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Influence of Oceanic cognitive schemata on Tok Pisin: A comparative analysis

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Abstract

This paper aims to explore how the cognitive system of Tok Pisin operates compared to that of indigenous languages in the Oceania, namely Samoan and Fijian. The main question in this study seeks to determine whether cognitive conceptualization of Tok Pisin, despite being a pidgin, follows the same patterns found in Oceanic languages. The hypothesis tested is that cognitive conceptualization depends on the physical and cultural settings and that, therefore, Tok Pisin follows similar cognitive conceptualization as other languages in the Oceania. Drawing on the works of cognitive semantic scholars such as Talmy and Evans, this study sets out to assess the effect of pidgin formation on the cognitive level. For this goal, we proceed by juxtaposing predicate maker, temporal terms, cardinal directions, alienable/inalienable division, body-part terms as well as spatial prepositions in Tok Pisin and two Oceanic languages, namely, Fijian and Samoan. This paper argues that, despite some remarkable similarities between the Oceanic languages and Tok Pisin on the cognitive level, there are some divergent points as well. These findings, it is hoped, will reflect the Pacific Islanders' world view, the way they perceive and interact with reality.

Keywords: Tok Pisin; Fijian; Samoan; cognitive semantics; pidgin; Melanesia; Papua New Guinea; Oceanic languages

1. Introduction

Cognitive linguistics and Semantics of pidgins form a major branch of linguistics. The key aspect of the recent studies in pidgin formations has been the possible influence of substratum language on the emergent language. The influence of the substratum language on the resultant pidgin is fast becoming a key instrument in analyzing the semantics of pidgins (Siegel, 1999; Goulden, 1990, pp. 2-8; Schokkin, 2017).

In fact, the idea that pidgins are just a corrupt version of a European language is mostly based on a common misunderstanding of the semantic complexity of pidgins (Mühlhäusler, 1988; Osondu, Alozie, & Etaruwak, 2019, pp. 78-80; Wardaugh, 1986, p. 62). Therefore, the analysis of substratum contributes significantly to the understanding of the semantics and cognitive conceptualization of pidgins (Hollington, 2015). Downplaying the role of substratum can distort the reality of cognitive conceptualization while giving a prominent role to the haphazardness and imitation in the construction of pidgins. In fact, conceptualizations of events, roles, and human-environment interactions, evident in the linguistic features of pidgins, offer important insights at the conjunction of culture, language, and cognition (Hollington, 2015).

Pidgin is defined as a contact language variety restricted in form and function and native to no one, resulting from merging of members of at least two or three groups of different linguistic backgrounds; it is distinguishable from creole which is expanded in form and function to meet the communicative needs of a community of native speakers (Romaine, 2009). Creolization, however, can occur at any stage in the development continuum from rudimentary jargon to expanded pidgin. Varieties of Melanesian Pidgin English, namely Tok Pisin in Papua New Guinea (hereafter PNG), Pijin in Solomon Islands, and Bislama in Vanuatu, are distinguishable from others by their rich lexical and complex grammatical features.

The formation of pidgin is a classic problem in linguistics (Clark, 1979; Avram, 2019; Hollington, 2015; Kornacki, 2019; Schokkin, 2017). The process of language formation is the primary concern of linguistic studies; as a consequence, analyzing the cognitive processes and semantics of pidgins helps fill the research gap in the pidgin semantics and cognitive linguistics. Substratum influence is at the heart of our understanding of language formation in pidgins, though the evidence for such influence has been scarce and at best scattered (Siegel, 1999). Therefore, the analysis of pidgins is an increasingly important area in both applied and theoretical linguistics. Traditionally, linguists have subscribed to the belief that substratum influence is hard to demonstrate in case of having many substratum candidates in the region (Goulden R. J., 1990, pp. 2-10; Sankoff, 1977). Additionally, investigations in the field of Oceanic languages have led linguists to agree that there are considerable similarities between these languages and Tok Pisin (Goulden, 1990; Walsh, 1978; Parkvall, 2000; Siegel, 1999; Keesing, 1991; Koopman, 1986; Mufwene, 1990). Recent developments in the field of pidgin linguistics have highlighted the need for a much more rigorous comparative investigation between Tok Pisin and the languages of the Pacific region (McWhorter, 2018; Singh, 2000; Schokkin, 2017). Indeed, recent trends in pidgin linguistics have led to a proliferation of studies that compare several candidate languages with the chosen pidgin. (Schokkin, 2017; Nose, 2010)

Recent evidence suggests that Tok Pisin has Melanesian semantic content—here Melanesian refers to the coastal regions of Melanesia, excluding inner region of PNG—while its outer content is mostly English (Goulden R. J., 1990, pp. 3-10; Brown, Tyler, & Kimberley, 2016, pp. 432-441). Several attempts have been made to analyze the relationship between indigenous languages of PNG and Tok Pisin, including but not limited to comparative studies between Tolai (Kuanuai) and Tok Pisin (Goulden, 1990, pp. 3-10; Mosel, 1980). Such comparative studies show a degree of non-English lexical commonality between indigenous Tolai and Tok Pisin (Fry, 1977; Sankoff, 1977). Some researchers, however, have reported that the two languages differ significantly in many respects, and the similarities are mostly on the lexical level due to the intense borrowing from local Austronesian languages of the Bismarck Archipelago, in particular Kuanua (Tolai), but also, among others, Ramoaaina, Siar-Lak, and Label, while warning that many similarities result from the fact that Tolai is one of the main lexifier languages of Tok Pisin (Engelberg & Stolberg , 2017, p. 32; Mosel, 1980).

Previous studies have reported a number of properties of lexical semantics shared by languages in PNG and surrounding areas. Lexical semantics common among the indigenous languages of PNG have been explored in several studies (Goulden, 1990; Keesing, 1991; Schokkin, 2017). What we know about Tok Pisin is the lexical semantics seem to share common features with Oceanic languages, while the outer lexical content (how words appear) shows a clear English base (Kosecki, 2020). In other words, the phonological shape of the majority of lexical items is English-derived, while the bulk of the inner, semantic form is derived from common languages in Oceania (Goulden, 1990). Along the same lines, it is considered that pidgins have a small lexicon due to haphazard conditions of their formation according to their users' functional needs (Sebba, 1997, pp. 16-18). Indeed, the fact that most of the words in Tok Pisin come from English, does not seem to affect the semantics and cognitive processes—which are of non-European origin; in fact, it is argued that “in spite of European bulk of its vocabulary, the grammar and semantic orientation of the language are non-European” (Romaine, 2000, pp. 187-190; Kosecki, 2020, pp. 89-90).

To date, various methods have been developed and introduced to determine the possible substratum candidate, though they all failed to determine any clear candidate for Tok Pisin (Goulden R. J., 1990, pp. 2-20). In the last two decades, however, several researchers have sought to determine substratum influence by investigating several substratum candidates (Goulden R. J., 1990). A considerable amount

of literature has been published on this, and many languages including Tolai, Ramoaaina, Siar-Lak, and Label have been analyzed (Fry, 1977; Goulden, 1990; Keesing, 1991; Brown, Tyler, & Kimberley, 2016; Avram, 2019; Kornacki, 2019; Siegel, 1999). On the other hand, Malay has been rejected as a possible candidate for Tok Pisin substratum, as Malay influence on Tok Pisin seems to be limited to loanwords (Avram, 2019, pp. 112-115). These studies mostly compare several languages of the region with pidgins in order to shed light on indigenous influences (Haspelmath & Michaelis, 2017, pp. 7-10).

What we know about Tok Pisin is largely based on the comparison between indigenous languages of PNG and surrounding areas, mostly limited to Vanuatu and south Melanesia (Keesing, 1991). In fact, there is a growing acknowledgment that Tok Pisin, *Bislama* of Vanuatu, and the Solomon Islands pidgin were all one before they diversified (Avram, 2019, p. 123). The history of Tok Pisin involves the development of various jargons throughout Melanesia, followed by a stabilization period on plantations which led to the formation of Melanesian Pidgin English (MPE), the predecessor to the Bislamic languages (Goulden, 1989). On the other hand, historical evidence has consistently shown that Tok Pisin formed first as the language of communication among the sailors and workers on commercial ships in the whaling, sandalwood, and *bêche-de-mere* trade (Goulden, 1990, pp. 13-21).

In fact, Tok Pisin, Vanuatu's Bislama, and Solomon Island's Pijin can all be categorized as Bislamic languages rooted in the 19th century when Europeans needed labor force aboard ships for their commercial interests in the region; the word *Bislama* derives from the *bêche-de-mere* commerce, which is French for "sandalwood" (Clark, 1979; Keesing, 1991). While one major issue in earlier Tok Pisin research concerned the pidgin formation among the laborers on the plantations in Queensland, Samoa, and New Caledonia, some historical evidence indicates other possible genesis of Tok Pisin, namely, aboard commercial ships, among the laborers from different Pacific countries, such as people from Rotula (Western Fiji) and Eastern Fiji (Clark, 1979; Goulden, 1990).

While one of the most significant current discussions regarding the origins of Tok Pisin has been that on the role of indigenous oceanic languages, their influence on the cognitive processes and semantics of Tok Pisin has been largely overlooked. Cognitive linguistics, which originated in the late 1970s and early 1980s in the works of George Lakoff, Ron Langacker, and Len Talmy, focuses on the use of language as an instrument to organize and convey information under different conditions (Geeraerts & Cuyckens, 2007, pp. 1-2). There is concern that analyzing languages based on cognitive linguistics alone would distort reality which is in fact continual and non-discrete (Xue, 2014); therefore, some researchers have stressed the importance of combining cognitive linguistics and anthropology to understand the cultural basis of linguistic meanings (Xue, 2014). Recent evidence suggests that culture and cognitive domains are not divorced from another, but are rather intertwined, making it imperative to develop a framework based on cultural traditions and cognitive processes (Palmer, 2007, pp. 1045-1047). Recently, researchers have examined the role of culture in the way different motion verbs are encoded and lexicalized in aboriginal languages in Australia (Hoffmann, 2020). Similarly, several attempts have been made to establish a connection between culture and language through the special categories and lexicalization established for different ecosystems and landforms in aboriginal languages in Australia (O'Meara, Burenhult, Rothstein, & Sercombe, 2020, pp. 297-299).

This paper contests the claim that language can be studied apart from the culture it is associated with. The paper, therefore, will focus on the interplay between culture and cognitive processes in Tok Pisin, Samoan, and Fijian. In the pages that follow it will be argued that the ecosystem—the insular world of Pacific Islanders—has influenced the manner of lexicalization and conceptualization in all three languages. This paper critically examines the inherent link between culture and language in the above-mentioned languages. The main research question is whether cognitive conceptualization of Tok Pisin,

follows the Samoan and Fijian patterns. We hypothesize that cognitive conceptualization depends on the physical and cultural settings and that therefore, Tok Pisin reflects similar conceptualization processes to those evident in other Oceanic languages. We focus on predicate makers, temporal terms, cardinal directions, alienable/inalienable possession division, body-part terms, and spatial prepositions in Tok Pisin, Fijian, and Samoan. However, we interject a note of caution here: since we want to investigate patterns of conceptualization reflected in these languages, examples from different time periods and places were chosen.

2. Cognitive Comparison between Tok Pisin and Oceanic Languages

To compare the cognitive processes in Tok Pisin versus Oceanic languages, we chose Fijian and Samoan from the Oceanic language family. While the choice of Fijian and Samoan is arbitrary, nonetheless they represent the largest individual Oceanic languages with hundreds of thousands of speakers and they comprise the Polynesian and Central Pacific branches of Oceanic language family, respectively. Tok Pisin in PNG, on the other hand, is closely related to Solomon Islands' Pijin and Vanuatu's Bislama; they share so many lexical and grammatical features that they are often grouped together as the Bislamic language family.

2.1 Human as Part of Nature: Cognitive Analysis of Body-part Terms

When comparing Tok Pisin with Oceanic languages such as Fijian and Samoan, the most striking aspect is the one-to-one correspondence between some of their lexical items for body parts. Besides, the conceptualization of the self as part of nature is common in all three. This is of cultural significance in Fijian and Samoan societies, where every marriage and new birth are affected by the cycle of sowing and harvesting of yam and other significant plants, emphasizing the unity of humanity and nature (Rose, 1992). There is a clear interdependence between the care provided by Pacific Islanders in Oceania to the land and an obligation of land to return the favor, thus bringing unity and balance between humanity and nature (Rose, 1992, pp. 108-110). Consider the following words for hair in Tok Pisin, Fijian, and Samoan in 1 to 3:

(1) gras bilong het (hair in Tok Pisin)

grass of-POSS head

(2) drauniulu (hair in Fijian)

drau ni ulu

leaf of-POSS head

(3) laulu (hair in Samoan)

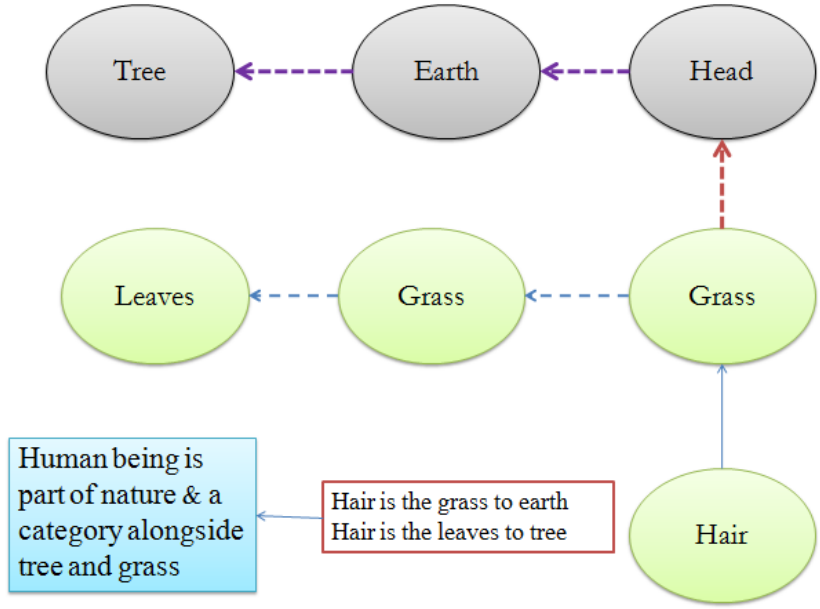
lau o ulu

leaf of-POSS head

In all three cases, a remarkable convergence of associations is evident. In fact, many word-formation processes in all three languages exhibit a one-to-one semantic correspondence. The use of *bilong* and *ni* as possessive prepositions in Tok Pisin and Fijian, respectively, is another striking similarity between them at the lexical level. As far as Samoan is concerned, the same phenomenon—albeit more complex

than in Fijian and Tok Pisin—can be detected where possessive markers such as *o* and *a* are fused to adjacent nouns to form complex words. This further supports the idea that human beings in these cultures are viewed as equals with the rest of nature, not dominant over it. Figure 1 illustrates the conceptualization of hair in these languages.

Figure1. Conceptualization of Hair in Tok Pisin, Samoan and Fijian



Source: Author

Another striking similarity can be found in words associated with the brain. The analysis of brain in Samoan, and Tok Pisin is provided in 4 to 5:

(4) fāi'ai (brain in Samoan)

fāi	'ai
the stem of taro (or banana leaf)	eat-INF

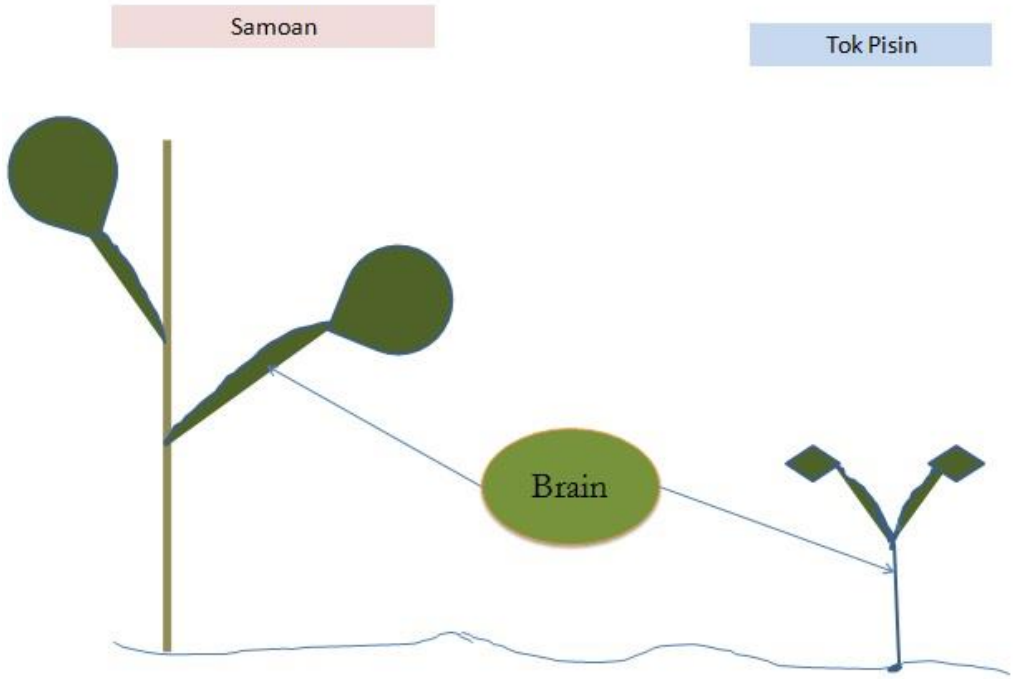
(5) kru bilong het (brain in Tok Pisin)

kru	bilong	het
sprout (bud)	of-POSS	head

The brain is associated with core plant parts. In Samoan, the brain is associated with the stem of banana (or taro) leaves; and their edible quality. In many Oceanic cultures, eating the brain (of animals and likewise, the meaty parts of plants) was not thought of negatively. In Tok Pisin, the brain is cognitively likened to the shoot (sprout) in plants; in another words, the brain is semantically understood as a young shoot which drives the growth of plant; therefore, in Tok Pisin, shoot or bud is seen as the driving force behind the plant's growth and this driving force—leading to human growth—is thought to be located in human brain as well. In Samoan, on the other hand, the brain is thought of as long edible stem which is supposed to drive the growth of leaves. Therefore, in both Tok Pisin and Samoan, there is a cognitive correlation between human brain and plant parts putatively responsible for plant growth.

Figure 2 illustrates the conceptualization of the brain in these languages.

Figure2. Conceptualization of Brain as Stem and Shoot in Samoan and Tok Pisin



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This type of semantic correlation can be observed in the place of courage (and to some extent emotions), which universally across the three languages is not heart, but the liver; therefore the heart is not seen as important as liver (the place where everything from emotions to courage are assumed to be located). Therefore, the liver tends to provide the equivalent semantic content of heart in English. Consider the following examples regarding courage in Fijian, Samoan, and Tok Pisin in 6 to 9:

Yate (liver in Fijian)
Lewa (liver in Tok Pisin)
Ate (liver in Samoan)

(6) ate'ai (coward in Samoan)
ate 'ai
liver eat-INF

(7) yate lailai (coward in Fijian)
yate lailai
liver small-ADJ

(8) lusim lewa (to startle in Tok Pisin)
lusim lewa
lose-INF liver

(9) askim lewa (to ponder in Tok Pisin)
askim lewa
ask-INF liver

As it is shown above, a guy who has eaten his liver—who has lost it (in Samoan)—or someone with small liver (in Fijian) is equivalent to be coward (someone lacking courage). In Tok Pisin, as it is shown in the analysis, lewa (liver) is used as the center of emotions, courage and desire, and such usage is evident in lusim lewa (to startle) and askim lewa (to ponder). In fact, in Tok Pisin and Fijian, this semantic correlation takes new heights as different associations with liver take on the sense of courage, love, and desire as in 10 to 13:

(10) belhat (angry in Tok Pisin)

bel hat
stomach hard-ADJ

(11) bel hevi (sad in Tok Pisin)

bel hevi
stomach heavy-ADJ

(12) lomadei (firm in one's convictions; steady in Fijian)

loma dei
inside firm-ADJ

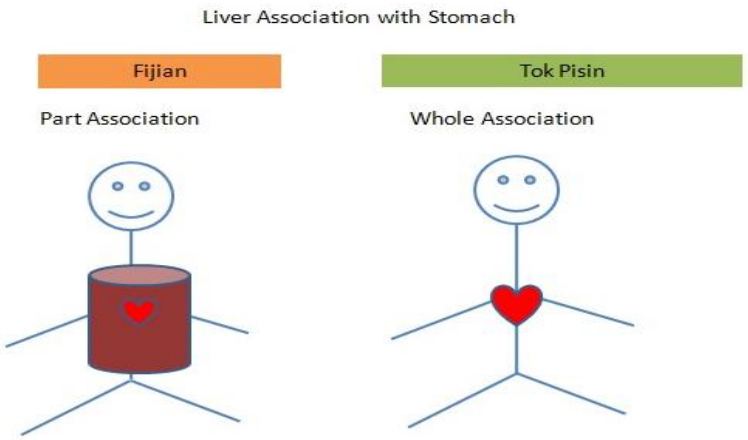
(13) lomabibi (sorrowfull in Fijian)

loma bibi
inside heavy-ADJ

As it is shown above, there is a slight difference in the manner in which the expansion of semantic content of liver happens in Fijian and Tok Pisin. Whereas in the former liver is associated with inner side of stomach, in the latter it is the whole of stomach or belly that is linked to liver (see Figure 3).

Figure3. Whole and Part Association between Liver and Stomach in Tok Pisin and Fijian

[Source: Author]



Therefore, there is a remarkable one-to-one correlation between basic semantic content for body parts in Tok Pisin, Fijian, and Samoan.

2.2 Alienable/Inalienable Dichotomy in Cognitive Analysis

Whereas the Pacific Islands are home to the world's most diverse range of indigenous cultures, which continue to harbor ancestral ways of life, the common migratory origins of Polynesians and Micronesians (from Southeast Asia) and Australo-Melanesian ancestry of Melanesians—who thereafter mixed with other Pacific islanders—and different internal migratory waves in the Oceania—especially those from Vanuatu and New Guinea to Polynesia—prepared the ground for the formation of some common cultural and artistic understandings among Pacific Islanders (Spriggs, 1995).

There is a thesis (Luis Dumont defends this) that value goes hand in hand with hierarchy; adopting hierarchy implies introducing hierarchy (Dumont, 1986). This makes the human thought and relations hierarchical in nature and hierarchy becomes the ultimate value wherein other values (cultural and economic) are nested (Toren, 1994, pp. 197-199). However, the antithesis appears to hold in Fijian society where hierarchy and reciprocity are complementary and equally important. In other words, rituals of balanced and reciprocal exchange are transformed to chiefly tribute (Toren, 1994). Therefore, it is common to see both chief of rituals (tui) and chief of wars (sau) as two aspects of the duality in Fijian society. Through the synthesis of equality and hierarchy, elements of hierarchy are found among household members (wife sits below husband and likewise junior siblings below elders) while between the wider community (net of clans) there are predominantly elements of reciprocity, and members are perceived as cross-cousins (Toren, 1994, pp. 197-208).

Likewise, in Samoan culture, two fundamental types of properties, namely *tonga* (immovable and fixed) and *oloa* (movable) highlight different cultural elements. While *tonga* designating the permanent paraphernalia—such as mats given at marriage, inherited by the daughters of that marriage—constitute the most valued possessions linked to family identity and social hierarchy. Their loss might lead to social downgrading and loss of political power in Samoan society. O*loa* represents objects that are exchangeable (Kovacevich & Callaghan, 2013). Furthermore, *tonga* would be given back to the original giver (family and clan) in the form of a gift or its equivalent, thus demonstrating the reciprocity and hierarchy culture in Samoan and broader culture in Oceania (Kovacevich & Callaghan, 2013). The hierarchy and reciprocity can, further, be seen in the Samoan social structure where the community is governed by so-called “big man” or chief who, despite enjoying high status, acts as a benevolent and generous distributor of wealth in the community (Hennings, 2007). However, the duality of fixed versus movable category of properties goes beyond the Samoan territory as it can be seen in tapa. Tapa or bark-cloth—made from the outer bark of specific trees—is a common ancestral heritage, interwoven with the past and the present in social life across Oceania (Barker & Hermkens, 2016). While tapa is not that much in use in interior regions of PNG, it is highly valued in coastal regions of PNG where, like in other parts of Oceania, as an object of wealth that can be both inalienable (specifically one designed with clan design) and alienable (used in barter and ceremonial exchanges) (Hermkens, 2015). As it is the case in Samoan, inalienable type of tapa refers to *tonga*, while alienable one to *oloa*. Therefore, culturally we can discern a dichotomy of alienable and inalienable objects of wealth in Oceania.

Is there any hint of the mentioned dichotomy in the words and expressions of these languages? The answer is yes. In Samoan, the mentioned *tonga-oloa* dichotomy comes up in a general grouping of nouns, namely personal and non-personal nouns: personal nouns designate objects with which one has an intimate and personal relationship—such as body parts, and relatives; non-personal nouns are those which could be described as mere objects, having no intimate relationship to one’s life, such as cars, food, and the like (Hunkin, 1992). From this it follows that *tonga* is conceptualized in the form of personal nouns, while *oloa* relates to the conceptualization of non-personal nouns.

The linguistic expression of personal and non-personal nouns in Samoan surfaces in the possessive pronoun in “a” and “o” forms, respectively. Examples in 14 and 15 show the usage of possessive pronouns for personal nouns, while examples in 16 and 17 underline the same for non-personal pronouns.

(14) ‘o lo’u vae (Samoan/ personal pronoun/ tonga).
the-ART-DEF my-POSS leg
My leg

(15) ‘o lona tama (Samoan/ personal pronoun/ tonga).
The-ART-DEF his/her-POSS father
His/her father

(16) ‘o la’u peni (Samoan/ personal pronoun/ oloa).
The-ART-DEF my-POSS pen
My pen

(17) ‘o lana uilaafi (Samoan/ personal pronoun/ oloa).
The-ART-DEF his/her-POSS motorcycle
His/her motorcycle

Interestingly, the same phenomenon exists in Fijian, albeit less common than in Samoan. Like in Samoan, the *tonga-oloa* dichotomy is observed in Fijian possessive pronouns. In the case of inalienable-fixed nouns—corresponding to personal nouns in Samoan case—possessive pronoun is added on to the noun, while in alienable-movable nouns—corresponding to non-personal in Samoan—possessive pronoun is suffixed to ke-, me-, and no- and precedes the noun (Geraghty, 1994). Examples in 18 and 19 show the usage of possessive pronouns for alienable nouns, while examples 20 to 22 show the same for inalienable nouns (note: in following examples, AD refers to me-, ke-, no- adhesive attached to possessive pronoun) .

(18)Na kete qu (Fijian/ inalienable noun).
The-ART-DEF stomach my-POSS
My stomach

(19)Na tama qu (Fijian/ inalienable noun).
The-ART-DEF father my-POSS
My father

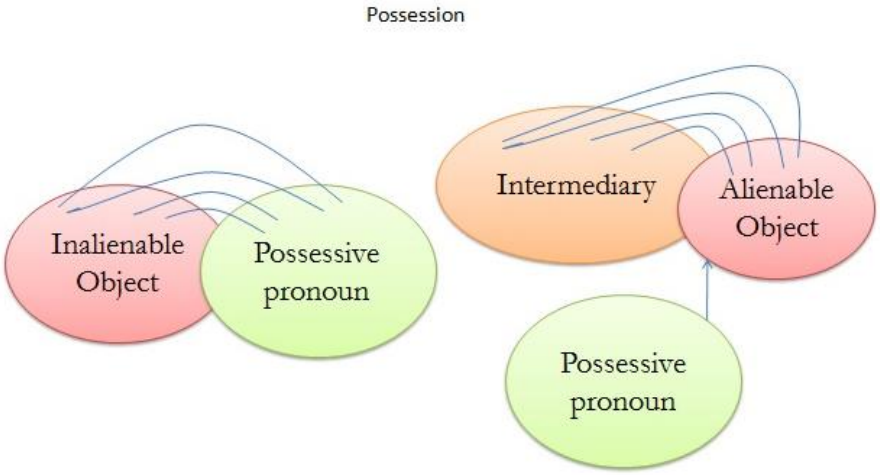
(20)Na ke- qu ika (Fijian/ alienable noun).
The-ART-DEF AD/my-POSS fish
My fish

(21)Na no-qu vale (Fijian/ alienable noun).
The-ART-DEF AD-my-POSS house
My house

(22)Na me-qu ti (Fijian/ alienable noun).
The-ART-DEF AD-my-POSS tea
My tea

In fact, we can discern two different patterns for expressing alienable (*oloa*) and inalienable (*tonga*) objects in Samoan and Fijian. Whereas specific possessive pronouns in form of *a* and *o*—such as *lona*, *lana*; *l'au*, *l'ou*—are employed to distinguish between movable and fixed objects, in Fijian specific possessive prefixing methods are used to distinguish between *tonga* and *oloa*. In Fijian, with regard to inalienable objects, we observe that possessive pronoun directly—without any other intermediary—attaches to the inalienable object (personal noun); this highlights the immediacy and inevitable quality of inalienable-fixed objects, such as body parts and relatives. Conversely, in the case of alienable objects, we distinguish the fusion of intermediaries (such as *ke-*, *me-*, and *no-*) with a possessive pronoun, which results in the alienable object being free and unattached. In other words, in the case of *oloa*, the linguistic structure highlights the non-essential quality of the non-personal object. Another way to look at it is that an alienable object follows the possessor, while an inalienable object precedes it in Fijian. Figure 4 illustrates the schemata of objects in alienable and inalienable possession in Fijian.

Figure4. Schemata of Alienable and Inalienable Objects in Possession in Fijian



Source: Author

As far as Tok Pisin is concerned, we do not discern a clear linguistic distinction for alienable and inalienable objects (like the ones we observed in Samoan and Fijian). Here we observe the same linguistic expression of possession for both alienable and inalienable objects. Examples in 23 and 24 show the usage of possession for alienable nouns and examples in 25 to 28 illustrate possession for inalienable nouns.

(23)Laik bilong ol (Tok Pisin/ alienable noun).
preference of-POSS they-3PL
Their like

(24)Ka bilong mi (Tok Pisin/ alienable noun).
car of-POSS I
My car

(25)Man bilong mekim poisin (Tok Pisin/ inalienable noun).
Man of-POSS make-INF poison
Sorcerer

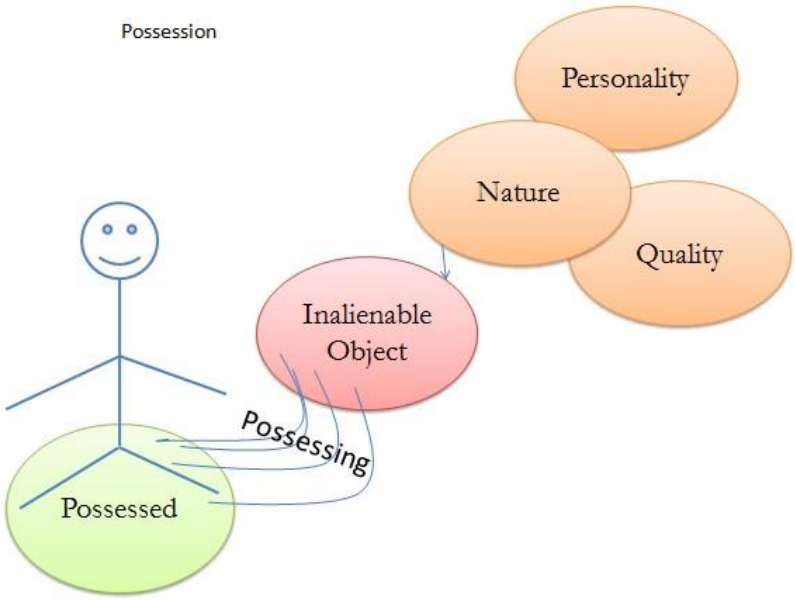
(26)Man bilong bikhet (Tok Pisin/ inalienable noun).
man of-POSS stubborn-ADJ
Stubborn man

(27)Man bilong kaikai (Tok Pisin/ inalienable noun).
man of-POSS eat-INF
Glutton

(28)Haus bilong king (Tok Pisin/ inalienable noun).
house of-POSS king
Palace

On the cognitive level, however, the qualities and personality which represent the nature of a person or thing (in examples 13 and 14 for example) is conceptualized as the possessor. Therefore, the same linguistic expression for alienable/inalienable objects highlights a different cognitive schema. In fact, this shows how the approach to nature is more of a passive one; thus, nature sits in the place of possessor as inalienable quality and personality in Tok Pisin—which, in turn, possesses men and things alike. Therefore, this point underlines again that Pacific Islander is not to compete with nature, but is part of it, to live in harmony with it. Figure 5 illustrates the cognitive schemata associated with the dichotomy of alienable-inalienable objects in Tok Pisin.

Figure5. Cognitive Schemata Associated with Alienable & Inalienable Objects in Tok Pisin



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Therefore, it is believed that while in Samoan and Fijian there is a semantic category for the dichotomy of alienable-inalienable, such distinction is not semantically categorized in Tok Pisin.

3. Interdependence in Oceania and Cognitive Categories

The highlands of PNG are one of the oldest agricultural regions of the world and there is clear evidence of several millennia-old sophisticated drainage channels. Papua New Guinean tribes, especially those in

coastal areas, organized themselves around small groups of kinships and they had relations of interdependence and reciprocity among the households; this time and again provides an example of hierarchy and reciprocity in broader Oceanic culture. Indeed, big men, who are known as having influence by virtue of consent, distribute *buai* (betelnut) and *tabu* (shell-money) in different ceremonies in return for their supervision (authority) over customs and their trusteeship in the clan house of *tabu* (*pal na tabu*) (Martin, 2007). The equality amongst households was to the extent that there was no permanent class of serfs, slaves, landlords, tenants, nobles in the interdependent society of the time (Cooter, 1991, pp. 760-763). Such expectations of reciprocal contribution by the big men lie on the basis of interdependence of the social fabric of the clan where every *wantok* (person of the same ethnic group) is supposed to help others in his clan regardless who assumes the role of big man (Martin, 2007). Interdependent and reciprocal relations between groups of kinships opens the space for a game without a core where members of the rising and threatening coalitions would willingly defect to other coalitions in order to preserve the balanced relations among the clans (Cooter, 1991).

Elsewhere in the Pacific, the same complimentary of interdependence and hierarchy exists. In chiefdoms of Micronesian islands, hierarchical relations among the clans are not primarily based on power but rather highly valued dependence where those of higher status have moral obligations to take care of those beneath them (Keating, 2000). Furthermore, there are societies in Micronesia, such as Sapwuahfik, who appreciate the equality among the clans despite the existence of neighboring less equal societies which points out to a more global and Oceanic culture of equality among the clans, at a more subtle level, despite the apparent system of titles and chiefdom (Keating, 2000). However, one may ask what are the sources of the unique hierarchy and interdependence in Oceania? Well the paper posits that lives of Pacific Islanders are most affected by geography. Some of the most remote islands in the world are in Oceania; remoteness as well as exposure to harsh conditions—high seas, flooding, hurricanes, and more—had a huge impact on the way of life of Pacific Islanders. Through common ancestral heritage—shared by the people of Melanesia, Polynesia and Micronesia (such as one derived from Lapita culture)—and common natural physical setting, common cultural practices find a place in the heart of Pacific Islanders. Interdependence is believed to be a consequence of the remoteness of the South Pacific islands. Insular remoteness, in particular, brings about the need for mutual help and close-knit societal organization, required to survive in a challenging environment—life is difficult on remote islands where the closest settlement could be tens of miles away. Hierarchy, too, is of different form in such a setting, as the chief can only direct others in an interconnected network of mutual help. Therefore, being "big men" (clan chiefs) means being a provider or distributor of essential goods. Hierarchy and interdependence, essential to Pacific Islanders' way of life, as one can imagine, contributed to the formation of specific cognitive categories in languages of Oceania, namely direction and pronoun cognitive category. In the following section while we look into these semantic categories, we will investigate possible similar categories in Tok Pisin.

3.1 Wind and Direction

Shared physical environment shaped the lives of Pacific Islanders and brought about similar solutions across Oceania—for example, the use of wind calendar, based on humidity, direction and intensity of local winds to identify different seasons and to set the optimal timing for navigation between islands and for fishing (De Smedt & De Cruz, 2011).

Thus, the shared environment of the Oceania (with its isolation, frequent flooding, hurricanes, volcanic eruptions and earthquakes) impacted Pacific Islanders in the same way as well as produced common solutions (i.e., using wind for navigation). Such problem-posing and problem-solving processes naturally led to the formation of specific cognitive category for direction which was entirely different to similar

categories in other parts of the world. While the most common way of conceptualization of directions is the one based on four cardinal directions, namely West, East, South, and North, in the Pacific, there is a cognitive concept of wind-derived directions—which has its origins in wind trades, especially south-east and north-west wind trades and monsoon. In Fijian, for example, the common directions were initially as follows: *tokalau cevaceva* (as well as *ceva ira*), southwest wind; *vuaira* (as well as *vualiku*), north-east. In Samoan, common directions were initially derived from and formed by *sifo*, southwest wind and *mātū* and *sasa'e*, northeast wind. Furthermore, *toga* (pronounced as *tonga* in Samoan) is used as the direction for south which is the name of an island (Tonga island) to the south of the Samoan Islands. Such usage is still prevalent and it goes back to the way Pacific islanders were using different natural landmarks for their navigation, including other islands.

However, in Tok Pisin, such wind-defined directions are not universal. In fact, despite the existence of special vocabulary for different types of wind, such as *rai*, southwest wind and *taleo*, north-west wind, we do not find a clear connection between wind and cardinal directions. Table 1 summarizes the wind-derived direction concept in Fijian and Samoan.

Table 1

Concept of Wind-Derived Directions in Fijian and Samoan

Wind direction	Fijian	Samoan
Northeast trade wind	Vuaira; vualiku; Tokalau	Matu, Sasa'e
Southwest trade wind	Ceva ira; Tokalau Cevaceva	Sifo
South	Ceva	Toga
North	Vualiku	Matu
East	Tokalau	Sasa'e
West	Ra	Sisifu

Source: Author

In Fijian and Samoan, however, despite the incorporation of the cardinal system, the original wind directions formed the basis for the western-introduced cardinal system. In Fijian, in particular, this can be seen in 29 to 32:

(29)Tokalau ceva ceva (southeast trade wind), ceva ira (southwest wind) & ceva ceva (cool wind from the south)→ceva (south)

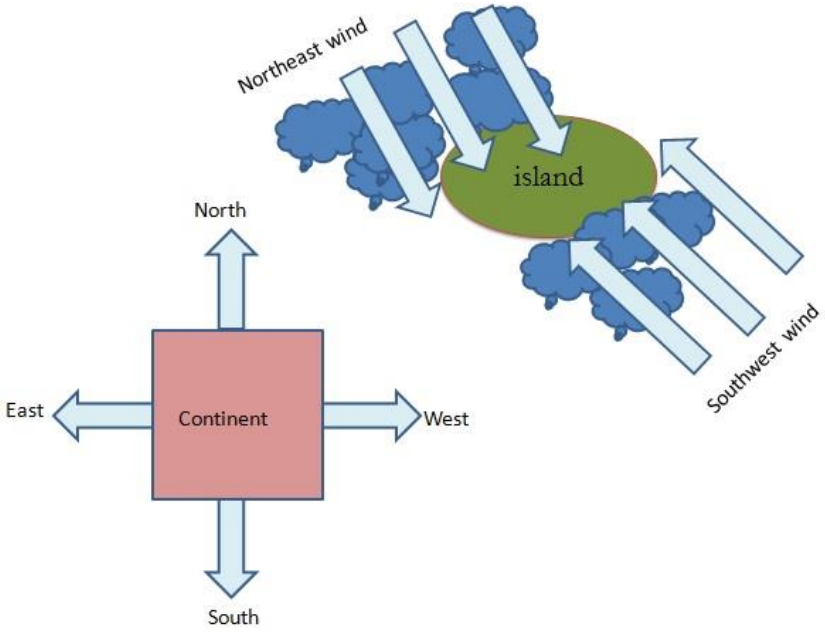
(30)Ceva ira (southwest wind) & vuaira (northwest wind)→ ra (west)

(31)Vualiku (northeast wind)→ vualiku (north)

(32)Tokalau (northeast wind) & tokalau ceva ceva (southeast wind)→tokalau (east)

Figure 6 illustrates the Cognitive schemata which underlies the notion of direction in Fijian and Samoan.

Figure6. Cognitive Schemata of Direction in Oceanic Languages versus Continental Asia and Europe



Source: Author

Figure 6 contrasts the more proactive approach to the environment among continental Asians and Europeans who radically change their environment to suit their needs with the Pacific Islanders' approach to nature in Oceania which is rather passive. Here nature rules. In remote communities, it is not possible to call out for help in distressing times; rather, one wants to live in harmony with nature. As a consequence, while directions in many parts of the world have the schemata of moving away from the speaker toward the unknown, in the Oceanic languages, directions are rather imposed by nature (and its elements such as wind) and they have the schemata of moving wind (nature) towards the speaker in a circular island. By embracing the notion of interdependence, Pacific Islanders in Samoa and Fiji find a common solution to their natural physical setting. The curious absence of wind-derived directions in Tok Pisin can be partly due to geography. Interestingly, the more we move away from the coastal regions into the mountainous interior in PNG, for example, we witness a clear reduction of the associated cultural notion, i.e., interdependence. Indeed, due to reduction in vulnerability to natural disasters such as coastal flooding, tsunamis and hurricanes (compared to coastal regions) and therefore change of social structure, the dependence on others—and consequently the notion of interdependence—reduces significantly and the reliance on wind for direction setting seems to lose ground.

4. Conceptualization in Oceanic Languages and Tok Pisin

Even though the majority of the vocabulary of Tok Pisin derives from English, on the semantic level, Tok Pisin diverges significantly from English; to shed light on such deeply embedded cognitive structures, we will conduct a comparative analysis between Tok Pisin and Oceanic languages of Samoan and Fijian. In the continuation, we will compare the abstract concept of predicate maker, conceptualization of the future and all-encompassing prepositions in the syntax of Tok Pisin with that of Oceanic languages such as Samoan and Fijian.

4.1 Predicate Maker i and e

One interesting feature of Tok Pisin is the use of *i* as predicate maker (hereafter glossed by PRED-M) with third person (singular and plural) and first and second person plural (+*pela*). The following examples in 33 to 39 illustrate this fact.

(33)Mi amamas long autim gutnius long olgeta de.
I-NOM happy-ADJ for-PRE share good news in-PRE all day-ADV
I am happy to share the good news each day.

(34)Yu amamas
you-NOM happy-ADJ
You are happy

(35)Em *i* bel hevi tru.
He-NOM PRED-M sad-ADJ really-ADV
He is very sad

(36)Ol *i* bikpela samting long yu.
They-NOM PRED-M important-ADJ for-PRE you-ACC
They are important to you.

(37)Mipela i save sori.
We-NOM PRED-M feel-1PL-PRS sad
We are sad.

(38)Mipela *i* bel hevi.
We-NOM PRED-M sad-ADJ
We (exclusive) are sad.

(39)Yupela *i* danis long haus bung.
you-PL-NOM PRED-M dance-2PL-PRS in-PRE theater-LOC
You dance in the theater.

The same phenomenon happens as well in Fijian—with predicate maker surfaces in different derivations of *e*, namely, *eda and era*—as the following examples in 40 to 45 reveal this striking similarity.

(40)Au sa kaya vakaidina vei kemudou.
I particle-PERF tell-1SG-PRS verily-ADV to-PRE you-DAT
I verily tell unto you.

(41)Koya *e* kaya vei ira.
S/he-NOM PRED-M say-PAST to-PRE them-DAT
She/he said to them.

(42)Lako tani i ke!
Go-DEF away-PRE here-ABL
Go away from here!

(43)*Era* iratou vakila.
PRED-M-3PL they-3PL-NOM feel-PST-3PL
They felt it.

(44) *E* vinaka cake.
PRED-M good-ADJ more
She/he is the best.

(45) *Eda* sa veitacini sa sioni.
PRED-M-1PL participle-PERF sisters in-PRE Zion
We are sisters in Zion.

In Samoan, too, the tense maker "*e*", which is used for present tense, acts as a predicate maker as it follows in 46 to 49:

(46)'ou te alu.
I PRED-M eat-1SG-PRS
I eat.

(47)E pule o ia.
PRED-M rule-3SG-PRS he
He rules.

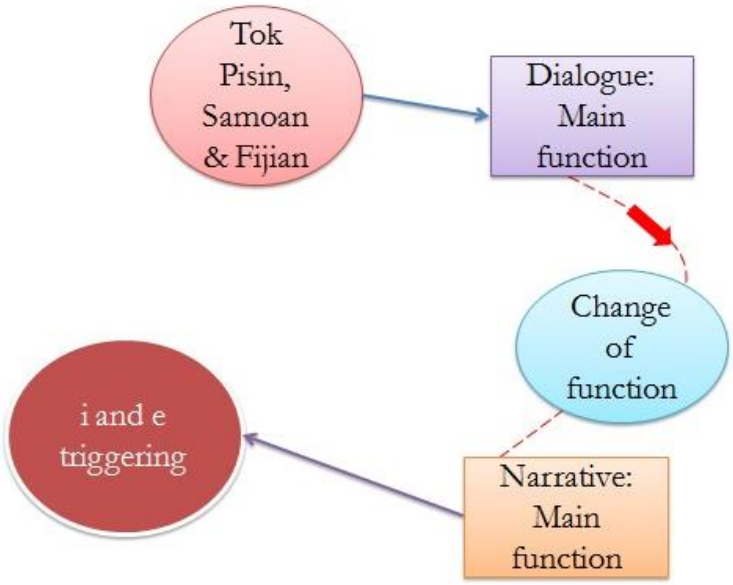
(48)E vaavaalua lava le faitau (part 1)
PRED-M hand in hand indeed-ADV the-ART reading
ma le iloaina (part 2).
with-PRE the-ART recognition
Reading goes indeed hand in hand with recognition.

(49)E savali le tama 'i le ā'oga.
PRED-M walk-3SG-PRS the-ART boy to-PRE the-ART school
The boy walks to school.

As examples above illustrate, we are witnessing similar phenomenon in Fijian and Samoan, and Tok Pisin. Furthermore, there are structural changes of main predicate maker in all three languages as in Fijian, *e* becomes *era* for plural pronouns, and in Samoan *e* becomes *te* when it immediately follows a pronoun; indeed, when there is a proper noun, it will always set off the use of *e* in Samoan (Hunkin, 1992). Despite the differences, we still can discern similar trait with regard to predicate maker in these languages; when there is a deictic pronoun (first and second person), then there is no triggering of predicate. However, when there are non-deictic pronouns, such as the third person, then *i* and *e* are almost always triggered (Verhaar, 1995, pp. 70-80; Schütz, 1985). What kind of semantic category operates here? Such semantic category operating can be explained by the fact that in all three languages speakers see language functioning in terms of dialogic communication (Tomlinson, 2019; Besnier, 1990). In Samoan, for example, proper noun used in narrative style has triggering effect and almost always triggers predicate maker *e* (Hunkin, 1992). Figure 7 illustrates the cognitive

conceptualization of predicate maker in the Pacific Islanders' cognitive system. In summary, the change of focus from dialogic to narrative (third person) triggers predicate maker.

Figure7. Change of Mode of Language Function and Triggering Effect in Tok Pisin, Samoan, and Fijian



Source: Author

5. The Past and Concept of Future

In both Fijian and Tok Pisin, the words indicating the future are space prepositions referring spatially to the back. Examples in 50 and 55 put forth the future in Fijian, Samoan and Tok Pisin.

(50) Wanem samting bai painim Acan *bihain*? (Tok Pisin)
what thing will-FUT look for Acan behind-ADV
What does the future hold for Acan?

(51) Na noda kawa mai *muri*. (Fijian)
the-ART our-1PL-POSS generation (family) in-PRE back-LOC
Our future generations.

(52) ena *muaimur*i. (Fijian)
e na mua i muri.
in-PRE the-ART end of-PRE back-GEN
At the back end.

(53) mai *muri* (Fijian).
From-PRE behind
From behind.

(54) Atiina ae o “le faavae lelei (part 1/ Samoan).
Build-PROG-PTCP up-ADV a-ART foundation good-ADJ
mo aso *atali*” (part 2)
for-PRE day shadowlike
Building “a fine foundation for the future”

(55) O tagata e (Samoan /part1)
the-ART humans PRED-M
ola ma oti e pei (part 2)
come-3SG-PL and-COOR go-3SG-PL PRED-M like-ADV
o le mutia, e pei (part 3)
the-ART grass PRED-M like-ADV
o le *ata* e mavae atu (part 4)
the-ART shadow PRED-M pass-PRS-3SG away-ADV
e pei o se (part5)
PRED-M like-ADV a-ART
mea lē aogā. (part 6)
do-PROG-PTCP the-ART exhalation
Humans come and go like green grass, like a passing shadow, like an exhalation.

As it is revealed above, the words indicating the future are *bihain*, *muri* and *atali* in Tok Pisin, Fijian and Samoan, respectively. *Bihain* is a word borrowed from English, while *muri* is an original Fijian word, meaning back, which is being used to refer to the future. In Samoan, future is *atali* (as in *aso atali* meaning future days); *atali* comes from *ata* which means shadow. For shadow is cast opposite the sun and behind the speaker, beautifully in Samoan, the future is conceptualized as shadow-like events cast behind. It is as interesting how the borrowed word *bihain*—behind in English—takes the meaning of future in Tok Pisin as the shadow-like conceptualization in Samoan. Such cognitive conceptualization of future as shadow-like and behind is common in Samoan and Fijian (central-eastern Oceanic languages) as well as in Tok Pisin which is the successor of the early Melanesian Pidgin.

Indeed, many Pacific Islanders, such as Fijians and Samoans, consider the future behind them and shadow-like. We posit that this interpretation of the future comes from animistic beliefs and traditions shared between people in Oceania and the linguistic concept of the future is formed through such system of beliefs. In the case of PNG, before the introduction of Christianity by Europeans, people were deeply involved with their cultural beliefs which were passed down to succeeding generations orally from time immemorial. Honoring their ancestors and acknowledging that their ancestors govern and influence the daily matters of life were part of their belief system (Scaglion, 2000).

This system of beliefs which brought the possibility to explain and validate the origin and existence of the world and reality is usually referred to as “animism or primal religion” (Wani, 2010, p. 89). On a par with animist beliefs is the eschatological concept which is not forward-looking, but backward-looking; where it simply means their future lies in the hand of the ancestors, who will determine and bring about what is not yet here (Mani, 2010, p. 73). In other words, people in Oceania see their future as a hidden, shadow-like and unknown consequence of what their past ancestors will bring to pass and only through pleasing ancestors’ souls that salvation and happy future events would be possible. In fact, one important source of suffering and trouble is inappropriate behavior resulting in the displeasure of the spirits while good behavior and a proper relationship with the spirit world are rewarded with *gutpela*

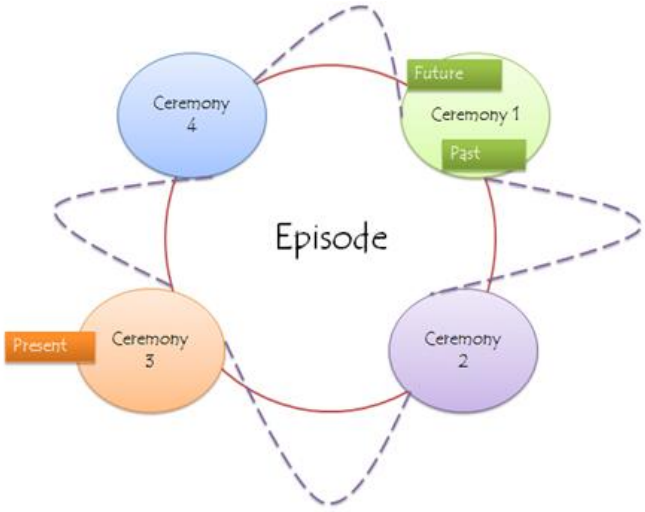
sindaun (a good life), as it is known in PNG (Hanson, 2012, p. 62). On the other hand, the ancestors are also the key to the future restoration of *gutpela sindaun* (Mombi, 2019, p. 15).
The concept of the future being governed by ancestors, as Yangoruan myth of *Saii-Urin* or primal man in the Papuan New Guinea, is shared widely across different animistic beliefs across Oceania (Mani, 2010, p. 79). Though such interpretation of the future, as something that is behind us and follows us as a shadow, may not be exclusive to Oceanic languages, nonetheless it is a widespread, consistent phenomenon in these languages. This points, indeed, to a common cultural heritage and similar natural settings in the region.

In Fiji, too, there is an ancient prevalent ancestor worshipping cult which venerates the ancestors' souls as the shades —*Yalo* in Fijian— going through the mountains to reach the first ancestry hometown up in the mountains—highest and most abrupt on the northern coast, made of basalt for the most part—called *Nakauvadra* which literally means the place of *vadra* (pandanus tree as it is called in Fijian). In order to get there, the shades had to go through a long journey, from the drinking of *wai-ni-dula* (the lake of solace in Fijian) to passing by the hanging place *Nailili*— where dead babies crying for their mothers to come and join them (Thomson, 1985, pp. 346-356). In fact, every tribe traces back its roots to three chiefs, namely *Lutunasobasoba*, *Degei*, and *Waicalanavanua* who set sail from a distant land for forgotten reason; they became the ancestor gods *Kalou-vu* who formed the genesis of the Fijian folk. They discovered *Viti-levu* or today Fiji, and there are many myths regarding their setting sail to the open ocean and discovering new lands (Thomson, 1985, pp. 343-345). In Samoan culture, too, there is a concept of *tapu* (common among Polynesians) where purification ritual (*faalanu*) has a nuanced meaning of cleansing by asking pardon. Thus, whenever *tapu* (sacred bond) which forms the relationship between man and his environment (such as trees, rocks, rivers, sea, and other natural elements) is broken, one has to ask for pardon from ancestors (Tamasese, 2007). Similar to the general ancestor worshipping cult, in Fiji and coastal regions of PNG, in Samoa it is believed that the souls or shades and the primal ancestor gods govern day-to-day matters of their descendants, therefore, future is formed by the past shades or souls of ancestors.

Furthermore, the conceptualization of time in Oceanic languages follows Pacific Islanders' worldview (the collective cultural concepts and norms) which results in the concept of time—contrary to linear western concept of time— based on notions of cyclicality, episodisity, repetition, and replacement (Scaglion, 1999). In other words, people in Oceania have an episodic view of history where every episode consists of steady state structures; at irregular junctures, the whole episode wholly changes to another episode; what is more, these steady states complete a cycle where the past becomes what one expects for the future, bringing the notion of repetition; just as different seasons come and go, there is constancy and expectancy as to what will come has already come (Scaglion , 1999, pp. 214-222).

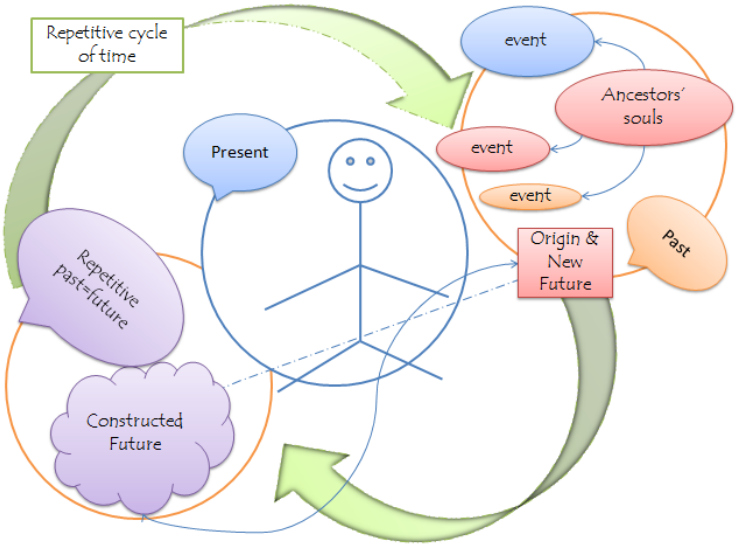
As a matter of fact, not only in PNG, but further away in Oceania— in Fiji and Samoa, for example—the concept of time is constructed based on ritual and traditional values of natural rejuvenation, similar to yam growing cycle where there is the period of calm and tranquility to care for cultivating and growth of yam followed by a period of festivities for harvesting and showcasing the yam-pots and handing over the yam-pots as exchange material to other tribe partners, thus repeating the same cycle over and over again (Scaglion, 2000, pp. 214-222; Scaglion, 1999, pp. 233-238). Time is conceptualized as different ceremonies in life while completing infinite cycles of repetition until a new episode begins, which itself is distinguishable from the gone one. Figure 8 illustrates how the future is conceptualized as if it were lying behind based on cyclical and repetitious characteristics.

Figure8. Cultural Construction of the Cyclical Concept of Time in Tok Pisin, Samoan, and Fijian [Source: Author]



In fact, the future is defined as the past and reversed in its direction (as opposed to the expected forward direction) based on two views: repetitious cycle and ancestors' souls governing life. Both views put emphasis on the pre-determined cycles of life and death, governed by previous souls. Figure 9 illustrates the point by mapping the schema for the future in Fijian, Samoan (central-eastern Oceanic languages as a whole) and Tok Pisin.

Figure 9. Schema for the Future in Tok Pisin, Samoan, and Fijian [Source: Author]



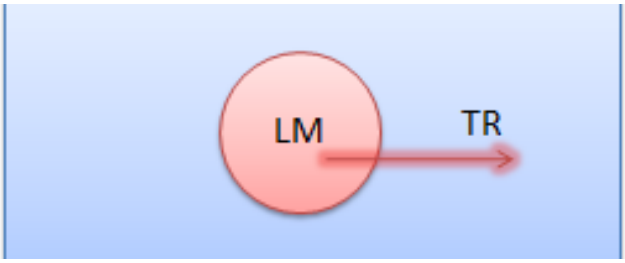
From Figure 9, it follows that the future is in the process of construction based on past deeds and ongoing situation. In fact, in Fijian, Samoan and Tok Pisin, the future is given as the origin or time-zero system plus the updated input derived from the accumulation of past events all governed by ancestors in a so-called "origin and new future" construct. In such an understanding of the world, the future is constantly getting updated with new input from past deeds; in other words, it is chiefly a distinct, non-linear process, contrary to the more common concept of future—mostly common in the West—as linear, continuous event.

6. Prepositions Long, Mai and Ma

In the most conceptual system of consciousness, there are image schemata, derived from our experience and interaction with the outside physical world. Some consider them as a direct result of sensory experiences of early childhood which precede the formation of concepts (Mandler, 2004). These schemata are internalized and used from early childhood and later form the basis for all thoughts and even language (Lakoff, 1988; Langacker, 2008). One can trace different schemata to the spatial ones, which are the result of child interaction with the environment (Langacker, 2008; Croft & Cruse, 2004). Spatial schemata such as container schema, which is an abstract image-schema concept, goes on to form the more specific lexical concepts, which themselves are corresponding to a specific lexical form (Ghiasian & Fallahi, 2013; Langacker, 2008). In container schema, we have trajector (TR) and landmark (LM), such as the preposition "out" in 56 (see Figure 10 for the concept).

(56)Robert goes out of the room. [Container schema: OUT]

Figure10. Landmark and Trajector in the Container Schema OUT [Source: Author]



In Tok Pisin, the preposition long is almost universally used in all types of container schema, be it out, in, inside, outside, from, to, etc. In Fijian, preposition *mai/ mai vei* represents a type of container schema with almost all related container schema such as in, to, out, from. With regard to Samoan, though we can distinguish a more sophisticated system for direction towards and away from the speaker which are lexicalized as *mai* and *atu*, the more archaic preposition ma denotes several container schemata such as to, for, from, on, with, etc. We draw on the works of cognitive linguist Ronald Langacker as our framework to define the pluralistic nature of the mentioned prepositions (Langacker, 2008). Different usages of preposition *long* in Tok Pisin are illustrated in 57 to 59. In 60 to 64, preposition *mai* reveals opposing notions of toward and away from the speaker in Fijian. In addition, examples in 65 and 66, preposition *ma* in Samoan brings about schemata of with, toward, and away from the speaker.

(57) Gutpela save i kam *long* baibel.
Good-ADJ knowledge PRED-M come-3SG-PRS from-PRE Bible-ABL
Treasures *from* god's word.

(58) Bihain *long* Iv, (Tok Pisin/part 1)
after-PRE from-ABL Eve
mi namba-wan meri ol i (part 2)
I-NOM number-one-ADJ woman that-CONJ PRED-M
bin raitim nem bilong mi *long* Baibel (part 3/).
be-1SG-PST write name of -POSS I in Bible-LOC
I was the first woman after Eve to be named *in* the Bible.

(59) Mipela i go bek *long* skul (Tok Pisin /part1)
We-1PL PRED-M go back-ADV to-PRE school
long olgeta de bilong lukim (part 2)
for-PRE all day to-PRE see-DEF
olsem ol bos bilong skul (part 3)
if all boss-PL of-POSS school
i bin senisim tingting (part 4)
PRED-M be-PL-PST change-INF heart
bilong ol o nogat (part 5)
of-PRE they or-COOR no
We returned *to* school each day to see if the school directors might have had a change of heart.

(60) O sa lako *mai* v*ei*? (Fijian).
You PST-P come-2SG from-PRE
Where did you come *from*?

(61) E sivia na oga *mai* na koro (Fijian).
PRED-M lay-3PL the-ART obligations in-PRE the-ART village
There are too many social obligations *in* the village.

(62) dro *mai vei* au (Fijian).
Run-2SG to-PRE I
run *to* me!

(63) Kana, kana! Ka o lakova *mai* (Fijian).
Eat-2SG Eat-2SG that-CONJ you-2SG come-2SG for-PRE
Eat, eat! That's what you came *(here) for*.

(64) Era a vala *mai* Bokanivili. (Fijian).
They PST-P fight-3PL at-PRE Bouganville
They fought *at* Bougainville.

(65) O le fua lelei e sau (part1/Samoan)
the-ART fruit good PRED-M come-3SG
ma lona lava uiga (part2)
with-PRE it's-POSS good-ADJ meaning
faatagaina ma faamaonia— o lona tofo (part3)
inherent-ADJ and-COOR proof the-ART it-POSS taste
Good fruit comes with its own inherent proof and validation—its taste!

(66) alu ese *ma* a'u. (Samoan)
go-2SG far-ADV away-PRE I
Get off of me. (Get away from me)

The question arises as to how people in these languages conceptualize the world. How is it possible to use one preposition for such a wide range of spatial schematic meanings? We posit that Pacific Islanders consider their interaction with the landmark in circles around it. To put it another way, they have a static

ego-centric view, as if everyday life is photographed moment by moment (in a discrete fashion), unlike the continuous motion in a movie. Besides, the circles around landmarks are basic forms of daily routines, particular to island life (such as sailing and helming boats around islands). Figure 11 to 13 illustrate the point and reveal the mentioned conceptualization.

Figure 11. Schema Image of Long, Ma and Mai as at (at Somewhere) [Source: Author]

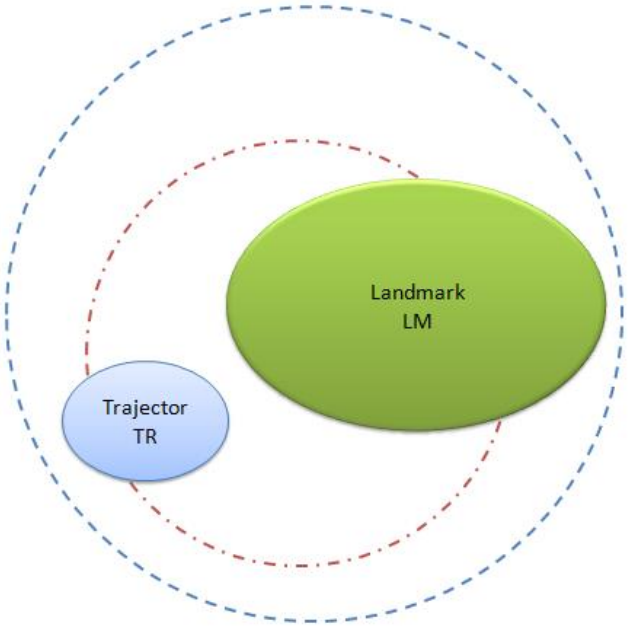


Figure 12. Schema image of long, ma and mai as to (to/toward Somewhere) [Source: Author]

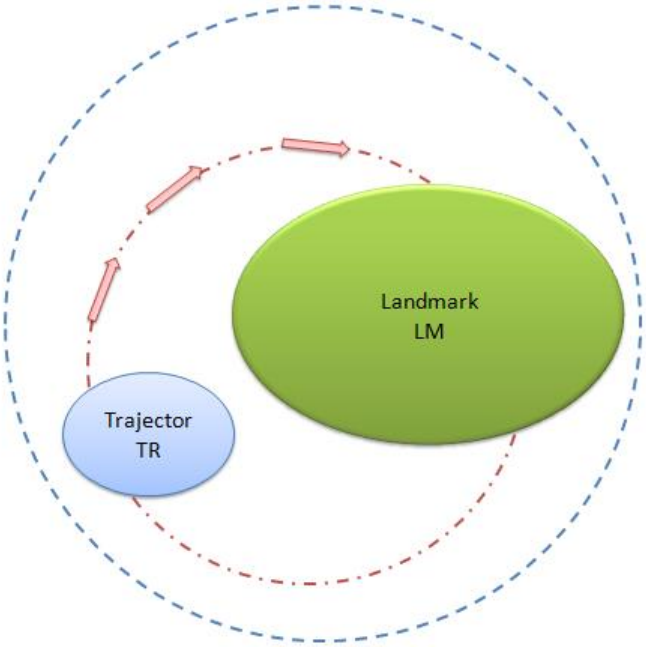
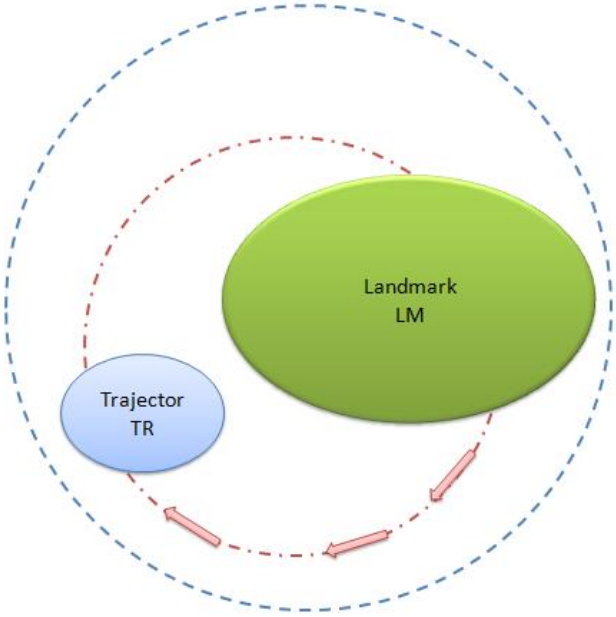


Figure 13. Schema Image of Long, Ma and Mai as from (from/out of Somewhere) [Source: Author]



Conclusion

This study set out to assess the effect of pidgin formation on the cognitive level while hypothesizing that cognitive conceptualization depends on the physical and cultural settings and that, therefore, Tok Pisin follows similar cognitive conceptualization as other languages in the Oceania, such as Fijian and Samoan. In this study, the researched data has tended to focus on cultural-cognitive interplay. After comparing temporal terms, cardinal directions, alienable/inalienable dichotomy, predicate maker, and spatial prepositions in Tok Pisin, Fijian, and Samoan, research findings indicate that indeed there is a convergence on the cognitive level when it comes to semantic categories for future, predicate maker, body parts, and spatial prepositions. However, the results do not show similar semantic category for alienable/inalienable division and wind-derived directions between Tok Pisin and Oceanic languages such as Samoan and Fijian. Indeed, the findings with regard to multi-layered semantics of one category of spatial prepositions (*long, mai, ma*) and the concept of future—which is indicated backward, and behind the speaker—confirmed the hypothesis of the study, showing that cyclical concept of time, space, and different degrees of beliefs on common values such as hierarchy, reciprocity, and interdependence, are present in the cognitive system of resultant pidgin, i.e., Tok Pisin. The findings of the study further suggest a cognitive correlation between predicate maker and change of focus from dialogic to narrative. However, possession and its connection to alienable and inalienable objects—connected to social life across Oceania—as well as the special category for directions—derived from wind—were not present in Tok Pisin. Therefore, it is argued that geographical differences between PNG and small islands in the Oceania may have contributed to such differences in the cognitive system. Similar semantic categories for body parts (hair, for example) in all three languages point out to the fact that Pacific Islanders conceptualize themselves as part of nature, and have more of a passive approach to nature while living in harmony with it. One of the most interesting findings of the study confirms strong cognitive correlation between cultural elements and linguistic forms. Indeed, the findings of the paper indicate that the shared cultural elements present in Polynesia, Micronesia and coastal regions of Melanesia—such as interdependence— have cognitive correlation with linguistic elements in Tok Pisin. However, as we move away from coastal regions to interior mountainous regions in PNG, the same

cultural elements tend to lose ground; this confirms the findings of other researchers who find the origins of Tok Pisin outside the mainland and interior regions of PNG. This study produced results which corroborate the findings of previous works which emphasized the importance of relating anthropological training to technical linguistics. Similar cognitive patterns between Oceanic languages and Tok Pisin may have been the result of interdependence of culture and language, the stability of millennia-old world-view, and a sense of cultural identity.

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