have had a negative impact of the ABC's independent status. However, both in the Administration Broadcasting Service and in the Papua and New Guinea Service stations, some news programmes were broadcast, among others, in what Mackay (1969) calls "Pidgin". The Administration Broadcasting Service, which opened its first station in Rabaul in 1961 (later it developed a network of local radio stations), was a highly successful venture and, as reported by Mackay (1969: 245) "(…) it was accepted by the Tolais [indigenous people of the region] as their station 'Stesin bilong Yumi' – and its programmes, broadcast in simple English, Tolai and Pidgin, catered for the indigenous people at village level". Furthermore, the role of local languages, including lingua francas of the areas such as Tok Pisin, was continually strengthened because, first of all, the stations founded by the Administration Broadcasting Service employed local people and secondly, their purpose was to make local people aware of the actions undertaken by the government, to "involve the people in the processes of government, and (…) [to] encourage them to further their own economic development" (Mackay 1969: 247). To achieve this, the stations used local tongues as well as lingua francas of the region, including Pidgin English. Wilcox states (1973) that in 1971 the ABC radio broadcast its programmes in four languages: Pidgin English (later to be known as Tok Pisin), English, Tolai and Motu. The ABS radio stations, on the other hand, were focused primarily on providing news in the indigenous languages of the region. However, in the survey conducted in 1970 among the people of the Madang District on the usefulness of a local radio station, it became evident that "(…) the majority of the new station's programming should probably be in Pidgin English because this was the lingua franca of the area" (Wilcox 1973: 114-115). Nowadays, Papua New Guinea has many radio stations broadcasting in a number of languages, one of them being Tok Pisin (*e.g.* Yumi FM station, located in Port Moresby). Such radio stations, apart from providing news, present local music, some of which is also performed in Tok Pisin (*e.g.* Papua New Guinean artist O-shen sings in both Tok Pisin and English).

The discussion of the mass media in pidgins and creoles cannot fail to mention the most powerful medium at present – the Internet. Pidgin and creole languages are used on the Internet, albeit definitely less frequently than such full-fledged languages as English or German. For example, *Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia* – has a few versions in various pidgin and creole languages. There are, for example, Tok Pisin edition (http://tpi.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fran_pes), Vanuatu Bislama edition (http://bi.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nambawan_Pej), Norfolk/ Pitcairnese edition (http://pih.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mien_Paij) or a version in Haitian Creole (http://ht.wikipedia.org/wiki/Paj_Prensipal). It all points out that the referential potential of pidgins and creoles has been significantly expanded and now they can also function as languages of the Internet websites.

As emerges from the above presentation, pidgin and creole languages can be effectively applied in mass communication. The first newspapers written in these tongues were primarily of religious character because they were issued by the missions operating among pidgin- and creole-speaking communities. In the course of time, however, these varieties began to be used in the mass media on a much wider scale, being the languages not only of traditional newspapers or radio broadcasts but also of the Internet websites. Besides, the example of Papua New Guinea shows that a pidgin language functioning in a multilingual community may serve as a lingua franca, thanks to which the knowledge and information can be easily transmitted to people of different linguistic stocks, contributing at the same time to greater national awareness, to increased understanding of new concepts so far non-existent in a given community and to the promotion of a particular pidgin/creole as a lingua franca.

3.6. Chapter 3 recapitulation

The main focus in Chapter 3 has been on showing that pidgins and creoles are languages which, previously heavily criticised an ridiculed for their seeming primitiveness and oddity, have the potential of being used in the domains commonly reserved for the well-established tongues like English, French or Spanish. There has been an ample amount of evidence to suggest that the languages in question, if properly developed by their speech communities, can be good vehicles of education, literature and the mass media. The number of language planning programmes, standardisation endeavours as well as poems, proverbs, translations, magazines, radio stations or Internet websites in pidgins and creoles serves well as the exemplification of this fact. Furthermore, it should be once again stressed that the simplicity of these

languages has nothing to do with their speakers' alleged primitiveness or stupidity. On the contrary, these tongues are the outcomes of human creativity and the ability to find solutions to the problem of communication gaps resulting from the lack of mutually understandable languages.

CHAPTER 4

TOK PISIN: AN OVERVIEW OF HISTORY, DEVELOPMENT AND FUNCTION

The main purpose of Chapter 4 is to shed some light on the history, development and function of Tok Pisin, which is also known as Neomelanesian Pidgin English, Melanesian Pidgin English, Tok Boi, New Guinea Pidgin or Tok Vaitman/Tok Waitman (*e.g.* Mühlhäusler, Dutton, Romaine 2003). This pidgin (or creole as some varieties are creolised), being one of the three official languages (next to English and Hiri Motu) of Papua New Guinea, is one of the best studied languages of this type.

The first part of this chapter focuses on the external history of the language in question. No language exists in a social vacuum therefore an attempt is made to correlate the historical, social and cultural factors with the development of Tok Pisin. As it turns out, it is impossible to talk about Tok Pisin status as a pidgin without paying attention to its historical, social and cultural embeddings. The next issue discussed in Chapter 4 is the linguistic composition and the internal development of Neomelanesian Pidgin English. Brief remarks are made on Tok Pisin superstratum and substratum and this is followed by a more extensive discussion of Tok Pisin development. The framework applied in this discussion is that of the pidgin/creole life cycle formulated by Hall (*e.g.* 1966).

Papua New Guinea is sometimes called "linguistic laboratory" due to the huge number of languages used within its territory. Therefore, some mentions are also made on the types of tongues spoken in this region. This is supported by an attempt to define the role of Tok Pisin against the background of indigenous languages, indigenous pidgins and English.

The next issue discussed in Chapter 4 is the role and function of Tok Pisin in Papua New Guinean society. First, the problem of Tok Pisin variation is touched upon. Three kinds of variation are presented: variation along the two dimensions of the pidgin/creole life cycle, regional variation and social variation. Then, a short note on the constitutional status of Tok Pisin is provided. The official and national status of the language under scrutiny is closely linked with the next two themes: attitudes to Tok Pisin and language planning and standardisation of Tok Pisin. Owing to the fact that the next two chapters deal with various

aspects of written Tok Pisin as used in *Wantok* newspaper, attention is directed to the way the standard version of this language has come to be spelled.

The introduction to Chapter 4 seems to be a good place for the map of Papua New Guinea. Papua New Guinea is divided into provinces which form four major regions: Highlands Region (provinces of Easter Highlands, Enga, Simbu, Southern Highlands, Western Highlands), Islands Region (provinces of: East New Britian, Manus, New Ireland, North Solomons – Bougainville, West New Britain) Momase Region (provinces of East Sepik, Madang, Morobe, West Sepik) and Papuan Region (provinces of: Gulf, Milne Bay, Oro – Northern Provice, Western Fly, Central Province, National Capital District).

Within this chapter there are numerous references to the provinces of Papua New Guinea and the administrative division of this country is presented on Map 1.

Figure 10. Map of Papua New Guinea and adjacent areas[32]

4.1. External history of Tok Pisin

Knowing the external history of any language, in particular of a pidgin or a creole, is crucial because thanks to the social and historical facts which an external history encompasses, it is possible to determine the status of a language. Were it not for the social and historical facts connected with the emergence of pidgins and creoles, it would be hardly possible to grant these languages their proper statuses of a pidgin or a creole. However, before an overview of the external history of Neomelanesian Pidgin English is presented, it is worth outlining a few theories which have been postulated to explain the origin of Pacific pidgins and creoles, in particular of the pidgin language in question.

4.1.1. Theories of Tok Pisin origin

Tok Pisin has frequently drawn linguists' attention and therefore they have put forth a number of theories connected with the origin of this language. Some of them are presented in the forms of language family tree models, however, what should be said here is that the figures cited below present only those parts of these models which pertain to the pidgins of Melanesia, particularly to Melanesian Pidgin English. Other pidgins, especially the Atlantic ones, which are hypothesised to have developed in a parallel way are unimportant at this point and therefore they have been left out.

According to Hall's (1961) language family tree model, Tok Pisin developed as a variety of Melanesian Pidgin English which had evolved from South Seas Pidgin English. Pursuant to this model, the other variety of Melanesian Pidgin English is British Solomon Islands Pidgin English, today known as Pijin. Hall's model, however, does not include Bislama, the third variety of Melanesian Pidgin English spoken in Vanuatu, which some linguists regard as the "sister-language" of Tok Pisin.
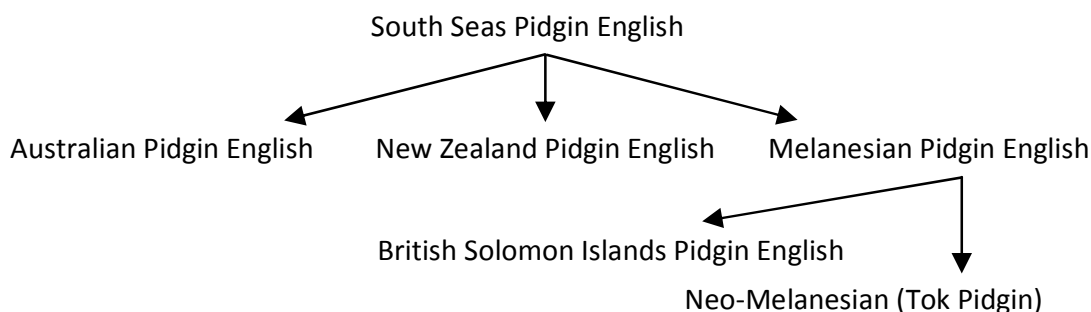
Figure 11. Hall's language family tree model[33]

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[33] Figures 10, 11 and 12 are based on Hall (1961), Wurm (1971) and Hancock (1971), respectively and on Mühlhäusler ([1986] 1997: 16-17).

Wurm (1971) presents the development of Tok Pisin in a different way, claiming that this language descends from what he calls Early Beach-la-Mar. It appears that Tok Pisin developed next to Pijin (Solomon Islands Pidgin English), Micronesian Pidgin English, Fijian Pidgin English and Bislama. This is shown in the following Figure:

Early Beach-la-Mar ⟶ Later Bislama

→ Fijian Pidgin English

Neo-Melanesian (Tok Pisin)   Solomon Islands Pidgin English   Micronesian Pidgin English
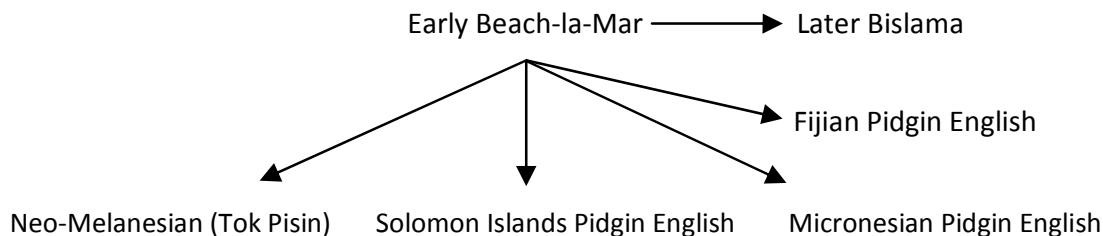
Figure 12. Wurm's language family tree model

The third model (Figure 13) was offered by Hancock (1971) and, according to it, Tok Pisin is a direct descendant of Melanesian Pidgin, which developed next to Solomons Pidgin, New Guinea Pidgin and Micronesia Pidgin from Proto-Melanesian. Neo-Melanesian Pidgin itself is treated in this model as a parent language of Australian Pidgin English, the claim which is not unanimously agreed upon and this "(...) should be evident from the fact that the former [*i.e.* Australian Pidgin English] antedates the latter [*i.e.* Neo-Melanesian Pidgin English] as has (...) been clearly demonstrated by Baker (1993)" (Mühlhäusler [1986] 1997: 18).

Proto-Melanesian

Micronesia   New Guinea   Melanesian   Solomons

Neo-Melanesian

Australian Pidgin English

Bagot Creole
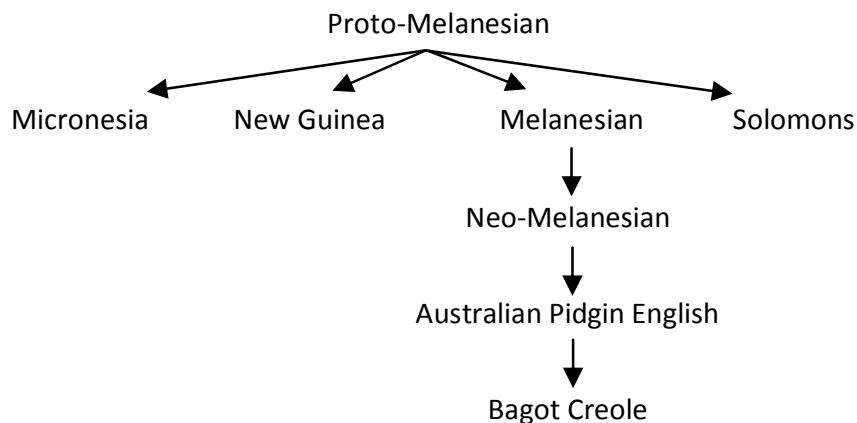
Figure 13. Hancock's language family tree model

This language family tree model seems to be slightly confusing as it is not clear what New Guinea Pidgin and Melanesian Pidgin are. This is also what Mühlhäusler ([1986] 1997: 18) notices:

> More serious is the confusion between Tok Pisin (Neo-Melanesian) and Papuan P[idgin]E[nglish]. It is repeated on the accompanying map (...), where the locations for "New Guinea or Papuan P[idgin]E[nglish]" and "Melanesian P[idgin]E[nglish]" are given as the New Guinea mainland (New Guinea or Papuan variety) and the Bismarck Archipelago (Neo-Melanesian = Tok Pisin), respectively.

Yet another proposal concerning the development of Pacific pidgins was formulated by Clark (1979), according to whom Tok Pisin, or as it is in his model – New Guinea Pidgin – developed out of Melanesian Pidgin with Solomon Islands Pidgin and Hew Hebrides Pidgin being two "sister" varieties. Figure 14 presents the relevant part of Clark's model:
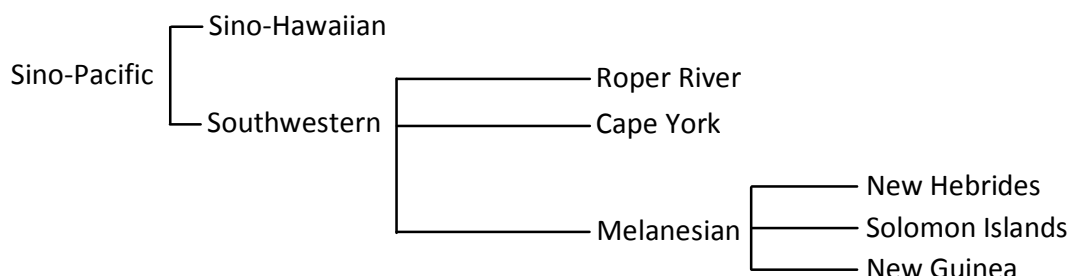
Figure 14. Clark's model of Pacific pidgins' development[34]

Tok Pisin, as emerges from some of the above-quoted figures, can be considered to be a variety of Melanesian Pidgin English spoken in the Pacific. The other two varieties of this pidgin are Bislama and Pijin. What should be stressed here, however, is that today when linguists use the term *Melanesian Pidgin English*, they mean either one of the three varieties of this language (*i.e.* either Tok Pisin or Bislama or Solomons Pijin) or just this pidgin at one of the initial stages of development before the regional varieties emerged. To sum up the above models, it is worth saying that, as claimed, for instance, by Romaine (1992), the data which could support the validity of the hypothesised models are still scanty and probably it will never be possible to fully account for the historical development of various pidgins in Oceania.

4.1.2. External history of Tok Pisin: an overview

Generally speaking, the external history of Tok Pisin is a history of a language which has gone through a number of stages commonly described in terms of the pidgin/creole life cycle. Thus, in Romaine's words (1992: 31),

> [t]he generally accepted view of the historical origin of Tok Pisin is that it is the result of a gradually stabilizing and expanding contact language which went through the following stages of development: jargon, stable pidgin, expanded pidgin, followed by creolisation.

The external history of this language is inseparably connected with trade and plantation labour and can be divided into a few phases: before 1860 ("Pacific Jargon English" stage), 1860-1883 ("Stabilisation"

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34 Figure 13 is based on Clark (1979: 22) and Tryon and Charpentier (2004: 35).

stage), 1884-1914 ("German New Guinea" stage), 1914-1940 ("Expansion" stage), 1941-1945, 1945-1953 ("Post-war period"), 1953-onwards (Mühlhäusler 1985a).

The first stage of Tok Pisin development is connected with the first contacts between European traders and local people inhabiting the area of the Pacific before 1860. Surprisingly, New Guinea where Tok Pisin is spoken nowadays was not then the main centre of this linguistic contact, which later on contributed to the growth of Tok Pisin. The aforementioned contacts were initially quite infrequent encounters between the European traders and the Pacific islanders and usually boiled down to some bartering of sandalwood and sea slug (also known as *bêche-de-mer* (Romaine 1992)). Later, however, the visits of the Europeans were more frequent as they stopped at this point to restock their ships with food or even to employ some islanders as ship crew members. These two situations – trade encounters between the Europeans and the islanders and the employment of the islanders on the European vessels – are said to have given rise to some form of oral communication, usually in broken English supplemented by a great deal of gestures (*i.e.* a sign language), from which a pidgin developed. Of course at this point it is yet not possible to talk about the emergence of a stable pidgin language and what could have probably emerged might have been a rudimentary jargon based on English. There were many names for this language, the most common ones being South Seas Pidgin, Beach-la-Mar (Romaine 1992).

The second phase (1860-1883) of the development of this pidgin is related to the introduction of the plantation system in the region of the Pacific and to the commercial activities of the Germans in this part of the world. It has been said many times in the previous chapters that plantations were one of the most important locations where pidgins emerged and stabilised. In the Pacific, the most important plantations were located in Queensland, Samoa and New Caledonia. Pidgin English was a medium of communication on these plantations because it was probably the only shared language the plantation workers had. At first, this Pidgin English was very varied but later on it became more fixed due to its sustained use. Mühlhäusler (1985a) says that the idiolectal use of Pidgin English gradually disappeared and, what is interesting, there developed several norms connected with the use of this language, which were also adhered to by newly recruited plantation labourers. The stabilisation of Pidgin English used on the plantations was reinforced by the fact that the workers had little or no contact with people living outside the plantations (who might have been the speakers of some other tongues) and by the fact that there was a strict division between the white population – the plantation owners (the speakers of

standard English) – and the plantation workers. Thus the role of plantation pidgins was to serve as a kind of a lingua franca among the plantation workers of different linguistic stock and to serve as a language used by the whites in communicating their orders to the indigenes.

Pidgin English, which became stabilised on plantations, spread also to the regions, from which the plantation workers were recruited as they took this language with them when coming back home after their contracts terminated. The knowledge of this tongue was deemed to be prestigious so more and more people wanted to learn it.

Tok Pisin proper developed around the 1880s when Germany started its activity in the Pacific. Mühlhäusler (1985a: 44) goes even further and claims that "[t]he year 1884 marks an important event in the history of Tok Pisin; one could almost call it the year of its birth". In that year Germany, in order to secure its influence in this part of the globe and to maintain its trade, took over parts of the region, namely the Bismarck Archipelago, some lands belonging to the Solomon Islands as well as the north-eastern lands of the island of New Guinea. The area occupied by Germany was called *German New Guinea* or *Kaiser Wilhelmsland* (*e.g.* Tryon, Charpentier 2004). The Germans did now allow to recruit any more labourers to plantations, with the exception of German plantations in Samoa. This decision made Tok Pisin develop independently of other dialects of Pidgin English. However, it turns out that in German New Guinea some use of Pidgin English was made although it was rather a very basic and unstable form spoken primarily by merchants searching for some natural resources.

The source of stabilised Tok Pisin has been determined to be on the Duke of York Islands (Mühlhäusler 1985a). Stable Tok Pisin contained some elements of the Samoan Plantation Pidgin, which could be accounted for by the fact that the plantation workers, having finished their labour in Samoa, returned to their homes taking with them the Plantation Pidgin. The same holds true for Queensland Plantation Pidgin which also exerted some influence on Tok Pisin. Interestingly enough, owing to the fact that mainly men were recruited as plantation labourers and only they had an opportunity to learn Tok Pisin, this language was also known as *tok boi* – the boys'/men's language.

Apart from the plantation system and labour recruitment, another key factor in disseminating the use of Tok Pisin was "pax Germanica". This was connected with the gradual introduction of German rule over the territory of New Guinea as well as with the wider use of Tok Pisin as an intertribal means of communication. Tok Pisin was promoted both by the German authorities and church missions which opened its posts in the region. Interestingly, along with the implementation of village administration, an interpreter from and into Tok Pisin

became an important person. Many interpreters were former plantation workers who grasped the knowledge of Tok Pisin during their labour on plantations. Mühlhäusler (1985a: 49) adds that:

> Increased status [of the interpreter] in the village community, together with the association of this language with the new material wealth brought by the Europeans, led to its development into a prestigious form of speech. Within a few years Tok Pisin became deeply entrenched in the areas controlled by the administration and was learned in large numbers by children and young men, reflecting the eagerness of most tribes contacted to take part in the new social system.

Promoting the use of this tongue contributed to the expansion of Tok Pisin functions because having been previously merely a language of plantation communication and a trade tongue, now it started to be used as a vehicle of intertribal communication. This was followed by Tok Pisin nativisation with more and more New Guineans speaking it as their native tongue.

The next stage of Tok Pisin growth and expansion is connected with the change of administration, which was taken over by Great Britain and Australia in 1914. What should be said at this point is that before the First World War, the island of New Guinea was divided into the above-mentioned German New Guinea and British New Guinea, which consisted of the southeast part of the island. This territory was assumed under a British protectorate in 1884. In 1901, however, Australia became responsible for this area and in 1902, by means of the Papua Act, changed its name into Papua (Tryon, Charpentier 2004).

Initially, the British and Australian authorities did not want to accept that fact that Tok Pisin – being an English-based pidgin – was used by the indigenous people of the former German New Guinea (now called the Australian Trust Territory of New Guinea) for it was thought to be a "barbarous and corrupted" (Mühlhäusler 1985a: 49) version of English. The new authorities wanted standard English to be the target language and to achieve this, they attempted to eradicate the use of the pidgin. What is more, they were of the opinion that the indigenes spoke the pidgin as they were not capable of learning English properly. Setting English as the target language was exactly the opposite to what the Germans did: they did not want English to become the target, letting thus Tok Pisin become stabilised. However, the time of Tok Pisin stabilisation is not unanimously agreed upon: Kessing (1988), for example, thinks that Tok Pisin became stabilised about 1890, forming one of the varieties of Melanesian Pidgin whereas Mühlhäusler (1979) contends that stabilisation was quite prolonged and lasted from the 1860s till about 1914.

During the period of British and Australian rule in this region, Tok Pisin, on the one hand, diversified into sociolects (such as Tok Masta) and regional varieties but, on the other hand, it became even more prestigious as it was connected with the fact that more and more native people, in particular males, were employed by the white masters. Having worked for some time for the white administrators, the workers returned home with a good command of Tok Pisin which allowed the indigenes to get into the whites' world. The growing prestige of this pidgin was observed even among quite young boys who learnt new words. This is what Mead says (1931: 147, after: Mühlhäusler 1985a: 51):

> Pidgin English, especially a knowledge of the names of the strange objects used by the white man, is the most important key to entrance into this world (...). In the back villages where a white man is seen perhaps twice a year, five- and six-year old boys go about muttering long pidgin phrases to themselves, learning pronunciation and cadence before they understand the meaning of words. By the time they are well-grown "monkeys" of twelve or thirteen, they can converse easily in this new language, and even have time to school the smaller boys by the hour.

Commenting upon the above quotation, Mühlhäusler (1985a) claims that the young age at which children learnt this language was certainly a contributory factor in the stabilisation and expansion of this tongue, which might have ultimately ended in creolisation.

Another important factor in spreading the knowledge of Neomelanesian Pidgin English was the presence of many church missions which tried to make Tok Pisin a lingua franca, especially in the areas with huge numbers of vernaculars. It should, however, be borne in mind that several missions were of German origin and for some time they kept instructing the local people in German, which contributed to the emergence of Pidgin German (Romaine 1992). What is interesting, it seems that missionaries were one of the first groups who viewed Tok Pisin as a "true" language which could be studied and which should be subjected to standardisation. Romaine (1992: 47) reports that in the 1920s Tok Pisin started to be used as a written language by Catholic missionaries who "(...) realized its potential as a valuable lingua franca for proselytizing among a linguistically diverse population and began using it for teaching (...)". Lutheran missions, first quite reluctant to use Tok Pisin as the language of instruction, in 1930 decided to employ this pidgin during their teaching due to its wide use, easy learnability and no ideological connotations. Such an approach led to the writing of Tok Pisin dictionaries or grammar books (*e.g. Anleitung zur Erlernung des Tok-boi* (1930) or *Kleine Tok-Boi Grammatik* (undated) (Tryon, Charpen-

tier 2004: 389). This was also connected with the missionaries' purpose of translating the religious materials (*e.g.* the Bible) into Tok Pisin so that the indigenes had access to the main source of the Christian faith.

Another era of Tok Pisin development is connected with the radical political changes brought out by the outbreak of the Second World War. Before the war, the Australian authorities did not think about any language policy for the region; this, however, changed when the Australian administrators realised that to control the region they needed to establish a medium of verbal communication and Tok Pisin seemed a good choice for that. This, in turn, resulted in an increasing number of books and dictionaries which, at that time, were written not only by the missionaries but also by laymen employed to describe the language in question. Such language manuals were used, for instance, by the American soldiers operating in this area during the Second World War. Mühlhäusler (1985a: 56) also claims that Tok Pisin role was significantly expanded and it started to function as a means of "(...) promoting solidarity between the occupying armies and the indigenous population and (...) of large-scale social control through Tok Pisin media". Apart from being used as a language of missions' and government's actions, Neomelanesian Pidgin English started to be used also as a language of war propaganda, especially in various pamphlets and leaflets produced by both the Australian and American forces as well as by Japan which occupied some areas of New Guinea due to its interests in gaining profits from this part of the globe during the Second World War. The war activities accelerated the dissemination of Tok Pisin knowledge as, for example, a number of Tok Pisin speakers (usually 14 years old males) were recruited by the Australians and Americans fighting in this region to work in some other areas of Melanesia, particularly of New Guinea, to which they brought the pidgin. However, in some cases the war made many indigenous people, especially males over 20, not able to learn Tok Pisin due to the fact that the system of plantation labour and recruitment was disrupted and they had no chance to acquire the language under discussion. This was even strengthened by the fact that many missions teaching the pidgin stopped operating as a result of war activities. Mühlhäusler (1985a) says that the post-war Tok Pisin was significantly different from the pre-war Tok Pisin and he compares this to the difference between a jargon and a stabilised pidgin, in which a number of qualitative changes occurred.

What is striking, in 1953 the United Nations suggested that the pidgin spoken in this region be replaced as it was thought to invoke negative connotations related with the era of colonialism (*e.g.* Tryon, Charpentier 2004). This, however, was not implemented and, what is more, Tok Pisin gained a new impetus in terms of its growth and expan-

sion. After the Second World War, especially after 1953 which is claimed to be an important year for the development of this language as at that time Tok Pisin and its status started to constitute key topics of political discussions, Tok Pisin developed into its modern variety. In the post-war period, social circumstances in what was then the Trust Territory of New Guinea radically changed. This could be observed, among others, in a more positive Australians' attitude to Papua New Guinea and its inhabitants. Consequently, the Australian authorities made efforts to help Papua New Guinea develop by introducing education on a wider scale as well as by letting Papua New Guineans take part in government. The social changes were accompanied by changes in the sphere of languages. The use of English, previously reserved primarily for the white population and not allowed to be used by the indigenes who had their "tok boi", that is, Tok Pisin, was now more and more widespread as new English-medium schools were opened throughout Papua New Guinea. It appears that English was once again the target language, and this situation contributed to the fact that it had a big influence on Tok Pisin. Another factor influencing the growth of Tok Pisin was the development of towns and cities which, before the Second World War, were rather small in terms of population numbers. Apart from Port Moresby, the capital city of Papua New Guinea, new centres developed, including Goroka (Eastern Highlands Province), Lae (Morobe Province), Madang (Madang Province), Mount Hagen (Western Highlands Province), Rabaul (East New Britain Province) and Wewak (East Sepik Province). More and more English-speaking people, predominantly Australians, settled down in these towns. This urbanisation also influenced Tok Pisin. This is well summarised by Mühlhäusler (1985a: 62) who says:

> The towns provided yet another stimulus for the development of Tok Pisin. Next to the pattern of short term employment in urban areas, a more permanent group of town dwellers of Papua New Guinean origin began to emerge, for whom the main household language was Tok Pisin and no longer the local vernacular. Children growing up in such households often spoke it as their first language. Though creolisation in the urban situation was still of minor importance in the years directly after the war, the foundations were laid for a development whose full impact of the growth of the language can hardly be overestimated (...).

It has already been said that English was the language of instruction, in particular at later stages, however, pursuant to the Education Bill of 1952, Tok Pisin and other vernacular languages were allowed to be used in primary school. In this way, more and more Papua New Guineans acquired some English which again exerted some influence of

Tok Pisin, giving rise to the urban sociolects of Neomelanesian Pidgin English.

The development of Tok Pisin in the post-war period can also be seen in the emergence of the media in this tongue. Although English was planned to become the lingua franca of the region, at that time still more people spoke Tok Pisin and therefore the authorities decided that Tok Pisin should be the medium of some newspapers and radio broadcasts. Baker (1953: 194-195, after: Mühlhäusler 1985a: 63) states that:

> [t]hey (*i.e.* the Australian administrators of New Guinea) have established at least five Pidgin newspapers for circulation among the natives, they are using the radio station at Port Moresby for regular broadcasts in Pidgin, and they are instructing native children in the use of Pidgin in schools. In short, they are popularising the linguistic medium against which they theoretically opposed.

During the 1970s Papua New Guineans developed a new culture which was quite different from the one before that time. It consisted of the elements taken from both the western culture as well as the traditional culture of Papua New Guinea. What is of crucial importance is that the language which belonged to this culture and which served as a medium of expression was Tok Pisin. This contributed to Papua New Guinean diglossia, especially in towns and cities, with English being the other language. Tok Pisin was also an important means of expression and self-identity while Papua New Guineans were fighting for independence which was gained in 1975. In the same year – the Constitution of the newly founded independent state of Papua New Guinea guaranteed that Tok Pisin along with Hiri Motu and English were the country's three official tongues. Thus since that time, its functions have significantly expanded as this tongue has been frequently used in political debates, printed media and broadcasting as well as schooling. What is more, especially the urban variety of Tok Pisin is under a heavy influence of English because city and town dwellers have more access to English owing to the fact that English is a medium of education, especially at later stages, and thanks to the increasing encounters with English outside school context: in the media, on the Internet *etc.* However, it remains to be seen whether full decreolisation towards the lexifier of Tok Pisin – English – will occur.

Finally, at this point it seems crucial to present some figures connected with the number of Tok Pisin speakers. In 1966, Wurm (1966: 49, after: Tryon, Charpentier 2004: 455) assessed it to be approximately 300,000. This number doubled to some 750,000, as evidenced by the Census taken in 1971. In 1977 the number of Tok Pisin speakers exceeded 1,000,000 (Wurm 1977: 511, after: Tryon, Charpentier 2004:

455). Nowadays, according to Tryon and Charpentier (2004: 455) "(...) more than half of the 5,000,000 citizens of the country have a more or less sound knowledge of Tok Pisin".

As has been presented above, Tok Pisin is a language which has developed out of a rudimentary jargon into an expanded pidgin (in some cases also into a creole) within only a little longer than a century. Within this period "(...) it has acquired a sizeable community of fluent second-language users and a community of first-language users. Tok Pisin has thus stabilized, expanded, creolized, and is now beginning to decreolize" (Romaine 1992: 54). Being one of the major languages of the region, Tok Pisin is used in many domains of human activity and more people speak it natively. However, some linguists (*e.g.* Mühlhäusler, Dutton, Romaine 2003) think that the use of Tok Pisin as a lingua franca of the region might become smaller due to the increasing use of English. It remains to be seen whether Tok Pisin, whose growth relies very heavily on the political situation of Papua New Guinea, will be a good option as regards the language of wider communication so needed in this region – one of the most linguistically diversified countries in the world.

4.2. Linguistic composition and internal history of Tok Pisin: an overview

This section presents a brief overview of Tok Pisin linguistic composition as well as its internal history. The first subsection discusses the lexicon and grammar of Tok Pisin which have been influenced by other languages constituting Tok Pisin superstratum and substratum. The second part of this section is devoted to the internal history of Tok Pisin.

4.2.1. Linguistic composition

Tok Pisin is a language in which the influences of the superstratum, and to a much lesser extent, of the substratum are clearly visible. There is a general agreement that Tok Pisin, being an English-based pidgin, has derived much of its vocabulary just from English. This is, however, connected with some difficulties as the fact of being based on English may lead to a wrong conclusion that Tok Pisin, like all other English-based pidgins and creoles, is a variety of English. This assumption is of course not true and such an approach, as claimed by Smith (2002: 17), "(...) under-emphasizes the role that other languages may have played in its development, especially of features other than the lexicon".

As far as Tok Pisin lexicon is concerned, it is derived chiefly from English, hence English is Tok Pisin lexifier or superstrate language. It is

estimated that approximately 77% of the whole Neomelanesian Pidgin English vocabulary is of English origin. 11% is derived from Tolai, the main substrate language, other languages of the region contributed about 6%, Malay – 1%, German – 4% and Latin 3% (Laycock 1970: 115, quoted after: Mühlhäusler (1985b: 179)). Tryon and Charpentier (2004) commenting upon the above-quoted percentage claim that it is of no importance that the total sum of the quoted numbers exceeds 100% as these are just approximations.

As it turns out, the origin of lexical items is not always easy to establish as Tok Pisin vocabulary contains many syncretisms – words which could have equally well been derived from English, German or some local languages. Mühlhäusler (1985b: 182, 184) gives several such words: *ais* "ice" (German *Eis*; English *ice*), *gaten* "garden" (German *Garten*; English *garden*), *bel* "belly" (Tolai *bala* "belly"; English *belly*), *karim* "to carry, to take" (Tolai *kap* "to carry, to take"; English *carry*).

The composition of Tok Pisin lexicon, in which there are items from so many different languages, is an attestation of language contacts in the area of today's Papua New Guinea. It is not surprising, however, that a few Tok Pisin lexical items come from the local languages of the region, including Tolai (*e.g. balus* "pigeon", *kakaruk* "chicken", *pukpuk* "crocodile" (Mühlhäusler 1985b: 214)). The speakers of the indigenous tongues who also learnt New Guinea Pidgin introduced certain lexemes from their native languages. It seems, however, that not many of them have survived in modern Tok Pisin since "(…) the mechanisms to promote their spread were lacking and since they were used in semantic domains which were of little relevance to cross-territorial communication" (Mühlhäusler 1985b: 208).

The surprisingly high percentage of German words in Tok Pisin, which is an English-based pidgin, results from the intense contacts between the Germans and the natives. During German rule, many words, especially those connected with church, carpentry or cooking, were introduced into Tok Pisin lexical stock (*e.g. beten* "to pray", *kirke* "church", *laim* "glue", *raus* "get lost" (Mühlhäusler, Dutton, Romaine 2003: 26-27)). What is interesting, Mühlhäusler, Dutton, Romaine (2003) are of the opinion that:

> (…) [a]t the beginning of the 1920s approximately one quarter of the vocabulary was already of German origin, and it can be assumed that a pidgin German would have been produced as a result of further adlexification and relexification if the German colonial rule has been more permanent.

It might seem slightly surprising that Latin also contributed some of its vocabulary to Tok Pisin (*e.g. deo* "God", *prosesio* "procession", *trinitas*

"trinity" (Mühlhäusler 1985b: 205)). As explained by Mühlhäusler (1985b), such words were introduced into Neomelanesian Pidgin English by missionaries and they used to function in the semantic domain of church. Nowadays, however, many of such Latin words are no longer used as English items prevail.

Malay words entered Tok Pisin due to contacts developed through trade and co-working on plantations between the inhabitants of New Guinea and the speakers of Malay. As was the case with the words borrowed from the indigenous languages of the region or borrowed from German or Latin, Malay items were replaced by the English ones and therefore the influence of Malay is less noticeable.

As emerges from the above discussion, the stock of Tok Pisin vocabulary was shaped, to a great extent, by the socio-historical factors and each new portion of foreign words entered Tok Pisin at a different stage connected with new contacts between the pidgin speakers and the speakers of the lexifier languages. When the region was under German rule, German words were introduced; when Papua New Guinea Pidgin speakers went to the plantations where they worked together with the speakers of Malay – Malay items appeared in Tok Pisin lexis; Tok Pisin speakers' contacts with church missionaries brought some words of Latin origin *etc*. However, the increasing access of Tok Pisin speakers to English contributes to a greater degree of anglicisation of the pidgin, which can be observed, as mentioned above, by more and more English words replacing the lexemes originating from other languages.

As for grammar, it is claimed that the main substrate language of Tok Pisin is Tolai. (Some other local languages of the region might also have had some influence on the structure of Neomelanesian Pidgin English.) Mosel (1980) quotes in this respect a number of prominent scholars who seem to agree that the speakers of Tolai *did* play some role in the formation of New Guinea Pidgin English, especially of its grammatical component. She (1980: 7), however, warns that:

> It can only be stated that substratum influence 'may be possible', or that the structure of the substratum language 'may have reinforced' some phenomenon of Tok Pisin. This precaution is necessary, because both Tolai and Tok Pisin often show features that in the case of Tok Pisin can also be regarded as universals of pidgins, for instance the reduction of morphological complexity, the absence of copula, the loss of obligatory number, gender and case distinction.

Bearing the above in mind, Mosel (1980) analyses a number of grammatical features of Neomelanesian Pidgin English and compares them to Tolai. Actually, she quite convincingly demonstrates that many of

Tok Pisin grammatical elements (*i.e.* postmodifiers, numerals, reduplication) do not need to have been derived from Tolai. This holds true, for example, for Tok Pisin phonology, in which it is not so easy to detect clear indications of Tolai influence. Although it might be correct to suspect that at certain developmental stages such influences were noticeable, modern Tok Pisin exhibits very few (if any) features which are also found in Tolai. Mosel (1980: 23) says that:

> (...) Tok Pisin phonology is not identical with Tolai phonology. Otherwise one would expect that Tolai loanwords have been retained in their original form and that English loanwords have been regularly adapted to Tolai phonology. But the Tolais' [the speakers of Tolai] influence on the development of Tok Pisin was not as strong as to impose their phonology on Tok Pisin.

The above, however, does not mean that there are no similarities whatsoever between Tok Pisin and the substratum. The influence of local languages (*e.g.* Tolai, Molot, Mioko, Label, Pala) is visible, for instance, in the system of Tok Pisin pronouns comprising singular, plural, dual, trial, inclusive and exclusive pronouns (singular pronouns: *mi*, *yu*, *em*; plural pronouns: *yumi* [inclusive], *mipela* [exclusive], *yupela*, *ol*, dual pronouns: *yumitupela* [inclusive], *mitupela*, *yutupela*, *tupela*, trial: *yumitripela* [inclusive], *mitripela* [exclusive], *yutripela*, *tripela*). This system "(...) is evidently patterned after those of the substratum languages" (Mosel 1980: 60).

As stated above, the substrate influence is not so visible in Tok Pisin grammar as is sometimes claimed. Therefore, it seems reasonable to accept Siegel's view (1998: 367) that actually there might be two kinds of the influence substrate languages may have had on the Pidgin:

> First, substrate transfer may account for the origin of a feature similar to that of a substrate language. Second, substrate reinforcement may account for such features and those from other sources being retained in the emerging stable contact variety during the process of levelling.

From the above statement, it ensues that certain similarities between Neomelanesian Pidgin English grammar and the substratum grammar can be explained by two factors: (1) the speakers of the substratum languages might have transferred certain features of these tongues to the Pidgin; (2) during the process of levelling (*i.e.* the reduction of the number of variants of particular structures, or generally the reduction of variability in the pidgin language) and subsequently of Tok Pisin stabilisation, the speakers of the stabilised pidgin selected certain features (which could have been derived from other sources, not from the substratum) which were similar to those of their native substrate languages, thus reinforcing the substrate elements in Tok Pisin.

The above discussion points to the fact that determining the substratum for Tok Pisin is not easy and in many cases it is not possible to show that a particular substrate language influenced a given grammatical pattern found in Neomelanesian Pidgin English. Additionally, it is rightly observed by Smith (2002: 27) that "[i]n an area of extreme multilingualism like Papua New Guinea, an obvious obstacle to the evaluation of substratum influence is inadequate knowledge of all the languages which may have had an effect".

In view of the above discussion, it seems that Bickerton's statement on the role of the substratum in the formation of pidgins and creoles should not be discarded so hastily because it might be at least partially valid:

> Although there are here and there some sweeping similarities which tease you and provoke you to go on with the search [for substrate influence], you never find any language which has quite the same kinds of structures as the creole language does. (Bickerton 1979: 3, quoted after: Mühlhäusler 1985c: 460)

In brief, it seems that Tolai and other local languages of Papua New Guinea might have contributed some of their structures to Tok Pisin and therefore they can be generally reckoned to be Tok Pisin substratum but their influence should not be overestimated. Hence, linguists dealing with this issue must be very careful in their search for the substrate influence so as not to be accused of applying the cafeteria principle (*cf.* Chapter 1: 1.3.4).

4.2.2. Internal history of Tok Pisin: an overview

The internal history of Tok Pisin – the development of its lexicon, syntax and phonology – can be described in terms of the pidgin/creole life cycle. Thus Tok Pisin has gone through a number of developmental stages: jargon, stable pidgin, expanded pidgin, creole, as well as post-pidgin, all of which are briefly characterised below. What is more, Tok Pisin can be considered a model example of a pidgin which developed along the two dimensions: developmental and restructuring (*cf.* Chapter 2: 2.3).

It should be remembered that the internal development of Neomelanesian Pidgin English was triggered by the increasing (in terms of quality and quantity) communicative needs Tok Pisin speakers had. Mühlhäusler (1985d: 77-78), whose views on the internal history of Tok Pisin are summarised below, distinguishes a few factors shaping the lexicon and grammar of New Guinea Pidgin: linguistic universals (operating in second language learning when learners prefer certain less complex structures, *e.g.* shorter phrases), substrate influence or

substrate transfer, relexification, adlexification (the introduction of new lexemes taken from a contact language), foreigner talk, common core grammar and language mixing. It might be expected that all of these forces had some influence on Neomelanesian Pidgin English during its different developmental phases.

Tok Pisin internal history starts with the jargon stage, at which the lexical and grammatical structure was very unstable with much variation observed on an individual speaker's level. The phonology of jargonised Tok Pisin was as well very varied and it might be assumed that it might have been influenced by both English foreigner talk and substrate transfer. Of course at the jargon stage, there was no inflectional and derivational morphology so, for example, to indicate the time of the action (i.e. *mi go* might mean "I go", "I am going", "I have gone, "I went" (Mühlhäusler (1985d: 82)) or noun plurality, context was of crucial importance. Syntax was also quite inconsistent and minimal: word order cannot be said to have been fixed, there were no embedded clauses, no prepositions. What can be said of jargonised Tok Pisin syntax is that it was iconic: "(…) the sequence of the elements of a sentence mirrors the sequence of events in the real world" Mühlhäusler (1985d: 85). Early Tok Pisin lexicon was also quite reduced and encompassed merely the items which were necessary for successful communication in basic situations (*i.e.* words referring to traded goods, natural resources, time, fauna and flora *etc.*). This communication was also aided, to a great extent, by gestures. However, in the cases in which a new word was needed, the speakers of early New Guinea Pidgin relied heavily on borrowing from either the lexifier or substrate languages (*i.e.* adlexification). Since the speakers of early Neomelanesian Pidgin did not form a uniform speech community, there were very few (if any!) norms connected with the grammar and vocabulary of the language in question. What counted was not the correctness of Tok Pisin use but communication and attaining a communicative goal (*e.g.* trading goods or recruiting plantation labourers).

When certain norms connected with language form and use emerged, the jargonised variety entered the phase of stabilisation. What is interesting, Mühlhäusler (1985d: 90) argues that the emergence of such norms is connected with the lack of a target language. This, plus three other reasons, is claimed to have had a major impact on the stabilisation of the jargon:

a) the institutionalisation of Tok Pisin as a means of communication between speakers of diverse language backgrounds;
b) the plantations providing a certain degree of continuity in the transmission of this language;

c) the partial withdrawal of English as a model language during German control;
d) the development of certain standards of correctness as Tok Pisin became a prestige language. (Mühlhäusler 1985d: 90)

As for the linguistic component of stabilised Neomelanesian Pidgin (*i.e.* grammar and lexicon), they became more fixed with less variability. This, however, does not mean that no variation existed. On the contrary, it *did* and the most variable area was probably pronunciation, which was reflected in a number of regional differences resulting from different phonologies of the speakers' native languages. Stable Tok Pisin developed inflection morphology. In fact, it was not a great development because there were two inflectional markers (which at the jargon stage *did* exist but their occurrence was rather more random as they were used to mark quite many aspects): *–pela/–fela* (to mark single-syllable attributive adjectives, *e.g. gutpela kaikai* "good food"; to mark plural first and second person pronouns: *mipela* "we", *yupela* "you") and *–im* (to mark verb transitivity, *e.g. kisim* "catch"(Mühlhäusler (1985d: 93)). In the field of stabilised Tok Pisin syntax, a number of developments can be observed: a more fixed word order (mostly SVO), the emergence of word classes (nouns, verbs *etc.*), the development of certain TMA markers ("*baimbai* for future, *pinis* for past, and *nau* or Ø for present" (Mühlhäusler (1985d: 94)), the appearance of some embedding and complex sentences. Furthermore, the system of Tok Pisin pronouns became stable (and has survived in the language in question until now). Finally, vocabulary was also stabilised and enriched with new – usually borrowed – items. Even the first instances of circumlocution appeared (*e.g. snek bilong wara* "eel", *rop bilong su* "shoe lace" (Mühlhäusler 1985d: 102)), however, some of them were later on replaced with single words.

Having become stabilised and recognised as an important vehicle of not only vertical but also horizontal communication (*i.e.* "intercommunication across tribal boundaries" (Mühlhäusler 1985d: 106)), Tok Pisin entered the phase of expansion. This expansion was connected with enlarging the scope of functions in which this language was used and, what goes hand in hand with this, with expanding the lexical and grammatical resources. The fact that stable Tok Pisin functioned as a lingua franca of the area was reflected in the language policy of the Catholic missionaries implemented in the 1920s. The Lutheran missions were much slower in adopting this language as a tongue of wider communication and it became such in the 1960s. This view on New Guinea Pidgin was even strengthened when in 1969 *Nupela Testamen* (New Testament) was published. It is worth saying that this fact, along with other language-oriented activities, contributed greatly to the stan-

dardisation and language planning of Tok Pisin. Another factor important for the expansion of Tok Pisin was that during the Second World War and thereafter this language started to be perceived as "(...) one promoting equality and democratisation of the society and it emerged as the language of local government" (Mühlhäusler 1985d: 106). Seeing it as an important ingredient of a new culture formed in Papua New Guinea, more and more speakers of Tok Pisin started to express themselves through this language. This was supplemented by the fact that this language was regularly used in the printed media, in radio broadcasts and in church and state schools. Thus Neomelanesian Pidgin English was used in more and more domains, expanding thereby its referential potential as well as grammar and lexicon.

As far as the phonology of expanded Tok Pisin is concerned, it is worth saying that although it is still sometimes quite variable, especially if regional differences are taken into account, it has undergone significant expansion. One of such is the expansion of the vowel system which previously comprised five vowels (*i, e, a, o, u*) and now, in some areas, this number reaches ten short and long vowels (Mühlhäusler 1985d: 107). Some distinctions in the consonant system are also made, the examples being the distinctions between *s* and *t, p* and *f* and *l* and *r*. Innovative in expanded Tok Pisin phonology are also the reduction of certain function words and morphemes (*i.e. bambai* to *bai, ba* or *bə*; – *fela* to *fla* or *flə*) (Mühlhäusler 1985d: 109) as well as the increased speech tempo. Also syntax has undergone extension and a number of new structures were added or expanded: the quite developed TMA system, plural marking, embedding (with relativisers and complementisers), different word orders (used for stylistic purposes).

Like the above areas of Tok Pisin, its lexicon has also undergone significant expansion. This is visible in the fact that the language under analysis began to make use of word-formation mechanisms which were not present at the previous stages of Tok Pisin development. The mechanism of circumlocution has often been replaced by that of compounding (*e.g. manki bilong masta* was replaced by *mankimasta* "servant (male)"; *wara bilong skin* was replaced by *skinwara* "sweat" (Mühlhäusler 1985d: 122)). Derivation has also been used more frequently than previously, especially to derive causative constructions (*e.g. bikim* "to make big, enlarge", *stretim* "to straighten", *dringim* "to make somebody drink" (Mühlhäusler 1985d: 126)). The developments in the realms of grammar and lexicon were accompanied by the developments in stylistics and functions – the fact noticed by Mühlhäusler (1985d: 127) who says that "[t]he challenges posed by the use of the language in new areas of discourse, new media and new functions ha[ve] been answered by a sustained vigorous growth of its resources".

It has already been mentioned several times that in certain areas of Papua New Guinea, in particular in urban centres and new (*i.e.* untraditional) village settlements, Tok Pisin has become a creole, with a number of children speaking it natively. Due to the fact that Neomelanesian Pidgin English (or, in this context, it seems more appropriate to call it Neomelanesian Creole English) is a first, native language, creole speakers tend to speak faster and are by and large more fluent that pidgin speakers. Mühlhäusler (1985d: 150), however, during his research noticed that initially children speak quite fast due to "natural phonological processes" but later they change their manners of speaking so as to make themselves understood by the older non-native speakers of Tok Pisin. As for grammatical developments in creolised Tok Pisin, they do not seem to be huge innovations and are rather the processes that continue from the expansion stage. A good example is embedding which was introduced at the previous stages of Tok Pisin life cycle and now it is only developed to such an extent that creole Tok Pisin rules allow for using multiple embedding. Similarly, lexicon does not differ drastically from the vocabulary of expanded Tok Pisin. The new lexical items that have entered the lexical stock of creolised Tok Pisin are usually borrowings taken from other languages to fill in the gaps in certain domains (*e.g.* the names of flora and fauna). What ought to be said is that the new words introduced into creole Tok Pisin rather do not increase its referential potential and serve merely as new stylistic devices.

The discussion of the internal history of Tok Pisin cannot omit a mention of the development along the restructuring continuum into a post-pidgin variety which has developed in the areas where Tok Pisin and English co-exist in a speech community. What is interesting, between Tok Pisin proper and its post-pidgin variety, as claimed by Mühlhäusler (1985d) there is no full intelligibility, which means that if one person speaks Tok Pisin and the other speaks its post-pidgin variety, the communication between them may be significantly impaired. The post-pidgin can be characterised by a great amount of anglicisation felt both in grammar as well as in lexicon. The phonology of anglicised Tok Pisin is under the influence of English and new pronunciation, so far not encountered in Tok Pisin but existent in English, is applied (*e.g.* expanded Tok Pisin: *bihain* and *bihainim* "behind" and "to follow" *vs.* anglicised Tok Pisin: *bihain* and *bihaindim*; expanded Tok Pisin: *poin* and *poinim* "point" and "to point at" *vs.* anglicised Tok Pisin: *poin* and *pointim* Mühlhäusler (1985d: 134)). On the level of morphology, the speaker of post-pidgin Tok Pisin copy the English morphemes *–ing* and *–s* in certain contexts such as (for *–ing*) signalling transitivity or action continuity (*e.g. making rot* "constructing roads", *draiving kar* "driving

cars" (Mühlhäusler 1985d: 135)) or marking plurality (*e.g. dia friends* "dear friends", *olgeta evangelis* "all evangelists" (Mühlhäusler 1985d: 137)). What is interesting, in the case of monosyllabic adjectives used attributively, the suffix *–pela* is not added but the English pattern in used instead (*e.g. fri kantri* "free country", *rong namba* "wrong number" (Mühlhäusler 1985d: 138)). In syntax, developments pertain to new prepositions, conjunctions, embedded and conditional sentences (*e.g. ov* "of" as in *Haus ov Assembli*, *tu* "to" as in *ten tu tri*, *bikos* "because" (Mühlhäusler 1985d: 138-139)). A heavily anglicised lexicon is also a property of post-pidgin Tok Pisin, in which even phrasal verb loans can be encountered (*e.g. go tru* "go through", *wekim em ap* "wake her up", *luk after* "look after" (Mühlhäusler 1985d: 144)). Furthermore, the speakers of anglicised Tok Pisin replace the existing Tok Pisin items with the English ones, which leads to unnecessary borrowing and lexical redundancies (*e.g.* expanded Tok Pisin: *bekim* "to answer, the answer" *vs.* anglicised Tok Pisin: *bekim* "to answer" *vs. ansa* "the answer", expanded Tok Pisin: *hariap* "to hurry up, speed" *vs.* anglicised Tok Pisin: *hariap* "to hurry up" *spit* "speed" (Mühlhäusler 1985d: 145)). Post-pidgin Tok Pisin is used primarily in an urban setting with Tok Pisin-English diglossia. In such towns and cities, access to English is relatively easy and it may be reckoned a prestige language. It seems, however, that the structure of anglicised Tok Pisin is influenced by English to such a degree that this post-pidgin may finally become very disparate from the expanded variety. The worst-case scenario is that it would be extremely difficult to regard these two speech forms as two varieties of the same language and the lack of mutual intelligibility might significantly strengthen this division.

As the final point of this section it is worth quoting Mühlhäusler, Dutton, Romaine (2003: 9-12) who provide "a partially putative example" of Tok Pisin at its different developmental stages. They translate the following English sentence:

> On this island there are plenty of roads which allow people to go into the interior and produce goods which help to develop our country.

Into the following:

> (1) *Plenty little road along island. You fellows can go inside. You fellows work*.
> Many small roads on island. You fellows can go inside. You fellows work.
>
> *All right. Him plenty good.*
> All right. That's very good.

> (2) *Planti liklik rot i stap long ailan hia. Yumi ken go long ailan.*
> Many little roads exist on island here. We INC can go into the island.

Sapos you wokim, orait yu ken mekim kirap kantri bilong yumi
If you work, well you can make go ahead this country belonging to us.

(3) *I gat planti liklik rot long despela ailan long go insait long en. Yumi ken wokim*
There are plenty of little roads on this island to go inside into it. We INC can work.

samting i kirapim kantri bilong yumi
Something PR develop country belonging to us INC.

(4) *Lo tesela ailan i gat planti ol liklik rot lo go insait lo en na woki ol samti we*
On this island there are many PL small roads to go into it, and work PL things which
krapi kantri bolo yumi.
develops country belonging to us INC. (Mühlhäusler, Dutton, Romaine 2003: 9-10)

A jargonised version (1) is an instance of English foreigner talk which is quite simple, without any embedding structures, without any conjunctions and without the copula. What is more, as claimed by Mühlhäusler, Dutton, Romaine (2003), certain words are grammatically multifunctional, the example being *plenty* – used in (1) both as an adverb and as an adjective. This sample represents a jargon therefore it lacks any structural complexities. At this developmental phase it might have been quite troublesome to determine whether (1) is a sample of a new language or a form of English. (2) is a text written in stable Tok Pisin. It can be characterised by some structural complexities, which is exemplified by the inclusive personal pronoun *Yumi* – a feature of the pronominal system that is not found in English. Additionally, stable Tok Pisin worked out certain means of connecting sentences and this is evident in the conjunction *sapos* ("if"). (3) is an example of expanded Tok Pisin, which is "(…) generally accepted as the 'classic' Tok Pisin" (Mühlhäusler, Dutton, Romaine (2003: 11). Tok Pisin at this stage is grammatically even more complex than the stabilised version: there is a new conjunction: *long* ("in order to"); sentence length increases. Even the internal mechanisms of word-formation start to play a role in creating new lexical items (*e.g. kirapim*). Mühlhäusler, Dutton, Romaine (2003) also pay attention to phonology which is now more complex and is quite different from that of English. In (4), which is a creolised form, new properties appear: relative clauses with the relative pronoun *we* ("where"), embedded clauses, phonological reduction of grammatical items (the preposition *long* becomes *lo*, the possessive marker *bilong* becomes *bolo*, the transitivity marker *–im* becomes *–i*).

Tok Pisin, especially its urban variety, is, as above-mentioned, under a heavy influence of English, which may result in a number of post-pidgin varieties. Mühlhäusler, Dutton, Romaine (2003: 12) illustrate this change by providing the following sample:

(5) *I got plenty liklik rod on disfella ailan long go insaid. Wi ken workim samting.*
There are many small roads on this island to go in. We can work something.

I getapim kantri bilong as.
PR develop country belonging to us. (Mühlhäusler, Dutton, Romaine 2003: 12)

It is quite difficult to spot any new grammatical features but what is clearly visible is the influence of English pronunciation on Tok Pisin pronunciation (*e.g. as, got, insaid*), and by extension of Tok Pisin orthography. The influence of English is also reflected in borrowing: the former Tok Pisin pronoun *yumi* has been replaced by typically English *wi*.

The above sentences (1)-(5) illustrate the development of Tok Pisin in two dimensions: the vertical one (*i.e.* developmental continuum) and the horizontal one (*i.e.* restructuring continuum), both forming the pidgin/creole life cycle. Thanks to the above quoted Tok Pisin samples, it is thus clear that the internal history of this language has encompassed the increase in grammatical and lexical complexity. What is interesting, Tok Pisin initially did not make use of any marked features because language simplicity and the ease of learning were of paramount importance. Later on, however, Tok Pisin developed its own marked properties (which are, in many cases, the influences of substrate languages), of which good examples might be the inclusive or dual pronouns *yumi* and *yumitupela*, respectively.

To sum up the discussion of the internal development of Tok Pisin, it might be said that each next stage of Tok Pisin life cycle was connected with the increase in grammatical and lexical complexity, and the growth of these language areas was motivated by more and more functions the pidgin was to perform. It might therefore be concluded that the increasing referential potential needed new developments in the field of grammar and lexicon. The inventions that were introduced into Tok Pisin at its different developmental stages were motivated by: linguistic universals (jargon, stabilisation, expansion, creolisation), substrate influence or substrate transfer (jargon, stabilisation), foreigner talk (jargon), language mixing (post-pidgin) (Mühlhäusler 1985d).

4.3. Tok Pisin versus languages of Papua New Guinea

For a better understanding of the sociolinguistic setting in which Tok Pisin functions, it seems vital to shed some light on the complex linguistic situation of Papua New Guinea, which is claimed to be one of the most linguistically diverse regions. The discussion focuses on three aspects: the indigenous languages of Papua New Guinea, indigenous pidgins of the region and the relationship between Tok Pisin and English. At the outset, however, it must be stressed that the present discussion is not intended to give a full account of the linguistic situation of Melanesia but only its overview.

4.3.1. Tok Pisin versus indigenous languages of Papua New Guinea

It has been claimed many times so far that the region of Papua New Guinea is regarded by linguists as a country with a most complex linguistic situation, with "(…) linguistic diversity unparalleled anywhere else on the globe" (Foley 2000: 358). The number of the languages spoken in the region is not exactly known and different scholars provide different figures. The Ethnologue website (http://www.ethnologue.com /show_country.asp?name=PG; accessed in 2009) gives the number of 830 languages, Smith (2002) says there are 862 languages, Siegel (2009) claims there are well over 900 languages, Foley (2000) says there are about 1000 tongues (he refers to New Guinea). Of course, all of these numbers should be treated tentatively since many languages are spoken only by very few people as well as since multilingualism is widespread. It might be even so that some indigenous tongues spoken in the region of Papua New Guinea are not yet documented. What is important, it is estimated that Papua New Guineans speak 20% to 25% of all world languages (*e.g.* Foley 2000, Smith 2002).

The reasons for this linguistic diversity are manifold and so far it has not been yet determined which is the most important one. Among the ones that are often invoked to explain the huge number of tongues are, for instance, the ruggedness of Papua New Guinean territory, thanks to which many speech communities were isolated, the fact that this region became populated a very long time ago and this allowed for much linguistic diversity, the fact that the territory is inhabited by various tribes or clans which have their own distinctive languages, in which they take pride (*i.e.* esoterogeny), the fact that before the era of colonisation there were no attempts to create a unified state with a written language *etc.* (*e.g.* Foley 2000, Smith 2002).

The languages of Papua New Guinea can be divided into two main groupings: Austronesian and Papuan (or non-Austronesian). The Austronesian language family, which is "(…) numerically the largest and

geographically most extended long-established language group in the world" (Wurm 1994: 93), in Papua New Guinea consists of approximately 300 languages which are spoken by relatively small speech communities. However, some Austronesian language speech communities are slightly bigger. Among them are Tolai speech community (60,000) inhabiting New Britain (*e.g.* Wurm 1979b, Wurm 1994) or Motu proper speech community (10,000) living in and near Port Moresby (*e.g.* Wurm 1979b).

Papuan languages of Papua New Guinea "(…) occupy most of the New Guinea mainland and portions of the large islands to the west and north-east of it (…)" (Wurm 1994: 93) and their number approximates to 750. The term *Papuan language family* should be treated with caution because actually this is an umbrella term, under which many groups of distantly related and unrelated languages are subsumed. The tongues belonging to this grouping are spoken all over Papua New Guinea by small tribes or clans, often having about 100 members or even fewer. Some languages, however, are used by bigger communities, the examples being Enga (approximately 180,000 speakers) of the central western Highlands (Wurm 1994), Kewa (56,000 users), Hamtai (Kapau) spoken in the provinces of Gulf and Morobe (about 40,000 speakers) (Wurm 1994), Kuman (about 80,000 speakers) in Chimbu Province (Lyovin 1997), Abulas in the Province of East Sepik (approximately 33,000 speakers) (Lyovin 1997).

As above-mentioned, Papuan language family is just a theoretical notion introduced to group languages which are non-Austronesian (and non-Australian) but which are bound by the geographical location. Such groupings are called *phyla*. A *phylum* is "(…) a language group unrelated to any other groups" (Wurm 1994: 93). The Papuan languages spoken in Papua New Guinea region are classified into phyla (or families), of which the most important are: Trans-New Guinea (about 300 languages, spoken by about 2,000,000 people), Torricelli (approximately 50 languages, spoken by 80,000 people), Lakes Plain (about 25 languages, spoken by about 5,000 people), West Papuan (15 languages, spoken by about 200,000 people), Bougainville (eight languages spoken by 40,000 speakers), Sko(u) (eight languages, spoken by 6,000 people), Sepik (there are yet no precise data as for the number of Sepik phylum languages), Lower Sepik-Ramu (there are yet no precise data; it is estimated that there are roughly 15 languages spoken by about 23,000 people), (*e.g.* Aikhenvald, Stebbins 2007: 246-250, Foley 2000: 362-267). Papuan tongues are very numerous, however, the work on their classification into phyla (or families) is probably not completed yet since, as the case might be, there are perhaps some more languages which have not been discovered by linguists yet.

The local languages of the region, probably because of their great number, are not particularly important in nation-wide communication. They are of course used in local communities but rather on a very basic level – they function as means of intratribal communication in the fields of village life, traditional and religious customs and rituals. However, some of the indigenous languages are also used in local administration. Good examples are: Enga (180,000 users), Wahgi (50,000 users), Kuman (80,000 users) or Hagen (100,000 users) (Wurm 1994).

Some of the indigenous tongues, before being adopted as local council languages, were made church lingua francas by missionaries operating in this area. The spread of religious beliefs could not have been made possible if the local languages had not been involved in this task. As rightly observed by Smith (2002: 11), "[s]ince missions were intimately concerned with communicating with native people, the language adopted for such contact was important. Many missions made an effort to investigate the indigenous languages with a view to learning them for the purpose of evangelism (…)". Among such languages were: Kâte, which was used by the Lutheran Mission in the provinces of Morobe and Madang, where local people speak more than 50 other tongues; Yabim (or Yabêm), which was also adopted by the Lutheran Mission in the Morobe Province and adjacent areas; Motu, used in mission schools on the east coast of New Guinea, especially around Port Moresby where it was adopted as a church language first by the London Missionary Society and later by the Jehova's Witnesses; Tolai, made a church lingua franca by the Methodist Mission on the islands of New Britain and New Ireland and many others (*e.g.* McElhanon 1979, Smith 2002, Wurm 1994). An interesting fact pertaining to the selection of local languages as mission lingua francas is observed by Mühlhäusler (1996: 151) who notes the following:

> It is sometimes argued that the elevation of local vernaculars to mission lingue franche helped strengthen their linguistic viability, but this claim ignores another effect of the choice of mission language, that is, their coming under the influence of expatriate and local second language speakers, with resulting dramatic structural and lexical reduction. Over time such reduction or even pidginization tends to become the basis of literacy and preaching and even the language of first language users is affected.

From the above quote emerges that choosing a particular indigenous language not only was connected with a higher prestige, in which it was vested but it also had certain negative consequences such as significant restructuring, sometimes with pidginisation as the ultimate result.

The indigenous languages, as above-mentioned, were successfully used to promote religion until 1954 when by Education Ordinance (Ross 1996) it was decided that from the year 1956 only English-speaking mission schools should receive governmental support. In fact, many schools were said to have converted into English but it is quite probable that the local mission lingua francas were still used in classrooms to help students get familiarised with new materials which were often prepared in English. A mention should also be made of the fact that several missionary lingua francas became what Wurm (1994: 96) calls "non-missionary indigenous lingua francas", to name but a few: Motu, Gogodala (in south-western Papua New Guinea), Tolai.

At this point it is important to repeat that various missionaries teaching Christianity to the indigenous peoples of Papua New Guinea played one of the most decisive roles in strengthening the status of Tok Pisin. This is supported by Mühlhäusler (1996: 153) who says that "[t]he stabilization and elevation of Tok Pisin, the most important Pidgin English of the Pacific area, was in large part due to mission policies", which is well visible in a number of translations of religious texts into Tok Pisin, including the 1969 translation of New Testament as well as in the foundation of the Catholic Church weekly magazine *Wantok*. Initially, however, Tok Pisin was not eagerly used by missionaries. For instance, during German rule each mission had its own way of approaching linguistically the indigenous population. In spreading the Gospel, they used the above-discussed vernaculars (*e.g.* Tolai). Nevertheless, in certain locations (*e.g.* in the German mission base – Alexishafen) Tok Pisin was so commonly spoken that the missionaries had no option but to accept this fact and start teaching in this language. This can be confirmed by the following quotation:

> Unfortunately we could not communicate with the people in their language. But the conversation was not halted for that reason. It was conducted in the much abused Pidgin English. It may be regretted that this foreign language serves as a lingua franca in a German colony. But considering the conditions on the Archipelago this corrupted English is a necessary evil to which the individual mist willy nilly adapt. It is spread over all islands of our South Seas Colony such that one can get by everywhere with kanaka English and communicate with totally foreign natives. (*Missionhefte* 1914, 31: 66, after: Mühlhäusler 1996: 158; translated by Mühlhäusler)

What is more, soon after their arrival in Melanesia, the Catholic missionaries realised that the local languages were of no real use for teaching Christian beliefs and values. Instead, they decided to employ Tok Pisin in more and more missionary activities. For example, in 1928, in Vunapope (East New Britain) Sunday masses in Tok Pisin were or-

ganised for plantation workers. On the Island of Manus, the Catholic priests, due to the high number of local dialects, selected Tok Pisin as a medium of Christianity. Interestingly, they even studied this language with the view of preparing teaching aids such as grammar and vocabulary guides and religious materials such as catechisms, prayer books *etc.* This, however, does not mean that Tok Pisin was the target. Just on the contrary, it was hoped that one day Tok Pisin would be substituted with some other language (Mühlhäusler 1996). Nonetheless, the trend initiated by the Catholic missionaries was not at once followed by the Protestant ones who were first quite reluctant to disseminate the religious knowledge in Tok Pisin. Finally, however, the use of Neomelanesian Pidgin English was institutionalised by the establishment of Evangelical Lutheran Church of New Guinea, in which the language in question was officially adopted as a lingua franca.

In addition, Tok Pisin has replaced many indigenous tongues and, interestingly enough, in some cases its previous role of a supplementary language has been changed to such that now the indigenous languages are used as auxiliary means of communication while Neomelanesian Pidgin English is the major medium. This happens even in the realms traditionally associated with indigenous languages which are now used merely in traditional mythology or in home conversations. It is again Mühlhäusler (1998: 82) whose comment on this seems most suitable: "[w]ithin a couple of generations Tok Pisin tends to change from an additional language, used to communicate with outsiders or on non-traditional topics, to a language catering for almost all aspects of life".

The role of Tok Pisin and other local tongues is well shown by Sankoff (1972) who investigated Buang speech community (2000 members) in the Morobe Province and the factors underlying code-switching. This community spoke a number of languages: Buang (native language for the majority of community members), Yabêm (introduced by missionaries; spoken primarily by educated speakers), Tok Pisin, English, Hiri Motu (Sankoff uses the old name: Police Motu). Her research concentrated on code-switching among three tongues: Buang, Tok Pisin and Yabêm. She analysed the conversations with two types of participants: a Buang and a non-Buang. Sankoff discovered that when a Buang talked to another Buang about some formal religious topics the three languages were used. The topics connected with national and community political affairs were discussed in Buang and Neomelanesian Pidgin. As for formal traditional situations, only Buang was used. Informal written communication took place in Tok Pisin and Yabêm. However, in everyday conversations on trivial topics – only Buang was used. So it may be concluded that among themselves, the Buang used

the three tongues but while speaking to a non-Buang, however, they spoke all of the three tongues. What is remarkable, when the non-Buang was a stranger – only the lingua franca of Papua New Guinea – Tok Pisin was used. In conversations with a known non-Buang (*e.g.* a teacher, a priest), Yabêm and Tok Pisin were used.

From Sankoff's research appears that Tok Pisin is preferred as a lingua franca because it is used not only in certain situations among the Buang but also in intertribal communication. This investigation also provided support for the view that Papua New Guinea is a land of extreme multilingualism.

In the above discussion it is evident that Papua New Guinean linguistic diversity is not only a positive feature because, as it turns out, it poses a number of communicative obstacles to overcome. It appears that were it not for Tok Pisin and English, it would be virtually impossible to communicate on a nation-wide level for the members of linguistically varied communities scattered in different parts of Papua New Guinea because of the dramatic differences in their languages. To bridge this gap, certain indigenous languages were selected, but, as rightly noted by Smith (2002: 12) "[t]oday (…) most of these languages appear to be in terminal decline as lingua francas, as English and Tok Pisin continue to expand into more domains of life".

4.3.2. Tok Pisin versus indigenous pidgins of Papua New Guinea

Owing to such a great multitude of languages and commonly occurring multilingualism (Papua New Guineans can speak three, four or even more languages), language contact has been quite frequent in Papua New Guinea. In certain cases an inevitable consequence of this language contact was the pidginisation of the indigenous languages. It should also be borne in mind that, as the case might be, only a few indigenous pidgins have come to be discovered by linguists and it might be assumed that in such a linguistically diversified country, there might be (have been) many more pidginised tongues based on the local languages. Those which have been identified are not particularly well documented and still more reliable data are needed.

One of the indigenous pidgins which have been identified in the region of Papua New Guinea is Hiri Motu. Formerly known as Police Motu because police officers were its first users (Wurm 1987), Hiri Motu is based on Motu proper, spoken around Port Moresby. In the inter-war times Hiri Motu was being promoted by Hiri Motu supporters (the members of Papua Separatist Movement) who wanted to sanction the use of this language in lieu of Tok Pisin. Although after the Second World War the number of Hiri Motu users was decreasing, the newly

created government of the independent state of Papua New Guinea decided that this tongue, along with Tok Pisin and English be the constitutional (*i.e.* official) language of the country. At present, Hiri Motu is not used on such a wide scale as it used to be and is restricted to southern and south-eastern regions of Papua New Guinea, where the number of speakers is about 200,000 (Wurm 1994). Dutton (1996: 216) adds that

> [i]n its hey-day this language was spoken throughout most of Papua [*i.e.* southern part of today's Papua New Guinea, in the past known as British New Guinea] and was the principal lingua franca of that area. Since independence, however, its importance has declined as that of Tok Pisin and English have increased.

Another indigenous pidgin of Papua New Guinea is Pidgin Dobu (Gosiagu Talk) used by several thousand people in the Milne Bay Province. Like Hiri Motu, it is based on a member of the Austronesian language family – the Dobu language (Wurm 1994).

One of the local pidgins based on indigenous Papuan tongues is Yimas Pidgin which emerged as an outcome of the trade contacts between the people of Yimas, fish suppliers, and the people of Arafundi, the sago suppliers in the Sepik Province. Wurm (1994) adds that there are actually three Yimas Pidgins: one used by the Yimas and Karawari speakers, the other used by the Yimas and Alamblak speakers, and the above-mentioned Yimas Pidgin used between the Yimas and the Arafundi. Commenting on the Yimas-Arafundi Pidigin, Foley (1988) points out that this language is very likely to die out because it is used only between two interacting parties, and what is more, it is being replaced by Tok Pisin.

A mention should also be made of various contact languages which arose among different tribes engaged in trading. Such trade languages were, for example, Mekeo-based jargons (created in the commercial contacts between the speakers of the Mekeo language and other Austronesian and Papuan tongues (Jones 1996)), Hiri trading languages of the Motu people, which arose during *hiri* – "annual trading expeditions" (Wurm 1994: 96) between the Motu and the people inhabiting the regions of the Gulf of Papua. Such Hiri trading languages were based on the local languages of the Gulf of Papua (*e.g.* Purari, Toaripi). Nowadays, however, these pidgins are almost extinct.

It has already been said a few times in this section that the role of indigenous pidgins in modern Papua New Guinean society is quite minimal. Perhaps apart from Hiri Motu, which, having been given the status of one of the three constitutionally official tongues, is still used to some extent in and around Port Moresby, almost all of such pidginised languages either are not spoken any more or are on the verge of extinc-

tion for Neomelanesian Pidgin English and English have nowadays become the most important languages of the country in which the majority of activities, at least those on the national level, are carried out. This may be attested by the words of two linguists who have done fieldwork in Papua New Guinea: by Mühlhäusler (1996: 81) who argues that "[v]irtually all the inter-village pidgins have been replaced by Tok Pisin within a couple of generations. Indigenous pidgins that were functional in the 1930s are now functionally dead" as well as by Smith (2002: 10) who is of the opinion that "(…) many of the Pidgins which may have existed in former times are likely to have died out this century under pressure from other languages of wider communication such as mission or colonial lingua francas or Tok Pisin".

4.3.3. Tok Pisin versus English

English has been present in the region of Papua New Guinea since the European colonisers set their foot in this area. They brought this language with them and used its simplified versions in communication with the indigenous people, which contributed to a large extent to the emergence of Tok Pisin.

In the past, English was prioritised over Tok Pisin as the latter was thought of as a bad and corrupted version of the former. After Papua New Guinea became independent, the attitudes to Tok Pisin underwent significant changes, which could be observed in the increasing number of domains, into which Tok Pisin has been applied. Nevertheless, English still seems to occupy a very important position among the languages of Papua New Guinea as it is used in schooling, government (at least in written documents), the majority of national newspapers and radio stations. It therefore may be said that English is the language of formal communication whereas Tok Pisin is used in less formal situations, including intercommunication among Papua New Guineas. As for the use of English and Tok Pisin in education, it is true that English constitutes a medium of secondary and tertiary schooling but, as it appears, it is also used in many primary schools. However, many schools officially teach in English but, as the case might be, the teachers also use Tok Pisin to help pupils understand the issues covered during lessons. What is more, although both English and Tok Pisin, plus Hiri Motu, are constitutional, *i.e.* official, languages, it is Tok Pisin (and to a much lesser extent, Hiri Motu) which is at the same time a national tongue. This can also be inferred from Verhaar's (Verhaar: 1995: 1) comment that: "English is not a national language but, rather, the 'official' language: it is used for the transaction of government business, in many large commercial firms, and in education".

English is viewed in Papua New Guinean society as a prestigious language. Although the following statement was made by Wurm and Mühlhäusler (1979: 247) several decades ago, it still seems to be, at least partially, true:

> (...) the standing and prestige of English continue to be very high in the eyes of the Papua New Guineans, and it also has the very special role of constituting the target and lexifying language for N[ew]G[uinea] P[idgin], especially its urban sociolect (...). English is at present used as the language of higher, *i.e.* secondary and tertiary, education, as the language of law and high-level administration, and for communications with the world outside Papua New Guinea. As the language known by and accessible to the elite of population, it is viewed by many Papua New Guineans, including parents of children at elementary school age, as the sole key to economic wealth, progress, and power, and they are eager for at least their children to become proficient in English.

A similar opinion can be found in Mühlhäusler (1996: 84), where he claims that "[a] knowledge of English is perceived as the precondition to all types of progress". This statement, like the previous one, clearly illustrates that English is still viewed as a more prestigious language than Tok Pisin and that a person having a command of it is likely to be highly respected as the one belonging to some kind of elite.

Owing to the widespread use of English, especially in urbanised areas, it is interesting to investigate whether there might be a kind of post-pidgin continuum. At first glance, it appears that all of the social conditions needed for a post-pidgin/post-creole continuum to emerge are present in Papua New Guinea. These are: (1) the presence of the standard variety of the lexifier language; (2) social mobility resulting from a changed social stratification system; (3) education in the lexifier (Siegel 1997). An attempt to research the emergence of post-pidgin varieties of Tok Pisin has been made, among others, by Romaine (1992) and Smith (1998). Romaine, whose extensive and extremely valuable fieldwork in the Papua New Guinean provinces of Madang and Morobe (1992) brought numerous linguistic data and interesting conclusions drawn from the analyses of Tok Pisin spoken in these areas, noticed that in urbanised centres, where the influence of English on Tok Pisin is particularly visible, there is a kind of continuum with several mesolects. She states that (1992: 323):

> (...) a post-creole continuum is definitely in place. In town, standard English, English spoken as second language with varying degrees of fluency, highly anglicized Tok Pisin, more rural Tok Pisin of migrants, and the creolized Tok Pisin of the urban-born coexist (...).

The intermediate varieties exhibit much code-switching, sometimes making it even impossible to decide where an utterance in Tok Pisin finishes and the other in English begins. Romaine (1992: 322) gives a number of the examples of utterances in which the above is well observable, for instance: *Mi no kisim dis wan ia. Yu/you draw/dro pato?* ("I'm not taking this one. Are you drawing a duck?"). There are, however, some problems with the orthographic representation of such texts as it is quite difficult to unequivocally decide which part belongs to English and which to Tok Pisin. Code-switching was also researched by Mühlhäusler (1991) who also observed that at times it is very difficult to notice the change from English into Tok Pisin, which can be an indication that English and Tok Pisin become more and more alike, forming a kind of post-pidgin/creole continuum.

A slightly different approach to the possible emergence of the post-pidgin continuum was taken by Smith (1998) who dealt with Neomelanesian Pidgin English spoken in the province of Manus, on the Admiralty Islands. Smith noticed heavy borrowing of lexical items from English. Such anglicisation of Tok Pisin may be due to a number of factors such as English language education, high prestige assigned to English, English status as a world's lingua franca *etc.* Smith (1998: 114) found that the influence of English was observed in Tok Pisin phonology ("(...) the phonological variants of standard forms [of Tok Pisin] show an increasing influence from English phonology (...)"), in semantics, where there is "(...) a shift of meaning, or an addition of meanings, often due to borrowing of what are already homonyms in English or what become homonyms when adapted to Tok Pisin phonology" (Smith 1998: 114), in lexicon, in which Smith (1998: 117), apart from numerous borrowed items, also found several calques of English idioms and phrasal verbs (*e.g. aptudeit* "up-to-date, fashionable", *slodaun* "slow down", *tekpat* "take part", *tek rivenj long* "take revenge on"), in morphosyntax (*e.g.* the use of the suffix *–s* as a plurality marker). It was also found that the borrowings are, in the majority of cases, integrated into Tok Pisin syntax and morphology. However, having all these features in mind, Smith does not seem to confirm the view that there is some kind of post-pidgin or post-creole. He says that (1998: 122):

> [w]hile the changes taking place may predispose the language to convergence, P[apua]N[ew]G[uinea] English and Tok Pisin as currently spoken are generally quite distinct from one another, and it would be premature to describe the situation as a post-creole or post-pidgin continuum.

In addition, Smith (2004) is of the opinion that even though certain properties of Tok Pisin may have been derived from English, it does not

imply that there are some mesolects and that there is some kind of post-pidgin variety. The evidence which could support the claim that Tok Pisin is undergoing significant changes into the direction of its lexifier is missing.

As presented above, the issue of whether there has emerged some post-pidgin/post-creole continuum has not been yet resolved. Both Romaine's and Smith's observations lead to two different conclusions and therefore at present what can only be said is that the issue of the coexistence of Tok Pisin and English, and the results of this coexistence, has yet to be more fully researched by linguists who may then reach a convincing and unequivocal conclusion.

To sum up this section and the entire discussion of the linguistic situation of Papua New Guinea, it is worth providing the words of Osamu Sakiyama (undated), a language ecologist and sociolinguist, who says the following:

> In Papua New Guinea, standard English forms the top level, followed by Papua New Guinean English. Tok Pisin and Hiri Motu are used as common languages among the various ethnic groups. Beneath these layers are the regional or occupational common languages. For example, Hiri Motu is used as the law enforcement *lingua franca* in coastal areas around the Gulf of Papua, Yabem as a missionary language along the coast of the Huon Gulf, and Malay as a trade language in areas along the border with Indonesia. On the next level are the ethnic and tribal languages used on a day-to-day basis.

4.4. Tok Pisin in Papua New Guinean society

This section is intended to cast some light on the perception of Tok Pisin in Papua New Guinean society. It concentrates on a number of issues which are relevant to the research part presented in this book as some of their reflections are looked for in the written material of *Wantok Niuspepa*. Thus the following topics are discussed: Tok Pisin variation, attitudes to Tok Pisin as well as language planning and standardisation of Tok Pisin.

4.4.1. Variation in Tok Pisin

Tok Pisin, like most languages, is not a uniform entity. It is quite diversified and its different variants can be classified according to a few criteria such as: developmental phase, region or social class. Variation can also be observed on an individual level, on which Tok Pisin speakers adjust the language use to the situation, interlocutors, goals *etc.* (*i.e.* the factors which can be summarised by the Hymes's acronym – SPEAKING (*e.g.* Hymes 1972)), forming their idiolects – systems of individual speaker's linguistic habits (*e.g.* Swann *et al.* 2004).

4.4.1.1. Variation in Tok Pisin along the continua of the pidgin/creole life cycle

In Chapter 2 it has been said that pidgins and creoles develop along two continua: developmental continuum with the increasing grammatical, lexical and functional complexity and restructuring continuum with basilectal, mesolectal and acrolectal varieties. Tok Pisin is no exception in this respect.

Being not uniform, Tok Pisin exists in a number of varieties which can be classified as different developmental stages of the pidgin/creole life cycle. In general, Tok Pisin in its pidginised form is spoken in the majority of Papua New Guinea, especially in rural regions. On the most distant islands, far away from urban centres, the indigenous people might use some rudimentary Tok Pisin. However, in some areas such as major urbanised centres or some better developed islands (*e.g.* Manus), many children acquire Tok Pisin as their first language, which means that these varieties are already creolised. Mihalic's words ([1971] 1989: xv) are a good attestation of the above:

> Linguistically Melanesian Pidgin [*i.e.* Tok Pisin] is also working its way up to creole status. Hundreds of boys and girls born and bred in the main Territory centres are now using it as their first language. In some parts of Manus Island the people prefer to let their small village languages die out and adopt Pidgin in their place.

The above distinction between pidgin Tok Pisin and creole Tok Pisin at least partially correlates with the distinction which is made on the restructuring continuum of the pidgin/creole life cycle, that is, the distinction between basilects, mesolects and acrolects. Actually, it is quite difficult to pinpoint where basilectal Tok Pisin may be spoken as this would have to be a very rudimentary version of this language. It is sometimes claimed that what is known as "Bush Pidgin" is a basilectal form but Venhaar's comment (1995: 4) that such varieties "(…) are better not considered as basilectal, since Tok Pisin there is still used less than the local vernacular" seems quite justified. Of course, the most common varieties are mesolects which are used in villages and in other locations where English is not a preferred means of communication, for example, in church. Finally, the acrolectal dialects of Neomelanesian Pidgin English, which exhibit a much greater influence from English than the mesolects, are spoken in towns and cities where English often plays a very important role. Tok Pisin acrolects, as claimed by Venhaar (1995), are also heard in Parliament and among government officials during informal conversations.

The acrolectal dialects of Tok Pisin may sometimes bear witness to the fact that the process of decreolisation is in progress. Romaine

(1994b: 19) observes that "(…) decreolisation is already well under way in urban areas" where English exerts more and more influence on the lexical and grammatical structure of Tok Pisin.

4.4.1.2. Regional variation in Tok Pisin

Regional variation in a language can be characterised as the existence of language forms specific of a region when a given dialect is spoken. This may be observable, first and foremost, in pronunciation, *i.e.* the accent. Regional varieties can also have some lexical and grammatical peculiarities not found in the standard form. Tok Pisin does not differ in this regard from other languages as there are also some regional dialects which have their own specific features. The main regional dialects of Tok Pisin are that of the Highlands (*i.e.* Highlands Tok Pisin), that of Coastal Mainland (*i.e.* Lowlands Tok Pisin) and that of the Islands (*e.g.* Mühlhäusler 1985e). The specific features, however, are not particularly pronounced and only minor "deviation" from the "standard" form can be spotted.

The regional differences among regional varieties of Tok Pisin result from a number of factors: geographical isolation (this factor, however, is claimed to be of very minor importance (*e.g.* Mühlhäusler 1979b, Mühlhäusler 1985e)), contacts with other important languages of wider communication in a particular region (*e.g.* a number of Malay items in the Tok Pisin of the West Sepik Province or certain Hiri Motu words in Port Moresby Tok Pisin), the influence of superstrate languages such as English or German (in formerly German-controlled regions, more words of German origin were found), the influence of various substrate languages spoken in a given area (*e.g.* observable in different lexical items and in different manners of pronunciation, *i.e.*, in accents).

The differences in regional varieties of Tok Pisin are primarily lexical. It appears that different lexical items are used in different regions to name concepts which are not likely to be discussed on a wider scale than a tribal one. These are usually words of low frequency. Mühlhäusler (1985e: 256) provides a number of lexical items for "navel" which he encountered in various parts of Papua New Guinea: *bitono*, *butoma*, *rop bilong bel*, *as bilong snek*. What is more, differences occur also in the words used to name newly introduced concepts, the example being "helicopter" and its various regional equivalents: *bunbalus*, *glasbalus*, *balus as bilongen no gat mit* (Mühlhäusler 1985e: 256). Another group of words which differ regionally are the items which refer to local cultures and traditions and, in most cases, they are borrowed from the local languages.

In the introduction to this section, the notion "standard" form has been used but it should be mentioned that actually there is no officially imposed standard form of Tok Pisin (Verhaar 1995). However, one dialect – that of the Province of Madang – became a kind of standard variety as, according to Mihalic ([1971] 1989), Madang was the main centre of the language which, in that particular location, was least affected by English. The Tok Pisin of the Madang Province was selected as a variety which was described by Mihalic in his often cited and referred to *The Jacaranda Dictionary and Grammar of Melanesian Pidgin* ([1971] 1989). As it turns out, this dialect is used in many publications in Tok Pisin, including the Bible and various phrase books or guide books. Verhaar (1995: 3) is of the opinion that "[t]his unofficial standard may be called the 'virtual standard' of Tok Pisin. It is in many ways already considered, for a variety of practical purposes, as the standard, even though in no way officially so far".

One type of regional variation can be observed in the dichotomy between urban and rural Tok Pisin, that is, the language of a town and the language of a village (this distinction is particularly important for the sociolectal classification, *cf.* 4.3.1.3). The urban variety is more anglicised, which can be accounted for by the fact that town dwellers receive better education as access to it is much easier and that they encounter English-speaking people more often than the villagers who speak the rural dialect. Romaine (1994b: 20) observes that "[r]ural Tok Pisin is also now seen by many as the 'real' Tok Pisin, while the urban variety is stigmatized as mixed and impure". However, she also claims that Tok Pisin is spoken in towns by about 85 per cent of town inhabitants and that Tok Pisin has become a lingua franca for the mixed population of urban areas who come from various parts of the country. Their first languages are usually so different that were it not for Tok Pisin, which is a lingua franca, it would be impossible for them to communicate. Romaine also adds that this is so because "[j]ust as Tok Pisin is nobody's first language, the town is no man's land" (Romaine 1994b: 30). Rural Tok Pisin and urban Tok Pisin differ from each other in terms of vocabulary, with the urban variety being more anglicised as well as in terms of phonology, with the urban variety having more English sounds *etc.* What is interesting, a speaker of urban Tok Pisin is able to understand the rural variety but a speaker of rural Tok Pisin does not understand the urban dialect. So, it might be claimed that mutual intelligibility between these two dialects is only unidirectional: urban dialect speakers can understand both the urban and the rural varieties while rural dialect speakers can understand only their dialect.

The regional differences in Tok Pisin are not particularly big. Interestingly enough, according to Romaine (1992: 52) "[t]he distinction

between rural and urban Tok Pisin overrides other regional differences". Mühlhäusler (1985e: 256) seems to be of similar opinion by saying the following:

> One of the main reasons for the absence of pronounced regional dialects lies in Tok Pisin being a means of communication beyond geographical and linguistic boundaries, with contacts outside a speaker's first language community. Therefore, the Tok Pisin of speakers from different language backgrounds is a compromise and highly marked idiosyncrasies have no place in 'good' Tok Pisin. High regional mobility, necessitating the use of Tok Pisin by a large number of speakers from different language backgrounds, together with the continuous pressure for intelligibility, accounts for the levelling of regional differences such as may arise in the short term. The language is a social rather than an individual solution to the problem of communication, and any innovations have to be accepted by a large number of speakers from various areas before they are adopted.

As it seems from the above quotation, Tok Pisin speakers tend to level the regional dialects so as to increase mutual intelligibility and communication. This results in few marked differences among Tok Pisin dialects. However, possible changes leading to the dialectal diversification of Tok Pisin cannot be excluded.

4.4.1.3. Social variation in Tok Pisin

The most important distinction within Tok Pisin is the one which deals with the social classification of Tok Pisin varieties. Actually, much has already been said in the previous parts of this book on variation which results, at least partially, from social criteria, however, without reference to sociolects. Now, therefore it is time to discuss different varieties of Tok Pisin in terms of their sociolectal classification.

Before discussing the sociolectal classification of Tok Pisin varieties, it seems desirable to define what is meant by the term *sociolect*. This is a dialect of a language which can be characterised by the fact that it is used in a specific social setting and by a specific social group (*e.g.* Swann *et al.* 2004) or, to put it differently, by the fact that a sociolect is determined by the social status its speakers have (*e.g.* Verhaar 1995).

The social criteria which are taken into account when determining Tok Pisin sociolects are: speaker's race, speaker's age, speaker's sex, speaker's professional status, speaker's education, urbanisation, age of learning Tok Pisin, locality, mode of Tok Pisin transmission (*e.g.* Mühlhäusler 1979b, Mühlhäusler 1985e). All of these factors, being often interrelated, have played, to a greater or lesser extent, some role in

forming the four major sociolects of Tok Pisin: Tok Masta, Bush Pidgin (also known as *Tok Pisin bilong bus* or *Tok Pisin bilong kanaka*), urban Tok Pisin (also known as *Tok skul* or *Tok Pisin bilong taun*) and rural Tok Pisin (also known as *Tok Pisin bilong (as) ples*) (Mühlhäusler 1979b: 226).

Tok Masta is a variety of Tok Pisin which can be characterised by its limited domain of use. This jargon, used mainly by colonisers, was used in the context of plantation labour or home service in giving orders and instructing the indigenous people about how to perform a particular task. Thus it was used primarily in vertical communication between the indigenous people and the masters of European origin. The white colonisers simplified English to a kind of foreigner talk, believing at the same time that Tok Masta is just a corrupted version of English (*e.g.* Romaine 1992). Nowadays, it seems that due to the changed political reality, *i.e.* Papua New Guinea being an independent state, this variety is virtually extinct.

Bush Pidgin (*Tok Pisin bilong bus* or *Tok Pisin biling kanaka*) is spoken in remote regions of Papua New Guinea where western civilisation has come only recently. The emergence of Bush Pidgin is due to the fact that until recently there was virtually no communication between the indigenous people of these regions and the modern world. This was further strengthened by poor education opportunities and those people's conservative attitude to anything that was new. Bush Pidgin was used in infrequent encounters with outsiders (*e.g.* police patrols) and this was the primary function of this variety: to enable basic communication between the indigenes and the visitors. Besides, Bush Pidgin varieties, like Tok Masta, are sometimes said to be rather "(…) collections of idiolects, *i.e.* individual solutions to the problems of cross-linguistic communication" (Mühlhäusler 1979a: 147) than means of communication within some speech communities. Such idiolects exhibit much influence from the substratum – the indigenous people's native languages. Another feature of Bush Pidgin is that its forms are transitional steps because in remote regions, such as the Highlands, new infrastructure is being built, enhancing at the same time communication with the outside world and allowing for the introduction of modern education facilities. This, in turn, makes Bush Pidgin speakers engage more often in contacts with foreigners and therefore they transform their variety towards the more standardised one, *i.e.* the rural sociolect. The replacement of Bush Pidgin with more standard varieties is strengthened by Tok Pisin-broadcasting radio stations.

Another sociolect of Tok Pisin is the above-mentioned urban Tok Pisin. This form is spoken predominantly in urban settings, including high and higher school campuses and colleges although it appears that

many speakers of Tok Pisin who have been influenced by the European style of life and thinking, for example, through education or professional training, are likely to use urban Tok Pisin even if they live or work in villages. Urban Tok Pisin is characterised by much anglicisation observed on the level of vocabulary, grammar or phonology. Urban Tok Pisin speakers attempt to model their language on the basis of the lexifier – English. This results in a diglossic situation, in which English is regarded as the high language. Urban Tok Pisin speakers usually think that by speaking a more anglicised variety they elevate their status and prestige as speaking English is considered to be prestigious and shows the speaker's advanced educational background. Another reason for the increasing level of anglicisation is that the speakers of urban Tok Pisin may have more contact with English than with any other language and they derive words and structures from English to bridge the gaps, for example, in the lexicon when new objects to be named are introduced (*e.g.* Mühlhäusler 1979b, Mühlhäusler 1985e).

The next important sociolect is rural Tok Pisin, which is sometimes considered to be "good Pidgin" (*e.g.* Mühlhäusler 1979b, Mühlhäusler 1985e). While the three other sociolects can be characterised by general linguistic instability and few (if any) clear norms regarding grammar and lexicon, rural Tok Pisin is the most stable of all. This is reinforced by the fact that it is just rural Tok Pisin which has been selected as the "standard" variety, for which orthography and grammar guides have been prepared. It is also this variety of Tok Pisin that *Nupela Testamen* was translated into or that *Wantok* newspaper is published in. Rural Tok Pisin, spoken in villages, does not exhibit such a great deal of anglicisation as the use of English is not so widespread in rural communities; nor does it show much influence from the local languages or, as claimed by Mühlhäusler (1979a: 154), rural Tok Pisin is "relatively uninfluenced by both English and local vernacular". It, therefore, may be called a basilectal variety of Tok Pisin. The grammar of rural Tok Pisin is, however, more Melanesian than English. What is more, this sociolect has numerous functions: it is used in local politics, in intertribal communication, in commerce; it has also started to be a medium of self-expression (in literature) and a marker of identity.

After the presentation of the four sociolects of Tok Pisin, it is worth coming back to the problem of mutual intelligibility among these varieties. According to Mühlhäusler (*e.g.* 1979b, 1985e), the following relations concerning mutual intelligibility have been observed:

(1) Tok Masta is not fully understood by the speakers of Tok Pisin; Tok Masta speakers usually are not able to communicate in other varieties of Tok Pisin;

(2) Urban Tok Pisin speakers can freely converse in rural Tok Pisin but rural Tok Pisin speakers cannot do it in urban Tok Pisin;

(3) Bush Pidgin is difficult to understand by the speakers of other varieties;

As emerges from the above, mutual intelligibility among the social dialects of Tok Pisin is only partial. It is striking because all of these four sociolects belong to the same language. This points to the fact that Tok Pisin is not a uniform and homogenous linguistic entity. On the contrary, it is quite variable and therefore the claim that linguistic fragmentation is one of the characteristic features of Tok Pisin is quite justified.

4.4.2. Constitutional status of Tok Pisin

It has already been said many times in the previous sections of this chapter that Tok Pisin enjoys quite a high status within the population of Papua New Guinea for a number of reasons. It is definitely a real lingua franca of the region; it is used in nation-level communication, for example, in radio broadcasts or in *Wantok* newspaper; it is used in the national parliament of Papua New Guinea as well as in some local councils; it is used in church; it is also a language of self-expression, which can be evidenced by a growing body of literature (not only of religious character) in Tok Pisin; finally it is a language which functions as a marker of identity. All of these factors show that Tok Pisin is not only an official but also a *de facto* national language of Papua New Guinea.

This high status which Tok Pisin has in Papua New Guinea may, at least partially, result from Tok Pisin being one of the three major languages of Papua New Guinea – the fact sanctioned by the regulations of *Constitution of the Independent State of Papua New Guinea*, which became effective on Independence Day – that is – on September 16, 1975. In the said Constitution, there are three important sections which are concerned with the languages of Papua New Guinea. The most important regulation concerning languages is clause (11) of Section 2 of Preamble: *Equality and participation*, which has the following wording:

> 2. Equality and participation.
> We declare our second goal to be for all citizens to have an equal opportunity to participate in, and benefit from, the development of our country.
> We accordingly call for –
> (...)
> (11) all persons and governmental bodies to endeavour to achieve universal literacy in Pisin, Hiri Motu or English, and in "tok ples" or "ita eda tano gado"; and
> (12) (...). (*Constitution of the Independent State of Papua New Guinea* 1975: 3)

The above quote bears witness to the fact that Papua New Guinea is a multilingual state. The Constitution, in this way, sanctions the official status of three languages – Tok Pisin (in the above quote: "Pisin"), Hiri Motu and English. It does not, however, stipulate which language is given priority to and, what is interesting, universal literacy can be achieved even in vernacular languages, *i.e.* "tok ples" or "ita eda tano gado" (Hiri Motu name for a vernacular language).

Another fragment of the national Constitution of Papua New Guinea which refers to languages is the one about becoming a citizen of Papua New Guinea. A person wishing to take Papua New Guinean citizenship by naturalisation, apart from other requirements, has to meet the one connected with the active command of either Tok Pisin or Hiri Motu or a vernacular language. This is evident in the following quotation of Section 67:

> 67. Citizenship by naturalization.
> (...)
> (2) To be eligible for naturalization, a person must–
> (c) unless prevented by physical or mental disability, speak and understand *Pisin* or *Hiri Motu*, or a vernacular of the country, sufficiently for normal conversational purposes; and
> (...). (*Constitution of the Independent State of Papua New Guinea* 1975: 38)

From the above clause it is clear that both the active and passive knowledge of Tok Pisin (or Hiri Motu or any other vernacular) is one of the *sine qua non* conditions for being granted the citizenship of Papua New Guinea. This stresses how important it is to speak and understand one of the languages of Papua New Guinea. What is interesting, nothing is said about English, which may be accounted for by the fact that English is not treated as a typically Papua New Guinean language and therefore its command is not so important as that of typically Papua New Guinean tongues such as Tok Pisin or Hiri Motu.

The third important provision connected with the knowledge of Tok Pisin (and other Papua New Guinean languages such as Hiri Motu or vernacular tongues) is included in Section 68, which sets forth the requirements which must be fulfilled if a person wishes to become a citizen of Papua New Guinean by naturalisation.

> 68. Special provisions relating to naturalization.
> (...)
> (2) Without limiting the matters that may be taken into account in deciding on the application for naturalization, under Section 67 (*citizenship by naturalization*) the following matters shall be taken into account in deciding on an application that is made during the first eight years after Independence Day: –

(...)

(h) the applicant's knowledge of *Pisin* or *Hiri Motu* or of a vernacular of the country; and

(...)(*Constitution of the Independent State of Papua New Guinea* 1975: 39)

Once again it is clear from the above citation that the knowledge of Tok Pisin (or Hiri Motu or one of the vernacular languages) is crucial if a person wants to become a citizen of Papua New Guinea and it seems that the command of Tok Pisin should be at quite a high level in order for an applicant to be able to understand and be understood in this tongue. However, the role of other languages should not be downplayed as from the quoted fragments it is apparent that an applicant may not have the command of Neomelanesian Pidgin English but instead has to know either Hiri Motu or some other vernacular. The active knowledge of at least one of these languages is, according to the said Constitution, taken into account when a decision on granting citizenship is being made.

All in all, it appears that the status of Tok Pisin as one of the official, *i.e.* constitutional, and national languages of Papua New Guinea is grounded in the country's Constitution. The fact that actually three languages – Tok Pisin, Hiri Motu and English – are given equal status may be justified by the country's authorities' idea not to prioritise any of the tongues. Giving such priority to one of them might have caused some social unrest stirred up by the group of speakers whose language might have been marginalised by the Constitution. This is confirmed by Smith (2002: 21), who claims that "[t]he inclusion of Hiri Motu, with a rather smaller number of speakers and more restricted range than the other national languages, was no doubt a conciliatory move at the time of independence in the face of political pressures for Papua to become a separate nation". Generally speaking, it seems that Tok Pisin and English have become the most important languages of Papua New Guinea and Hiri Motu, whose use is restricted, both functionally and geographically to the areas near Port Moresby, seems to be on the decline.

4.4.3. Attitudes to Tok Pisin

The fact that the status of Tok Pisin was sanctioned by Papua New Guinean Constitution does not necessarily mean that the attitudes to Tok Pisin have always been positive. It has been said in 4.1.2. that the attitudes towards Tok Pisin and language policies differed, depending on which country was in charge of the territory. This section presents an overview of the attitudes to Tok Pisin from about the times of independence until nowadays. As is presented below, people's view on Tok

Pisin changed in the course of time – from negative in the past to positive at present.

In the past, few Papua New Guineans were positive about the adoption of Tok Pisin as the language of their country. This resulted mainly from the fact that Neomelanesian Pidgin English was associated with the era of colonialism and social inequality. Moreover, it was deemed that Tok Pisin was not fully capable of conveying messages because it lacked certain means of doing so. Particularly negative attitudes were taken towards Tok Masta, which was the variety used in vertical communication between white masters and indigenous people who were thought of by the whites as primitive and stupid. Nowadays, this variety is not accepted because it recalls the old times of colonialism when the local population was treated as inferior to the white Europeans.

However, there were also people who belonged to the opposite camp wanting Tok Pisin to be maintained as a language of Papua New Guinea. Among them were colonialists who believed that by using Tok Pisin they were able to maintain the colonial order. Next, some indigenous people believed that the knowledge of the whites' language – as they then considered the pidgin (they referred to it as *tok waitman* – "the language of the whites" (*e.g.* Mühlhäusler 1779a)) – would bring them profits and wealth comparable to the ones enjoyed by the whites. Another group of the supporters of the use of Tok Pisin comprised scholars, especially Australian and American linguists (*i.e.* Dutton, Hall, Laycock, Wurm), who did their best to show the local communities that Tok Pisin was a significant language and not just a "caricature of English" as some people thought.

Another thing is the expatriates' attitude to Tok Pisin: many of them saw Tok Pisin merely as a bastardised version of English and in trying to speak it, they simplified their English, thinking that it was just this pidgin (Piau 1985). Moreover, such people expressed the opinions that because of such a language Papua New Guinea would never fully develop (Holzknecht 1985). This, however, is not to mean that all non-Papua New Guineans perceived this language only as a highly impoverished version of English. Some of them – especially the long-term expatriates (those who stayed in the country for a longer period of time) – *did* learn Tok Pisin, making themselves be accepted by Papua New Guineans as "members of the gang" (Piau 1985: 488). Furthermore, in Holzknecht's words (1985: 493), such long-term expatriates sometimes "(...) feel that Tok Pisin and English can exist happily side by side, being used as they are now in different but complementary contexts".

It should be added that the promotion of the use of Tok Pisin was also undertaken by various missions which, first quite reluctant to

make Tok Pisin a language of religious teaching, finally decided to evangelise in this language. This led to the translation of New Testament as well as to the foundation of *Wantok* newspaper. The positive role of missionaries can also be seen in the opening of many church schools where Tok Pisin was finally accepted as a language of primary instruction. Another important aspect of mission activity was the missionaries' active participation in the process of Tok Pisin standardisation. Their role in making a standardised spelling of Tok Pisin known to many Papua New Guineans cannot be underestimated.

Nowadays, it seems that Papua New Guineans are content to have Tok Pisin as their language. Actually, when Papua New Guinea became an independent state, the opinions on Tok Pisin dramatically changed. In 1979 – four years after gaining independence by Papua New Guinea, Wurm and Mühlhäusler wrote (1979: 247):

> In the eyes of the great majority of the indigenous population of Papua New Guinea, the status of N[ew]G[uinea]P[idgin] has increased immeasurably since self-government and independence, and the language has been elevated into social functions formerly reserved for English. It is now the almost exclusive debate language of the Papua New Guinea parliament, it is now possible for it to be resorted to in education, its use is now permitted and is very much in evidence on premises from which it was formerly barred, such as the University of Papua New Guinea. It is a sign of the importance attached to it by the Papua New Guinea government that its knowledge (or that of Hiri Motu) has been made a prerequisite for granting of Papua New Guinea citizenship.

Tok Pisin has become an important means of intercommunication inside Papua New Guinea. While English is still used as a medium of, usually formal, communication with the external world, Tok Pisin is used in less formal communication among Papua New Guineans who started to look at Tok Pisin as "(...) a means of self-identification, as something characterizing what is typically Papua New Guinean, and as the vehicle of national self-expression" (Wurm, Mühlhäusler 1979: 249). Moreover, as observed by Piau (1985), a growing number of Papua New Guineans think that Tok Pisin belongs to Papua New Guinean culture and that Tok Pisin is *their* language. The positive stance on Neomelanesian Pidgin English can also be seen in the fact that Tok Pisin speakers are also concerned about their language. This can be observed in *Wantok* newspaper, to which many letters are written concerning the correctness and purity of Tok Pisin. This fact is another indication that Papua New Guineans have started to pay more attention to their language.

By and large, it can be stated that nowadays Tok Pisin is a marker of Papua New Guinean identity. As said above, it serves as a means of self-expression, as a language of parliamentary debates as well as a

tongue used in regular intercommunication. This, however, does not mean that Papua New Guineans are so much in favour of Tok Pisin that all other languages will soon be forgotten. They seem to be very conscious and proud of Papua New Guinea linguistic diversity, which can be inferred from the following quote:

> [w]hat is striking about Papua New Guineans' attitudes to different languages which exist in their country is their strong attachment to their mother-tongues and commitment to perpetuate them, their emotional attachment to Tok Pisin, and especially their lack of resentment towards English as the colonial language. They believe, and hope, that all these different languages can co-exist and develop happily in the future Papua New Guinean society. (Holzknecht 1985: 493)

4.4.4. Language policies, language planning and standardisation of Tok Pisin: an overview

The region of Papua New Guinea is characterised by enormous linguistic complexity and therefore the question of language(s) and communication has always been important. In the past, especially before the Second World War, there were a number of different approaches to the problem of languages and to the use of Neomelanesian Pidgin English. Both German and Australian administrations made some attempts to introduce language policies, however, without much success. Basically, they aimed at eliminating the use of Neomelanesian Pidgin English and introducing German or English, respectively. Various missions also tried to construct their own language policies and in many cases they selected vernacular languages for education purposes such as evangelisation or teaching literacy. Some missions, however, used colonial languages such as English or German. After the Second World War, more precisely – in 1954 – Australian government started the implementation of language policy whose aim was to provide teaching only in English. English was selected as a medium of schooling because the policy makers thought that the use of a language spoken worldwide would strengthen the process of building Papua New Guinean state (Waters 1997). This approach was not changed until 1989 when the elementary education reforms started to be implemented as a consequence of *Literacy and Awareness Program* supervised by National Literacy and Awareness Secretariat (a section of the governmental Department of Education). The main point was the beginning of teaching at the primary level in children's vernacular language. Having mastered the basic skills like reading and writing in a vernacular dialect, a child, at the next stages of education, could start learning Tok Pisin, Hiri Motu or English. It was thought that children's education started already in the villages

where the vernacular tongue was used, that is why the primary education should be conducted in this local variety. This would facilitate the process of developing such basic abilities as reading, writing or numeracy in the situations which are recognisable to students. Then, the already advanced skills could be used while learning English which progressively becomes the medium of instruction at higher stages (*e.g.* Litteral 1999, Waters 1997). Nowadays, Tok Pisin has been acknowledged as the language of education at the earliest stages of schooling. Furthermore, each community can select the language of primary education for their children and many of them have opted for Neomelanesian Pidgin English. Besides, Tok Pisin is a medium of instruction during vocational training as well as in the schools run by church (Siegel 2009).

Due to the fact that Tok Pisin has been expanding so rapidly, becoming at the same time a first language of an increasing number of people, there has been a need to plan this language. This involves a number of things, among others, developing Tok Pisin referential adequacy, systematic adequacy as well as acceptability. The development of Tok Pisin referential adequacy is about making Tok Pisin suitable for the communicative needs of its speakers. It has to be kept in mind that for the great majority of Tok Pisin speakers this tongue is not a first language and therefore they can rely on some other vernaculars while expressing various ideas or emotions. On the other hand, however, there are more and more native speakers of Tok Pisin and Tok Pisin is their first language so its referential adequacy must be so wide that anything can be expressed in it. The expansion of Tok Pisin systematic adequacy involves certain intervention mainly in the grammatical system. Tok Pisin grammar should be maximally regular and natural. This means that there should be very few exceptions. Partially it has been achieved and regularity and naturalness can be observed, for example, in Tok Pisin morphology (*e.g. taun* "town" and *bilong taun* "urban", *kantri* "country" and *bilong kantri* "rural" *etc.* (Mühlhäusler 1985f: 599)). However, heavy borrowing from English may significantly disrupt both Tok Pisin naturalness and regularity. Another aspect of language planning is acceptability understood as positive attitudes to the language expressed by its speakers. As presented in the previous sections of this chapter, this has been achieved and nowadays the majority of the attitudes towards Tok Pisin are definitely positive.

Language planning is inextricably connected with standardisation which, as has been said in Chapter 3, is a four-element process consisting of the selection of a given variety, codification (producing dictionaries and grammar reference books), elaboration of function (making a language suitable for a whole gamut of functions it is to be used in by

expanding its vocabulary or by formalising the rules for writing and speaking) and acceptance (or implementation) by society. An important step in the standardisation of Tok Pisin was the establishment of the Committee on Languages in 1955 (Mihalic [1971] 1989) which decided that the variety spoken mainly in the Madang Province be the standard. Moreover, this body officially recognised the standard orthography – it was enacted that the one used in *Nupela Testamen* be the official spelling system. Such a standard language needed to have dictionaries and grammar books and therefore Mihalic's *Grammar and Dictionary of Neo-Melanesian Pidgin* was selected to function as a reference book. All written material in Tok Pisin was to be consistent with the rules stipulated in Mihalic's work. The 1971 edition of Mihalic' book (and its later editions) is still considered to present the norms of present-day Tok Pisin (Romaine 1994b).

The process of Tok Pisin standardisation, or more precisely – codification – was initiated by the missionaries who used this language in written materials, usually of religious character. Romaine (1992: 47) says that "(…) the use of a pidgin or creole in missionary context is often its first step on the way to becoming recognized and functioning as a standard". This has happened in Papua New Guinea where the first accounts of written Tok Pisin were religious texts such as the translations of *Nupela Testamen* or prayers. Romaine (1992) claims that the beginnings of written Tok Pisin are connected with the 1920s when the Catholic missionaries saw a great potential in Tok Pisin as a future lingua franca of the region. Soon, this was also realised by the Lutheran and Methodist missionaries who in the 1930s started to publish texts in Neomelanesian Pidgin English. A mention should also be made of the numerous propaganda leaflets, produced in Tok Pisin during the Second World War, which were distributed to the indigenous people of Papua New Guinea by the American and Japanese forces. Furthermore, after the war, a number of newspapers were published in Tok Pisin, to name but a few: *Nius bilong Yumi*, *Bouganville Nius* or *Toktok bilong Haus ov Asembli, Wantok*. It is true that the great majority of them were rather short-lived but the fact that they were in Tok Pisin is important. Even more important is the fact that *Wantok*'s influence on written Tok Pisin has been enormous and even a special *Wantok* style book was written (Romaine 1992). The use of Tok Pisin in the media is an indication that the next element of standardisation – the elaboration of function – has also been carried out. As has been said many times so far, Neomelanesian Pidgin English is now the language of radio broadcasts, political debates or informal conversation. This all leads to the next element of the process of standardisation, namely acceptance. It seems that nowadays Tok Pisin is firmly embedded in Papua New Guinean

society because it functions, among others, as a marker of Papua New Guinean nationhood. An interesting aspect of the process of Tok Pisin standardisation is that all of the four elements are interdependent. It emerges that one leads to another: the Madang (*i.e.* rural) variety was selected and this variety was subjected to codification; this consequently led to the use of this variety in the media, in parliament *etc.* Being used in such domains, Tok Pisin was finally accepted by Papua New Guineans as *their* language.

All the efforts connected with making Tok Pisin standardised have not made Papua New Guinean people completely literate. There are still numbers of people who can neither read nor write and therefore they have no access to written Tok Pisin nor to any other written language. According to a new Literacy Policy initiated by Papua New Guinean Department of Education in 2000, every Papua New Guinean should become literate in either Tok Pisin or Hiri Motu as well as in their local languages. It remains to be seen whether the new policy will turn out to be effective.

Another problem to overcome is the great variation of Tok Pisin and there are still some doubts about whether it is good that the rural variety has been standardised and not, for example, the urban dialect spoken by the elite. Nevertheless, the process of language planning and standardisation of Tok Pisin has been an important step in legitimising the use of this language. This may in the future lead to greater uniformity of this language, making rural Tok Pisin understood universally throughout the region of Papua New Guinea.

4.4.4.1. Tok Pisin orthography: sociolinguistic background

It turned out that working a single and consistent system of orthographic convention for written Tok Pisin was quite problematic. In the past, there were a number of attempts at making Tok Pisin spelling system consistent. Among many people involved in standardising the writing of Tok Pisin were various missionaries, officials and linguists. There were mainly two approaches to the problem of a single and consistent system of spelling. It was believed that Tok Pisin words should be spelled in the same way as English words were spelled. It was also thought that spelling should reflect the pronunciation of Tok Pisin sounds. Such an approach was characteristic of the missionaries grouped in Alexishafen. They were of the opinion that Tok Pisin vocabulary is in large part English and for that reason English spelling should be applied. Another camp was based in Rabaul. Its representatives thought that Tok Pisin orthography should be based on the native speakers' pronunciation and finally this way of perceiving Tok Pisin

orthography became predominant. This view was later adopted by the Committee on Languages convened in 1955. In this regard it is worth quoting Mihalic's words ([1971] 1989: 2):

> A special language committee was set up and it further recommended that the Melanesian Pidgin of one given area should be adopted as the norm. That spoken by the indigenous adults of the Madang area was chosen because Madang is the linguistic centre of Melanesian Pidgin in the Territory and its speech s still relatively unaffected by anglicisms.

The present-day orthography of Tok Pisin is based on the spelling system which was used in the translation of *Nupela Testamen*, published in 1966. The orthography of Tok Pisin applied in *Nupela Testamen* was based on the one devised by Hall – officially acknowledged in 1956 (Romaine 1994b). The fact that *Nupela Testamen* orthography was to be followed was written in the declaration of the Orthography Committee (established in 1969), co-chaired by Francis Mihalic and John Sievert (one of the translators of *Nupela Testamen*): "The spelling used in the *Nupela Testamen* (the *New Testament* in Pidgin) was declared the norm to follow" (Mihalic ([1971] 1989: xvi). What is interesting, during the preparation of standard Tok Pisin orthography, it was assumed that the standard spelling system would not affect pronunciation, which is made clear in the following citation:

> This orthography should not influence the pronunciation of Melanesian Pidgin in any way. The differences in speech in various areas will continue; as the standard orthography is an attempt to provide uniformity in writing, and not to interfere with spoken Melanesian Pidgin. (Mihalic [1971] 1989: 8)

The standard spelling system of Tok Pisin was thus introduced to provide more uniformity in the written form of the language in question and, as still can be observed, it has not made all of the spoken varieties uniform. This variation is still quite big but thanks to the standardised orthography it is possible to produce written communication which is understood by the speakers of Neomelanesian Pidgin English dialects.

Here it appears justified to say that the present-day orthography of Tok Pisin has not been officially acknowledged by Papua New Guinea authorities. However, it is undeniably a norm. It is best to quote Romaine who comments on this in the following way (1992: 49):

> Even after Independence in 1975 official recognition is lacking. The present-day orthography is, however, accepted widely as a *de facto* norm. It appears in a more recent edition of Mihalic's grammar and dictionary (...), in a course for foreign learners (...), and in *Wantok*, the weekly newspaper.

The main principles of modern Tok Pisin orthography can be summarised in the following way (*e.g.* Mihalic [1971] 1989, Venhaar 1996):

- Roman alphabet consisting of 23 letters (without *c*, *q*, *x* and *z*);
- spelling is based on pronunciation not *vice versa*;
- vowels of Tok Pisin are written as: *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u*;
- diphthongs of Tok Pisin are written as: *ai*, *au*, *oi* (*e.g. taim* "time", *maus* "mouth", *boi* "boy")
- there are no word-final voiced consonants (*e.g. rup* "rub", *hait* "hide", *bek* "bag"); so *b*, *d*, *g* in word-final positions are devoiced and hence written as *p*, *t*, *k*, respectively;
- there are no word-final consonant clusters (*e.g. amaun* "amount", *danis* "dance", *sikis* "six").

4.5. Chapter 4 recapitulation

The main goal of Chapter 4 has been to present the history and the present state of Tok Pisin. It has been demonstrated that this language has a rich history of development, the discussion of which cannot omit the social, historical and cultural factors which were very crucial in the formation of this language. Hence it can be stated that the external history of the language in question must always be referred to when Tok Pisin is quoted as an example of pidgins/creoles. Without the knowledge of the external factors influencing the growth of this pidgin, it would be impossible to determine that this language is a pidgin/creole.

Throughout its phases of development, Tok Pisin lexicon and grammar have been influenced by other languages. What can be ascertained is that Tok Pisin lexifier language is English and that some local languages of Papua New Guinea belonging to either Austronesian or Papuan language families may have affected, to a greater or lesser degree, the grammar of Neomelanesian Pidgin English. However, some other factors (*e.g.* linguistic universals, foreigner talk, language mixing) have also been given as having some influence on the development of the pidgin.

Tok Pisin has developed not only along the developmental continuum of the pidgin/creole life cycle (*i.e.* jargon, stable pidgin, expanded pidgin, creole) but also along the restructuring continuum (*i.e.* basilect, mesolect, acrolect). The constant contact with the English language results in the formation of more and more acrolectal varieties of Tok Pisin (*Tok skul* or *Tok Pisin bilong taun*). Such acrolects are heard usually in urbanised areas of Papua New Guinea where townspeople have better access to English through education or more frequent

encounters with English-speaking visitors. The more conservative variety – known as rural Tok Pisin (*Tok Pisin bilong (as) ples*) – has been selected as the standard Tok Pisin used in official written communication, in religious texts such as *Nupela Testamen* as well as in *Wantok* newspaper. Both urban and rural varieties are often discussed as the most widespread sociolects of Tok Pisin. The two other social dialects are Tok Masta and Bush Pidgin (*Tok Pisin bilong bus* or *Tok Pisin bilong kanaka*). Especially Tok Masta is often claimed to be on the verge of extinction.

Being one of hundreds of tongues of Papua New Guinea, Tok Pisin is nowadays perceived as a *true* language of Papua New Guinea. The attitudes to this language have changed from quite negative to positive. Nowadays, Tok Pisin is used in the media, in parliament or in informal conversations. The importance of this tongue is also reflected in the fact that anyone wishing to be granted Papua New Guinean citizenship is obliged to prove their knowledge of either Tok Pisin or Hiri Motu or a vernacular langue and this prerequisite is sanctioned by the Constitution of Papua New Guinea.

Being such an important language of the region, Tok Pisin has been subjected to standardisation. The standard written form of Neomelanesian Pidgin English has been described in Mihalic's *Dictionary and Grammar*, which until today has been a reliable reference book. The standardised variety of Tok Pisin is also used in *Wantok* newspaper – one of the most important national newspapers of Papua New Guinea, which constitutes the basis for the analyses presented in the subsequent two chapters.

To conclude, the external and internal history of Tok Pisin can be said to be a perfect example of a history of a pidgin/creole because, first of all, it shows that Neomelanesian Pidgin English is a genuine product of interlinguistic contacts; secondly, it demonstrates that this language developed from a very rudimentary jargon into an expanded pidgin or even a creole; and thirdly, it points out that provided there is such a need, even a simple language (as Tok Pisin initially was) can be put into the functions which have traditionally been reserved for "high" languages such as English, French, German or Spanish.

CHAPTER 5

TOK PISIN IN *WANTOK*: SELECTED ASPECTS OF LEXICON AND GRAMMAR AND THEIR STANDARDISATION

Chapter 5 and Chapter 6 constitute the major research part of the present book. This chapter presents selected aspects of Tok Pisin lexicon and grammar. The material which has been used as the illustration of different statements made throughout this chapter comes from the research corpus. It is the research corpus that the first part of this chapter is devoted to. As it is important to describe the materials upon which Chapter 5 and Chapter 6 rest, a brief mention is made of *Wantok* newspaper itself as well as on its structure. Then, the corpus under analysis is presented and the general methodology of the research parts presented both in Chapter 5 and Chapter 6 is briefly outlined.

The second part of Chapter 5 presents some issues of Tok Pisin orthography, lexicon and grammar. First of all, Tok Pisin spelling system is discussed in terms of its conformity to the norms stipulated for what is know as *standard Tok Pisin*. From this part, it follows that the Neomelanesian Pidgin English of *Wantok* is a good example of the standard variety. Secondly, some aspects of Tok Pisin lexicon are touched upon. To show that Tok Pisin is a living language, the mechanisms of Tok Pisin lexicon expansion have been briefly analysed. It turns out that borrowing from English is one of the most productive word-formation mechanisms which is employed to enrich the vocabulary of Tok Pisin. Thirdly, Tok Pisin parts of speech are discussed. The scope of this discussion has been narrowed down to the major categories: noun, verb, personal pronoun, adjective and adverb as well as preposition. This analysis has led to a few interesting observations such as the one about the use of the suffix –s or the expansion of Tok Pisin prepositional system by the emergence of the new preposition – *ov*, known primarily in the urban variety of Tok Pisin.

In the next section, an attempt is made to investigate *Wantok* headlines which are written in Tok Pisin. It becomes evident that whereas the vocabulary used in headlines complies well with the standard variety norms, the grammar is slightly simplified with very few grammatical markers used.

Afterwards, some preliminary remarks are made on the emerging registers of Tok Pisin which are used in *Wantok*. It seems that these

registers differ from one another primarily in terms of the lexicon they are characterised with because the applied grammar is rather invariant.

The final part of Chapter 5 offers a summary of all observations made with reference to the influence of English on the Tok Pisin of *Wantok*. It seems that this influence is evident not only in lexicon – which is an obvious fact since English is the lexifier of Neomelanesian Pidgin English – but also in certain aspects of Tok Pisin grammar. This influence usually has the form of the borrowing of certain English patterns.

In general, Chapter 5 aims at showing that Tok Pisin, despite the status of a pidgin language, is still rapidly developing and that its lexical and grammatical resources are becoming more and more complex. Moreover, this part of this book also has the purpose of examining the Tok Pisin of *Wantok* in terms of its conforming to the norms of the standard variety described in Mihalic ([1971] 1989) and in Verhaar (1995). The analysis shows that it does.

5.1. *Wantok* newspaper – background information

Wantok newspaper, whose full name is *Wantok niuspepa bilong yumi ol Papua Niugini stret* ("just our Papua New Guinean Wantok newspaper"), was established in 1967 as a weekly written in Tok Pisin. Due to the fact that it was founded by the Catholic missionaries, much of the material published in this newspaper is devoted to the issues of religion. What is more, the focus on the religious matters may, at least partially, result from the fact that the company publishing *Wantok* is managed by the Board of Directors consisting of the members of the four main churches in Papua New Guinea (Roman Catholic Church, Lutheran Church, Anglican Church and United Church). Thanks to the funds granted by the churches, *Wantok* can actively participate in the social life of Papua New Guinea by taking part in different social projects related with the religious life, with the issues of health and education, with the problems of Papua New Guinean women as well as with other community schemes (http://www.wantokpng.org/; accessed in 2009).

According to the data published on the official Internet site of *Wantok* (http://www.wantokpng.org/; accessed in 2009), each week the newspaper is published in more than 12,000 copies. Some of the copies (4,000 copies) are distributed free of charge to hospitals, schools, local governments, churches *etc.* 6,500 copies are bought by Papua New Guineans and the remaining 1,500 are sold in the form of regular subscription (http://www.wantokpng.org/; accessed in 2009).

This newspaper is directed primarily to the speakers of the rural variety of Tok Pisin because this form of Neomelanesian Pidgin English

is used throughout the newspaper. The idea of using rural Tok Pisin was made clear in the leading article of the issue published on August 5, 1970. It goes as follows:

> *Tok Pisin em i tok bilong yu (…) inap nau i gat kain tok i save kamap long tok pisin. Tasol husat inap ritim? Em i hapkas tok pisin tasol. Man i hatwok long ritim. Dispela niuspela Wantok em bai i spik olsem wantok tru bilong yu, em i no tanim tok pisin. Nogat. Em i tok olsem yu yet yu tok.*
> [Tok Pisin is your language. There are already a lot of words coming into Tok Pisin now. But who can read them? That's half-caste Tok Pisin. It takes a lot of effort to read. This newspaper, *Wantok*, will speak as a true *wantok* [friend] of yours. It won't transform Tok Pisin. Never. It speaks as you yourself speak.] (Romaine 1992: 50-51)

What is more, as written on the official Internet site (http://www.wantokpng.org/; accessed in 2009) "[o]ne of our [*Wantok* staff's] aims is to try and standardize [T]ok [P]isin and to reach as wide an audience as possible" and "We tell people of products and services in the language every Papua New Guinean understands – Tok Pisin". From these statements, it is evident that *Wantok* puts much stress on the issues connected with the language matters, especially standardisation.

5.1.1. *Wantok* newspaper contents

As above-mentioned, *Wantok* newspaper is a weekly newspaper which covers numerous issues, not only those which are important for Papua New Guinea but also those concerning the whole world. *Wantok* was founded by the Catholic missionaries and therefore there are quite many articles devoted to the questions of religion, religious customs *etc.*

The great majority of articles are written in Tok Pisin. The only parts of *Wantok* which are published in other languages are the monthly supplement *Gavamani sivarai – A Government Newspaper on Development Information for PNG* published mostly in English (some articles are also translated into Tok Pisin and Hiri Motu) as well as some advertisements, public notices and announcements. The fact that Tok Pisin and English (the use of Hiri Motu is marginal) are used in *Wantok* contributes to the emergence of a kind of diglossia (*cf.* Chapter 6).

Each issue of *Wantok* is divided into a number of sections, many of which are published every week. Among them are sections devoted to various kinds of news. The news concerning the regions of Papua New Guinea – Highlands, Islands, Momase, Papua and Bougainville – is presented in the sections *Hailans nius* ("Highlands news"), *NGI nius* ("New Guinea Islands news"), *Momase nius* ("Momase news"), *Sauten nius* ("Southern news" ["Papuan region news"]), *Bogenvil nius* ("Bougainville news"), respectively. General news about Papua New Guinea is

given in *Nius* ("News") and, if a given topic is related to the global issues, it is put in *Wol nius* ("World news"). Sometimes current affairs are also commented on in *Komentri* ("Commentary"). What is more, the information about what is going on in the world, in particular in the countries of the Pacific (*e.g.* Australia, Fiji, Papua New Guinea, Samoa *etc.*) as well as in the world is also provided in *Radio Australia Tok Pisin News* – a section prepared by Radio Australia journalists. Economic issues are discussed in *Bisnis nius* ("Business news"). *Wantok* journalists touch upon numerous social issues which are grouped under the following headings: *Meri Nius/Nius bilong ol meri* ("Women's news"), *Helt na edukesen* ("Health and education"), *Laipstail* ("Lifestyle"). As above-mentioned, *Wantok* is owned and managed by church authorities and therefore there is a strong emphasis on church issues which are discussed in *Sios nius* ("Church news"). Another important topic undertaken in *Wantok* is sport and sport news is published in a few sections such as: *Spot/Spots nius* ("Sport"/"Sport news"), *NRL nius* ("National Rugby League news"), *Spot laipstail*" ("Sport lifestyle"), *Spot dro na poto/Spot dro na nius* ("Sport draws and photos"/"Sport draws and news"), *Ovasis spot nius* ("Overseas sport news"). The other thematic categories of the articles published in *Wantok* are cultural news. The following sections present information on cultural issues: *Musik/TV*, *Musik/TV gaid* ("Music/TV"/"TV guide"), *Musik/muvi* ("Music/film"). *Wantok* targets at Tok Pisin speakers who are just ordinary people, living mostly in rural areas. *Wantok* readers can ask *Wantok* for information or help and some of their letters are published in the section *Ol pas* ("Letters"). *Wantok* is also a forum for informing the society about governmental actions. The section *Advatismen/Edvetismen* ("Advertisements", "announcements") provides *Wantok* readers with the information on, for example, community projects, changes of bank rates, elections *etc.* Occasionally, additional sections are included in *Wantok*. For instance, in the last issue of *Wantok* (1589) in 2004, published for the week December 30, 2004-January 05, 2005, the journalists commented on the past events of 2004 in such sections as: *Nius* ("News"), *NGI lukluk bek* ("New Guinea Islands look back"), *Momase lukluk bek* ("Momase looks back"), *Hailans lukluk bek* ("Highlands looks back"), *Sauten lukluk bek* ("Papuan region looks back"), *Politiks lukluk bek 2004* ("Politics looks back on 2004"), *Meri nius lukluk bek 2004* ("Women news looks back on 2004"), *Sios lukluk bek 2004* ("Church looks back on 2004"), *Helt na edukesen lukluk bek 2004* ("Health and education look back on 2004"), *Musik lukluk bek 2004* ("Music looks back on 2004"), *Musik/TV lukluk bek 2004* ("Music/TV looks back on 2004"), *Bisnis lukluk bek 2004* ("Business looks back on 2004"), *Spot lukluk 2004* ("Sport

looks back on 2004") and others. As it seems, this issue was devoted chiefly to the presentation of the most important issues of 2004.

Other sections of *Wantok* which appear from time to time are: *Lukim PNG poto* (*Wantok* 1615) ("Looking at the photos of Papua New Guinea"), *HIV/AIDS tok* (*Wantok* 1558) ("Information about HIV/ AIDS"), *Raun long ovasis* (*Wantok* 1558) ("Around overseas"), *Poto nius* (*Wantok* 1558) ("Photo news"), *Riviu long wik* (*Wantok* 1657) ("Review of the week"), *Pasifik nius* (*Wantok* 1641, *Wantok* 1657) ("Pacific news"), *Rurel indastri* (*Wantok* 1657) ("Rural industry"), *Kalaring kompetisen* (*Wantok* 1592) ("Colouring competition"), *Helpim Esia* (*Wantok* 1592) ("Helping Asia"), *Advertorial* ("Advertorial") and many others.

From the above short review of the names of *Wantok* sections emerges that this newspaper covers nearly all important social issues – from religious matters, through world news and business news to sport news and cultural issues. It therefore constitutes a good research material for it may serve as a basis for the examination of such aspects as lexical and grammatical properties of *Wantok* Tok Pisin, lexical and grammatical properties of headlines in Tok Pisin, Tok Pisin orthographic conventions adhered to in *Wantok*, the influence of English on *Wantok* Tok Pisin as well as the functions of language exhibited by the use of Tok Pisin in *Wantok* and the criteria for language choice in this newspaper. All of these issues are discussed in Chapter 5 and Chapter 6.

5.2. Corpus and general research methodology

The corpus which constitutes the basis for the research presented in this book consists of 14 issues of *Wantok* from 2004 (three issues), 2005 (eight issues), 2006 (three issues). Totally, the corpus includes more than 500 pages of texts. The copies of *Wantok* were obtained by the author himself directly from *Wantok* editor's office in 2006 by post. Since *Wantok* is not published online, it was not possible to make use of electronic copies. The following issues belong to the corpus:

- *Wantok*, no. 1556 (May 13, 2004)
- *Wantok*, no. 1558 (May 27, 2004) + *Gavamani sivarai*, vol. 01, no. 03 (a separate supplement)
- *Wantok*, no. 1589 (December 30, 2004)
- *Wantok*, no. 1592 (January 20, 2005)
- *Wantok*, no. 1595 (February 10, 2005) + *The Catholic Reporter*, no. 27 (a separate supplement)
- *Wantok*, no. 1597 (February 24, 2005)
- *Wantok*, no. 1601 (March 24, 2005)
- *Wantok*, no. 1613 (June 16, 2005)

- *Wantok*, no. 1615 (June 30 , 2005)
- *Wantok*, no. 1616 (July 07, 2005) + *Gavamani sivarai*, vol. 02, no. 06 (a separate supplement)
- *Wantok*, no. 1628 (September 29, 2005)
- *Wantok*, no. 1641 (January 05, 2006) + *Gavamani sivarai*, vol. 02, no. 13 (a separate supplement)
- *Wantok*, no. 1645 (February 02, 2006) + *Gavamani sivarai*, vol. 03, no. 01 (a separate supplement)
- *Wantok*, no. 1657 (April 27, 2006)

Whenever a reference is made to a particular issue of *Wantok*, the issue number is given (*e.g. Wantok* 1645).

All the issues touched upon in Chapter 5 and Chapter 6 were examined by means of linguistic observation. This means that all corpus materials were carefully studied and to exemplify particular phenomena, the author selected representative samples. The translations were made by the author himself with the help of the following reference books: Mihalic, Frank S.V.D. ([1971] 1989) *The Jacaranda Dictionary and Grammar of Melanesian Pidgin*. Milton, Brisbane: The Jacaranda Press and Verhaar, John, W. M. (1995) *Towards a reference grammar of Tok Pisin. An experiment in corpus linguistics*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press as well as with the help of *Freelang Tok-Pisin and English-Tok Pisin online dictionary* (http://www.freelang.net/online/tok_pisin.php?lg=gb; accessed in 2008 and 2009) and checked by a native speaker of Tok Pisin.

5.3. Tok Pisin of *Wantok*: selected issues of orthography, lexicon and grammar; an attempt at the assessment of *Wantok* Tok Pisin against the standard variety

This section present the analysis which aims at examining whether the Tok Pisin of *Wantok* really conforms to the norms, by which the standard variety of Tok Pisin is defined. As the reference books which have been the prime sources of standard Tok Pisin norms, the following works have been consulted: Mihalic's *The Jacaranda Dictionary and Grammar of Melanesian Pidgin* ([1971] 1989), Verhaar's *Towards a reference grammar of Tok Pisin. An experiment in corpus linguistics* (1995).

5.3.1. Orthography of *Wantok* Tok Pisin: a few remarks

The following section provides the examples of the norms set in the above-mentioned reference dictionary and grammar. It also needs to be said that the examples given below are not provided with references as these are usually common words and they appear universally in the

corpus. If, however, some exceptional example is given, it is provided with a reference to its source. Already at the outset it can be said that *Wantok* is written in Tok Pisin whose spelling system conforms to the rules laid down in *The Jacaranda Dictionary and Grammar of Melanesian Pidgin* ([1971] 1989).

Tok Pisin has only five vowels which are always written in the same way. These vowels are:

- **/a/** (*e.g.* _amamas_ ("to enjoy", "joy"), _baset_ ("budget"), *dokta* ("doctor"), *Krismas* ("Christmas"), _man_ ("man", "husband", "person"), _na_ ("and"), _planti_ ("much", "many"), _salim_ ("to sell", "to send"), _sapot_ ("support"), _save_ ("to know", "knowledge") *etc.*);
- **/e/** (*e.g.* _bilien_ ("billion"), *dispela* ("this"), _em_ ("he", "she", "it", "him", "her", "them", "this" "that"), _hevi_ ("problem", "responsibility", "tired"), _memba_ ("member"), _meri_ ("female", "woman"), *pipel* ("people"), _ples_ ("place", "village"), _pren_ ("friend"), _yet_ ("self", "still", "yet") *etc.*);
- **/i/** (*e.g.* _bilong_ ("of", "belong" "for"), _birua_ ("enemy"), *kantri* ("country"), _kilim_ "(to kill", "to hurt"), _kisim_ ("to get", "to obtain"), _meri_ ("female, "woman"), _mista_ ("mister"), *ovasis* ("overseas"), _siti_ ("city"), , _sosaiti_ ("society"), *etc.*);
- **/o/** (*e.g.* _bilong_ ("of", "belong" "for"), _go_ ("to go"), _lo_ ("law") _moa_ ("more"), _nogat_ ("nothing", "no"), _ol_ (plurality marker, "old"), _olsem_ ("similar", "thus") _polis_ ("police", "to polish", "to shine"), _tok_ ("word", to speak"), _wol_ ("world") *etc.)*;
- **/u/** (*e.g.* _balus_ ("airplane"), _bung_ ("meeting"), _brukim_ ("to break"), _gutpela_ ("good"), "), _kuk_ ("to cook", "cook"), _muv_ ("to move"), *Papua Niugini* ("Papua New Guinea"), _sunami_ ("tsunami"), _tumbuna_ ("grandfather", "ancestor"), _yumi_ (plural second person personal inclusive pronoun "we" – "you and me") *etc.*).

As can be seen from the above, Tok Pisin vowels appear in different positions in words and although many of these lexemes come from English, their spelling is not that of English but that of standard Tok Pisin, which is based on a native Papua New Guinean's pronunciation.

Tok Pisin has also three diphthongs which are also written always in the same way and, like vowels, can appear word-initially, -medially and -finally:

- **/ai/** (*e.g.* _ailan_ ("island"), _bai_ ("shall", "will"), _dai_ ("to cease", to die" "dead"), _kain_ ("kind", "sort"), _nait_ ("night"), _orait_ ("good", "okay"), _praim_ ("prime"), _sait_ ("side"), _sosaiti_ ("society"), _taim_ ("time"), *etc.*);
- **/au/** (*e.g.* _akaun_ ("account"), _ausait_ ("outside"), _haus_ ("house"), _rausim_ ("to be outside", "to expel") _sindaun_ ("to sit down", "to live"), *tokaut* ("to report", "to tell") *etc.*);

- **/oi/** (*e.g. boi* ("boy"), *boinim* ("to burn"), *droim* ("to draw"), *joinim* ("to join") *etc.*);

The orthography of Tok Pisin consonants is similar to that of English with only a few differences. One of such differences is that /b/, /d/ and /g/ when used word-finally are written as /p/, /t/ and /k/, respectively (*e.g. bilip* ("believe"), *sait* ("side"), *pik* ("pig"). Mihalic's dictionary stipulates that the sound /ʤ/ is written as /j/ only when used word-initially (*e.g. jenerel* ("general"), *Jisas* ("Jesus"), *Jun* ("June")). Mihalic ([1971] 1989: 8) says that in the positions other than word-initially the sound /ʤ/ is written as /s/, as in *jus* ("judge") or *menese* ("manager"). All other spellings, even such as the one found in *Wantok – evanjelikel* ("evangelical"), *rijen* ("region") or *rijinel* ("regional") – should be changed into that with the letter /s/ in all positions but word-initially. Yet another interesting difference concerns two sounds and graphemes /p/ and /f/. It happens quite often that what in English is pronounced and spelt with /p/ in Tok Pisin becomes /f/ as in *laip* ("life"), *pela* ("fellow"), *pren* ("friend") *etc.*

An important aspect of Tok Pisin orthographic system is the spelling of words which have been recently borrowed from English. It is advised by Mihalic ([1971] 1989) that such graphemes and grapheme combinations as /c/, /qu/ and /x/ be replaced with the ones which belong to Tok Pisin alphabet. It seems that this rule is generally adhered to, which can be exemplified by the following words: *eksekyutiv* ("executive"), *kaunsil* ("council") or *kwik* ("quick").

What is more, Mihalic also advises not to insert an additional vowel in consonant clusters which might be difficult to pronounce for a Melanesian (*e.g. st, sp, sk, pl, fl, bl etc.*). Of course such inserted vowels *do* appear in the spoken variety of Tok Pisin but they should not in the written variety. Basically this is so in *Wantok* although two departures from this rule have been found. These are: *kilok* ("clock") (*e.g. Wantok* 1592: 21), the standard version of which is *klok* and *silip* ("sleep") (*e.g. Wantok* 1556: 1), the standard version of which is *slip*.

Another interesting aspects of *Wantok* orthography is its duality. It means that certain words can be written in two ways. The English word "bank" is written both as *beng* (*e.g. Wantok* 1641: 21) as well as *benk* (*e.g. Wantok* 1595: 6) whereas only the former is given in Mihalic's dictionary. The same has been observed with respect to Tok Pisin spelling of the names of languages: sometimes a capital letter is used, sometimes not, as in *tok pisin vs. Tok Pisin* and *inglis vs. Inglis*. Other instances of the duality of spelling are *advatismen* and *edvetismen* ("advertisement"), *Englan* and *Inglan* ("England") as well as *foren afes* and *foren afeas* ("foreign affairs"). It should be borne in mind that Tok Pisin or-

thography is based on pronunciation so it might be so that the two slightly different manners of pronunciation are reflected in the two ways of spelling. The two forms of the above-mentioned words/phrases are used rather regularly in *Wantok* so it may be concluded that both versions are acceptable.

To sum up, it can be claimed that Tok Pisin orthography as applied in *Wantok* generally complies with the norms of standard Tok Pisin orthography described by Mihalic ([1971] 1989) and that due to the fact that spelling is based on pronunciation sometimes two spelling variants can be used without violating the norms of the standard variety.

5.3.2. Tok Pisin lexicon: selected aspects (on the basis of *Wantok*)

The analysis summarised in this section focuses on two aspects. First of all, it aims at investigating the word-formation mechanisms which are responsible for the expansion of the lexicon of Tok Pisin. The fact that Tok Pisin is used in a newspaper can indicate that its lexicon is highly expanded and that a variety of word-formation processes might be involved in this expansion. It seems, however, that not all such processes are productive in Tok Pisin lexicon. The theoretical frameworks of this analysis are those applied in Walczyński (2005) and the examples provided in this section come from the research corpus. The second aspect concerns the general characteristics of the vocabulary of *Wantok*. Throughout this section there are some remarks about the influence of English on Tok Pisin.

5.3.2.1. Tok Pisin lexicon expansion mechanisms

Pidgin languages are generally characterised as having a rather limited stock of vocabulary which is sufficient to talk only about a restricted range of domains (such as trade or plantation labour). Tok Pisin is quite different from other pidgins in this respect because it has developed its vocabulary to such an extent that topics which do not belong to the traditional domains, in which pidgins are used, can be discussed by means of this language. In this section, attention is paid primarily to one aspect: on the basis of *Wantok* an attempt is made to examine whether – apart from borrowing – other word-formation mechanisms are used in Tok Pisin. This analysis may provide some evidence to the claim that Tok Pisin can enrich its lexicon not only by borrowing from English but also by other word-formation processes. Before the presentation of the findings, it must be once again stated that owing to the widespread use of the words chosen as illustrations, no references are given. However, if the case seems to be in some way exceptional, it is always provided with a reference.

As claimed before, Tok Pisin lexicon is based to a large extent on the vocabulary derived from English. Hence borrowings from English constitute the greatest part of Tok Pisin lexicon and the linguistic process of borrowing (from English) seems to be the most common path of Tok Pisin lexicon expansion. Most prominent in this respect seem to be recent borrowings from English which are identified in those fields of social life which are new to Papua New Guineans such as the new system of government, more intense relations with other countries, the media's bigger influence on social life, the development of business sectors, the introduction of western culture (or, broadly speaking, western civilisation) *etc.* Thus the new reality which started after Papua New Guinea gained independence in 1975 has contributed to the more extensive borrowing from English since there was a need to name the concepts so far absent from the traditional culture of Papua New Guinea. Among the borrowings from English which can be claimed to be rather recent are:

(1) *akaun* (← *account*), *alaiens* (← *alliance*), *ambulens* (← *ambulance*), *bai ileksen* (← *by-election*), *baset* (← *budget*), *CD pilaia* (← *CD player*), *digitol amplifaia* (← *digital amplifier*), *eksekyutiv* (← *executive*), *emejensi* (← *emergency*), *etiks* (← *ethics*), federesen (← *federation*), *fiskel* (← *fiscal*), *gavman* (← *government*), *ilektorel rol* (← *electoral roll/register*), *independens* (← *independence*), *jenerel asembli* (← *general assembly*), *kempen* (← *campaign*), *komyuniti* (← *community*), *koporesen* (← *corporation*), *korapsen* (← *corruption*), *kwolifikesen* (← *qualification*), *lida* (← *leader*), *lidasip* (← *leadership*), *nait klab* (← *night club*), *odit* (← *audit*), *otonomi* (← *autonomy yunivesiti* (← *university*), *pablik riviu* (← *public review*), *pati* (← *party*), *praim minista* (← *prime minister*), *ripot* (← *report*), *riteil stoa* (← *retail store*), *teknoloji* (← *technology*), *TV skrin* (← *TV screen*),*woksop* (←*workshop*) *etc.*

Another word-formation process which has been responsible for the expansion of Tok Pisin vocabulary is affixation (derivation). Actually, affixation encompasses three processes: prefixation, suffixation and infixation. In the material under analysis, the most common derivational process is suffixation. The suffix *–im* is added to a verb to make it transitive. It appears that the lexical base from which a transitive verb can be formed by means of the suffix *–im* can be a noun, a verb, an adjective, an adverb or a preposition. The following set of Tok Pisin transitive verbs illustrates this mechanism of word-formation:

(2) *amamasim* ("to be proud of", "to enjoy") (← *amamas* ("joy", "to be happy")), *bagarapim* ("to break", "to injure", "to ruin") (← *bagarap* ("injured", "tired", "weak")), *bihainim* ("to copy", "to follow", "to imitate") (← *bihain* ("behind", "later")), *brukim* ("to break") (← *bruk* ("broken")), (*bungim* ("to gather or collect", "to meet") (← *bung* ("assembly", "meeting", "to assemble", "to gather together", "to meet")), *kaikaim* ("to bite", "to destroy") (← *kaikai* ("food", "meal", "to eat")), *kamapim* ("to originate", "to found", "to invent", "to reveal") (← *kamap* ("to appear", "to rise", to begin", "to come to")), *laikim* ("to like", "to love", to want") (← *laik* ("desire", "love", "wish", "to like to", "to want to")), *lukautim* ("to look after", "to take care of") (← *lukaut* ("to look out", "to look after", "to take care of")), *lusim* ("to leave", "to lose", "to spend") (← *lus* ("to be lost", "to be loose")), *makim* ("to appoint", "to imitate" "to mark") (← *mak* ("mark", "sign")), *paulim* ("to mix up", "to twist") (← *paul* ("to be mixed up", "twisted")), *rausim* ("to remove", "to expel") (← *raus* ("to get out", "to be expelled")) *ripotim* ("to report") (← *ripot* ("report", "to report")), *sapotim* ("to back", "to support") (← *sapot* ("support")), *skelim* ("to weigh", "to balance") (← *skel* ("to be balanced", "ration", "scale")), *soim* ("to show") (← *so* ("show", "fair", "display")), *statim* ("to begin", "to start") (← *stat* ("to start", "to begin", "start", "beginning")), *stretim* ("to correct", "to put in order", "to straighten") (← *stret* ("correct", "even", "right", "smooth", "straight")), *strongim* ("to promote") (← *strong* ("hard", "strong", "thick")), *tingim* ("to keep in mind", "to remember", "think of") (← *ting/tingting* ("idea", "memory", "mind", "thought", "to reflect", "to think")) *etc.*

Some transitive verbs, however, are not derived from any other lexeme; they seem to have only the transitive form as they always require an object to follow them. Among such transitive verbs with the suffix *–im* are:

(3) *askim* ("to ask"), *bringim* ("to bring", "to take"), *givim* ("to give", "to offer"), *harim* ("to hear", "to listen to", "to perceive", "to understand"), *helpim* ("to help"), *kilim* ("to beat", "to kill"), *kisim* ("to catch", "to get", "to obtain", "to take"), *mekim* ("to cause", "to make"), *painim* ("to discover", to find"), *salim* ("to sell", "to spend") *etc.*

Another suffix which Tok Pisin makes use of is *–pela* which is added to certain adjectives, numerals and pronouns. Adjectives with

the suffix –*pela* can be used both attributively as well as predicatively. The following examples illustrate the suffix –*pela* in adjectives:

(4) *bikpela* ("big"), *gutpela* ("good"), *klinpela* ("clean"), *naispela* ("nice"), *nupela* ("new"), *olpela* ("old"), *retpela* ("red") *strongpela* ("strong"), *trupela* ("real"), *yangpela* ("young") *etc.*

A note must be made that the adjectives in (4) are monosyllabic and that they always take the suffix –*pela* when used attributively. There are some other categories of adjectives which do not need this suffix and these are irregular adjectives such as *bruk* ("broken"), *klia* ("clear"), *kros* ("angry"), *les* ("tired") as well as polysyllabic adjectives such as *giaman* ("false"), *Inglis* ("English"), *rabis* ("poor"), *redi* ("ready"), *yelo* ("yellow"). Tok Pisin adjectives, when used predicatively, may be suffixed but this is not obligatory.

Next, the suffix –*pela* is used in cardinal numerals which, as Mihalic ([1971] 1989: 20) claims, are "numerical adjectives". The corpus contains many such numerals:

(5) *wanpela* ("one"), *tupela* ("two"), *tripela* ("three"), *faivpela* ("five"), *sevenpela* ("seven") *etc.*

or written in a slightly different fashion:

(6) *8-pela* ("eight"), *11-pela* ("eleven"), *12-pela* ("twelve"), *18-pela* ("eighteen") *etc.*

As above-mentioned, the suffix –*pela* is also attached to personal, demonstrative and indefinite pronouns which are also quite frequently used in *Wantok*. This can be illustrated by the following examples:

(7) *mipela* ("we"; first person plural pronoun), *mitupela* ("we two"; exclusive first person plural pronoun), *yumitupela* ("we two"; inclusive first person plural pronoun), *yupela* ("you"; second person plural pronoun), *yutupela* ("you two"; second person plural pronoun), *dispela* ("this", "that") *wanpela* (equivalent to English indefinite articles "a/an"), *narapela* ("other"; indefinite pronoun), *sampela* ("some"; indefinite pronoun)

As shown above, both –*im* and –*pela* are quite productive suffixes as they are used quite frequently to derive new words, whereby the lexicon of Tok Pisin is expanded. Apart from the two suffixes, one more is particularly interesting. The suffix –*s* appears to be used to mark plurality, as in (8):

(8) *Sauten Hailans* ("Southern Highlands") (*Wantok* 1597: 3), *vidio hits* ("video hits") (*Wantok* 1597: 20), *100 yias* ("100 years")

(*Wantok* 1616: 7), *Solomon Ailans* ("Solomon Islands") (*Wantok* 1616: 16), *30 yias* (*Wantok* 1628: 16-17), *bisnis stadis* ("business studies") (*Wantok* 1645: 17), *grasruts* ("grassroots") (Wantok 1645: 25), *Solomons* ("Solomons, the inhabitants of the Solomon Islands") (*Wantok* 1657: 1), *opisols* ("officials") (*Wantok* 1657: 27), *spots* ("sports") (*Wantok* 1657: 32)

In the case of such proper names as *Sauten Hailans* or *Solomon Ailans*, the use of the suffix *–s* may be justified by the fact that these names were probably borrowed from English and their plural forms have not been changed into the typically Tok Pisin ones. In other cases, however, the use of the suffix *–s* to mark plurality might be a new innovation in Tok Pisin as the general rule is that plurality is marked by *ol* as in *ol meri* ("women"), *ol kar* ("cars"), *ol pikinini* ("children").

Affixation, as discussed above, is quite a productive word-formation process in Tok Pisin. On the basis of the corpus under analysis, it can be said that Tok Pisin has developed two suffixes: *–im* and *–pela*. The third suffix *–s* is not yet so common although it might be expected that the use of this suffix in standard Tok Pisin, represented by the language of *Wantok*, may increase as it did in the acrolectal varieties of Tok Pisin which borrow not only lexical items but also some grammatical constructions to replace the Tok Pisin ones.

The next word-formation mechanisms which have been investigated on the basis of the issues of *Wantok* constituting the research corpus are abbreviation and acronyming. In the former, certain letters of a word or a group of words are selected to represent what the full word/word group means. Acronyming is slightly different from abbreviation as what is important is the pronunciation of acronyms as if they were separate lexical items. Abbreviations should therefore be pronounced as groups of letters while acronyms as words. For the purpose of this research, however, this distinction is ignored as the research is based on written materials and hence no definite claim can be made about the manner in which abbreviations/acronyms are pronounced. Thus all the examples that follow are considered to be abbreviations. Tok Pisin has definitely developed abbreviations which are quite plentiful in the corpus. Some of them are given in (9):

(9) *ECBP* (← *Edukesen Kapasiti Bilding Progrem* ("Education Capacity Building Programme")), *JETRO* (← *Jepen Ekstenol Tred Oganaisesen* ("Japan External Trade Organisation")), *K* (← *kina*), *LLG* (← *Lokol Level Gavman* ("local level government")), *LPV* (← *limitet preferensol voting sistem* ("limited preferential voting system")), *NARI* (← *Nesenel Agrikalsa Risets Institut* ("National

Agriculture Research Institute")), *PNG* (← *Papua Niugini*), *PNGFIAS* (← *Papua Niugini Fores Indastri Asosiesen* ("Papua New Guinean Forest Industry Association")), *TI* (← *Trensperensi Intanasenol* ("Transparency International")), *Yunitek*[35] (← *Yunivesiti ov Teknoloji* ("University of Technology")) *etc.*

It follows from the examples in (9) that many of the abbreviations found in the corpus are international. This is particularly well visible in *ECBP* where the second grapheme /c/ does not correspond to the first grapheme of the second word of the full name: *kapasiti* or in *PNG* where the last grapheme /g/ is not the first grapheme of the third word because Tok Pisin name for this country is two-word, not as the English one – three-word. It might be therefore claimed that Tok Pisin has a number of abbreviations which are borrowed from English. On the other hand, there are some abbreviations which might be regarded as internally developed as *LPV* or *PNGFLAS*. Abbreviations are certainly part of Tok Pisin lexicon and although many may be claimed to be borrowings, they function well in the language in question.

The fourth word-formation process which has been identified in the corpus of Tok Pisin texts is compounding which involves combining two lexical items into one. Such a combination usually renders a new meaning. The extent to which compounds are present in *Wantok* is not overwhelmingly big but, nonetheless, a few compounds have been found:

(10) *asples* ("home", "place of origin") (← *as* ("base", "basis", "source") + *ples* ("place", "village")), *bus ples* ("jungle") (← *bus* ("bush") + *ples* ("place", "village")), *fanresing* ("fund raising") (*Wantok* 1592: 13) (← *fan* ("fund") + *resing* ("raising")), *hatwok* ("to do with difficulty") ("place", "village") (← *hat* ("hard") + *wok* ("work")), *kwik-taim* ("quickly", "urgently", "rightly", "shortly") (← *kwik* ("quick") + *taim* ("time", "when", "while"), *lidaman* ("leader") (← *lida* ("leader") + *man* ("man", "person")), *manmeri* ("people") (← *man* ("man", "person") + *meri* ("girl", "woman")), *mausmeri* ("spokeswoman") (← *maus* ("mouth") + *meri* ("girl", "woman")), *polisman* ("policeman") (← *polis* ("police") + *man* ("man", "person")), *riteil stoa* ("retail store") (← *riteil* ("retail") + *saveman* ("clever person", "expert") (← *save* ("to know", "to understand") + *man* ("man", "person")), *stoa* ("shop", "store")), *skul meri* ("female student") (← *skul* ("school") + *meri* ("girl", "woman")), *stadi senta*

("study centre") (*Wantok* 1592: 12) (← *stadi* ("to study") + *senta* ("centre")), *tokaut* ("to divulge", "to reveal") (← *tok* ("speech", "talk", "word") + *aut* ("out")), *toklukaut* ("to warn") (←*tok* ("speech", "talk", "word") + *lukaut* ("to beware", "to care for", "to look out")), *tok pilai* "joke" (← *tok* ("speech", "talk", "word") + *pilai* ("game", "play")), *toksave* ("to explain", "advertisement") (←*tok* ("speech", "talk", "word") + *save* ("know", "understand")), *wantaim* ("together") (← *wan* ("one") + *taim* ("time", "when", "while")), *woksop* ("workshop") (← *wok* ("work") + *sop* ("shop")), *wol nius* ("world news") (← *wol* ("world") + *nius* ("news")) *etc.*

Some of the compounds in (10) are written as one word and some as two words. However, all of the words grouped in (10) can be said to be the results of compounding as they are units composed of two items which together yield a new meaning. Some of the compounds in (10), for instance, *fanresing*, *stadi senta*, *woksop* are borrowings from English. So it might be assumed that these words entered Tok Pisin as compounds and not that they were created by compounding in Tok Pisin. It again points out that Tok Pisin lexicon undergoes expansion by multiple processes of word-formation. This means that a given Tok Pisin lexical item may be the result of the operation of a few mechanisms.

Another word-formation mechanism which has been subject to the analysis is reduplication. It is sometimes claimed that one of the characteristic features of pidgin lexicon and grammar is the presence of many items formed as a result of reduplication. Tok Pisin, as demonstrated by the lexical items in the corpus, *does* use reduplication but not to such a big extent as is sometimes claimed. Reduplication is used, first of all, to create an additional semantic effect such as emphasising intensity or frequency. Secondly, certain lexical items are iterated to distinguish them from other similar-sounding words. It also seems that in certain cases reduplication is used for the sake of style improvement. The first use of reduplication has been found in the following items:

(11) *Kain kain ol presen i kam long yumi wanwan* ("All kinds of presents from all of us") *(Wantok 1592: 10), Yumi wan wan* ("Each and everyone of us") (*Wantok* 1613: 11), *Kainkain kago* ("Take various things") (*Wantok* 1616: 5) *etc.*

The reduplicated items stress the variety of things as in *Kainkain kago* and the involvement of *all* people to whom the pronoun *yumi* refers.

The second kind of reduplication is evident in the words in (12):

(12) *liklik* ("little", "small") *vs. lik* ("to leak", "hole"), *lukluk* ("to look for", "to seek") *vs. luk* ("to look at", "to see"), *tingting* ("to

consider", "to think about", "to remember", "memory", "mind", "thought") *vs. ting* ("idea", "memory", "mind", "thought"), *toktok* ("to speak", "to talk", "language", "speech", "talk") *vs. tok* ("to say", "to speak", "speech", "talk", "word") *etc.*

Generally speaking, reduplication in Tok Pisin is not so frequent as is sometimes believed. Of course, it *does* contribute to the development of Tok Pisin lexicon but not to such a large extent as may be thought.

The next process of word-formation which has been analysed is conversion which can be characterised as the change of function without the change of form. In other words, conversion encompasses such words which change their class, for example, from a noun into a verb, but their form does not change. Among the words which can be said to be the results of conversion are:

(13) *dai* (as a verb: "to cease", "to die"; as an adjective: "dead", "unconscious"), *strong* (as a verb: "to demand", "to insist on"; as a noun: "strength", "power"; as an adjective: "strong", "loud"), *toktok* (as a verb: to speak", "to talk"; as a noun: "language", "speech", "talk"), *wantaim* (as a preposition: "together with", "with"; as a noun: "similarity") *etc.*

Tok Pisin makes use of conversion. The examples provided above can well validate the claim that this process has contributed to the development and expansion of Tok Pisin lexicon.

Finally, many lexemes result from the operation of many word-formation processes. As can be observed in (1)-(13) the majority of these words can be traced back to the English language so borrowing is certainly the most common process of word-formation in Tok Pisin. Sometimes it was followed by other processes such as affixation, abbreviation, compounding, reduplication or conversion. Borrowing therefore seems to be the most powerful word-formation process in Tok Pisin. What is interesting, no cases of blending (mixing elements of different words into a single lexeme), back-formation (reducing a lexical item), clipping (reducing a lexical item with simultaneous meaning retention) as well as coinage (inventing a new word) have been found. This can be accounted for by the fact that Tok Pisin is a relatively young language and perhaps it has not developed these mechanisms yet. On the other hand, it remains to be seen whether these word-formation mechanisms will be ever employed because it appears that if a new lexeme is needed to name a new concept, it is usually borrowed from English. Consequently, it is justified to say that the enlargement of Tok Pisin lexicon is primarily due to borrowing from English.

5.3.2.2. General characteristics of *Wantok* Tok Pisin lexicon

After the presentation of the major sources of the lexical development of Tok Pisin, a few words must be said about the general characteristics of the vocabulary of *Wantok* Tok Pisin. First of all, it can be undoubtedly stated that what is found in *Wantok* is a good example of the standard version of Neomelanesian Pidgin English. Secondly, the orthography is consistent with the norms of standard Tok Pisin orthography. Thirdly, within a Tok Pisin text English words (*i.e.* direct borrowings) are used very sporadically and most borrowings are adapted orthographically to the standard variety of Tok Pisin, the rules for which are provided for by Mihalic's dictionary. It would be very difficult to measure the level of anglicisation of *Wantok* Tok Pisin in terms of its place on the restructuring continuum of the pidgin/creole life cycle (*i.e.* basilect – mesolect – acrolect) but certainly its vocabulary differs radically from that of the acrolectal – urban – Tok Pisin which is very heavily anglicised. A greater degree of the anglicisation of *Wantok* Tok Pisin can be found in only few cases such as the infrequent use of the suffix *–s* to mark plurality, as in (8). Fourthly, the lexicon of *Wantok* Tok Pisin is continually developing, which may be supported by the fact that there are increasing numbers of new words – usually derived recently from English – which are used to name new concepts so far alien to Papua New Guinean culture (as, for example, in (1)). All in all, Tok Pisin which is used in *Wantok* generally conforms to the rules of the standard variety and hence it is right to claim that from the lexical point of view, the Tok Pisin of *Wantok* (constituting the research corpus) represents the standard Neomelanesian Pidgin English.

5.3.3. Tok Pisin grammar: selected aspects of Tok Pisin parts of speech (on the basis of *Wantok*)

Apart from lexicon, an important part of any language is grammar. This section presents selected aspects of Tok Pisin noun, verb, personal pronoun, adjective, adverb as well as preposition illustrated with the examples which have been taken from the research corpus – the issues of *Wantok*. These parts of speech are important since they are often referred to in Chapter 6 during the discussion of the linguistic means by which Tok Pisin language functions are realised.

5.3.3.1. Selected aspects of Tok Pisin noun

Nouns, as in the majority of languages, constitute an important grammatical category of Tok Pisin. The system of Tok Pisin nouns, as illustrated below with the examples taken from *Wantok*, is not particularly

complicated. What is interesting in Tok Pisin nouns is the way in which they may be made plural. Tok Pisin has developed a few ways in which number can be marked. First of all, plurality can marked by the pronoun *ol*, as in (1)-(5):

(1) *ol ripot* ("reports") (*Wantok* 1589: 2)
(2) *ol distrik* ("districts") (*Wantok* 1589: 5)
(3) *ol kampani opisa* ("company officers") (*Wantok* 1615: 1)
(4) *ol famili* ("families") (*Wantok* 1628: 12)
(5) *ol diktetasip politikel reisim* ("dictatorship political regimes") (*Wantok* 1657: 14)

Another manner in which plurality can be marked is by the use of numerals, as in (6)-(8):

(6) *tupela man* ("two men") (*Wantok* 1592: 7)
(7) *tupela wantok* ("two friends") (*Wantok* 1597: 1)
(8) *11-pela man* ("eleven men") (*Wantok* 1645: 2)

An interesting case of a plurality marker has been given in (9):

(9) *3-pela teknikol opisols* ("three technical officials") (*Wantok* 1645: 30)

This example is striking as it contains two markers of plurality: the numeral *3-pela* as well as the suffix *–s*. The suffix is copied from English and this may be treated as another indication of the great influence English has on Tok Pisin. More examples of this suffix being attached to a noun in order to mark plurality are given in 5.3.2.1 (examples in (8)).

Certain pronouns – such as *olgeta* ("all") – can also be used to mark plurality of a noun, as in the examples below:

(10) *olgeta SP pilai* ("all SP games") (*Wantok* 1592: 32)
(11) *olgeta klab* ("all clubs") (*Wantok* 1645: 30)

Generally speaking, the system of Tok Pisin nouns is not particularly complicated. Nouns are not marked inflectionally in terms of plurality (with the exception of the new plurality suffix *–s*) or case and to express quantity independent (*i.e.* not attached to a noun) markers are used.

5.3.3.2. Selected aspects of Tok Pisin verb

The system of Tok Pisin verbs is very interesting for it is here that the quite complex set of tense-modality-aspect (TMA) markers comes into play. Such systems of TMA markers are found in many pidgins and creoles and Tok Pisin is no exception in this respect.

Before Tok Pisin TMA markers are briefly sketched, a few words should be said about the general characteristics of Tok Pisin verbs. First of all, they are not person-marked, which means that they have one form for all persons. Another feature of Tok Pisin verbs is that they can be inflected if they are transitive. The suffix –*im* is added to transitive verbs, as shown in (3) of 5.3.2.1.

Now, it is time to pay attention to the TMA system. Fist of all, whereas the present tense is not realised lexically, the past and the future are. The past (anteriority) can be expressed by means of the preverbal marker *bin* which may have been derived from English *been*. The future (posteriority) is expressed by the preverbal marker *bai*. The following sentences illustrate the use of tense markers in Tok Pisin:

(1) Moa long 100 manmeri i <u>bin</u> dai (...). (*Wantok* 1589: 1)
[More than 100 people died (...).]

(2) Princess Royal i <u>bin</u> stat mekim pablik wok taim em i 18 krismas tasol. (*Wantok* 1628: 3)
[Princess Royal started doing public work when she was only 18 years old.]

(3) Lamana <u>bai</u> holim pikinini talem so. (*Wantok* 1628: 8)
[Lamana will hold a children's talent show.]

(4) Belcher <u>bai</u> kam long kantri tede. *(Wantok* 1657: 32)
[Belcher will come to the country today.]

Another important category which is realised through a system of markers is modality. It is quite well visible in *Wantok* where there are many instances of these markers in use. Ability, which expresses what English *can* and *be able to* express, in Tok Pisin is realised through *inap*. This is exemplified in (5) and (6):

(5) Yu wanpela kendidet yu no <u>inap</u> tanim het bilong mi. (*Wantok* 1601: 14)
[You are a candidate and you cannot change my mind.]

(6) Sapos yu pilim tru dispela man i laikim yu na em <u>inap</u> lukautim yu inap yu indai, na em <u>inap</u> sapotim yu na givim haus long yu (...). (*Wantok* 1616: 24)
[If you really feel this man loves you and he is able to look after you until your death, and he is able to support you and give you accommodation (...).]

Ability can also be realised through the marker *save*, which means "to know how to do something". This is sometimes slightly confusing as *save* is also used to express action habituality and regularity. The use of *save* to express ability is exemplified by the following sentences:

(7) Planti lida i <u>save</u> yusim moni (…). (*Wantok* 1641: 19)
[Many leaders know how to use money (…).]

(8) Planti bilong yumi <u>save</u> baim flaua (…). (*Wantok* 1657: 24)
[Many of us know how to buy a flower (…).]

Wishes can be expressed by the preverbal marker *laik*. The same marker can be used to mean the events which are just about to happen. This of course may lead to some ambiguity and therefore context is important.

(9) Mi <u>laik</u> bekim pas bilong K. Ai bilong Kainantu EHP. (*Wantok* 1592: 14)
[I would like to answer the letter of K. Ai from Kainantu EHP.]

(10) Wantok Niuspepa i <u>laik</u> tok hepi ista long olgeta rida (…). (*Wantok* 1601: 1)
[Wantok Niuspepa would like to wish all readers Happy Easter (…).]

Obligation in Tok Pisin is expressed through the marker *mas*, which may carry the meaning of English modal verbs (*must*, *should*, *ought to*). This marker is used especially often in *Wantok* articles which try to instruct the readers on how to perform a particular task.

(11) Pablik <u>mas</u> lukaut. (*Wantok* 1613: 3)
[The public must be careful.]

(12) Yu <u>mas</u> skelim tupela sait bilong wari bilong yu (…). (*Wantok* 1616: 24)
[You have to consider both sides of your worry (…).]

Finally, Tok Pisin has also a few markers to express aspect. In particular, these markers are used to express completion (perfectivity), regularity and habituality, continuity (durativity/progressiveness).

Actions which are completed are expressed by means of the marker *pinis* and actions which have not been completed – by the marker *yet*.

(13) Tupela wik i go <u>pinis</u> (…). (*Wantok* 1641: 22)
[Two weeks have gone (…).]

(14) Mi toktok <u>pinis</u> wantaim papamama bilong gelpren (…). (*Wantok* 1657: 23)
[I have talked to the parents of the girlfriend (…).]

(15) (…) sampela musik atis bilong PNG <u>yet</u> i bin gat sans long go pilai na singsing wantaim ol musik sta (…). (*Wantok* 1589: 20)
[(…) some music artists from Papua New Guinea still had the chance to play and sing with music stars (…).]

Regularity and habituality are marked with the lexical item *save*, as in the examples:

(16) Jessica i tok ol redio stesen i <u>save</u> yusim Wol Sat So i <u>save</u> pilaim musik bilong ol biknem musik atis. (*Wantok* 1592: 21)
[Jessica says that the radio stations make World Chart Show and play music of famous music artists.]

(17) Mekeo husat i <u>save</u> kamapim buai maket long siti (…). (*Wantok* 1613: 8)
[Mekeo who comes to betel nut market in the city.]

Durativity is realised by another marker: *i stap*:

(18) Ol dispela lain Somare i rausim i <u>stap</u> nau long oposisen (…). (*Wantok* 1558: 1)
[Somare is expelling now these groups to the opposition.]

(19) Kumul kapten na star pilaia bilong PNG nau <u>i stap</u> pilai long Inglan (…). (*Wantok* 1589: 30)
[Kumul [name of sports team] captain and star player of Papua New Guinea is now playing in England (…).]

As shown above, Neomelanesian Pidgin English has developed its verbal system to a quite high degree, especially the system of ATM markers, by means of which it is possible to express certain meanings with greater precision. The fact that this system is so developed can be regarded as another indication that Tok Pisin has gone a long way from a rudimentary pidgin and that it is well developed in terms of grammar and lexicon, allowing at the same time for much more than just basic communication in trade- and plantation-related situations.

5.3.3.3. Selected aspects of Tok Pisin personal pronoun

Tok Pisin system of personal pronouns includes seven main personal pronouns: *mi* ("I"/"me"), *yu* ("you"), *em* ("he"/"him", "she"/"her", "it"), *yumi* ("we"/"us"), *mipela* ("we"/"us"), *yupela* ("you", plural), *ol* ("they"/"them"). As far as personal pronouns are concerned, Tok Pisin differs in this respect from English primarily in two areas. First of all, Tok Pisin has developed inclusive and exclusive personal pronouns. Secondly, Tok Pisin has developed dual/trial personal pronouns. As far as the inclusive and exclusive personal pronouns are concerned, Tok Pisin uses the inclusive first person plural pronoun *yumi* ("we" = "you and me") and the exclusive one – first person plural pronoun *mipela* ("we"). These pronouns are frequently used in *Wantok* articles, especially in letters and answers to them. The distinction between dual and trial personal pronouns is also quite interesting. Tok Pisin speakers use these pronouns when wanting to refer to two, tree or more people in-

volved. They are formed by prefixing the pronoun with the numeral (*e.g. tupela*, *tripela*, *fopela*, *faipela etc.*). Thus the set of Tok Pisin pronouns also encompasses such forms as *mitupela* ("we two"; exclusive pronoun), *yumitupela* ("we two"; inclusive pronoun), *yutupela* ("you two"), *emtupela* ("those two"), *mitripela* ("we three"; exclusive pronoun), *yumitripela* ("we three"; inclusive pronoun), *yutripela* ("you three"), *emtripela* ("they three"). In writing, these pronouns are always written as one word. The use of certain inclusive/exclusive as well as dual/trial pronouns is well visible in the following excerpt:

(1) Maski <u>mipela</u> i no bilong wanpela provins, <u>mitupela</u> i poroman gut tru na <u>mipela</u> gat bikpela laik long wanpela narapela. (...) (*Wantok* 1657: 23)
[Who cares that we are not from the same province, we two are really good partners and we really love each other. (...)]

The pronominal system of Tok Pisin has developed due to the influence of the local languages because its lexifier – English – does not make use of such a complex system of pronouns. This complexity bears witness to the claim that modern Tok Pisin, in particular its standard variety used in *Wantok*, is certainly not just a simplification of the lexifier language, as was believed in the past.

5.3.3.4. Selected aspects of Tok Pisin adjective and adverb

Tok Pisin adjectives are generally divided by Mihalic ([1971] 1989) into descriptive and definitive adjectives. Descriptive adjectives can be further subdivided into monosyllabic and polysyllabic and, in many cases, it is just the number of syllables that determines whether the suffix – *pela* – so characteristic of Tok Pisin – is added. Those monosyllabic adjectives when used attributively are suffixed with *–pela* and when used predicatively they may be suffixed or not. Such adjectives occur in the corpus universally, among which are: *bikpela* ("big"), *gutpela* ("good"), *nupela* ("new"), *strongpela* ("strong") *etc.* Polysyllabic adjectives are not suffixed. These adjectives are also used universally throughout the corpus: *kranki* ("wrong") *hevi* ("difficult", heavy"), *meri* ("female"), *marit* ("married") *tambu* ("forbidden") *liklik* ("little", "small") *etc.*

Definitive adjectives are either numerical adjectives, *i.e.* adjectives which express quantity such as: *wanpela, tupela, tripela etc.* or pronominal adjectives which can be subcategorised as possessives using the preposition *bilong* (*e.g. bilong mi* ("my")), demonstratives (*e.g. dispela* "this", "these"), interrogatives (*e.g. wanem* ("which", "what")), indefinites (*e.g. arapela* ("other")), *narapela* ("another")) and distributives (*e.g. wanpela wanpela* ("each")) (Mihalic [1971] 1989: 22).

Neomelanesian Pidgin English adverbs can be classified into a few categories such as adverbs of time (*e.g. gen* ("again"), *nau* ("now"), *kwik/kwiktaim* ("quickly")), adverbs of place (*e.g. antap* ("above"), *bek* ("back"), *longwe* ("faraway")), adverbs of manner (*e.g. klostu* ("almost", "nearly"), *isi* ("easily")) adverbs of degree (*e.g. olgeta* ("completely"), *moa* ("more"), *planti* ("much")) (Mihalic [1971] 1989: 35-36). These adjectives are used frequently in the researched corpus.

5.3.3.5. Selected aspects of Tok Pisin preposition

It is generally assumed that Tok Pisin uses only two prepositions: *long* – which can be used to express various relationships realised in English through a variety of prepositions (*e.g.* "about", "for", "from", "in", "to" *etc.*) and *bilong* – which indicates possession, purpose as well as origin. The following phrases illustrate the use of these two prepositions:

(1) Gavana <u>bilong</u> Sentrel Provins (*Wantok* 1558: 1)
[Governor of the Central Province]
(2) Rijinol membe <u>bilong</u> Nesenel Kapitol Distrik (Wantok 1558: 1)
[Regional member from National Capital District]
(3) <u>Long</u> namba 73 minit (*Wantok* 1558: 32)
[in the 73rd minute]
(4) Lukaut <u>long</u> sik AIDS (*Wantok* 1597: 1)
[Beware of AIDS disease]
(5) <u>Long</u> PNG (*e.g. Wantok* 1601: 1)
[in Papua New Guinea]
(6) Wantok Niuspepa i laik tok hepi ista <u>long</u> olgeta ride <u>bilong</u> mipela (*Wantok* 1601: 1)
[Wantok Niuspepa would like to wish happy Easter to all our readers]
(7) <u>Long</u> Pot Mosbi (*e.g. Wantok* 1613: 11)
[in Port Moresby]
(8) Tupela mausman <u>bilong</u> komyuniti <u>long</u> ples Buang (*Wantok* 1613: 3)
[Two spokesmen of the community in the Buang village]
(9) Progrem <u>long</u> Yunivesiti <u>bilong</u> Teknoloji <u>long</u> Pet <u>long</u> Australia (*Wantok* 1641: 9)
[Programme at the University of Technology in/of Perth in Australia]
(10) Mi laikim helpim <u>long</u> toktok <u>wantaim</u> papamama <u>bilong</u> gelpren (Wantok 1657: 23)
[I would like to help to talk with the girlfriend's parents]

Sometimes it is claimed (*e.g.* Verhaar 1995) that Tok Pisin has developed another preposition – *wantaim* ("together with"), as exemplified in (10)-(12):

(11) Sampela nupela musik ben i bin kamap <u>wantaim</u> ol nupela stail PNG musik (*Wantok* 1589: 20)

[Some new music band came up with new styles of Papua New Guinea music]

(12) Tupela <u>wantaim</u> ol arapela UPNG sumatin (*Wantok* 1597: 1)
[They two with other University of Papua New Guinea students]

However, the analysis of *Wantok* Tok Pisin and the system of Tok Pisin prepositions has brought an interesting observation: apart from *long* and *bilong*, which are used very frequently, a new preposition is being developed. This is *ov*. It is used especially in the following constructions:

(13) *Stet ov orijin* ("State of origin") (*Wantok* 1581: 32)
(14) *Yunivesiti ov Papua Niugini* ("University of Papua New Guinea") (*Wantok* 1592: 12)
(15) *Yunivesiti ov Goroka* ("University of Goroka") (*Wantok* 1615: 6)
(16) *Sama Institut ov Linguistik* ("Summer Institute of Linguistics") (*Wantok* 1615: 11)
(17) *Yunivesiti ov Teknoloji* ("University of Technology") (*Wantok* 1628: 6)
(18) *Prait ov PNG* ("Pride of Papua New Guinea") (*Wantok* 1628: 25)

From the analysis of the corpus, it follows that the preposition *ov* might be a recent development – certainly borrowed from English – which may replace in the future the prepositional phrases with the preposition *bilong* as it seems to be doing in the heavily anglicised urban variety. What is striking, however, is that the preposition *ov* and *bilong* are sometimes used interchangeably within one text. This has been observed in (15) and (19):

(19) *Yunivesiti ov Goroka* ("University of Goroka") (*Wantok* 1615: 6)

To sum up the discussion of Tok Pisin preposition, it can be said that there are actually four prepositions in Tok Pisin. *Long* and *bilong* are predominant and they can be used to express a wide range of relationships. The other two prepositions are *wantaim* and *ov*, the latter being a new invention in standard Tok Pisin which may in the future take over from *bilong* the function of indicating possession.

5.4. Tok Pisin in headlines: interface of lexicon and grammar

After the presentation of the major speech parts of Tok Pisin, it is now time to look at Tok Pisin headlines which can be said to be the interface of lexicon and grammar. A role of a headline is, first of all, to briefly inform readers about the content of an article, and secondly, to make

readers want to read the material. In English, the type and form of a headline depends to a large extent on a type of a newspaper it is put in. In tabloid press, headlines tend to be constructed in such a way as to make readers surprised or even shocked. Such tabloid headlines usually contain words which are used in some striking way; there are sometimes some figures of speech such as similes or metaphors; the sentences are usually in the imperative. The serious (quality) press tabloids are usually more moderate and their headlines can be treated as very brief article summaries or as introductions to such articles.

In this section, at attempt is made to look at *Wantok* headlines in Tok Pisin and analyse their lexical and structural properties and the role the lexical and grammatical elements are to play. First of all, it seems that the majority of headlines in *Wantok* are rather informative because they briefly – usually in one sentence or in a sentence equivalent (without a verb) – summarise the contents of the articles.

At the beginning, a few words should be said about the vocabulary used in headlines. The majority of Tok Pisin lexical items which are used in the headlines belong to the standard variety of Tok Pisin and are written according to the norms of the standard orthography. The borrowings which are sometimes present in these headlines are neatly incorporated orthographically into Tok Pisin.

The majority of the headlines published in *Wantok* rather rarely use the TMA markers referring to tense and when they do, they usually include *bai* – the posteriority marker. The past and the present are not marked in the headlines and the information whether the event is past or present is given in the article proper. The following examples illustrate the use of *bai*:

(1) Difens fos bai karimaut Yumi Yet bris program (*Wantok* 1556: 3)
    [Defence Force will carry out Yumi Yet bridge programme]
(2) Pini bai difenim Osenia taitol (*Wantok* 1556: 31)
    [Pani will defent the Oceania title]
(3) Bikpela askim bilong PNG: 30 yias nau – bai yumi go we? (*Wantok* 1628: 16-17)
    [An important question to Papua New Guinea: 30 years now – where will we go?]
(4) Wanem taim bai giaman pasin i pinis? (*Wantok* 1645: 14)
    [When will the fashion of lying finish?]

The sentences in (5)-(9) refer to the present or the past but they do not use the relevant markers. Only the reading of the article can give full information about the time of the action (the translations into English reflect the time referred to in the articles):

(5) Mekere joinim Somare long gavman (*Wantok* 1556: 1)
   [Mekere joined Somare in the government]
(6) Top PNG sejen doktra Philip Ururu Basse i dai (*Wantok* 1556: 11)
   [Top Papua New Guinea surgeon Philip Ururu Basse died]
(7) Edukesen bai sensim Minj, i no politiks (*Wantok* 1558: 14)
   [Education will change Minj, not politics]
(8) Planti tausen i dai (*Wantok* 1589: 1)
   [Many thousands died]
(9) Skul meri kilim em yet (Wantok 1592: 1)
   [A female studies killed herself]
(10) Bikpela paia bagarapim Kainantu mobil sevis stesen (*Wantok* 1592: 6)
   [Big fire destroyed Kainantu mobile service station]
(11) Milen Be sasim ol man Esia (*Wantok* 1601: 7)
   [Milne Bay charged the Asians]
(12) Lae i redim anivesari plen (*Wantok* 1616: 6)
   [Lea is preparing an anniversary plan]

However, one headline (13) does include the past marker *–bin*, but this is rather rare in *Wantok* headlines:

(13) LPV i bin wok orait (*Wantok* 1645: 5)
   [LPV worked well]

Other markers of TMA are also seldom used in *Wantok* headlines. Among many headlines which were subjected to the analysis, only few make use of modality or aspect markers, the examples being (14) and (15):

(14) Prinses Anne i kam pinis (*Wantok* 1628: 1)
   [Princess Anne has come]
(15) Opisel i mas wok hat tu (*Wantok* 1657: 27)
   [An official must also work hard]

Generally speaking, headline Tok Pisin does not make use of too many TMA markers and the proper understanding of the headline relies to a big extent on the understanding of the article because it is just in the article that tense, modality and aspect come to light. Thus (16) can only be fully understood if the text, of which this is a headline, is read:

(16) PNG Kaunsil ov Sios gat nupela Jenerel Seketeri (*Wantok* 1556: 10)
   [Papua New Guinea Council of Church has a new General Secretary]

Another interesting aspects of the headlines in Tok Pisin is that few of them are in the mood other than the indicative. The majority of the headlines are in the indicative, as exemplified below:

(17) Draiva klokim 30 yia sevis wantaim Indipendes bilong kantri
(*Wantok* 1601: 5)
[A driver has worked 30 years in service like the independence of the
country]

(18) Me'ekamui laikim moa tisa (*Wantok* 1645: 2)
[Me'ekamui wants more teachers]

One instance of the conditional mood has been found and, as claimed by Mihalic (([1971] 1989: 31) the use of *sapos* (as in (19)) is "[t]he most common way of expressing a condition (…)".

(19) Sapos Somare i no kamap Praim Minista husat inap kamap Praim Minista? (*Wantok* 1558: 21)
[If Somare does not become Prime Minister, who can become Prime Minister?]

Finally, quite few headlines make use of the imperative mood and only two examples have been found:

(20) Helpim Esia (Wantok 1592: 2)
[Help Asia]

(21) Skelim ol strong (*Wantok* 1628: 29)
[Judge them strongly]

An interesting feature of Tok Pisin headlines is the absence of copula. This is a common practice in Tok Pisin not to use any equivalent of English *to be*, however, the context usually determines the meaning. The following headlines contain no copular verb yet the meaning is clear:

(22) Meri o wanem samting? (*Wantok* 1613: 17)
[Is it a girl/woman or what is it?]

(23) Nupela pis long Flai Riva (*Wantok* 1616: 3)
[A new fish in the river Fly]

(24) Toilet na kaikai? (*Wantok* 1616: 16)
[Toilet and food?]

(25) Tru tru kau o wanem samting? (*Wantok* 1616: 17)
[Is it a real cow or what is it?]

Some headlines do not contain the main verb at all but the meaning can be easily deduced, as in the following headlines:

(26) Nupela trening senta long helpim ol Samberigi pipel (*Wantok* 1558: 6)
[A new training centre to help the people of Samberigi]

(27) Monica, trupela bisnis meri (*Wantok* 1613: 25)
[Monica, a real businesswoman]

(28) Raun long Buka maket. Ples bilong helpim ol famili. (*Wantok* 1616: 18-19)

[Around the Buka market. A place to help families]

(29) Gut bai Sir "Bill" (*Wantok* 1641: 1)

[Goodbye Sir "bill"]

(30) Mirakel long sapotim leit Pop (*Wantok* 1645: 11)

[A miracle to support the deceased Pope]

As exemplified above, the headline Tok Pisin is rather simplified because the grammatical markers and structures making the meaning more precise are rarely employed. This holds particularly true for the wide range of TMA markers which are used rather sparingly. In terms of vocabulary, these headlines represent the standard variety of Tok Pisin and actually all orthographic rules are obeyed.

To conclude, the Tok Pisin of *Wantok* headlines seems to be a slightly simplified version of the standard variety and were it not for the reading of the articles, of which the headlines are often one-sentence summaries, it would be rather impossible to arrive at the precise meaning of such a headline. What is more, *Wantok* headline Tok Pisin may be somewhat similar to Tok Pisin foreigner talk which is characterised by a reduced complexity of grammar (*i.e.* the absence of TMA markers *etc.*) and the replacement of Tok Pisin lexical items with the English ones. Although the second criterion is not met in the discussed headlines, it would certainly be interesting to investigate more thoroughly the linguistic properties of headlines in Tok Pisin because they are good portions of language where grammar and vocabulary interact.

5.5. Emerging registers of Tok Pisin: preliminary remarks (on the basis of *Wantok*)

The issue of registers has been partly dealt with by, among others, Mühlhäusler (1979a) but he focused primarily on the special registers (usually spoken) such as taboo language or secret varieties. Relatively little attention has been paid to Tok Pisin written registers. The scope of this section is restricted to some preliminary remarks as *Wantok* is a general audience newspaper and since it includes articles on a huge variety of topics, no definite claim about the registers can be made on this basis. Therefore, this subchapter aims only at signalling the fact that such written registers are being developed in present-day Tok Pisin.

Swan *et al.* (2004: 261) while defining the term *register* claim that it is:

[u]sed to refer to variation according to the context in which language is used. For example, most people speak differently in formal contexts (an academic lecture, job interview *etc.*) than in informal contexts (*e.g.* bantering with friends and family). Relatively well-defined registers include the language of the law, the language of science and also the language of Hip Hop or jazz. Registers typically differ from one another in terms of lexis and semantics (*e.g.* scientific terminology in scientific registers).

When the above definition of a register is adhered to, it is easy to notice that *Wantok* is a newspaper where a number of registers can be identified. Obviously, the language of *Wantok* is formal, grammar is rather consistently formal too, so the distinction into registers must rely on vocabulary. The registers which can be identified in *Wantok* are connected with the social areas such as politics, education, church *etc.*, and consequently the major (and probably the only) difference among them lies in the vocabulary which is used to discuss these semantic domains. Among the registers which manifest themselves most in *Wantok* are the language of politics, the language of church and religion, the language of medical and educational issues, as well as the language of sports.

The political register is used to talk about political matters, both of national and local levels. Among the whole variety of lexical items which can be taken as representative of this register are:

(1) *bai ileksen* ("bye-election")*, distrik* ("district"), *edministreta* ("administrator"), *gavana* ("governor"), *gavman* ("government"), lida ("leader"), *lo* ("law), *minista* ("minister"), *oposisen* ("opposition"), *pati* ("political party"), *palamen* ("parliament"), *Praim Minista* ("Prime Minister"), *provins* ("province"), *pablik stetmen* ("public statement"), *vot* ("vote"), *etc.*

The language of church and religious matters is an indication of the emergence of church/religious register:

(2) *Baibel* ("Bible"), *bisop* ("bishop"), *bilip* ("to believe", "belief", "faith"), *daiosis* ("diocese"), *God* ("God"), *haus lotu* ("church"), *kadinel* ("cardinal"), *katolik* ("Catholic"), *lotu* ("to worship", "worship"), *lotuim* ("to worship someone/something"), *misinari* ("missionary"), *peris* ("parish"), *pop* ("pope"), *sios* ("church") *etc.*

The register connected with medical issues is also present in *Wantok*, as evidenced by the following set of lexical items:

(3) *dokta* ("doctor"), *haus sik* ("hospital"), *helt senta* ("health centre"), *malaria* ("malaria"), *marasin* ("medicine"), *medikel* ("medical"),

operesen ("operation"), *Pakinson sik* ("Parkinson's disease"), *sik* ("disease", "illness") *etc.*

Education is also an important topic in many of *Wantok* articles and therefore the language of education may also be deemed to be one of the registers identified in the newspaper under analysis:

(4) *lain/lainim* ("to learn"), *skul* ("to learn", "lesson, "school"), *skul boi* ("male student"), *skulim* ("to teach"), *skul meri* ("female student"), *stadi senta* ("study centre"), *stadim* ("to study"), *sumatin* ("student"), *tisa* ("teacher"), *woksop* ("workshop"), *yunivesiti* ("university") *etc.*

Finally, the language of sports is also quite developed, contributing at the same time to the emergence of sport register. This is peculiarly clear from the group of words in (5):

(5) *difeinim taitol* ("to defend the title"), *dro* ("draw"), *kikim bal* ("to kick a ball"), *kompetisen* ("competition"), *pilai* ("game", "play"), *ragbi lig* ("rugby league"), *sempion* ("champion"), *sempionsip* ("championship"), *skora* ("score"), *spot dro* ("sport draws"), *weitlifta* ("weightlifter"), *wol kap* ("world cup"), *etc.*

Of course it is possible to distinguish many more registers but the five ones are good examples to support the claim that Tok Pisin has indeed developed vocabulary belonging to different semantic domains, which at the same time may be regarded as evidence for the emergence of written registers of the pidgin in question.

As the main goal of this section has been to make a few preliminary remarks on the emergence of registers in Tok Pisin, it should be said that this issue needs more thorough research which may provide more evidence to identify a greater number of characteristic features of these registers. One aspect, however, is obvious: despite being quite a young language and despite being classified mainly as a pidgin, Tok Pisin has developed to such an extent that nowadays, on the basis of *Wantok*, a number of registers of this language can be distinguished.

5.6. English influence on *Wantok* Tok Pisin

It has been maintained throughout this chapter that English *does* exert some influence on *Wantok* Tok Pisin despite the fact that this variety is claimed to be less anglicised than the urban sociolect. This influence is of course most clear in the field of Tok Pisin lexicon which is in large part based on English. Hence numerous lexical items can be easily traced back to the corresponding words in English. Many Tok Pisin words which were taken from English at the previous stages of Tok

Pisin development have been incorporated orthographically, phonologically and sometimes also grammatically to the structure of Neomelanesian Tok Pisin. This is evident, for instance, in Tok Pisin transitive verbs which, in many cases, entered the lexicon of this pidgin as borrowings from English and later on they were adjusted to lexical and grammatical principles of Tok Pisin. A good case in point is the transitive verb *kamapim* ("to found", "to institute", "to originate"), which probably entered Tok Pisin lexicon as the intransitive verb *kamap*, and which can be traced back to English *come up*. Only later was this verb made transitive to encompass new meanings which it used to express.

As said above, the influence of English on Tok Pisin is particularly visible in what are called *recent borrowings* discussed in 5.3.2.1. These lexemes were transferred into Tok Pisin probably not long ago, which can be accounted for by the fact that they are used to name western civilisation concepts for which the local languages of Papua New Guinea had probably no names. They have also been (at least partially) adjusted to Tok Pisin lexicon and grammar but their forms are quite similar to the English ones. It might be expected that the process of borrowing words from English will be continued as it seems that this is one of the most productive word-formation mechanisms which Tok Pisin employs.

The English influence is less detectable in grammar but again – it is still possible to point to a few structural properties which are borrowed from English. However, these borrowings seem not yet very widespread but provided Tok Pisin and English are kept in constant contact, these structures may gain wider recognition. One of such grammatical properties which come from English is the structure of some of Tok Pisin compounds. The following examples appear to have been recent borrowings from English:

(1) *Polis bos* ("Police boss") (*Wantok* 1589: 2)
(2) *Ragbi lig kompetisen* ("Rugby league competition") (*Wantok* 1589: 32)
(3) *Koloring kompetisen* ("Colouring competition") (*Wantok* 1592: 1, 8)
(4) *Divine Word Yunivesiti* ("Divine Word University") (*Wantok* 1597: 27)
(5) *2005 Divine Word Yunivesiti Greduesen* ("2005 Divine Word University Graduation") (*Wantok* 1597: 27)

These noun phrases in (1)-(5) can be said to be typically English structures and they were borrowed either as package loans (*i.e.* "(…) compound[s] borrowed as a whole (as a package) from some other language" (Verhaar 1995: 270) or they were built on after the fashion in

which the corresponding English compounds are structured. The second scenario may seem more probable because Tok Pisin has linguistic means to express the concepts in (1)-(5), as exemplified in (6)-(10):

(6)   *Bos bilong polis*
(7)   *Kompetisin bilong lig bilong ragbi*
(8)   *Kompetisin bilong koloring*
(9)   *Yunivesiti bilong Divine Word*
(10) *Gradeusen bilong Yunivesiti bilong Divine Word long 2005*

Yet another structural property which is a recent innovation and which is certainly borrowed from English is the new preposition *ov*, discussed in 5.3.3.5, as shown in (11)-(13):

(11) *Yunivesiti ov Goroka* ("University of Goroka") (*Wantok* 1615: 6)
(12) *Sama Institut ov Linguistik* ("Summer Institute of Linguistics") (*Wantok* 1615: 11)
(13) *Prait ov PNG* ("Pride of Papua New Guinea") (*Wantok* 1628: 25)

Finally, although standard Tok Pisin has its own system of marking plurality (*e.g.* the pronouns *ol* and *olgeta*, numerals), the users of this language sometimes mark noun plurality with the typically English suffix –*s*, as evidenced by the lexemes gathered in (14):

(14) *grasruts* ("grassroots") (Wantok 1645: 25), *Solomons* ("Solomons, the inhabitants of the Solomon Islands") (*Wantok* 1657: 1), *opisols* ("officials") (*Wantok* 1657: 27)

All of the properties, both lexical and grammatical, of Tok Pisin result from the influence of English. This, in turn, leads to the conclusion that whereas in the past English was the donor of lexical items, now it is starting to provide standard Tok Pisin with certain elements of grammar. Therefore the role of English as a lexifier has been extended since at present it also provides some grammatical patterns, which indicates that English can also belong to the group of languages donating their grammatical features (*i.e.* substrates). All in all, due to the constant contact and use of these two languages in Papua New Guinea (or even in *Wantok*, as presented in Chapter 6!), it is quite probable that Tok Pisin will not only derive further lexical items from English but also expand its grammar by borrowing certain patterns from English. This has been identified for the urban sociolect of Tok Pisin which is becoming more and more anglicised in terms of lexicon and grammar. It remains to be seen whether the standard variety, as used in *Wantok*, will also become so heavily anglicised, ultimately evolving into the acrolectal variety whose vocabulary and grammar are very close to those of English.

5.7. Chapter 5 recapitulation

The purpose of Chapter 5 has been to present selected aspects of Tok Pisin lexicon and grammar, to exemplify them with the relevant materials excerpted from *Wantok*, to assess the Tok Pisin of *Wantok* in terms of its conforming to the norms of the standard variety and to show that English still plays a major role in lexicon expansion and that this lexifier language has started to exert some influence on the grammar of the standard variety of Tok Pisin.

The materials, upon which the various analyses scrutinised both in Chapter 5 and Chapter 6 are based, come from the weekly newspaper *Wantok* which is written in large part in Tok Pisin. The major research method applied in this and the next chapter is that of linguistic observation: the linguistic facts which are present in the corpus are analysed and on this basis the conclusions are drawn. The first conclusion that has been arrived at is that *Wantok* Tok Pisin is a good example of the standard variety in terms of its spelling system. It generally complies with the rules stipulated by both Mihalic ([1971] 1989) and Verhaar (1995).

The second conclusion that has been reached concerns the lexicon of Tok Pisin. It appears that borrowing from English is still the most productive word-formation process although the other mechanisms are also employed to enrich the stock of Tok Pisin vocabulary. The mechanisms of word-building which have been identified to play some role in the expansion of Neomelanesian Pidgin English lexicon are, apart from the above-mentioned borrowing from English, affixation (suffixation), abbreviation, compounding, reduplication or conversion. No instances of blending, back-formation, clipping and coinage have been identified and it might be concluded that if there arises a need to name a new concept, the lexeme to name this concept is usually borrowed.

Thirdly, the basic elements of Tok Pisin grammar have been looked at. They also represent the standard form of the pidgin. An interesting observation that has been made is the fact that although Tok Pisin has its own means of marking plurality, in certain cases it uses the English suffix *–s*. This is one of the influences of English on the grammar of the researched language. The next interesting observation pertains to the emergence of the next preposition. Next to *bilong*, *long* and *wantaim*, there are some instances of the preposition *ov*. This preposition is certainly an indication that English has also influenced Tok Pisin grammar. Another finding concerns the verbal system of Tok Pisin: the TMA markers are so developed that this language cannot be said to be basic or rudimentary. This can also be supported by the quite developed system of personal pronouns which can be distinguished in terms

of their being exclusive and inclusive. This fact proves that despite the young age, this language has gone a long way from its formation and now it is the language with a whole gamut of complexities helping its users to express their meanings more precisely.

Fourthly, *Wantok* is a good place to observe the emergence of registers. The differences in the registers usually manifest themselves in vocabulary. On the basis of *Wantok*, it is possible to distinguish a number of registers, of which the languages of politics, of church and religion, of medicine, education and sports have been briefly discussed and exemplified.

Finally, all the mentions made of the influence of English on Tok Pisin lexicon and grammar have been summarised in 5.6., where it becomes evident that the English language is nowadays not merely a lexifier language, contributing its vocabulary, but it has also donated a few grammatical properties which are brought to light in this chapter.

All in all, Chapter 5 provides some evidence – in the forms of quotations from *Wantok* – that the language of this newspaper can be definitely regarded as a standard variety and that Tok Pisin is a living language which is continually developing into a lexically and grammatically more complex system of verbal communication and that his development is, in great part, due to borrowing from English.

CHAPTER 6

TOK PISIN IN *WANTOK*: LANGUAGE FUNCTIONS
AND LANGUAGE CHOICE

Chapter 6 presents two analyses. The first one aims at answering the question whether Tok Pisin can be successfully used to talk about nearly all subjects and whether its linguistic potential allows its users to express everything they want in this pidgin. In other words, the first study is an attempt to examine whether Tok Pisin has developed all language functions. Before the analysis proper, some theoretical issues connected with language functions are discussed. The model selected for the study of Tok Pisin language functions is the one based on the model proposed by Jakobson (1960) and therefore *Wantok* articles are viewed as communicative events consisting of six constitutive parts: addresser, context, message, contact, code and addressee. The six language functions (*i.e.* emotive, referential, poetic, phatic, metalinguistic and conative) which are analysed with respect to Tok Pisin correspond to the six elements of a communicative event. After the six language functions are examined, an attempt is made to establish a developmental hierarchy of these functions and correlate the developments of these functions to social facts. As has been repeated many times so far, it is impossible to study pidgins and creoles without paying attention to historical and social factors conditioning their formation and that is why it is viewed important to show that the emergence of a particular Tok Pisin language function is correlated with certain social circumstances.

The second part of Chapter 6 focuses on language choice in *Wantok* newspaper, which is sometimes claimed to publish only in Tok Pisin. As it turns out, there are quite many advertisements, public notices and announcements which are written in English. Hence, an attempt is made to find the answer to the question of what determines language choice and what the relationship between the use of Tok Pisin and that of English is. To put it differently, the goal of this study is to find out whether the phenomenon observed in *Wantok* advertisements, public notices and announcements is a kind of diglossia.

In this place, one remark must be made: in the further parts of this chapter, there are a number of references to *an average Papua New Guinean*. This should be understood as a person born and living in

Papua New Guinea, usually in a rural area, and having at least basic (passive) knowledge of Tok Pisin.

6.1. Tok Pisin language functions in *Wantok*

The majority of the definitions of *a pidgin language* hold that a pidgin is quite a simple vehicle of communication and that its functional potential (*i.e.* the number of functions it can serve) is rather minimal. In this section, it is demonstrated that Tok Pisin is an "unusual" pidgin language as it has developed to such an extent that it can be used in a wide array of domains to fulfil different functions. The analysis of Tok Pisin language functions is based on the use of Neomelanesian Pidgin English in *Wantok*. However, before the presentation of findings, a few words must be said about the theoretical background relevant to the study of language functions.

6.1.1. Theoretical background

The theoretical framework selected for the analysis of language functions of Tok Pisin in *Wantok* draws extensively on the models developed by Bühler and Jakobson. However, before dealing with the theory of language functions which constitutes the research framework for the analysis, it is worth explaining what is actually understood by the term *a language function*. In the present analysis, a language function is considered to be a property of Tok Pisin which can be characterised by the existence of linguistic resources which can be used to express facts, views, feelings, emotions, reflections, orders, appeals, requests *etc.* Hence, the present research focuses on finding whether Tok Pisin – being a pidgin – has enough linguistic resources so that it can be successfully used to talk about all the topics that can be discussed without any problems in a natural language such as English.

The issue of language functions (or *speech functions* as proposed by Jakobson (1960)) can be said to constitute part of the theory which deals with the complex process of human communication. One of the first versions of the theories trying to account for what communication is, what language is and how these two interact and interdepend was proposed by Karl Bühler (1934/2004). One of the main assumptions of his theory of language was that language is a tool (*organum*) used by an addresser to send some message to an addressee. The speech act is thus composed of a number of elements: an addresser, an addressee, acoustic symbols (*i.e.* sounds), carrying some meaning, which are related either to an addresser or an addressee or to both at the same time or to the objects, events or mental states being the themes of the message. According to Bühler, the language functions observed in such speech

acts can be of three types: expressive (when the focus is on an addresser), impressive (when the focus is on an addressee) and referential (when the focus is on the objects and event being the topics of the message) (*e.g.* Bühler 1934/2004, Polański 2004).

An expanded version of Bühler's theory was formulated by Jakobson (1960) who developed a *speech event model* with six language factors and six language functions. The six factors which constitute a speech event (or *a communicative act/event* as it is referred to hereinafter) are presented in the following figure:

CONTEXT

MESSAGE

ADDRESSER --- **ADDRESSEE**
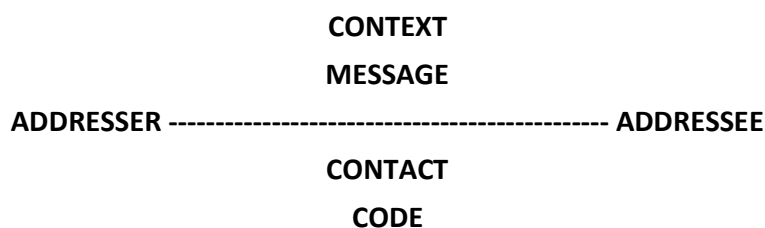
CONTACT

CODE

Figure 15. Jakobson's speech event factors[36]

As presented in the above speech event model, communication takes place when there is some message (formulated in a given code, *i.e.* language) produced in a certain context by an addresser in contact with an addressee. Of course, such a message may be both written or oral and the contact does not have to be direct. *Wantok* is a good example of indirect written contact between an addresser and an addressee.

As above-mentioned, Jakobson also distinguished six language functions: emotive, referential, poetic, phatic, metalinguistic and conative (Jakobson 1960, after: Duranti 1997: 284). The emotive language function is also called "expressive" or "affective" and it is used to stress the addresser's feelings and attitudes. The referential function of language (sometimes also referred to as "cognitive", "denotative", "informative" or "representative") is used primarily in the descriptions of objects, events or abstract concepts. It may be said that the referential function is connected with context. Then, there is the poetic function (also known as "aesthetic" or "rhetorical") which is utilised primarily to draw the addressee's attention to the use of language elements (words, sounds *etc.*) in some (sometimes – unexceptional) way. By using this function, the addresser may wish to evoke some reactions in the addressee. This function can be observed, for example, in word plays, puns, alliterations *etc.* In some cases, thanks to the use of the poetic function, "(…) the form of the message control[s] the content" (Duranti 1997: 286). The phatic function (also known as "relational" or "contact") is observed when both participants – the addresser and the ad-

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dressee – establish, continue or finish contact. The metalinguistic function (also known as "metalingual" or "reflexive"; or as "metasemiotic" when used to refer to a means of communication other than linguistic, *e.g.* visual) is the one in which language is used to talk about language. So each grammar book or dictionary is a good example of the metalinguistic function in use. The sixth function suggested by Jakobson is the conative one (also referred to as "appellative", "directive" or "imperative") which focuses on the addressee. By making use of this function, the addresser wants the addressee to perform some activity or to act in a particular way (*e.g.* Duranti 1997, Hébert 2006).

The above language functions are closely related with the constitutive elements of the Jakobson's speech event model. These correlations are presented in the following figure:

<div align="center">

Referential function *focuses on*

CONTEXT

Poetic function *focuses on*

MESSAGE

Emotive function *focuses on*   **Conative function *focuses on***

ADDRESSER --- **ADDRESSEE**

Phatic function *focuses on*

CONTACT

Metalinguistic function *focuses on*

CODE

</div>
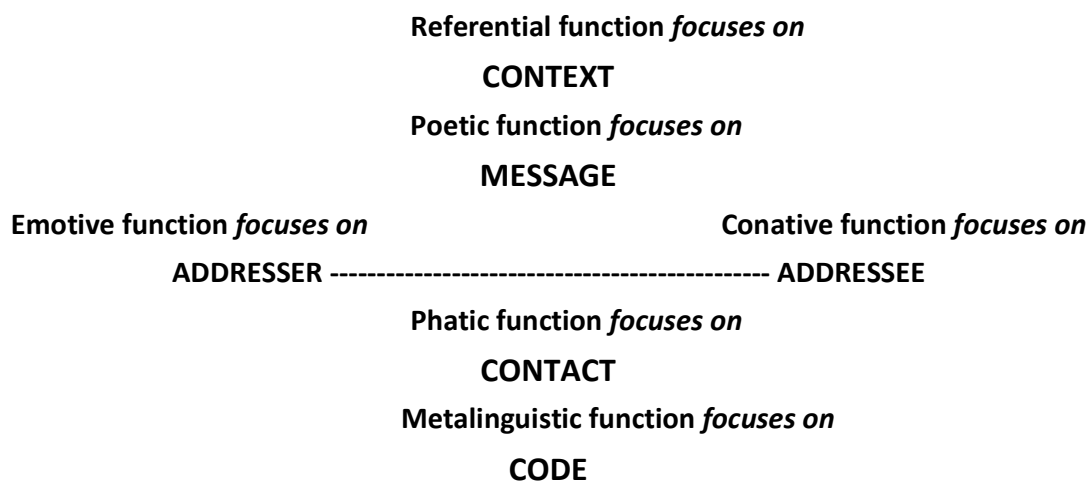
Figure 16. Speech event elements and corresponding language functions[37]

It needs to be stressed that this model has of course been further elaborated by other scholars since it was first proposed but generally the distinction into the six language functions has remained stable. What is more, the above assumptions worked out by Bühler and particularly by Jakobson seem to constitute a good research framework for the analysis of languages which are sometimes claimed to be poorer in terms of their linguistic resources. Pidgins are a good case in point because, as has already be reiterated many times, they are usually quite simple means of basic communication and they lack linguistic resources (*i.e.* grammar and lexicon) needed to realise all of the six functions. However, it is shown below that Tok Pisin – which is an expanded pidgin – has developed its grammar and lexicon to such an extent that it can successfully perform most language functions defined above.

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[37] This figure was drawn up on the basis of Duranti 1997: 284.

6.1.2. Analysis of Tok Pisin language functions

At the outset, one remark must be made. It is generally assumed that *Wantok* is written in Tok Pisin but from the present analysis it emerges that actually some parts of *Wantok* are written in English. However, all English-language materials published in *Wantok* have been excluded from this analysis as it is important to discover the language functions of *Tok Pisin* – not of English, which is well known to be able to perform all of the six functions. The relation between the use of Tok Pisin and English has been studied in the other analysis, presented in 6.2.

As said before, the main aim of the present analysis is to show to what degree Tok Pisin has developed the six language functions and how these functions are realised as well as to provide the answer to the question why some of these functions have been better developed than the others. The initial assumption is that Tok Pisin is so developed in terms of its lexicon and grammar (both constituting its referential and expressive potential) that its use is much wider than the use of typical pidgins which are spoken to facilitate communication in quite basic situations. An attempt is made to demonstrate that modern Neomelanesian Pidgin English, being quite a young language (approximately one hundred and fifty years old), can be successfully used as a carrier of nearly all kinds of information in a written form (*i.e.* published in *Wantok*) and this is illustrated by the examples excerpted from different types of *Wantok* writing and on a big variety of topics, from church matters through music and sport to business.

The procedure of the analysis, based on the articles of *Wantok* issues constituting the corpus, consists in:
  a) identifying the presence/absence of a given function (the functions are analysed in the order in which they appear on the Jakobson's model, that is, emotive, referential, poetic, phatic, metalinguistic, conative);
  b) (if it turns out that a function is absent) attempting to find justification for the absence of a function;
  c) identifying linguistic means by which a given function is activated;
  d) establishing which function(s) could have developed first and best, and specifying reasons for this; attempting to build a developmental hierarchy of Tok Pisin functions.

6.1.2.1. Establishing the elements of a communicative event model for *Wantok*

One of the key assumptions of the Jakobson's model is that there are six constitutive elements of a communication act. If a written material – be

it a newspaper article, a newspaper report, a letter, a column, a commentary, an advertisement or an announcement – all types of written texts which are published in *Wantok* and which are subjected to the present analysis – is considered to constitute a communicative act because there is some addresser who writes some message, using some code, to communicate it to an addressee under certain circumstances (in a given context), then there arises a need to define the parts of this act. However, it seems impossible to fully define a communicative act which would be valid for all written communication which appears in *Wantok*. The materials under analysis have different addressers, are about different things and the addressee is – in many cases – also different. Nevertheless, a general model can be composed of the following elements:

CONTEXT

Depending on the issue being described;

MESSAGE

Depending on the issue being described;

ADDRESSER --- **ADDRESSEE**

Text authors (e.g. columnist / letter author / Wantok journalists);

CONTACT

Depending on the type of text; established through Wantok;

Wantok readers / Wantok editorial staff (in the case of letters);

CODE

Tok Pisin – standard (rural) variety as used in Wantok;

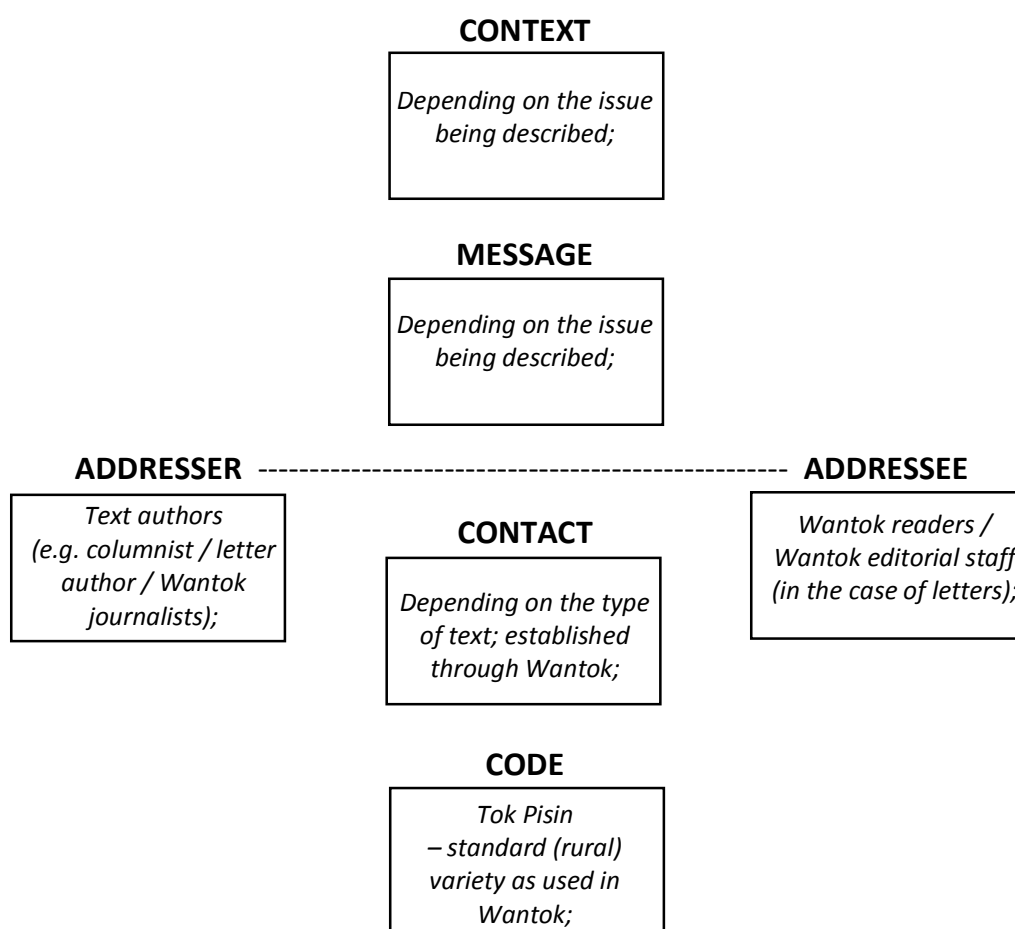*Figure 17. General model of communication in Wantok*

6.1.2.2. Emotive (expressive, affective) function of Tok Pisin

The expressive function of any language can be manifested in many ways, particularly in an addresser's attitude to what he/she writes or talks about. Tok Pisin has certainly developed this language function and it can be observed mostly in the pieces of writing whose authors

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express their own points of view on a particular subject. In the material under analysis, the emotive function of Tok Pisin has been found mainly in two kinds of newspaper writing: in columns and in letters to *Wantok* editorial staff. These are genres of newspaper writing which enable their authors to express their opinions on a given topic. One more genre which has been established to represent Tok Pisin emotive function is an interview, where the interviewee expresses his/her own opinion on some issue.

Columns constitute important parts of *Wantok* section titled *Sios nius* ("Church news"). The following examples present the excerpted fragments of the texts published under *Sios nius*, in which the emotive function is well visible:

(1) Tingim histri
OLSEM planti wantok bilong mi bilong Inglan, mi gat bikpela laik long histri. Histri em i bikpela samting long yumi.
(…)
Mipela ol "Brits" o ol lain bilong Briten i bin groap harim ol stori bilong robin Hud na King Arthur, ol King na Kwin na (…).
(…)
Yumi wan wan i gat wok long mekim bilong raitim na lukautim histri bilong PNG na ol pikinini na bubu i kam bihain I ken lukim. Na yumi gat ol samting bilong mekim kamap dispela.
Yumi ken rait, yumi gat ol video na ol odia rekoda.
(…) (Peter Fox, *Wantok* 1613: 11)
[Remember history
Like my many compatriots from England, I have a big love for history. History is an important thing for us.
(…)
We the "Brits" are the people from Britain who grew up listening to stories about Robin Hood and King Arthur, Kings and Queens and (…).
Each of us has some work on writing and researching PNG history and the children and babies of the future can see it. And we have the things to make this start.
(…)
We can write, we have the video and audio recorders.]

(2) Save gut long stail bilong meri
WANPELA pikinini meri bilong susa bilong mi, em olgeta taim em i was was pinis na putim klos, komim gras na bilasim pes bilong em pinis, em i save kam long mi na askim mi long Bahasa Indonesia "Om, saya cantik atau tidak" (Ankol, mi smat o nogat?).
(…)
Naispela klos wanpela meri i werim (putim) em i no mekim dis-pela meri i kamap smat (beautiful). Bodi na gras bilong meri tu i

no mekim em i kamap smat. Smat (stail) bilong meri i stap long ai bilong em, olsem wanem em i lukim dispela wol. Bikos insait long ai bilong em i gat bikpela dua i go insait long lewa o bel bilong olgeta manmeri, na insait long bel bilong olgeta manmeri, laik pasin i save kamap na grow.

Stail bilong meri i no stap long naispela pes bilong em. Nogat. Trupela smat bilong meri i stap insait long bel bilong em. Trupela Laik pasin na bel isi i save kamaut long trupela smat long bel bilong em. Na dispela smat insail long bel bilong em i no save pinis. (Fr. Paul Liwun, SVD, *Wantok* 1628: 10)

[Find out about a girl's style

Whenever one daughter of my sister finishes washing herself, dressing up, combing hair and making her face up, she comes to me and asks me in Bahasa Indonesia "Om, saya cantik atau tidak" (Uncle, do I look smart or don't I?)

Nice clothes a girl wears (puts on) do not make this girl appear smart (beautiful). A girl's body and hair too do not make her appear smart. A girl's style is located in her eye, and this is that shines in this world. Because inside her eye there is a big door which goes into the heart of all people, and inside people's heart, passion for love appears and grows.

A girl's style is not present on a girl's nice face. No. A real style of a girl lives in her heart. Real passion for love and heart slowly come out from a true style of her heart. And this style inside her heart does not finish.]

In (1) the expressive function is activated by the use of emotionally marked vocabulary such as *planti wantok bilong mi* ("my many compatriots") or *bikpela laik long histri* ("big love for history"). Moreover, the addresser uses many first person pronouns: *mipela* ("we", exclusive pronoun) and *yumi* ("we", inclusive pronoun). He is certainly very positive about writing the history of a given country, which can be suggested even by the very title of the text: *Tingim histri* ("Remember history"). The text in (2) is a bit different but still it is possible to detect the emotive function of Tok Pisin. The addresser describes his views on the topic of a girl's style by referring to his experience (*Wanpela pikinini meri bilong susa bilong mi (...) i save kam long mi na askim mi (...)* ("one daughter of my sister (...) comes to me and asks me (...)"). The emotive function is activated by, first of all, the use of the pronouns *mi* (*e.g. susa bilong mi* ("my sister"); *kam long mi* ("comes to me")) and the very overtone of the text. The addresser, who is a priest, even reinforces his views on the girl's style by using metaphors (*insait long ai bilong em i gat bikpela dua* ("inside her eye there is a big door")) and the negative particle *nogat*. All in all, it is evident from these two quotations that Tok Pisin has linguistic resources to perform the expressive function.

The other category of newspaper texts in which the emotive function of Tok Pisin is well highlighted is letters. Letters are, arguably, particularly good examples of the emotive function in use because they often express directly the addresser's point of view in a clear and explicit way. The following three letters in Tok Pisin use the emotive function of this language:

(3) Mi gat 19 krismas na klostu taim bai mi gat bebi. Dispela em i wanpela gutpela nius long wanpela meri i mekim tasol i no long taim mi gat 19 krismal tasol na tu i no marit.
Nau mi wari tru olsem driman bilong mi long dispela boi mi save laikim i bagarap long wanem mi no lukim em moa.
Mi wari tu olsem bihain taim bilong mi i bagarap, long wanem samting i kamap.
Mi wari tu olsem samting i nais olsem seks i ken kamap samting bilong bringim sem.
Mi wari tu olsem pikinini husat bai kam insait long dispela wol bai kamap long kain rot olsem na mi wari tu olsem mi 19 tasol na mi pundaun long dispela gris. (*Wantok* 1592: 22)
[I am 19 years old and soon I will have a baby. This is good news for a woman to make but not while I am only 19 and I am not married too.
Now I am really worried that my dream about the boy I love will be ruined because I will not see him any more.
I am also worried that later I will be tired of what will come.
I am also worried that something nice like sex can come to something that brings shame.
I am also worried that the child who comes to this world will go along a similar road and I am also worried that I am only 19 and I will become so fat.]

(4) Dia Edita,
Mi laik tokaut sampela samting mi lukim i no gutpela bai ol manmeri i ken skelim, em gutpela o nogut.
Yumi tok PNG em i Kristen kantri, tasol sampela samting o advetismen mi lukim long EMTV em i no gutpela tumas na mi askim sapos Konsuma Afeas inap toksave long EMTV bai rausim sampela ol piksa nogut ol i save soim.
(...)
Mi askim inap EMTV i onaim PNG olsem Kristen kantri na rausim ol kain piksa nogut long skrin o nogat? O inap Kansuma Afeas luksave long dispela kain piksa na tokim EMTV long rausim o nogat? (...) (*Wantok* 1601: 14)
[Dear Editor,
I want to tell about some thing I see as bad and people can judge whether it is good or not. We say that PNG is a Christian country, however, some things or commercials I see on EMTV are not very good

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and I am asking if Consumers' Affairs is able to persuade EMTV to remove some of the bad pictures it shows.

(…)

I am asking EMTV to honour that PNG is a Christian country and remove all kinds of bad pictures from the screen, or not? Or, let Consumers' Affairs analyse this kind of pictures and tell EMTV to remove them, or not?]

(5) Dia Edita,

MI LAIK raitim dispela pas i go long Wantok Niuspepa na tok kros i go long dispela hevi bilong korapsen o stil pasin i wok long kamap bikpela tru long Is Sepik dipatmen we ol sinia pablik seven i stilim planti mani klostu long K8 milien.

(…)

Bilong wanem na Praim Minista Sir Michael Somare na Gavana bilong Is Sepik i pasim maus na i no toktok ol dispela samting? (*Wantok* 1615: 14)

[Dear Editor,

I want to write this letter to Wantok Niuspepa and express my anger towards this problem of corruption or thievery which is really growing up in East Sepik department where the senior public servants steal much money – nearly K8 million.

Why do Prime Minister Sir Michael Somare and East Sepik governor shut their mouths and do not talk about these things?]

As can be seen from the above letters, their addressers' opinions on the topic being described are clear. Especially (3) is a good example of a text in which the addresser focuses on herself by describing her situation. It emerges from this letter that the addresser is afraid of her future life. This is manifested by many instances of the use of the pronoun *mi* ("I") as well as by the repetition of the phrase *Mi wari tu olsem…*("I am also worried that…"), which emphasises the seriousness of the addresser's problem. This text also contains some emotionally marked words such as *bagarap* ("be ruined") or *sem* ("shame"). In (4) the emotive function of Tok Pisin is manifested, among others, in the attitude to the problem expressed by such phrases as *mi lukim i no gutpela* ("I see as bad"), *rausim ol kain piksa* ("remove all kinds of pictures"). Moreover, the addresser makes a kind of request, which may be thought to stress his point of view (*Mi askim inap EMTV i onaim PNG olsem Kristen kantri na rausim ol kain piksa nogut long skrin o nogat?* ("I am asking EMTV to honour that PNG is a Christian country and remove all kinds of bad pictures from the screen, or not?")). In (5), again, there is a multiple use of the pronoun *mi*. In (4), which also contains many instances of the pronoun *mi*, the addresser expresses his anger by using such expressions as *tok kros* ("express anger"), *korapsen* ("corruption"), *stil pasin* ("thievery"), which are emotionally marked. The letter finishes with a

rhetorical question: *Bilong wanem na Praim Minista Sir Michael Somare na Gavana bilong Is Sepik i pasim maus na i no toktok ol dispela samting?* ("Why do Prime Minister Sir Michael Somare and East Sepik governor shut their mouths and do not talk about these things?"). As indicated above, the emotive function of Tok Pisin is also used in letters, in which their addressers are particularly emotional about the issues they touch upon.

The third type of *Wantok* writing in which the emotive function of the language under analysis is present is an interview. Actually, in *Wantok* there are no typical interviews, in which an interviewer asks an interviewee questions which the latter provides answers to. Instead, there are elements of interviews incorporated in articles. One of such elements where the expressive function comes out is the following excerpt:

(6) "Tru tumas, namba wan albam bilong mi i no bin gutpela tumas. Em i bagarap olgeta na i karim bikpela hevi tru long maket. Mi yet mi bin rong," Timothy i tokim mi.
"Nau mi luksave pinis olsem mi bin hariap tumas na mi no bin isi long skelim gut musik na meking gutpela singsing". (*Wantok* 1628: 2)
["That's very true, my first album was not very good. It is completely bad and it takes a really big responsibility for the market. I myself was wrong," Timothy told me.
"Now I found out that I was too much in a hurry and I was not careful choosing good music and making good songs."]

As in the previous examples, in (6) the author of the quoted words in expressing his discontent with the previous album quite frequently uses the pronoun *mi*, stressing his position as the addresser of this text. There are some intensifying lexemes such as *olgeta* ("completely") or *tumas* ("very") which may be treated as indicators of the author's dissatisfaction.

From the examples (1)-(6) it can be assumed that Tok Pisin has developed the emotive function. This language function involves the use of the following linguistic resources:

a) first person pronouns: *mi*, *yumi*, which directly show that a given text pertains to the addresser(s);

b) use of emotionally marked words, including the negation such as *nogat* in (2), which show the addresser's attitude to the issue he/she describes;

c) rhetorical questions as in (5).

The emotive function of Tok Pisin would probably be easier to identify in a spoken version of this language because a speaker while

expressing his/her emotions in a language often uses paralinguistic clues such as gestures, mimicry, intonation, speech tempo *etc.* Generally speaking, Tok Pisin can be successfully used to talk about emotions, feelings, attitudes *etc.*, which is manifested in the above examples.

6.1.2.3. Referential (informative, representative) function of Tok Pisin

Taking into consideration the fact that Tok Pisin arose primarily as a language of exchanging information in rather simple situations and on a restricted range of topics, it is undeniable that the referential function which is used to describe objects, phenomena, events, mental states and abstract concepts was one of the first to emerge.

The referential function of Tok Pisin is used to convey information and therefore it can be said to be the most obvious language function of all and that it is present in almost all written materials published in *Wantok*. As the primary function of *Wantok* is to provide information on various aspects of life, it goes without saying that Tok Pisin must possess linguistic resources to realise this function.

Finding the examples of the informative function of Tok Pisin in use is not a difficult task as almost all articles bear witness that this function is indeed present. The following introductions to the articles on different topics can be good examples:

(1) Lukluk long ol liklik kaikaik tu
FPDC progrem helpim tru ol pipel
Gary Fagan i raitim
PLANTI ol grup bilong ol meri long Nesenel Kepitel Distrik (NCD) i wok long groim balb anian nau bihain long Fresh Produce Development Company (FPCD) i bin kamapim wanpela gutpela promosen long em.
(…) (*Wantok* 1556: 24)
[Search for small food
FPCD programme really help people
Gary Fagan writes
Many groups of women in National Capital District are now busy growing bulb onion following Fresh Produce Development Company (FPCD) which began a good promotion for it.]

(2) Raskol bagarapim meri na bihain kilim em
OL MAN nogut i bagarapim wanpela 21 yia skul meri long Lae na bihain kilim em i dai long Sande monin long Bumbu.
(…). (*Wantok* 1558: 5)
[Rascals hurt a girl and later kill her
Wicked men hurt one 21-year-old school girl in Lae and later kill her. She died on Sunday morning in Bumbu.]

(3) Strongpela yia bilong PNG musik...
Lukluk bek long 2004
Neville Choi i raitim
LONG dispela yia, i gat planti nupela samting i bin kamap long musik indastri insait long kantri.
Sampela nupela musik ben i bin kamap wantaim ol nupela stail PNG musik, sampela musik atis bilong PNG yet i bin gat sans long go pilai na singsing wantaim ol musik sta bilong ol arapela kantri insaint long Saut Pasifik, na tu i bin i gat ol nupela stail music na singsing i kam long ol biknem music atis bilong yumi.
(...) (*Wantok* 1589: 20)
[A good year for Papua New Guinea music...
Looking back on 2004
Neville Choi writes
This year, there were many new things which appeared in the music industry in the country.
Some new music bands came up with new styles of Papua New Guinea music, some music artists from Papua New Guinea still had the chance to play and sing with music stars from other countries of the South Pacific and there were also new music styles and festivals which attracted our famous music artists.
(...)]

(4) DISPELA tupela wantok bilong Tanzania long Afrika, Helen Kigodi na pikinini meri bilong em Alice em ol sumatin long Yunivesiti ov Papua Niugini. Helen i skul long kisim Bachelor of Science bilong em na Alice i mekim Science Foundation. Tupela wantaim ol arapela UPNG sumatin na bikmanmeri bilong Rotary International i bin makim bikpela de bilong Rotary International. Rotary em wanpela grup i gat ol lain long olgeta hap long wol husat i save givim save na han bilong ol long mekim ol komyuniti wok. (*Wantok* 1597: 1)
[These two compatriots from Tanzania in Africa are Helen Kigodi and her daughter Alice who are students of the University of Papua New Guinea. Helen studies in order to get Bachelor of Science and Alice is doing a Science Foundation. These two along with other University of Papua New Guinea students and important people from Rotary International marked an important day time for Rotary International. Rotary is a group which has lines (of people) all over the world who give knowledge and help to all those who do the community work.]

(5) Boi Minj i no sem long tilim kondom long pablik
... Minj em ples nogut bilong HIV/AIDS long Westen Hailans
James Kila raitim
WANPELA yanpela man bilong Minj, Douglas Konmil i no wari hot san i kikim em taim em i wokabout na givim aut ol kondom paket long ol manemri long Minj taun.

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(…) (*Wantok* 1615: 18)
[A boy in Minj was not ashamed to deal out condoms to the public
Minj is a place of ill repute for HIV/AIDS in Western Highlands.
James Kila writes
One young man from Minj, Douglas Konmil was not worried about the hot sun which was burning him when he was walking and giving out the condom packets to people in Minj town.]

(6) Hailans jon lig sempionsip
HAILANS Jon Lig sempionsip bilong Anda 19 na Sinia pilai bai kamap long Goroka.
PNG Ragbi Futbol Lig jenerol menesa Joe Tokam i tok Anda 19 pilai bai kamap na stat long Fraide Julai 15 i go inap long Sarere Julai 16 we ol lig husat inap salim tim bilong ol long dispela pilai em Ialibu, Imbongu, Kurumul, Mendi, Mt Hagen, Tari na Goroka.
(*Wantok* 1615: 30)
[Highlands join league championship
Highlands join league championship of under 19 [junior] and senior game will begin in Goroka.
Papua New Guinean Rugby Football general manager Joe Tokam has said junior game will begin on Friday, July 15 and will last until Saturday, July 16. The leagues which are able to send their team to this game are Ialibu, Imbongu, Kurumul, Mendi, Mt Hagen, Tari and Goroka.]

(7) Red Cross helpim lokol komyuniti
Adrew Molem i raitim
NUPELA wok bung namel long Papua Niugini Sastenabol Divelopmen (PNGSD) na PNG Red Kros sosaiti bai lukim kirap bilong planti gutpela komyuniti projek long helpim ol pipel.
(…) (*Wantok* 1645: 8)
[Red Cross helps local community
Adrew Molem writes
New joint work of Papua New Guinea Sustainable Development (PNGSD) and Papua New Guinea Red Cross society will see how many good community projects to help people are started.
(…)]

All of the above examples – taken from different sections of *Wantok* – are to demonstrate the referential function of Tok Pisin. This function has a number of properties which manifest themselves in the above excerpts. First of all, the informative function is rather neutral in expression. In the examples above, which are of various kinds and on various topics, there are few (if any!) subjective views expressed by their author(s)/addresser(s). The use of adjectives expressing some kind of value (*i.e.* evaluative adjectives) (*e.g. strongpela* ("good") in (3) or *gutpela* ("good") in (7)) is rather sporadic for what counts here is giving a true account of the facts and not to assess these facts in terms

of their value. This means that the above texts are not aimed at providing any kind of judgments – they just report the facts without assessing them; they describe the facts. Secondly, such texts as the ones above focus on the context so there are no words or phrases which might refer to the addresser or the addressee of the message. Thirdly, as above-mentioned, the context is of paramount importance here and therefore the point of view applied in these fragments is that of the third person. This may be supported by the fact that there are some uses of the demonstrative pronoun *dispela* (as in (3): *dispela yia* ("this year") or (4): *dispela tupela wantok* ("these two compatriots")). Moreover, the third person pronouns seem to be the prevalent pronouns present in the texts where the focus in on the referential function (e.g. *em* ("it") in (1), *em* ("she"/"her") in (2) and in (4) or *em* ("he"/"him") in (5)). The texts in (1)-(7) are clearly descriptive – they describe the facts in a neutral way by means of using neutral nouns and verbs. All in all, as claimed in the introduction to this section, it is not difficult to provide examples of Tok Pisin referential function in use because this was probably the first function which was developed in this language. Moreover, this function is always well visible in all kinds of newspapers whose aim is to provide rather objective information by relating and describing the facts.

6.1.2.4. Poetic (aesthetic, rhetorical) function of Tok Pisin

The use of the poetic function in a text is connected with the creative use of a language so the poetic function is manifested in such texts where words or/and grammar structures are used, mostly intentionally, in some unusual way. The poetic language function is thus message-oriented. This means that the very message, or rather its structure and organisation, is the most important. Of course, this function is present in poetry but also in other genres of writing such as advertisements.

In the corpus under analysis only one direct instance of Tok Pisin poetic function has been found. This is an Easter poem, published in the Easter issue of *Wantok* (1601: 17):

(1) Jisas em i wanem samting long mi?
Jisas em i Toktok, bilong mipela long toktok;
Jisas em i Tok Tru, bilong mipela long tokaut;
Jisas em i Lait, bilong mipela long laitim tudak;
Jisas em i Laip, bilong mipela long stap laip;
Jisas em i Laikim, bilong mipela long laikim;
Jisas em i Amamas, bilong mipela long serim;
Jisas em i Bel isi, bilong mipela long givim;
Jisas em i Bret bilong laip, bilong mipela long kaikai;

Jisis em i Hangre, bilong mipela long givim kaikai long en;
Jisas em i Nogat klos, bilong mipela long givim klos long en;
Jisas em i Nogat Haus, bilong mipela long tok welkam;
Jisas em i Sik, bilong mipela long stretim;
Jisas em i Nogat poroman, bilong mipela long laikim;
Jisas i nogat lain i laikim em, bilong mipela long laikim em;
Jisas em ol lain i Sik long het, bilong mipela long lukautim;
Jisas em i Aipas, bilong mipela long soim rot;
Jisas em i Mauspas, bilong mipela long toktok;
Jisas em i nogat gutpela lek, bilong mipela long wokabout;
Jisas em i wanpela Pamuk meri, bilong mipela long banisim em long taim nogut;
Jisas em Mama ol i pantim, bilong mipela long lukautim;
Jisas em i Pikinini, bilong mipela long karim;
Jisas em i Kalabus, bilong mipela long visitim;
Jisas em i Lapun, bilong mipela long onaim na sevim;
Bikos wanem samting mipela I mekim long ol brata na susa bilong mipeka,
Mipela i mekim long Krais.
[What does Jesus mean to me?
Jesus is the words we speak;
Jesus is our truth to reveal;
Jesus is our light to light darkness;
Jesus is our life to live;
Jesus is our love to love;
Jesus is our relief to give;
Jesus is our bread of life to eat;
Jesus is our hunger to feed;
Jesus is our nakedness to cover with clothes;
Jesus is our homelessness to welcome;
Jesus is our disease to heal;
Jesus is the lonely for us to befriend;
Jesus is our non-friend to like;
Jesus is our non-ancestors who love him, to love them;
Jesus is all our mentally ill people to look after;
Jesus is our blind people to guide;
Jesus is our mute people to speak;
Jesus is our ill leg to take a walk;
Jesus is a prostitute to shelter by us from bad weather;
Jesus is our hurt mother to look after;
Jesus is our child to carry;
Jesus is our prison to visit;
Jesus is or elderly to honour and serve;
Because all that we do for our brothers and sisters
We do for Christ.]

The poem in (1) can be considered to use the poetic function as this is an example of using words in a creative way: the reiteration of the phrase *Jisas em i…* is probably to serve some purpose. Moreover, this seeming monotony of the structure of the poem is also another indication that the poetic function is involved for in non-poetic texts the authors rather avoid repeating the same structure over and over again unless they have a reason for it (which again may lie in drawing the reader's/addressee's attention to the use of words).

Although (1) was the only direct instance of the use of Tok Pisin poetic function in the corpus, saying that Tok Pisin has not developed it at all would be far from the truth. The problem of very few instances of the poetic function in use in *Wantok* lies probably in the fact that this newspaper aims at providing information and the whole publishing space is filled with news, articles and other forms of newspaper writing focused on factual information but not with creative writing.

It has been said that (1) is a *direct* example of the poetic function. This entails that the presence of this function of Tok Pisin in *Wantok* may be attested by some *indirect* references. A good illustration of the above is found in *Wantok* music sections where there are some references to songs written and sung in Tok Pisin. If a song sung in Tok Pisin is considered to represent a creative use of Tok Pisin, then it must certainly involve the use of the poetic function because, as is generally known, many songs contain word plays, rhythm, rhymes *etc.* which are clear manifestations of the poetic function in use. A reference (as opposed to a direct example represented by (1), called *indirect example*) to a song created and performed in Neomelanesian Pidgin English is contained in the following excerpt:

(2) Ngaiire – Nupela musik sta bilong PNG
     (…)
     Long dispela taim tu bai em i lonsim namba wan singsing bilong em long nambawan CD bilong em ol i kolim "Lav sa giaman". (*Wantok* 1615: 20)

     [Ngaiire – a new music star from Papua New Guinea
     This time too, she will be launching her first song from her first CD which is called "Lav sa giaman" <"Love tells lies">.]

Other indirect examples are included in *Yumi FM National Weekly Hitparade* – the music charts in which next to English-language songs, there are songs performed in Tok Pisin. Thanks to the Internet it has been possible to check whether the songs with Tok Pisin-sounding titles are really in this language. It turned out that, for instance, songs like *Mi no bin tok* ("I didn't speak") sung by DadiiGii (*Wantok* 1615: 22) or

Mi no les ("I am not lazy") performed by Nagua (*Wantok* 1657: 22) are indeed in Neomelanesian Pidgin English. This supports the view that Tok Pisin has developed its poetic function.

Finally, the poetic function is quite often well visible in advertisements. Unfortunately, the advertisements in Tok Pisin found in the corpus under analysis are rather informative and hardly ever do they contain unique combinations of words/sounds and hence the poetic function has not been identified in them. Two advertisements, however, may be interesting because they can be said to include at least partial alliteration – the repetition of the sound /w/ in (3) and /b/ in (4):

  (3) Winim weekend wokabout bilong mama (*Wantok* 1556: 1)
      [Win a weekend trip for mum.]
  (4) (...) Tru Buli Bif Bilong PNG. (*Wantok* 1615: 1)
      [Real bully beef from Papua New Guinea]

It is, however, not known whether the use of the three words with the sound /w/ and /b/ in (3) and (4), respectively was to make the advertisement look/sound more attractive or whether it was just accidental.

Summing up the discussion of Tok Pisin poetic function, it is worth saying that this function has been identified in few cases. What can only be said about this function it that it is not totally absent from Tok Pisin but it seems that it has yet to be more developed in the written variety of Tok Pisin. The minute presence of the texts in which the poetic function is evident may be explained by two factors: first of all, *Wantok* is a news- and factual information-oriented newspaper so there is little space for the genres which exploit the poetic function (*e.g.* poems, songs) most; secondly, it has to be borne in mind that many people in Papua New Guinea are still illiterate and they use Tok Pisin only in its spoken version. They certainly create some kind of oral literature (not written) such as folk tales, songs, legends, nursery rhymes *etc.* and probably these genres are better examples of the poetic function than the ones analysed in *Wantok*.

6.1.2.5. Phatic (relational, contact) function of Tok Pisin

The phatic function is connected with establishing, keeping and terminating contact between the addresser and the addressee. The formulae which are generally thought to be the manifestations of the phatic function rarely carry any real meaning; instead they are important from the social point of view because thanks to such expressions contact between the participants of a communicative event is established.

The phatic function of Tok Pisin is obviously most prominent in the spoken variety of this language and definitely less in the written

variety. In spoken Tok Pisin, establishing contact, which is often prior to any exchange of information, can be done by means of various greeting formulae (usually borrowed from English) such as *Hey* ("Hi", "Hey"), *Gude* ("Good day!")*, Gutbai* ("Good bye!"), *You stap gut?* ("How are you?"), other small talk phrases such as *Mi amamas long mitim yu* ("I am pleased to meet you") as well as by different interjections whose meaning is often context-dependent. It seems that *Wantok* is not a good source of such phrases because it involves the written variety. However, it turns out that even in *Wantok* there are some phrases which fulfil the phatic function of Tok Pisin. They are used in two kinds of *Wantok* writing: in letters and in comic strips.

The letters written to Wantok usually start with the phrase:

(1) Dia Edita (*e.g. Wantok* 1597: 14, *Wantok* 1601: 14; Wantok 1628: 14)
[Dear Editor]

The formula in (1) is used almost in all letters, the exceptions being the letters written to the column *Laipstail* ("Lifestyle") where the following expression is used:

(2) Dia Laipstail (*e.g. Wantok* 1592: 22, *Wantok* 1595: 22, *Wantok* 1601: 24)
[Dear Lifestyle]

When answering the letters published in *Laipstail* ("Lifestyle"), the columnists use the following formula:

(3) Dia Pren (*e.g. Wantok* 1592: 22, *Wantok* 1595: 22, *Wantok* 1601: 24)
[Dear Friend]

It can be claimed that (1), (2) and (3) are written formulae of phatic character which aim at establishing contact between the participants of a communicative event (*i.e.* the addresser – the author of the letter or letter reply (as in (3)) and the addressee(s) – *Wantok* readers/*Wantok* editorial staff).

As above-mentioned, (1), (2) and (3) are not the only types of the expressions of phatic character as there are many more which have been identified in comic strips which are published in *Wantok*. These genres of *Wantok* writing may be said to constitute communicative events with the involvement of spoken Tok Pisin because they are written is such a way so as to represent the language as spoken by the comic strip characters. From the bubbles of *Wantok* comic strips, the following examples of the phatic function in use have been excerpted:

(4) Hei! Theresa, yu orait o? (*Wantok* 1556: 9)

[Hey, Theresa, are you all right?]

(5) Hey, bikman! (*Wantok* 1558: 4)

[Hey, man!]

(6) Yes, bro! (*Wantok* 1592: 26)

[Yes, brother!]

(7) Hey, solwaea i go we?! (*Wantok* 1595: 26)

[Hey, where did the sea go?]

(8) Hey, Bara… (*Wantok* 1597: 4)

[Hey, Bara…]

(9) Hoi! (*Wantok* 1598: 24)

[Hey!]

(10) Hei, Brada. (*Wantok* 1615: 2)

[Hey, brother!]

(11) Halo… (*Wantok* 1616: 2)

[Halo…]

(12) Welkam to PNG Prinses Ann! (*Wantok* 1628: 15)

[Welcome to Papua New Guinea Princess Ann!]

(13) Moning Fada!! (*Wantok* 1628: 23)

[Good morning Father!!]

(14) Hey yu… (*Wantok* 1641: 23)

[Hey you…]

As can be seen from (4)-(14), the majority of the phrases of phatic character are greeting formulae. They are used mostly to establish contact between the addresser and the addressee. Unfortunately, no instances of contact-sustaining and contact-terminating phrases have been identified in the corpus.

The above examples (1)-(14) support the claim that Tok Pisin has also developed its phatic function. This can be reasonably justified by the fact that the first users of Neomelanesian Pidgin English (*i.e.* European colonisers, traders, plantation labourers) had to establish some contact if they wanted to exchange some information or make the other party (*e.g.* plantation labourers) do a particular task. Therefore, they had to resort to such formulae which do not really carry much meaning but by means of which contact can be started, continued as well as finished. So, the phatic function of Tok Pisin is realised through such expressions as the ones in (1)-(14).

6.1.2.6. Metalinguistic (metalingual, reflexive) function of Tok Pisin

The next language function which has been analysed on the basis of Tok Pisin corpus was the metalinguistic function. This language property can be characterised by the fact that it focuses on the use of a code in talking about the code. In other words, if some language is said to

realise the metalinguistic function, it means that there are certain means which are used to talk about this language. Good examples of the metalinguistic function in use are English dictionaries and grammar books. English is a language which has developed its metalinguistic function, which is well supported by a whole gamut of different studies (written in English) on various aspects of English grammar, lexicon, pragmatics *etc.* In this respect, however, Tok Pisin is much different from its lexifier – English. The analysis of the corpus material has not revealed any instances of the use of Tok Pisin for discussing its linguistic properties. What has been found during the analysis of the potential existence of Tok Pisin metalinguistic function is a few instances of using the name *Tok Pisin*, as exemplified by the underlined fragments in (1) or (2):

(1) Wanpela arapela singsing we mi ting bai i gat nem em Sori Kiri, long <u>tok pisin</u> em tupela meri lalibu long Sauten Hailans i bin raitim (…) (*Wantok* 1628: 22);
[Another song which I think will have a name is Sori Kiri, two girls from Lalibu in Southern Highlands wrote it in Tok Pisin.]

(2) Mama Limi nau yet i redi tasol long lain long rit long Inglis. Tasol pastaim long dispela em i mas save gut tru long rit <u>Tok Pisin</u> pastaim. (*Wantok* 1601: 20);
[Grandmother Limi is ready to learn to read in English. However, first she must know how to read Tok Pisin.]

What it more, the metalinguistic function can sometimes be realised through the same linguistic means which are used to activate the referential function. This can be attested in (3):

(3) Stigma em wanpela tok long Inglis. (*Wantok* 1558: 12)
[Stigma is a word from English.]

The above example of talking about linguistic matters in Tok Pisin can point to the fact that perhaps the metalinguistic function is on the way to being developed. Nevertheless, one example is too little to form a basis for the claim that this function *does* exist in Tok Pisin.

Moreover, one particularly interesting excerpt has been found. The text in (4) clearly shows that Tok Pisin has few, if any, means of realising the metalinguistic function. To discuss technical terms of linguistics, Tok Pisin speakers must resort to English as in (4) where the word "vowels" is used to refer to the sounds discussed in the text (the word "vowels" has been underlined).

(4) Ol dispela toktok "ke, ki, ka, ko, ku" na "me, mi, ma, mo, mu" i opim tru tingting bilong Mama Limi na bringim em long save long rit. Ol dispela toktok em wanpela isi-pela rot long save long

wanem ol toktok i kam olsem long tok inglis ol i save kolim <u>"vowels"</u> na to long putim wantaim na kamapim ol wod na em i ken ritim long Tok Pisin. (*Wantok* 1601: 20)

[The sounds "ke, ki, ka, ko, ku" and "me, mi, ma, mo, mu" really open Grandmother Limi's mind and bring her to the knowledge of reading. These sounds are easy to understand because the sounds are also in English and are called "vowels", and to gather and create words and then she can write in Tok Pisin.]

What is more, an additional test has been carried out which aimed at finding Tok Pisin equivalents of such basic linguistic terms as "noun", "verb", "tense", and only the last item has been found in Mihalic's *The Jacaranda Dictionary and Grammar of Melanesian Pidgin* (*taim*). The remaining two seem to have no Tok Pisin equivalents. To verify this finding, *Freelang Tok-Pisin and English-Tok Pisin Online Dictionary* (http://www.freelang.net/online/tok_pisin.php?lg=gb; accessed in 2009) has been consulted but it has returned none of these words in Tok Pisin. The lack of Tok Pisin words for linguistic terms is, as aforementioned, also evident in (4).

From the above examples it follows that Tok Pisin has not developed the metalinguistic function. There might be a few reasons for this absence. First of all, it seems that there is no need for linguistic terms in Tok Pisin. An average speaker of Papua New Guinea is probably more interested in communicating his/her messages effectively than thinking about how to talk about his/her language. Sometimes, as reported by various creolists (*e.g.* Romaine 1994a), they of course talk about the purity and correctness of Tok Pisin but this is usually discussed with the use of the referential function. Moreover, as demonstrated in (4), English words are used for linguistic terms, which may result from the fact that English is a medium of instruction in Papua New Guinea and people learn first the English names for the basic linguistic terms. Later on, they extend these names to Tok Pisin. Finally, there are still not many native Papua New Guineans who deal with linguistics and who could work out vocabulary for talking about Tok Pisin (a notable exception is of course Tom Dutton!).

In general, Tok Pisin, as used in the issues of *Wantok* newspaper forming the corpus under analysis, does not have its own resources for realising the metalinguistic function and for talking about language *per se*, English is applied.

6.1.2.7. Conative (appellative, directive, imperative) function of Tok Pisin

The conative function is the function which concentrates on the addressee. It comes to light in texts, by means of which the addresser wants the addressee to perform some task, to think or to behave in a particular way.

The conative function of Tok Pisin, like the expressive one, is also quite well developed in Tok Pisin as presented in a number of texts published in *Wantok*. Among the whole variety of *Wantok* writing genres, especially two types are important now for they are good examples of the conative function in use. These are: replies to the letters written by *Wantok* readers (in the column *Laiplain* ("Lifeline") published in the section *Laipstail* ("Lifestyle")) and public notices and announcements.

The first type of texts where the conative function is of prime importance are the replies to letters written by *Wantok* editorial staff/columnists. The following examples – excerpted from such answers – illustrate this function:

(1) (…) Man bilong yu i tok em i no laik divosim yu o maritim dispela narapela meri. Tasol yu no tokim mipela olsem em i lukim dispela narapela meri yet. Yu yet i gat dispela tingting olsem man bilong yu i wok long lukim dispela meri yet? Sapos man bilong yu i no moa lukim dispela meri, i gat askim yet i stap long risponsibiliti o wok bilong em long pikini bilong dispela meri bai karim. Man bilong yu i toktok pinis wantaim yu long dispela samting? Yutupela toktok pinis long hau bai dispela i afektim man bilong yu na pikinini bilong yutupela tu? (…) (*Wantok* 1556: 23)
[Your husband says he does not want to divorce you and marry the other girl. But you do not tell us if he still sees the other woman. Do you yourself have this thought that your husband is still seeing this woman? If your husband does not meet this woman any more, there is still a question of responsibility or his work for the child the other woman is going to give birth to. Has your husband talked to you about this? Have you both talked about how this will affect your husband and you and your husband's child?]

(2) Sapos famili bilong yu i no inap long helpim yu orait em bai gutpela long yu go long kot long kisim mani bilong mentenes bilong lukautim bebi bilong yu. Sapos yu ken tok stret o pruvim olsem dispela manki i papa bilong bebi kot bai tokim em long baim sampela mani long olgeta potnnait inap bebi bilong yu i go bikpela na i gat 16 krismas. Yu mas go toktok long welfea opisa bilong yu long dispela samting. (…) Sapos yu thing em i gutpela long givim pikinini i go long arapela long lukautim orait yu mas

toktok gut wantaim famili bilong yu o welfea opisa ling dispela samting. (*Wantok* 1592: 22)

[If your family does not help you enough, then it will be good for you to go to court to get some money for the maintenance to look after your baby. If you can say directly and prove that this boy is the father of the baby, court will tell him to pay some money every fortnight until your baby is older and is 16 years old. You should talk to your welfare officers about these things. (…) If you think it is good to give the child to other people to look after it, then you must talk seriously with your family or the welfare officer about these things.]

(3) I luk olsem yu mas skelim tingting bilong yu long dispela meri na sapos yu laik skruim pren pasin wantaim em na yupela bai kamap klostu moa. (…) I luk olsem yu gat laik long dispela meri tasol yu no klia yet sapos bai yupela i skruim pren pasin inap long mak we yutupela i ken marit. Tasol yu mas surik bikos yu les long lukautim pikinini? Yu redi tu long maritim em sapos yutupela i save gut long yupela yet? (…) Tingim, sapos yu pilim olsen bai yu no inap long maritim em bikos em i gat pikinini, ating i moabeta long yu noken traim long skruim pren pasim wantaim em. (…) (*Wantok* 1601: 24)

[It looks that you should consider your opinion about this girl and if you want to continue friendship with her and you become closer. (…) It looks that you love this girl but you are not clear yet if you both will continue friendship so that you can marry. But do you have to move away because you are tired of looking after a child? Are you also ready to marry her if you both know well about yourselves? Consider if you feel that you will not be able to love her because she has a child, perhaps it is better for you not to try to continue friendship with her. (…)]

(4) (…) Yu mas skelim tupela sait bilong wari bilong yu olsem, sapos rispek i go long papamama na ol wanblut i winim yu, orait, ating yu gat wanpela rot tasol long bihainim. Yu mas lusim dispela boipren na painim narapela em ol wanblut i orait long em. Mekim kain samting olsem i no isi. Em bai givim bikpela pen tru long yu. Tasol sapos yu pilim yu mas mekim, orait, moabeta yu mekim kwiktaim na yu no wet. Bikos boipren i wok long narapela ples, yu mas mekim olsem: Yu mas rait na tokim em na yu mas salim tiket i go bek long em. (…) Tasol sapos yu laikim dispela man strong tumas long maritime em, moabeta yu lusim tiket na flai i go lukim em na toktok wantaim em. Sapos yu pilim tru dispela man i laikim yu na em inap lukautim yu inap yu indai, na em inap sapotim yu na givim haus long yu, na em bai sambai long yu long taim nogut o taim bilong sik, orait, yutupela i ken pasim tok long marit. (…) (*Wantok* 1616: 24)

[You have to consider both sides of your worry, if respect for parents and relatives wins over you, all right, perhaps you have one road to follow. You must break up with this boyfriend and find another one on whom your relatives agree. Doing such things is not easy. It will really hurt you. But, if you feel you should do it, all right, it is better if you do it soon and do not wait. Because the boyfriend works in another place, you should do it in the following way: you should write and tell him and you must send the ticket back to him. (…) But if you love this man so much to marry him, it is better for you to use the ticket and fly to see him and talk with him. If you really feel this man loves you and he is able to look after you until your death, and he is able to support you and give you accommodation and will stand by you in bad weather or in times of sickness, all right, you both can promise to marry. (…)]

The excerpts in (1)-(4) are answers to the letters written by *Wantok* readers seeking some advice on their difficult situations. This is why these texts concentrate so much on advising the addressees (letter authors) how to tackle the problems. The examples in (1)-(4) exhibit a strong tendency to the use of the second person personal pronouns such as *yu* ("you"; second person singular personal pronoun) in (1), (2), (3) and (4), *yupela* ("you", second person plural personal pronoun) in (3) or *yutupela* ("both of you", "the two of you"; second person plural personal pronoun) as in (1), (3) or (4). The excerpts in (1)-(4) also contain many instances of the possessive pronouns such as *bilong yu* ("your", "yours"; second person singular pronoun) (*e.g. man bilong yu* in (1) – "your husband"; *bebi bilong yu* in (2) – "your baby"), *bilong yutupela* ("your and the other person's", "of your two"; second person plural dual pronoun) (*e.g. pikinini bilong yutupela* (1)). What is more, there are even some instances of reflexive pronouns, as in (1): *yu yet* ("you yourself") as in the sentence: <u>*Yu yet*</u> *i gat dispela tingting olsem man bilong yu i wok long lukim dispela meri yet?* ("Do you yourself have this thought that your husband is still seeing this woman?") or as in (3): *yupela yet* in the sentence: *Yu redi tu long maritim em sapos yutupela i save gut long* <u>*yupela yet*</u>? ("Are you also ready to marry her if you both know well about yourselves?").

The focus on the addressee is also seen in the use of verbs as many of them are preceded by the modal verb *mas* ("must", "should", "ought to"). Such modal verbs are used to provide some advice to the addressee, as in (4) *yu mas skelim* ("you have to consider"), *yu mas rait* ("you should write"), *yu mas lusim* ("you must break up"). There is also the use of the imperative which in Tok Pisin usually contains the verb phrase only whereas the subject is omitted as in (3) *tingim* ("consider").

The above-discussed features are prominent in virtually every issue of *Wantok* as *Wantok* encourages its readers to write letters and to

share their problems with the editorial staff of the newspaper in question. This is stated in the following:

(5) Sapos yu gat hevi o wari, rait i kam long Lifeline. P O Box 6047, Boroko, NCD. Yu ken ringim mipela tu long telipon namba 3260011. Mipela i no inap long autim trupela nem bilong yu long hia tasol taim yu rait long Lifeline, yu mas putim trupela nem na etres bilong yu na bai mipela i salim bekim long pas bilong yu. (*e.g. Wantok* 1556: 23; *Wantok* 1558: 23; *Wantok* 1615: 23; *Wantok* 1616: 24).
[If you have some problems or worries, write to Lifeline. P O Box 6047, Boroko, NCD. You can also call us at the telephone number 3260011. We are not able to reveal your real name here but when you write to Lifeline, you must put your real name and your address and we will send an answer to your letter.]

The statement in (5) is addressed directly to *Wantok* readers and says that they can write to the newspaper to ask for help. Again, in (5) there are some features which highlight the conative function of Tok Pisin like the use of the second person singular pronoun *yu* "you" or the imperative <u>rait</u> *i kam long Lifeline* ("write to Lifeline").

The other category of texts published in *Wantok*, in which the conative function is particularly exhibited, comprises public notices and announcements issued by the public institutions of Papua New Guinea such as the National Bank of Papua New Guinea or government departments. They differ from advertisements in that they do not advertise any products but instead, they inform, explain, instruct or encourage Papua New Guineans to approach a particular issue in a given way. Such public notices and announcements – due to the fact that they appeal to the public – are assumed to be conative in their character. The following excerpts of the public notices and announcements show the conative function of Tok Pisin (of course, they also exhibit some other language functions but for the time being the discussion of this issue is postponed):

(6) Pablik notis
Tok lukaut agensim ol kwik moni skim na giaman bisnis
Beng bilong Papua Niugini (BPNG) i go het long tok lukaut long pablik long was gut na abrusim wok bisnis wantaim ol kwik moni skim o bisnis. BPNG i tok strong agensim ol manmeri i putim moni insait long ol dispela kain skim o giaman bisnis, long wanem ol i brukim lo, na ol manmeri husat i givim moni bilong ol long ol promota o ejen bilong ol dispela moni skim bai no inap kisim bek moni ol i hatwok long mekim. Long planti ol manmeri i no save, moni bilong yupela i lus pinis!!

(...)
Yu mas kotim ol dispela kain opereta long ol polis.
(...)
Moni bilong yu bai lus olgeta – go na kisim bek long husat man o meri yu givim long en.
(...)
Tingim: Noken givim moni bilong yu long ol giaman moni skim o bisnis!! (*Wantok* 1641: 21)
[Public notice
Beware of quick money schemes and false business
The Bank of Papua New Guinea (BPNG) wishes to tell the public to guard well and avoid business enterprise with quick money schemes or businesses. BPNG strongly discourages people from giving money to such kinds of schemes and false businesses because they break the law and people who give their money to the promoters or agents of these money schemes will not be able to get back their money they have worked hard for. For many people who don't understand, your money has been lost!!
(...)
You must bring all these operators to the police.
(...)
Your money will be lost altogether – go and get back it from the man or woman you gave it to.
(...)
Remember: never give your money to false money schemes or businesses!]

(7) Pablic notis
Ilektorel rol rejistresen eksesais na limitet preferensel vot [LPV] sistem awanes – Nesenel Kapitel Distrik.
(...)
Yu mas enrol insait long ilektorel rol sapos yu laik vot.
(...) (*Wantok* 1645: 6)
[Public notice
Electoral roll registration exercise and limited preferential vote [LPV] system awareness – National Capital District
(...)
You should enrol in the electoral register if you want to vote.
(...)]

(8) Toksave
Ilektorel rol na LPV awenes
Ilektorel Komisin i statim pinis wok awanes long Limitet Preferensel Vot (PLV) na Ilektorel Rol Rijistresen insait long ol dispela provins: Nu Ailan, Milen Be na Is Sepik.
Dispela awenes bai i stat long Epril 10 i go inap long Mei 5 long dispela yia 2006. Ol opisa bilong Provinsel na Lokel Level Admin-

stresen bai i helipm ol lain wokman bilong Ilektorel Komisin long karimaut dispela wok awanes.

(...)

NCD Electoral Rol

Ol manmeri insait long NCD husat i no enrol i ken go long NCD Ilektorel Opis (olpela Yacht Club) long Pot Mosby na enrol nau. Yu ken ringim Mista Frank Gabi long 685 7089 o Mista Peter Malai Feope long 681 1759 long moa toksave.

(...)

Yu no inap long vot sapos yu no enrol. (*Wantok* 1657: 18)

[Information

Electoral roll and LPV awareness

Electoral Commission has started work awareness of Limited Preferential Vote (LPV) and Electoral Roll Registration in these provinces: New Ireland, Milne Bay and East Sepik.

This awareness will start on April 10, and will last until May 5 of this year 2006. The officers of Provincial and Local Level Administration will help all workers of Electoral Commission to carry out his work awareness.

(...)

NCD Electoral Roll

People in NCD who have not enrolled can go to NCD Electoral Office (the old Yacht Club) in Port Moresby and enrol now. You can call Mister Frank Gabi at 685 7089 or Mister Peter Malai Feope at 681 1759 for more information.

(...)

You cannot vote if you do not enrol.]

As can be seen in (6), (7) and (8), many of the features of the conative function discussed with reference to (1), (2), (3) and (4) also appear here. The strong emphasis is put on directing the message to the addressee(s) and therefore there are so many direct references to the addressees: the use of the second person personal singular pronoun *yu* ("you"; second person singular personal pronoun) (*e.g. yu givim* ("you give") in (6); *yu mas enrol* ("you should enrol") in (7) or *yu ken ringim* ("you can call") in (8)), the use of the possessive pronouns such as *bilong yu* ("your", "yours"; second person singular pronoun) (*e.g. moni bilong yu* ("your money") in (6)), the use of the imperative (*e.g. Tingim: Noken givim moni bilong yu* ("Remember: never give your money") in (6)) as well as the use of modal verbs such as *yu mas* ("you must", "you should", "you ought to") as in (6) and (7) and *yu ken* ("you can", "you may") as in (8). All these features show that the public notices and announcements also use linguistic means to appeal to the addressees – that is – use linguistic means to activate the conative function.

In the issues of *Wantok* which are parts of the researched corpus, among the public notices and announcements there is one which seems very interesting. It is the advertisement of a social campaign against beating children in Papua New Guinea. The conative function of the main slogan of this advertisement is explicit:

(9)   Noken bagarapim ol pikinini! (*e.g. Wantok* 1597: 8, *Wantok* 1601: 6)
       [Do not ever beat children!]

The use of *noken* ("by no means", "no way") serves as the reinforcement of the imperative. It thus emphasises that beating children is absolutely negative and that under no circumstances can adults use violence against children.

To sum up the discussion of the conative function of Tok Pisin, it can be stated that it is one of the better developed language functions in Neomelanesian Pidgin English. It is realised through a number of linguistic means such as the second person pronouns, the imperative and modal verbs. All of these features, when applied in a newspaper, highlight the strong focus on the reader(s), who is (are) at the same time the addressee(s).

6.1.2.8. Co-presence of language functions in *Wantok*

In the above analysis, it has been shown that the majority of language functions are realised in Tok Pisin. Although the excerpts used to illustrate the functions usually focus on one particular function, it cannot be said that these texts represent only one function and thus are only of either emotive or referential or poetic or phatic or conative character. As it appears, a single text can, and usually *does*, exhibit a number of functions at the same time. For example, in 6.1.2.2. the examples are primary of emotive character because they express their addresser's attitudes and feelings but they are at the same time referential since they refer to the context, to which the addresser has a particular attitude (*cf.* the examples (1), (2) or (3) in 6.1.2.2.) In (4) and (5), on the other hand, the elements of the phatic function come to light by means of the phatic phrase *Dia Edita*. The same holds true for the example (1) in 6.1.2.4. which is given as the illustration of the poetic function. True, the main language function is the poetic one but when looked at from a different angle, the poem can also be regarded as an instance of the expressive function because it serves as an outlet of the author's attitude and feelings towards Jesus Christ. What is more, the text can be even taken as representing the referential function for there are references to who and what Jesus Christ is for Christians. Similar findings concern the texts in 6.1.2.7. which serve as the examples of the conative

function. These texts are primarily of conative character because their role is to appeal to the addressee(s) and to make him/her/them act in a particular way as, for example, in the texts (2), (3) or (4) where the addresser (*Wantok* editorial staff) gives advice on what to do. However, these excerpts, and especially (6), (7) and (8), provide information, realising in this way the referential function.

To conclude, rarely are newspaper texts mono-functional. In most cases, it is possible to indicate a few language functions which operate in a single article. This is also the case with the examples selected to illustrate particular language functions of Tok Pisin. What should be said, however, is that the aim of this analysis has been to show that Neomelanesian Pidgin English has enough resources to realise the language functions defined by Jakobson and that it significantly differs from other pidgins which are usually simple and are not developed enough to serve as means of expressing feelings and emotions, talking about language issues or using the language in a creative way. To achieve this goal, the emphasis was put on illustrating separately the operation of Tok Pisin language functions and therefore it might have created the impression that only one function is realised in each of Tok Pisin texts, which is obviously not the intended conclusion.

6.1.2.9. Attempt to establish a developmental hierarchy of Tok Pisin language functions (on the basis of *Wantok*) and correlate social and linguistic facts; analysis conclusions

After the analysis of Tok Pisin language functions has been carried out, it is now possible to attempt to establish a developmental hierarchy of Tok Pisin language functions and correlate it with the social facts influencing the development of Neomelanesian Pidgin English. In other words, an attempt is made to answer the question of which functions developed first and are predominant and why it is so. Of course, the developmental hierarchy of Tok Pisin language functions is based on the results of the above analysis and therefore it cannot be claimed to be final.

The predominant language function which is realised in Tok Pisin by a whole gamut of linguistic means, as exemplified by the excerpts from *Wantok*, is the referential function. It emerged probably as the first one because the parties involved in creating Neomelanesian Pidgin English had to communicate simple messages concerning trade matters or plantation labour-related issues. Moreover, church missionaries might have also contributed to the development of the referential function of Tok Pisin because, when they decided to start evangelising in the language in question, they had to convey the Christian beliefs to the Tok Pisin-speaking indigenous people of Papua New Guinea.

The function of Tok Pisin which might have emerged as the second (or even simultaneously with the referential function) might be the conative one. As the examples in the analysis demonstrate, this function is quite well developed with a number of linguistic means used to realise it. The conative function could have developed as the second because Tok Pisin, as remarked in the earlier chapters, was first a vertical language. This means that this pidgin was initially used in orders and commands given by the European colonisers to the indigenous servants or plantation labourers. No verbal interaction between white masters and indigenous servants was expected to take place and the servants were to merely perform the tasks ordered by the masters.

Thirdly, the next function which could have developed was the emotive function. Those speaking Neomelanesian Pidgin English had to express their thoughts or emotions when conversing in this language with other people and this required expanding Tok Pisin resources. Furthermore, the development of the emotive function could have been reinforced by the fact that Tok Pisin was nativised (creolised) by some portion of Papua New Guinean population. Having no other first language, Tok Pisin native speakers needed to express their feelings, emotions and attitudes in Tok Pisin. Hence, they started to expand various linguistic forms, some of which are presented in the analysis above, to articulate their moods or reactions to the surrounding world.

Fourthly, as Tok Pisin was becoming a more and more widespread medium of communication, it could have expanded its phatic function. Owing to the fact that now communication in Neomelanesian Pidgin English became horizontal with much verbal interaction taking place between the speakers of Tok Pisin, those users had to construct (usually by borrowing from English, as shown in the analysis) some expressions to establish contact between one another. Thus Tok Pisin started to be able to activate the phatic function as well.

The function which seems to be very late to emerge is the poetic one. Only one instance of the use of written Tok Pisin in a poem and very few instances of Tok Pisin use of poetic character may suggest that this function is rather underdeveloped. This does not have to be so provided oral literature in Tok Pisin is taken into account. Nevertheless, written Tok Pisin as used in *Wantok* does not exhibit many indications of the poetic function in use.

Finally, the language function which has not been found in *Wantok* newspaper is the metalinguistic one. The reasons for the absence of Tok Pisin means to realise this function are manifold such as no need to use Tok Pisin to talk about language-related issues for English is used in this place or quite few linguists of Papua New Guinean origin.

The above discussion can be summarised in the following table:

Developmental hierarchy of Tok Pisin language functions (on the basis of *Wantok*)	Social factor(s) motivating the development / social factor(s) inhibiting the development
1. The referential function	• need to communicate simple messages about trade and plantation labour-related issues; • need to teach Christianity to the indigenous people of Papua New Guinea;
2. The conative function	• vertical communication between the white European colonisers and the indigenous people (servants, plantation labourers);
3. The emotive function	• need to express thoughts; • reinforced by Tok Pisin nativisation/creolisation and Tok Pisin speakers' need to express their attitudes, emotions, feelings *etc.*;
4. The phatic function	• emergence of horizontal communication in Tok Pisin between Tok Pisin speakers;
Rather underdeveloped: 5. *The poetic function*	• beginnings of using Tok Pisin creatively;
Undeveloped: 6. *The metalinguistic function*	• no need to use Tok Pisin to talk about linguistic matters; English used instead;

Table 3. Developmental hierarchy of Tok Pisin language functions
(on the basis of Wantok)

Generally speaking, the analysis of *Wantok* newspaper and the language functions realised through Tok Pisin in this written medium has provided the following results:

a) the language function focusing on the context (referential) and communicative event participants (*i.e.* the addresser and the addressee) (expressive and conative) are predominant;

b) the phatic function, which is activated through various greeting formulae and other small talk, is present as well (though to a lesser extent);

c) the poetic function is very minimal, with one truly poetic example only;

d) the metalinguistic function is absent.

These results lead to the conclusion that *Wantok* texts in Tok Pisin focus mainly on three elements of a communicative event: on the context (the referential function), on the addresser (the emotive function) and on the addressee (the conative function). The Tok Pisin of *Wantok* also makes use of the phatic function in the form of a few fixed greeting formulae. The use of the poetic function is minimal whereas the metalinguistic one is absent. This clearly indicates that *Wantok* is a newspaper reporting facts, instructing and advising its readers on various aspects of life as well as providing a forum for the exchange of opinions. This, in turn, bears witness to the claim that Tok Pisin has enough resources to be successfully used as a language, by means of which the majority of topics (with the exception of linguistic matters) can be discussed.

6.2. Language choice in *Wantok* and textual diglossia

The conclusion of the analysis conducted in 6.1. is that Tok Pisin can be used to discuss nearly all topics. However, a careful study of *Wantok* has revealed that not every piece of *Wantok* writing is in Tok Pisin. Outstanding in this respect are advertisements, public notices and announcements as well as *Wantok* supplements which are written sometimes in Tok Pisin, sometimes in English and sometimes in both. The following analysis aims at answering the question of why some of the advertisements, public notices and *Wantok* supplements are written in Tok Pisin and some in English. To put it differently, the present study has the purpose of determining the factors for language choice and textual diglossia in *Wantok* advertisements, public notices and announcements as well as supplements to this newspaper.

Before the presentation of the analysis proper, however, it is vital to once again differentiate advertisements in *Wantok* on the one side from public notices and announcements in *Wantok* on the other side. Advertisements advertise products, services or events by encouraging *Wantok* readers to buy the advertised products, to make use of the advertised service or to participate in the advertised events and are usually prepared by privately owned institutions such as shops or product manufacturers whereas public notices and announcements, issued usually by public institutions such as governmental departments or banks, inform and instruct *Wantok* readers on how to act in a situation to which such an announcement refers.

6.2.1. Language choice in advertisements in *Wantok*

Today it seems that nearly all newspapers of wider currency, *i.e.* those which have big readership, carry advertisements. *Wantok* is no exception because there are advertisements of different products and events.

Furthermore, Romaine (1990/1997) is of the opinion that *Wantok* is the biggest medium publishing advertisements in Neomelanesian Pidgin English. It is just Romaine (1990/1997) who carried out the study of advertising in Tok Pisin and who noticed a number of interesting things such as the fact that cars and electronic devices are advertised usually in English because these products are connected with the western style of life. From her observations, however, it appears that Tok Pisin is used more and more frequently in such advertisements. Moreover, she notices that advertisements in Tok Pisin rarely make use of such linguistic devices as alliteration, rhyming or punning although there seems to be a big potential for the use of these devices and it might be hoped that along with the development of Tok Pisin, the language of advertising will also develop.

During the present analysis, 126 *Wantok* advertisements have been identified and classified into three categories: monolingual English advertisements, monolingual Tok Pisin advertisements and bilingual (English and Tok Pisin) advertisements. As is sometimes the case, the monolingual Tok Pisin advertisements may contain some English words/phrases which usually function as the names of the advertised products or the names of product manufactures. Sometimes they also contain direct borrowings that have not yet been incorporated into the structure of Tok Pisin. Bilingual English/Tok Pisin advertisements, on the other hand, must contain larger units of English such as sentences or sentence equivalents (*e.g.* slogans) to belong to this category.

Before the presentation of the findings, a brief remark must be made on the examples which have been extracted from the corpus. It is generally known that newspaper advertisements, apart from using slogans in the forms of sentences, sentence equivalents *etc.*, contain pictures and other visual examples which are used to stress the good quality, attractiveness, uniqueness *etc.* of the advertised product. Nevertheless, in the examples below there are no pictures and only language parts have been selected because the language use is of prime importance here. Moreover, as is often the case, the graphic structures of the advertisements have been changed into a continuous plain text. When a text was pretty long, only part of it is given as an example.

Monolingual English advertisements focus mainly on different types of vehicles (cars, farming machines, motorcycles *etc.*):

(1) Yamaha. Clearance Sale. Huge Saving was K 10,398.00 now K 8,698. Save: K 1,700.00 (...) (*Wantok* 1558: 7)
(2) Ela motors. Save Festive Motoring. Driving Lights (...) Tyres (...) (*Wantok* 1589: 7)

(3) Cat® D3G, D4G, D5G, Track-type tractors (...) Outmanoeuver every job you tackle (...) (*Wantok* 1589: 25)

(4) Context Digital DVD Player (...) (*Wantok* 1592: 1)

(5) Toyota Land Cruiser (...) (*Wantok* 1592: 7)

(6) Discover... the all-new Hiace (...) Ela Motors Toyota (*Wantok* 1601: 7)

(7) Yamaha clearance sale (...) (*Wantok* 1616: 7)

(8) Reliable Power Mate Petrol Gensets (...) (*Wantok* 1628: 1)

(9) Keep your Toyota Genuine. For a limited time only we are offering special pricing on... (...) (*Wantok* 1645: 1)

(10) Why do more people buy Toyota Hiacle. You get more than just a bus... (...) (*Wantok* 1645: 7)

(11) Cat® Vibratory Soil Compactors (...) Designed to provide outstanding performance, reliability and fuel efficiency (...) (*Wantok* 1645: 25)

In the corpus under analysis, there are also some advertisements of different electronic devices published entirely in English:

(12) Imation. High performance optical media. DVD-R, CD-R, CD-RW. Store data swiftly and permanently. Theodist ltd. The stationery supermarket (...) (*Wantok* 1615: 1)

(13) Sharp Radio Cassette Recorder (...) (*Wantok* 1645: 32)

Some advertisements in English refer to various aspects of education and school materials, stationery *etc.*:

(14) Filing cabinets. Fully lockable cabinet with double-sided key and anti-tilt mechanism (...) Call our sales team for any further inquiries (*Wantok* 1556: 32)

(15) Train for success. Gain professional skills and accredited qualifications with expert British Training, for a great career (...) (*Wantok* 1589: 2; *Wantok* 1601: 2)

(16) Back to school. Desk & pocket calculators, exercise books, school bags. Theodist ltd. The stationery supermarket (...) (*Wantok* 1595: 3)

(17) Catholic primary education in Port Moresby (...) Consistently high examination results (*Wantok* 1592: 17)

(18) Just arrived – presentation A4 quality copy paper (...) (*Wantok* 1628: 3)

The other types of advertisements in English refer to different kinds of services, including shopping, bank and medical services:

(19) Surgeon on call (24 hrs doctor is available) Do you need a surgeon urgently? Do you need to have a private surgical operation? (…) If you do then we are happy to help (…) (*Wantok* 1558: 27)

(20) GMA Recording Studio. We can offer: Digital recording, High speed dubbing, Album & demo production, Commercial Audio Jingles, Hire of Studio Equipment (…) (*Wantok* 1558: 27)

(21) Island HR Management Consultant Ltd. Specialise in the following activities: Recruitment & Labour Hire, Business development, Rural / NGO Funded projects, Secretarial Service (…) (*Wantok* 1558: 27)

(22) Brian Bell. Shop with a friend. Extended Christmas Trading Hours (…) Christmas Night Shopping (…) (*Wantok* 1589: 22)

(23) Wide variety of hybrid vegetable seeds (…) Ideal time for planting your favourite vegetable seeds (*Wantok* 1589: 32)

(24) Coleman. Camping out this Easter? Brian Bell is offering 2 special packages (…) (*Wantok* 1601: 32)

(25) Sealark. Lae-Port Moresby-Lae. Adult one was single fares starting from K 200.00, huge discount for children, students and groups (…) (*Wantok* 1628: 8)

(26) Principal Stockbroker: BSP Capital Limited. Earn 8.63%*p.a. 3%*p.a. over the Australian 90 day Bank Bill Rate. Floating Rate Investment (*Wantok* 1645: 23)

The second category of the advertisements published in *Wantok* comprises publicity materials written in Tok Pisin. The examples are:

(27) Strongpela tru. Colgate. Toothpaste bilong PNG stret! (*Wantok* 1589: 1)
[Really strong. Colgate. Toothpaste of Papua New Guinea!]

(28) Kisim kainkain kago bilong haus wantaim. (…) Entatainmen yunit. Rita (…) Bikpela self bilong TV na VCD/DVD pleia, kago self, 80-CD rek na 2 pela kabot. (…) Didi (…) Metol tebol na sia. Raunpela tebol ol wokim wantaim strong pela metal freim. 4 pela sia igat kusen sit, ol wokim wantaim stronpela metol freim. Joshua (…) Dabol bed freim. Dabol bed freim ol i wokim wantaim stronpela metol. Matres na pilo igat prais bilong ol yet. (…) (*Wantok* 1616: 5)
[Take various house things together. Entertainment unit. Rita (…) A big shelf for TV set and VCD/DVD player, shelf for things, 80-CD rack and 2 cupboards. (…) Didi (…) metal table and chairs. A round table made with strong metal frame. 4 chairs with cushion seats made with strong metal frame. Joshua (…) double bed frame which is made with strong metal. Mattress and pillow have their own prices.]

Some ads classified in the category of monolingual Tok Pisin advertisements, for example that in (27), may contain direct borrowings from English (*i.e.* such borrowings which have not been adapted for Tok Pisin phonology and orthography yet). A good case in point is the word *toothpaste* in (27) which might be a new borrowing, not incorporated fully into the language in question as the object this word denotes might not belong to the traditional culture of Papua New Guinea. What is more, some advertisements may at first glance belong to the category of bilingual advertisements due to the fact that they contain English elements such as the name of the event (29), the name of the company (or its part as in (30)) (*e.g.* (30), (32), (33)) or the name of the product (*e.g.* (32)) but their main content is written only in Tok Pisin. Such advertisements have been included in this category and the examples are:

(29) Mother's Day at Brian Bell (…). Brian Bell igat gutpela present bilong Mama. Winim weekend wokabout bilong mama. (…) Spendim K 100.00 na go long Laki Dro na winim weekend wokabout prais bilong Mama. Bikpela prais: Wokabout bilong mama ilo long Cairns. Wantaim balus tiket, ples long silip, kaikai, na poket moni long raun bilong tupela pipol. Hamamas prais: Mama bai malolo long wanpela hotel long PNG. Igat ples long silip na kaikai bilong tupela. Wanpela wina long wanwan Brian Bell stoa bai malolo long weekend long ol dispela hotel (…) (*Wantok* 1556: 1)
[Brian Bell has a good present for Mum. Win a weekend trip for mum. Spend K 100.00 and go in a Lucky Draw to win a prize weekend trip for mum. First Prize: a trip for Mum to Cairns. With a plane ticket, accommodation, food and pocket money for two people. The second prize: Mum will stay in one of the hotels in Papua New Guinea. There will be accommodation and food for two people. The person who wins at each of Brian Bell stores will stay during the weekend in these hotels (…)]

(30) Gol Baia – Metals Refining Operations givim gutpela prais insait long kauntri bilong yumi. Ino namel man ibaim long yu. Kam na salim gol bilong yu stret opis bilong MRO. (…) (*Wantok* 1556: 26)
[Gold buyer – Metals Refining Operations give a good price within our country. No middleman buys for you. Come and sell your gold directly in MRO office (…)]

(31) Lae Biscuits Co. Bikpela na strongpela (*e.g. Wantok* 1595: 32, *Wantok* 1645: 32)
[Lae Biscuits Co. Big and strong.]

(32) Ox & Palm Corned Beef. Tru Buli Bif Bilong PNG. (*Wantok* 1615: 1)
[Real bully beef from Papua New Guinea.]

From the above examples, it may be deduced that Tok Pisin advertisements which are included in *Wantok* either inform about some product/event or encourage to buy the product or to take part in some activity. From these extracts it emerges that the advertisements in Tok Pisin may appeal to the ordinary people of Papua New Guinea because they present information about things an average Papua New Guinean may be interested in such as making use of special offers ((28) and (29)), selling natural resources like gold (30) or buying products of everyday use like toothpaste (27) or food (31) and (32).

Two particularly interesting examples of advertisements in Tok Pisin are (33) and (34):

(33) Trukai Farms. Stock Feed. Broiler Starter. Broiler Finisher. Kamap Strongpela Kwiktaim. (*Wantok* 1657: 24)
[Trukai [Good Food] Farms. Stock Feed. Broiler Starter. Broiler Finisher. Become strong fast.]

(34) Plet bilong givim kaikai na wara long kakaruk. Plet bilong kaikai. Plet bilong wara. Mipela igat kaikai bilong kakaruk; Starter, Grower na Finisher istap long 40kg, 20kg, 10kg na liklik 4kg paket. (*Wantok* 1657: 32)
[Plate for giving food or water to chickens. Plate for food. Plate for water. We are offering chicken food: Starter, Grower and Finisher in 40kg, 20kg 10kg and small 4kg packets.]

These advertisements are primarily in Tok Pisin and the words/ phrases derived from English *Broiler Starter*, *Broiler Finisher*, *Starter*, *Grower Finisher* are the names of the types of the product. The fact that such products – that is food for chickens and accessories for feeding chickens – are advertised in Tok Pisin can easily be correlated with the fact that the majority of (rural) Tok Pisin speakers live in villages and their occupation is connected with farming. So these advertisements show once again that the products which are connected with the traditional culture and the life of an average (usually rural) Papua New Guinean are advertised in Neomelanesian Pidgin English.

The third category of advertisements published in *Wantok* are those which are written in both Tok Pisin and English. The English parts, being usually longer than one word, have been underlined in the following extracts:

(35) Ramu sugar… em i swit moa. Ramu Suga nau ikam long yu long niupela paket. I gat nau long 250g, 500g and 1kg paket. Painim niupela paket long stoa klostu long yu. Ramu sugar. ‘<u>Naturally sweet</u>’. (*Wantok* 1558: 32)

[Ramu sugar… is very sweet. Ramu sugar now comes to you in new packets. There are now 250g, 500g and 1kg packets. Look for new packets in a nearby shop. Ramu sugar. 'Naturally sweet'.]

(36) Ocean Blue. <u>Tuna in oil</u>. Rait teist yah! (*Wantok* 1592: 1)
[Ocean Blue. Tuna in oil. Right taste!]

(37) (…) CD Hi-Fi Sistem. G-Max twin haipa pawa-draiv sab wofa (…) extended supa beis (…) Sony (…) DVD Mini Hi-Fi Sistem (…) 3-VCD/CD chansa wantaim MP3 plebek (…) Edim valu olgeta dei! (…) <u>Switch on to Powerhouse</u> (…) <u>Stimulate your sense</u>. (*Wantok* 1595: 5)
[CD Hi-Fi system. G-max twin hyper power-drive subwoofers (…) extender super bass (…) Sony (…) DVD Mini Hi-Fi System (…) 3-VCD/CD changer with MP3 playback (…) add value every day! (…) Switch on to Powerhouse (…) Stimulate your sense.]

(38) <u>Brian Bell's exclusive brand</u>. Integrity 7kg twin tub masin bilong wasim klos wantaim pump bilong drain. <u>Introductory offer</u>! Baim Integrity 7kg twin tub wasin masin na kisim <u>free 15kg bucket gradex laundry detergent powder</u> (…) (*Wantok* 1595: 32)
[Brian Bell's exclusive brand. Integrity 7kg twin tub washing mashing with a drain pump. Introductory offer! Buy Integrity 7kg twin tube washing machine and get a free 15kg bucket of gradex laundry detergent powder (…)]

It is evident in the above examples that English is used mainly in the slogans which may persuade customers to buy a particular product (*e.g.* (35), (37), (38)). Furthermore, in some cases this language is used in the names of the products which perhaps are not considered traditional Papua New Guinean (*e.g.* (36), (38)).

The analysis has demonstrated that out of 126 advertisements put in *Wantok*, 85 (67.5%) are written in English, 22 in Tok Pisin (17.5%) and in 19 (15%) both languages are used. Now it is, therefore, time to look for the explanation why advertisers use Tok Pisin and English in different kinds of advertisements. First of all, it seems that only English is used in the advertisements of vehicles. In the corpus, there is not a single advertisement in Tok Pisin which would provide information on cars or other vehicles. This may be explained by the fact that such products are still considered to be luxurious and not many average Papua New Guineans can afford them. Moreover, cars, motorcycles or trucks do not belong to the traditional culture of Papua New Guinea and perhaps therefore Tok Pisin has not developed linguistic means to talk about the qualities of such machines. Similar observations can be made with reference to electronic devices such as audio and video equipment. However, such devices are used more commonly by the

population of Papua New Guinea and their advertisements in Tok Pisin have started to be published. It is important to note that these ads rely very heavily on borrowings from English (which are already incorporated orthographically and phonologically into Tok Pisin), as can be evidenced by the examples: *DVD pleia* or *MP3 plebek*, taken from (28) and (37), respectively.

English is also used to talk about educational matters, as presented in the examples (14)-(18). This can be accounted for by the predominance of English in the school context. As has been said in the previous parts of this book, English is the medium of instruction in the majority of Papua New Guinean schools and this is reflected in language choice for advertising of school-related products and services. Finally, English is used in the advertisements of various services (examples (19)-(26)). Many of these advertised services are new to the culture of Papua New Guinea and this may be one of the reasons for using English instead of Tok Pisin.

Tok Pisin is used in advertising products which are relevant to an average Papua New Guinean. Hence, toothpaste in (27), food in (31) and (32) or furniture in (28) are advertised in this language. Tok Pisin is also used in the texts referring to rural life and it follows that again this language has been used as most farmers are said to have some command of the rural variety of Tok Pisin – the one that *Wantok* is written in.

Finally, there are a number of cases where both languages are used. It seems that they function complementarily, which means that Tok Pisin is used to describe the object being advertised and English to encourage potential customers to buy the product. What is prominent is that English appears mostly in advertisement slogans.

The above discussion leads to the conclusion that what is found in *Wantok* advertisements is a kind of diglossia which, for the purpose of this study, may be termed *textual diglossia* as it emerges at the level of texts, *i.e.* in a written medium as *Wantok* is. This is a phenomenon observed in the choice of languages for writing (*i.e.* advertising) about particular themes. To put it differently, the two tongues are used to write about different topics, *i.e.* to advertise different kinds of products. So, Tok Pisin is used to advertise products of everyday use which are relevant to an average inhabitant of Papua New Guinea and which are necessary for living (*e.g.* food, hygiene products, furniture) whereas English is used to write about products which are not necessarily relevant to an average Papua New Guinean and may be alien to the traditional culture of this country.

6.2.2. Language choice in public notices and announcements in *Wantok*

For the purpose of this book, a public announcement is defined as a type of a press article which is published by authorities or public institutions such as government, banks, election offices *etc.* to inform *Wantok* readers about the current state of affairs in a given field, to express wishes, to invite Papua New Guineans to a certain event *etc.* Announcements are distinguished here from advertisements because the latter aim at persuading people to buy a given product or participate in some activities whereas the former are rather informative pieces of writing.

From the analysis of *Wantok*, it seems that – like advertisements – public announcements are also published in two languages – in Tok Pisin as well as in English. The researched corpus of *Wantok* issues includes 63 public notices and announcements, of which 42 (67%) are written in Tok Pisin and the remaining 21 (33%) – in English. What should be noted here is that in many texts written in Tok Pisin, there are English names of organisations and institutions. Such notices have been classified as written in Tok Pisin for their main bodies are clearly in Tok Pisin.

From the study of these announcements it emerges that language choice depends on the audience, to whom the message is addressed, on the topic and, to a lesser extent, on the institution issuing the notice. All written communication issued by any kind of authorities – be they provincial councils, national government, governmental departments, governor, Prime Minister, other ministries *etc.* – is published in Tok Pisin. The topics of such announcements vary: from invitations, through wishes expressed by an important figure in Papua New Guinean politics, bans, to warnings against money laundering institutions. The following excerpts can illustrate the whole range of topics these announcements refer to:

(1) Tok amamas
    Deputi Praim Minista na Minista bilong Agrikalsa na Laipstok, Hon. Moses Maladina, LLB, MP i tok amamas i go long National Agriculture Research Institute (NARI) na risets fasiliti bilong em, Lowlands Agricultural Experimental Station long Kerevat insait long Is Nu Briten long amamasim namba 75 Aniverseri long namba 5 de bilong mun Mei, 2004. (...) (*Wantok* 1556: 6)
    [Good wishes
    Deputy Prime Minister and the Minister of Agriculture and Livestock, Hon. Moses Maladina, LLB, MP expresses his good wishes to National Agriculture Research Institute (NARI) and its research facility, Lowlands

Agricultural Experimental Station in Kerevat on East New Britain on celebrating the 75th anniversary on the 5th day of May, 2004. (...)]

(2) Dipatmen bilong Foren Afeas na Imigresen
Opis bilong Sekreteri
Dispela toksave i go aut long olgeta manmeri i aplai long kisim sitisensip long Momase, Niugini Ailans na Hailans Rijon olsem bai i gat wanpela Kibung bilong Sitisensip Edvaisari Komiti we bai i kamap long Menalesian Hotel long Lae, Morobe Provins long namba 17 de bilong Mun Disemba 2004. (...) (*Wantok* 1589: 27)
[Department of Foreign Affairs and Immigration
Secretary Office
This information is for all people who apply for citizenship in Momase, New Guinea Islands and Highlands Region. There will be a meeting of citizenship Advisory Committee which will be in Melanesian Hotel in Lae, the Morobe Province, on December 17, 2004. (...)]

(3) Integriti bilong ol Politikel Pati na Kendidet Komisin
I laikim ol aplikesen bilong ol posisen insait long Rejistri bilong ol Politikel Pati.
Komisin em i wanpela kanstityusenel opis aninit long Part IX bilong Nesenel Konstityusen o Mama Lo na Seksen 3 bilong Ogenik Lo long ol Integriti bilong ol Politikel Pati na Kendidet. (...) (*Wantok* 1592: 25)
[Integrity of Political Parties and Candidate Commission
welcomes the applications for the positions in the Registry of Political Parties.
Commission is a constitutional office under Part IX of National Constitution and Law on Women and Section 3 of Organic Law about all integrity of Political Parties and Candidates.]

(4) Pablik notis
Seken han klos – Boroko Maket
Nesenel Kapitel Distrik Komisin (NCDC) i laik toksave long olgeta manmeri i save salim ol seken han klos long Boroko Maket na ol ples klostu long hap, long stop long salim olgeta seken kan klos bilong yupela long namba 25 de bilong mun Februari, 2005. (...) (*Wantok* 1597: 5)
[Public notice
Second hand clothes – Boroko Market
National Capital District Commision (NCDC) would like to inform all people who sell second hand clothes at Boroko Market and in the places nearby that they should stop selling all your second hand clothes from 25th day of February, 2005. (...)]

(5) Bikpela toktok i kam long ekting Praim Ministra na Minista bilong Foren Afes na Imgresen RT Hon. Sir Rabbie L Namaliu KCMG MP long makim 2005 Divine Word Yuniversiti Gradeusen long Magand, Sande, Februari 20, 2005. (...) (*Wantok* 1597: 27)

[An important speech by acting Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs and Immigration RT Hon. Sir Rabbie L Namaliu KCMG MP to celebrate 2005 Divine Word University Graduation in Madang, Sunday, February 20, 2005 (...)]

(6) Opis bilong Gavana General

Mi laik salim Ista Tok Amamas bilong mi i go long yupela olgeta Papua Niugini manmeri. (...) (*Wantok* 1601: 5)

[Office of Governor General

I would like to send my Easter wishes to you – all Papua New Guineans. (...)]

(7) Ol sabmisin bilong 2006 baset

Long makim maus bilong Gavman, mi laik askim ol wan wan manmeri, ol bisnis, ol komyuniti group na ol arapela non govman ogenaisesen long givim sampela as tingting long kirapim wok long rere long 2006 Baset or moni plen. (...) (*Wantok* 1601: 8)

[Submissions for 2006 budget

to be directed to the representative of the government, I would like to ask people, companies, community groups and other non-governmental organisations to give the opinions before the work on 2006 budget and money plan is started. (...)]

(8) Pres Stetmen bilong Minista bilong Fiseris Hon. Ben Semri long namba 59 Forum Fiseris Komiti Ministeriel Kibung long Majuro, Marishall Ailands, 9 Jun 2005. (...) (*Wantok* 1613: 23)

[Press statement of the Minister of Fisheries Hon. Ben Semri at the 59th Forum Fisheries Committee Ministerial Summit in Majuro, Marshall Islands, June 9, 2005. (...)]

(9) PNG Gan Kibung (samit)

Mande Julai 4 – Fraide Julai 8, 2005

Ynivesiti ov Goroka

Intenel Sekyuriti Minista Hon. Bire Kimisopa bai holim PNG Gan Kibung long Yuniversiti bilong Goroka, Isten Hailans provins long Mande Julai 4 i go inap long Fraide Julai 8. (...) (*Wantok* 1615: 6)

[PNG Gun Meeting (summit)

Monday, July 4 – Friday, July 8, 2005

University of Goroka

Internal Security Minister Hon. Bire Kimisopa will hold PNG Gun Meeting at the University of Goroka, Eastern Highlands Province from Monday, July 4 to Friday, July 8. (...)]

(10) Department of Environment and Conservation

Environment Division

National Zone Unit

Toksave

Dispela toksave i go long olgeta refrigeration teknisen o save man/meri long wok bilong bokis ais, rum na air kondisen bilong karinsait long Milne Bay Province olsem niupla lo bai iI putim

tambu long ol man/meri husat i no kisim skim long wok wan-
taim chloro fluoro carbon (CFC) (trade name: FREON nr R12) na
hydro-chloro-fluoro-carbon-(HCFC) (trade name: R22). (…)
(*Wantok* 1615: 12)
[Department of Environment and Conservation
Environment Division
National Zone Unit
[Information
This is to inform all refrigeration technicians and experts working
with refrigerator ice, room and car air conditioning in the Milne Bay
Province that a new law will forbid all people who do not graduate
from school to work with chloro fluoro carbon (CFC) (trade name:
FREON nr R12) and hydro-chloro-fluoro-carbon-(HCFC) (trade name:
R22).]

(11) Oda bilong Papua Niugini
Niu yia 2006 onas list
Gavana Jeneral, His Ekselensi, Gren Sief Sir Paulias Matane, GCL,
GCM, KStJ, Sansela bilong Oda bilong Papua Niugini na Prinsipel
Gren Kompanien bilong Oda bilong Logohu, i tok oraitim Niu Yia
Onas List bilong ol Oda bilong Papua Niugini. (…) (*Wantok* 1641:
18)
[Order of Papua New Guinea
New year 2006 honours list
Governor General, His Excellency, Grand Chief Sir Paulias Matane, GCL,
GCMG, KStJ, Chancellor of the Order of Papua New Guinea and
Principal Grand Companions of the Order of Logohu present New Year
Honours List of the Order of Papua New Guinea. (…)]

(12) Opis bilong Dairekta Jeneral
Opis bilong Haia Edukesen (OHE) i laik toksave long pablik
olsem ol toktok long pes 5 bilong National Niuspepa long namba
30 de bilong mun Desemba 2005 long sanap bilong Jubilee
Yunivesiti aninit long lo i no stret na i paul olgeta na i no givim
luksave long Asemblis Ov God long Jubilee Yunivesiti Kaunsil.
(…) (*Wantok* 1641: 20)
[Office of Director General
Office of Higher Education (OHE) would like to inform the public that
the information on page 5 of National Newspaper from the 30th day of
December 2005 to establish the Jubilee University under the law is not
right and totally contradictory and no recognition was given from the
Assemblies of God to the Council of Jubilee University. (…)]

(13) Pablik notis
Tok lukaut agensim ol kwik moni skim na giaman bisnis
Beng bilong Papua Niugini (BPNG) i go het long tok lukaut long
pablik long was gut na abrusim wok bisnis wantaim ol kwik
moni skim o bisnis. BPNG i tok strong agensim ol manmeri i

putim moni insait long ol dispela kain skim o giaman bisnis, long wanem ol i brukim lo, na ol manmeri husat i givim moni bilong ol long ol promota o ejen bilong ol dispela moni skim bai no inap kisim bek moni ol i hatwok long mekim. Long planti ol manmeri i no save, moni bilong yupela i lus pinis!! (…) (*Wantok* 1641: 21)
[Public notice
Beware of quick money schemes and false business
The Bank of Papua New Guinea (BPNG) wishes to tell the public to guard well and avoid business enterprise with quick money schemes or businesses. BPNG strongly discourages people from giving money to such kinds of schemes and false businesses because they break the law and people who give their money to the promoters or agents of these money schemes will not be able to get back their money they have worked hard for. For many people who don't understand, your money has been lost!!]

(14) Toksave
Ilektorel rol na LPV awenes
Ilektorel Komisin i statim pinis wok awanes long Limitet Preferensel Vot (PLV) na Ilektorel Rol Rijistresen insait long ol dispela provins: Nu Ailan, Milen Be na Is Sepik.
Dispela awenes bai i stat long Epril 10 i go inap long Mei 5 long dispela yia 2006. Ol opisa bilong Provinsel na Lokel Level Adminstresen bai i helipm ol lain wokman bilong Ilektorel Komisin long karimaut dispela wok awanes. (…) (*Wantok* 1657: 18)
[Information
Electoral roll and LPV awareness
Electoral Commission has started work awareness of Limited Preferential Vote (LPV) and Electoral Roll Registration in these provinces: New Ireland, Milne Bay and East Sepik. (…)]

From the above examples it arises that nearly all written communication generated by different kinds of authorities and directed to Papua New Guineans is written in Tok Pisin. The use of Tok Pisin can be accounted for by the fact that actually all matters presented in such public notices and announcements pertain to the citizens of Papua New Guinea and each citizen ought to have some command of either Tok Pisin or Hiri Motu or some other vernacular, as required by the Constitution of Papua New Guinea. Due to the fact that Tok Pisin is the most widespread language (of all the languages, the knowledge of which a person applying for Papua New Guinean citizenship should demonstrate), this language is used in nearly all texts written by authorities and published in *Wantok*.

Two exceptions to the above have been found in *Wantok*: the first one is the text which was delivered as a speech by Michael T. Somare – Papua New Guinea Prime Minister:

(15) Address by the Prime Minister the RT Hon. Sir Michael T. Somare GCMG CH K St on the occasion of world environment day at the Port Moresby National High School, Friday, June 03, 2005. (…)
I thank the Minister for Environment and Conservation, Hon. William Duma and your Department for the honour of asking me to give the Keynote Address at today's celebration of World environment Day. (…) (*Wantok* 1613: 19)

The other text is:

(16) Ministry of Education
Congratulation to Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) on its 50th anniversary today, April 21st, 2006.
On behalf of the staff of the Ministry and Department of Education, teachers and students in the National Education System, we would like to congratulate SIL and the staff on achieving an important milestone in its operations in Papua New Guinea. (…) (*Wantok* 1657: 13)

Whereas in the case of (16) it is easy to find an explanation for the use of English – the researchers of the Summer Institute of Linguistics speak various languages natively so they resort to English as a lingua franca, it is quite difficult to determine the factors of language choice in (15). It might be likely that English was selected as a language of this text as the addresser (*i.e.* Michael T. Somare) spoke to students who are taught in English. However, there might be some other reasons for using English.

English is the language used in notices and announcements related primarily to two domains: banking and money and the media, as exemplified by the following extracts:

(17) Bank of Papua New Guinea
Kina facility rate for May 2004. (…) (*Wantok* 1556: 14)
(18) Bank of Papua New Guinea
Kina facility rate for February 2005. (…) (*Wantok* 1595: 25)
(19) Bank of Papua New Guinea
Press releases
Kina facility rate for July 2005. (…) (*Wantok* 1616: 6)
(20) Bank of Papua New Guinea
Press releases
Kina facility rate for January 2006. (…) (*Wantok* 1641: 6)
(21) Notice to all teachers
Kina Finance Limited has opened its Esi Loan lending facility to all Teachers. (…) (*Wantok* 1645: 5)

(22) Bank of Papua New Guinea
Monetary Policy Statement by the Governor of the Bank of Papua New Guinea Mr. L. Wilson Kamit, CBE. Port Moresby 31 January 2006. (…) (*Wantok* 1645: 19-22)

(23) Media Council of Papua New Guinea
Invitation: Media Council Breakfast Meeting at the Crowne Plaza Ballroom (…) (*Wantok* 1595: 12)

(24) Media Council of Papua New Guinea
Position vacant: Assistant Administration Offices.
The Media Council of PNG is looking for a[38] Assistant Administration Officer to assist in the work of the Media Council Secretariat. (…) (*Wantok* 1616: 2)

(25) The Media for Development Initiative: Management Board Membership Call. (…) (*Wantok* 1616: 20)

(26) Public Notice
Media for Development Initiative: Vacancy Announcement Systems Support Manager. (…) (*Wantok* 1616: 21)

(27) Wantok
To all our valued clients and readers due to rising costs in printing, freight and other expenses our advertising rates has[39] increased by 10% as of January 1, 2006. (…) (*Wantok* 1641: 2)

(28) Wantok
Hey Wantok your favourite newspaper gives you more than the news.
We can expose you to the massive pidgin market with advertisements and inserts and help you with your printing, design and translation needs. (…) (*Wantok* 1641: 4)

The reason why the examples (17)-(28) are in English might be explained by the fact that both banking and media services belong to the social domains which are quite internationalised. The fact that the Bank of Papua New Guinea publishes its notices in English may result from the fact that the information included in such announcements may be of importance not only to Papua New Guineans but also to people from other countries who, for example, have established business relations with companies based in Papua New Guinea but not necessarily using Tok Pisin. Media announcements may be accounted for by similar reasons: people involved in the media industry may come from foreign countries and may not have enough command of Tok Pisin. In (24) and (26) it may be additionally justified by the fact that perhaps the applicants are required to have a good command of English. The reason why

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[38] Original spelling and grammar.
[39] Original spelling and grammar.

notices connected with the media are published in English – not in Tok Pisin – may be reinforced by the fact that the majority of newspapers or radio stations operating in Papua New Guinea use English as their main language. Currently, the Media Council of Papua New Guinea comprises the most important newspapers, radio and TV stations of Papua New Guinea (*e.g. the National Newspaper*, *the Post-Courier Newspaper*, *EMTV the National Television Service etc.*), many of which publish or broadcast in English. It is nevertheless a bit striking that *Wantok* – which claims to be a Tok Pisin-using newspaper – publishes the notices about its activities in English. Perhaps, by doing so, *Wantok* aims at a wider audience.

Finally, in the corpus under analysis two announcements with truly international messages have been identified:

(29) Divine Word University PO Box 483, Madang, PNG
      Student acceptance list for studies, 2006 (...) (*Wantok* 1641: 13)
(30) Air Niugini
      Public Notice
      Check-in times for domestic and international flights. (...)
      (*Wantok* 1657: 21)

(29) has been published in English probably due to two main reasons: first of all, English is the language of instruction at tertiary institutions in Papua New Guinea and secondly, probably some students may have no command of Tok Pisin (as such is not required) so English is a better choice in this situation. (30), on the other hand, is a notice with a truly international message: English is commonly regarded as the language of airlines and air travel sector and perhaps this is the reason why it has been used in (30).

After the presentation of examples, it is now possible to generalise the observed facts and come up with an explanation for the choice of languages in public notices and announcements. First of all, it seems that all texts written by the authorities of different levels and directed to the citizens of Papua New Guinea are in Tok Pisin. Such citizens have some command of Tok Pisin and they are able to understand the messages provided in such announcements. Moreover, the notices in Tok Pisin generally pertain to the matters of importance to an average inhabitant of Papua New Guinea. English seems to be used in different contexts; the results of the analysis show that notices and announcements connected with banking and media sectors are published in English. These two areas are highly internationalised with many foreigners (not speaking Neomelanesian Pidgin English) and hence the English language is the predominant tongue used in various notices and announcements related to these two fields. The notices about airlines and

university issues are also published in English as in these too the language which is used on a regular basis is English.

To conclude, from the above analysis it follows that language choice is determined by three main factors: the target audience, to whom a given notice or announcement is addressed, the topic and the institution publishing the announcement. When the authorities of different levels publish a notice directed to the people of Papua New Guinea – then it is published in Tok Pisin; when banks or media services publish an announcement directed to a more internationalised audience – then the language of such writing is English. This supports the claim that *Wantok* is a newspaper with textual diglossia – a phenomenon of using two languages for different kinds of written communication.

6.2.3. Language choice in supplements to *Wantok*: a few remarks

A brief mention should also be made of textual diglossia, which has been identified in *Wantok* supplements: in the four issues of *Gavamani Sivarai – A Government Newspaper on Development Information for PNG* (inserted in *Wantok* 1558, *Wantok* 1616, *Wantok* 1641, *Wantok* 1645) and one issue of *The Catholic Reporter* (*Wantok* 1595). These newspapers are not integral parts of *Wantok* but they were obtained together with the issues of *Wantok* which constitute the corpus and they demonstrate textual diglossia even more explicitly.

Interestingly enough, *Gavamani Sivarai* includes articles published in three languages: English, as the dominant one, Tok Pisin and Hiri Motu. The fact of being trilingual is made clear in the policy statement of *Gavamani Sivarai* on page 12: "(...) The only three language newspaper in Papua New Guinea. *Gavamani Sivarai* is published in Hiri Motu, Tok Pisin and English". It is quite difficult to pinpoint any reasons for the choice of languages; however, it can be assumed that the use of English, Tok Pisin and Hiri Motu might be treated as a move towards language equality and the implementation of the constitutional regulation concerning the three official languages of Papua New Guinea.

As for *The Catholic Reporter*, Tok Pisin is used next to English, with the latter being predominant. Again, it is quite difficult to speculate on the possible reason for language choice but it appears that the texts which provide some interpretation of the Bible as well as those relating the events which took place within the church communities in Papua New Guinea are in English. On the other hand, the article in Tok Pisin titled *Pastoral Plen 2004-2007* ("Pastoral plan 2004-2007") also presents some information about the events within the church community in Papua New Guinea. Therefore, for the time being it is better not to

offer any explanation for the choice of languages for it might be incorrect. What is, however, undeniable is that both English and Tok Pisin are used in the supplements to *Wantok*, and this constitutes another instance of the textual diglossia.

6.2.4. Tok Pisin *versus* English in *Wantok*: textual diglossia and analysis conclusion

After the discussion of those parts of *Wantok* which are published in two languages, that is, advertisements, public notices and announcements, it is now time to draw some conclusions from these observations. Generally speaking, the diglossic situation and the choice of languages observed in *Wantok* can be justified by a number of arguments. First of all, Tok Pisin is used in advertisements which advertise products of everyday use such as toothpaste or food and which are aimed at an average Papua New Guinean. What is more, Neomelanesian Pidgin English is used in all kinds of public notices and announcements which again are addressed to the people of Papua New Guinea. English, on the other hand, is used in advertisements which present some vehicles not easily affordable for all Papua New Guineans. The products advertised in English can be said to be alien to the traditional culture of the country. Finally, English is used in public notices and announcements which generally pertain to such topics as banking or the media. Thus it can be claimed that the English-language materials of these types are addressed to a wider, often international, audience.

As a conclusion of this analysis, it may be stated that the choice of languages is determined by two major factors: the theme (in the case of the advertisements) and by the audience (addressees) (in the case of public notices and announcements). This points to the fact that what is found in *Wantok* advertisements, public notices and announcements is textual diglossia involving two tongues: Tok Pisin and English which are used in different contexts. Moreover, due to the fact that English is the language of advertisements advertising expensive products and of public notices and announcements directed to an international audience, this language can be considered "high". The "low" language, in this case, would be Tok Pisin.

6.3 Chapter 6 recapitulation

Chapter 6 has the purpose of answering the question of whether Tok Pisin has developed the six language functions and why it is sometimes replaced by English, especially in advertisements, public notices and announcements published in *Wantok*.

The first analysis has shown that Tok Pisin has enough resources to realise the referential, conative and emotive functions. Moreover, these three language functions were probably developed first and their emergence was triggered by such social factors as the need to express simple messages connected with trade and plantation labour, the need to teach about religion (in the case of the referential function) or vertical communication between the white European colonisers and the indigenous people (in the case of the conative function) or the need to express thoughts as well as the creolisation of Tok Pisin (in the case of the emotive function). The phatic function has also been developed since Tok Pisin has a number of expressions, by means of which Tok Pisin speakers establish contact when communicating with other Tok Pisin users. Two functions, however, are marginal: the poetic one with only one example of a truly poetic text written in Tok Pisin and the metalinguistic one with virtually no instance of this function in use. This indicates that Tok Pisin has developed rather those language functions which seem necessary for successful everyday communication. This conclusion may be further reinforced by the fact that, as outlined in Chapter 5, the Tok Pisin of *Wantok* has also a number of registers, which are used while talking about rather important aspects of social life such as politics, church, health care, education *etc*.

In the second part of Chapter 6, the other analysis has been presented. The question which has been asked is: if Tok Pisin has developed the most important language functions so why is it so that English is used in many contexts, in particular in advertisements, public notices and announcements, instead of Neomelanesian Pidgin English? It has been found that Tok Pisin and English are used complementarily, which means that these languages are used in different circumstances. Advertisements, public notices and announcements written in Tok Pisin are aimed at average Papua New Guineans – the speakers of (rural) Tok Pisin whereas those in English are addressed to a rather international audience.

All in all, these analyses have proved that Tok Pisin is a language, in which the majority of topics can be discussed and if there are no resources to do it, Papua New Guineans may resort to English which plays an important role in both spoken and written communication in the region. It is evident in *Wantok*, in particular, in advertisements, public notices and announcements which exhibit textual diglossia – the phenomenon of the complementary use of two languages – one "high" (English) and the other "low" (Tok Pisin).

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The present book has been an attempt to demonstrate that pidgins and creoles – languages which in the past were thought to be rather marginal – can develop and live their own lives, fulfilling many important functions in speech communities. Pidgins and creoles usually emerge because they are called for by people of different linguistic backgrounds who urgently need some system of communication. They are in need of such a language due to the fact that they have no command of the other interacting party's language or of any other mutually comprehensible system of verbal communication and they are so willing to communicate that they resort to creating a new medium, through which they are able to achieve their goals such as carrying out some business transaction or communicating some messages in work setting. Pidgins and creoles are therefore languages which bear witness to human creativity and ability to create a new communication medium provided there is such a need.

This book, based on the author's Ph.D. dissertation, has been written as an outcome of the author's scholarly interest in the interdependencies between language and society as well between language and culture. It should be by now clear that any language, in particular a pidgin or creole, is not only an idealised construct functioning in human minds; it is, first and foremost, a real living entity functioning among people and helping them to create their reality. In this book, language has been viewed as a phenomenon playing a key role in society for it is a system that no society can do without; it is a tool which is crucial in building such society as thanks to it people can organise themselves and actively participate in social life. On the other hand, language also results from society members' actions, behaviours or thinking and in this, a clear interdependence can be seen: language and society are almost inseparable as the one cannot exist with the other – neither society nor language can exist in a vacuum. A good case in point is Tok Pisin – the main object of this study.

In general, this work has been written to answer the questions about the role and functions of Tok Pisin in Papua New Guinean society. The first aim has been to demonstrate that Tok Pisin, as actually all other pidgins and creoles, is a living entity which cannot be ignored by linguists. The second aim of this book has been to show how Tok Pisin

functions in Papua New Guinea. It is believed to have been achieved by discussing both the internal and external history of the language in question, by presenting its role against the background of the highly complex linguistic situation in the region of Melanesia as well as by demonstrating its functions in the nation of Papua New Guinea. Nowadays, Neomelanesian Pidgin English, being the most important English-based pidgin spoken in the region of Papua New Guinea, is an official, *i.e.* constitutionally sanctioned, medium of communication and from its inception, its position has radically increased – from an auxiliary language used solely in basic situations related with trade and, later on, with plantation setting, to a system of nation-wide communication. The importance of this language is reflected in its being used in more and more spheres of social life. What is interesting, it is not a uniform linguistic entity spoken in the same way by all Papua New Guineans. On the contrary, thanks partially to the fact that this country is so diversified geographically, with many islands, mountain ranges *etc.* and partially to the social factors, this language has diversified in four major social dialects. The rural sociolect has been made a standard system which is nowadays used as a language of primary education, in church, in politics and in the media.

The next goal has been to analyse the language of *Wantok* – a weekly newspaper published mostly in Tok Pisin – in terms of its conforming to the norms of the standard variety. The analyses carried out within the frameworks of this work have provided positive answers to the question of whether the Tok Pisin of *Wantok* indeed typifies standard Tok Pisin, both in spelling, lexicon and grammar. The system of orthography applied in *Wantok* conforms to the rules of Tok Pisin standard orthography presented, for example, in Mihalic ([1971] 1989). The same holds true for the vocabulary and grammar of *Wantok* Tok Pisin. The lexicon of *Wantok* Tok Pisin exhibits a strong tendency to borrow lexical items from Tok Pisin lexifier language – English. What is more, it is just borrowing from English that constitutes the most important process of Tok Pisin lexicon expansion. It seems that whenever there is a need for a name of a new concept, borrowing is usually the first mechanism to be used to provide this name. Other word-formation processes (*e.g.* affixation (suffixation), abbreviation, compounding, reduplication or conversion) are employed, however, to a smaller degree. What is interesting, it has also been found that *Wantok* Tok Pisin grammar is also under the influence of English. This manifests itself, first of all, in the more and more frequent cases of using the typically English plurality marker – the suffix *–s*. Tok Pisin has its own resources to mark plurality but the suffix *–s* seems to be gaining more and more ground. Another development in Tok Pisin grammar that has been ob-

served on the basis of *Wantok* is the emergence of a new preposition, which again results from the influence of English. This preposition is *ov* and appears to be used interchangeably along with the "traditional" Tok Pisin preposition *bilong*. It might be expected that the use of both the plurality suffix *–s* and the preposition *ov* will be more and more common provided Tok Pisin and English are still kept in such close contact in Papua New Guinea as they are now.

The analysis of *Wantok* Tok Pisin has also brought some preliminary observations on the emergence of registers. It turns out that the lexicon of Tok Pisin is rich enough to be used in special semantic domains, in which this language has been developing into registers. What can be undoubtedly stated at this point is that Neomelanesian Pidgin English has a number of registers, of which political, church and religious, medical, educational and sports registers are quite prominent in *Wantok*. These types of registers have been identified in the corpus material because this newspaper presents news which can be roughly classified into the five above-stated semantic fields (*i.e.* politics, church and religion, medicine, education, sports). It does not, however, mean that other kinds of registers cannot be identified.

Another conclusion that has been drawn from the analysis of *Wantok* Tok Pisin is that Tok Pisin lexicon and grammar are expanded to such an extent that they can activate the majority of the language functions (*i.e.* emotive, referential, phatic, conative) which are important in everyday communication. The study, however, has revealed that *Wantok* Tok Pisin makes limited use of the resources needed to realise the poetic function. This, nonetheless, does not have to mean that the poetic function of Neomelanesian Pidgin English is totally absent. If spoken literature is taken into account, this language has certainly some resources to activate this function for there is a wealth of oral literature in Tok Pisin in the forms of songs, rhymes or folktales transmitted from one generation to another. The analysis has provided an interesting observation on the virtual lack of the resources to talk about language matters, that is, to realise the metalinguistic function. This may be explained by the fact that Tok Pisin speakers might not need to talk about such issues in this language and if they want to do so, they usually resort to English which is perfectly suitable to discuss even the most intricate aspects of languages.

Another analysis – the one connected with the identification of factors influencing language choice (textual diglossia) in *Wantok* – has also provided interesting results. It is true that *Wantok* publishes most of its texts in Tok Pisin but two genres: advertisements and public notices and announcements are, in a sense, exceptional since some of them are written in Tok Pisin and some in English. The answer to the

question of why it is so has been found and it turns out that the choice of language depends mainly on the following factors: the target group of an advertisement or a public notice, the topic and, to a lesser extent, the institution producing a given announcement or a public notice. In advertisements presenting some products/services relevant to an average Papua New Guinean, Tok Pisin is used. In advertisements and public announcements addressed to a wider, international audience, English seems to be preferred. This has led to the conclusion that *Wantok* is a newspaper where textual diglossia occurs: the phenomenon of using two languages in different contexts. It might be therefore concluded that there is a complementary relationship between these two languages in the newspaper which has formed the basis of the research: English is the "high" language, used for more sophisticated needs and Tok Pisin is the "low" language used for ordinary, everyday purposes.

Overall, this book has been written to show that Tok Pisin, which – in linguistic terms – is still a pidgin/creole, is an important medium of communication in Papua New Guinea: it is an official language, a language of school instruction, religious service, business and politics as well as a language of the mass media, in particular of *Wantok*. It has also been demonstrated that the process of Tok Pisin standardisation has been successful, as exemplified by the use of Neomelanesian Pidgin English in *Wantok*. Furthermore, by the analysis of textual diglossia encountered in the corpus material, it has been shown that society and language are interdependent and that language choice depends – to a large extent – on social factors.

SUMMARY IN POLISH
– STRESZCZENIE W JĘZYKU POLSKIM

Niniejsza książka pt. *Żywy język. Wybrane aspekty języka Tok Pisin w prasie (na przykładzie gazety „Wantok")* jest próbą pokazania na przykładzie angielskiego pidżyna neomelanezyjskiego z Papui Nowej Gwinei (Tok Pisin), że języki pidżynowe i kreolskie, które w przeszłości były uznawane za „karykatury" języków naturalnych, za krótkotrwałe twory językowe, mające zastosowanie tylko i wyłącznie w bardzo prostych sytuacjach komunikacyjnych, mogą stanowić ważne środki komunikacji werbalnej oraz że mogą one rozwinąć się w złożone systemy językowe. Pidżyny i kreole powstają pomiędzy grupami, które nie posiadając żadnego wspólnego środka komunikacji, zmuszone są do stworzenia nowego medium – języka pidżynowego. Powstanie takich języków determinowane jest przez szereg czynników społecznych, kulturowych i językowych, dlatego też językoznawstwo pidżynów i kreoli – kreolingwistyka – jest dyscypliną, w ramach której bada się zarówno aspekty struktur leksykalnogramatycznych tych języków, jak i społeczno-kulturowe czynniki wpływające na ich powstanie, rozwój czy nawet wymarcie. Niniejsza praca wpisuje się w nurt badań językoznawczych, które koncentrują się wokół relacji język-społeczeństwo. W związku z tym, ramy badawcze wyznaczają takie działy językoznawstwa jak socjolingwistyka, językoznawstwo antropologiczne czy kontaktowe.

Materiałem badawczym stanowiącym korpus językowy było 14 wydań gazety *Wantok* (około 500 stron tekstów), pisanej w większości w języku Tok Pisin. Niniejsza książka przynosi odpowiedzi na pięć głównych pytań. Po pierwsze, zademonstrowano, że Tok Pisin, a także inne języki pidżynowe i kreolskie, nie powinny być ignorowane przez językoznawców, jak to miało miejsce w przeszłości. Języki te stanowią dobry przykład na to, że gdy zachodzi taka potrzeba, nawet prosty system komunikacji może zostać znacznie rozwinięty, stając się ważnym nośnikiem kultury oraz środkiem językowym polityki, religii czy mediów. Drugim celem niniejszej pracy było pokazanie roli i funkcji języka Tok Pisin w społeczeństwie Papui Nowej Gwinei, która uważana jest za jeden z najbardziej zróżnicowanych językowo obszarów (występuje tam około 800 różnych języków). Angielski pidżyn neomelanezyjski jest jednym z trzech oficjalnych języków

Papui Nowej Gwinei (obok języka angielskiego i języka Hiri Motu), co znalazło swoje odzwierciedlenie w Konstytucji Papui Nowej Gwinei. Ponadto, język ten jest obecnie powszechnym środkiem komunikacji w wielu obszarach życia społecznego. Ciągły rozwój angielskiego pidżyna neomelanezyjskiego widoczny jest także w tym, że wytworzyły się cztery główne socjolekty: socjolekt miejski (urban Tok Pisin), socjolekt wiejski (rural Tok Pisin), socjolekt Tok Masta oraz socjolekt buszmeński (Bush Pidgin). Trzecim celem niniejszej rozprawy było zbadanie, czy Tok Pisin użyty w gazecie *Wantok* spełnia normy języka standardowego. Często podkreśla się, że gazeta *Wantok* pisana jest w standardowej odmianie języka Tok Pisin. Analiza potwierdziła, że gazeta *Wantok* pisana jest w standardowym angielskim pidżynie neomelanezyjskim oraz że jego ortografia, słownictwo oraz gramatyka należą do standardu. Badanie to pokazało także, że język angielski, który jest językiem superstratem dla pidżyna Tok Pisin, ma znaczny wpływ nie tylko na słownictwo badanego pidżyna, ale także na jego gramatykę. Okazuje się, że angielski pidżyn neomelanezyjski w odmianie standardowej zaczyna korzystać z typowo angielskiego sufiksu –*s* do oznaczania mnogości oraz z angielskiego przyimka *of* (w zmienionej formie: *ov*) do wyrażania relacji (np. posiadania), które mogą z powodzeniem być wyrażone przyimkiem *bilong*. Ponadto, zasygnalizowano również, że w języku Tok Pisin zaczynają kształtować się rejestry. Kolejnym celem niniejszej rozprawy było zbadanie, czy angielski pidżyn neomelanezyjski rozwinął swoje zasoby do tego stopnia, aby móc realizować sześć podstawowych funkcji języka. W wyniki analizy stwierdzono, że cztery funkcje – emotywna, referencyjna, fatyczna oraz konatywna – są realizowane przez szereg środków językowych. Dwie funkcje – poetycka i metalingwistyczna – stanowią wyjątki. Funkcja poetycka jest słabo rozwinięta w badanym korpusie, jednak nie można wykluczyć, że jest ona lepiej rozwinięta w literaturze mówionej, tworzonej w tym języku. Funkcja metalingwistyczna nie jest rozwinięta. Wydaje się, że gdy osoby mówiące badanym pidżynem mają potrzebę rozmawiania o kwestiach języka, używają one języka angielskiego. Kolejne pytanie, na które szukano odpowiedzi było związane z dyglosją tekstualną. W pracy pokazano, że gazeta *Wantok* zawiera reklamy oraz ogłoszenia, które publikowane są w dwóch językach: w pidżynie i w języku angielskim. Wnioski płynące z analizy tego zjawiska wskazują na to, że wybór języka determinowany jest przez trzy główne czynniki: grupę docelową, do której kierowany jest dany komunikat, temat komunikatu oraz instytucję publikującą dane ogłoszenie. Produkty, które mają zastosowanie w życiu tzw. zwykłego mieszkańca Papui Nowej Gwinei oraz ta-

kie, które należą do lokalnej kultury reklamowane są w pidżynie. Produkty luksusowe takie, jak samochody, reklamowane są w języku angielskim. Ogłoszenia kierowane do tzw. zwykłych mieszkańców Papui Nowej Gwinei publikowane są w pidżynie, natomiast te, których grupą docelową jest społeczność międzynarodowa, publikowane są w języku angielskim. Powyższe obserwacje prowadzą do wniosku, że *Wantok* jest gazetą, gdzie występuje dyglosja tekstualna, z językiem angielskim jako językiem ważniejszym („high") i pidżynem jako językiem mniej ważnym („low").

Niniejsza książka składa się z sześciu rozdziałów, które można podzielić na dwie części: Rozdziały: 1, 2 oraz 3 stanowią część teoretyczną, w której omówione zostały najważniejsze zagadnienia związane z językoznawstwem pidżynów i kreoli. Rozdziały 4, 5 i 6 koncentrują się na wybranych aspektach pidżyna Tok Pisin.

W rozdziale 1 omówiono podstawowe definicje (*pidżyn*, *kreol*, *lingua franca*) oraz przedstawiono historię badań kreolingwistycznych. Ponadto, zaprezentowane zostały główne teorie powstania pidżynów i kreoli. W rozdziale 2 autor omawia takie zagadnienia, jak rozmieszczenie pidżynów i kreoli, socjolingwistyczną typologię języków pidżynowych i kreolskich oraz rozwój tych języków w oparciu o koncepcję cyklu życiowego pidżynów i kreoli. Rozdział 3 ukazuje zastosowanie języków pidżynowych i kreolskich w wybranych aspektach społecznych takich jak: szkolnictwo, literatura czy media. Ponadto, omówiony został proces standaryzacji pidżynów i kreoli oraz ich rola w społeczeństwach dwu- i wielojęzycznych. Rozdział 4 poświęcony jest angielskiemu pidżynowi neomelanezyjskiemu z Papui Nowej Gwinei. Dyskusja obejmuje zewnętrzną (tzw. społeczną) oraz wewnętrzną (tzw. językową) historię tego pidżyna, jego rolę i funkcje w Papui Nowej Gwinei na tle rodzimych języków lokalnych, lokalnych pidżynów oraz języka angielskiego. Ponadto, omówiono zróżnicowanie języka Tok Pisin, jego konstytucyjny status, stosunek ludności Papui Nowej Gwinei do tego języka, a także politykę językową, planowanie językowe i proces standaryzacji. W rozdziale 5 przedstawiono metodologiczne podstawy analiz przeprowadzonych w rozdziałach 5 i 6, a także zbadano stopień standaryzacji języka Tok Pisin w gazecie *Wantok* oraz wpływ języka angielskiego na strukturę leksykalno-gramatyczą badanego pidżyna. Zasygnalizowano także, że *Wantok* jest gazetą, w której zauważyć można leksykalne wyznaczniki rejestrów. W rozdziale 6, w oparciu o model komunikacji zaproponowany przez Jakobsona (1960), przedstawiono analizę funkcji języka. Tutaj także omówione zostało zagadnienie dyglosji tekstualnej obejmujące badany pidżyn i język angielski.

Podsumowując, niniejsza książka jest próbą pokazania tego, że język Tok Pisin jest ważnym środkiem komunikacji werbalnej w Papui Nowej Gwinei oraz że jego funkcjonowanie determinowane jest przez szereg czynników społecznych i kulturowych.

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