SOCIOLECTS IN NEW GUINEA PIDGIN

Peter Mühlhäusler

Australian National University

Mi laik tokaut long wanem kain kain nek bilong Tok Pisin istap. Mi bin skelim Tok Pisin bilong planti manmeri na mi laik makim fopela nek olsem:

(1) Namba wan em i 'Rural Pidgin' (pisin bilong ples). Em Tok Pisin tru. Ol manmeri bilong as ples ol i save mekim.

(2) Namba tu em i 'Urban Pidgin' (pisin bilong taun). Em Tok Pisin bilong ol manmeri istap long taun na bilong ol manmeri husat winim skul pinis. Dispela lain ol i save miksim planti Tok Inglis wantaim Tok Pisin.

(3) Namba tri em i 'Bush Pidgin' (pisin bilong ol kanaka). Dispela tok em bilong sampela manmeri husat i no istap longtaim insait long han bilong gavman. Nau tasol ol i harim Tok Pisin na ol i no kisim strong yet.

(4) Namba foa em i 'Tok Masta' (pisin bilong ol waitskin). Dispela tok em i tok bilong ol waitskin husat i save paulim tok na miksim planti Tok Inglis wantaim Tok Pisin. Tasol ol i no save bihainim Tok Pisin, ol i save paulim Tok Inglis tasol. Em tasol.

Introduction

The aim of this paper is to discuss a number of varieties of New Guinea Pidgin which are associated with factors that determine the social position of their speakers. I shall at first give a general discussion of the social varieties found in Pidgin and then give an illustration of how social variation is reflected in one part of Pidgin grammar, namely the lexicon.

There are two possible ways of establishing social varieties of a language. Firstly, one can start by analysing the data and hope that the analysis reveals either a number of distinct varieties with distinct grammars or a continuum of varieties that range from the basilect to a recognised standard variety. Secondly, one can postulate certain varieties and try to show that the linguistic data support one's hypothesis.

Although the former method appears to be less subject to speculation and although it has been applied successfully to one corpus of data (DeCamp 1971 for Jamaican Creole) there is a tendency for this method to yield confusing results if the corpus is fairly large and if the language under investigation is in a stage of rapid change such as with Pidgin at present (cf. also Labov 1971: 461 ff).

In addition to this objection we have to consider that Pidgin is a special case since it is not the first language for most of its speakers. Therefore the variation one gets in all parts of its grammar can be considerable and may have to do with the speaker's first language (so-called substratum influence) rather than with the speaker's social position. Variation is tolerated in Pidgin as long as satisfactory communication is possible.

Other than in the sociolects of non-Pidgin vernaculars there are few diagnostic forms in Pidgin which enable the investigator to allocate a speaker to a certain social stratum. In other words, one cannot write a grammar of what I shall describe as Bush Pidgin or Urban Pidgin. The idiolect of a member of a class of speakers does not have to be very much like the idiolect of another member of his group in terms of their grammar. It is indeed the main characteristic of Bush Pidgin that it is a conglomeration of multilingual idiolects (i.e., individual rather than social solutions to the problem of cross-cultural communication, (cf. Labov 1971: 15) than a dialect with an underlying system of rules.

In discussing Pidgin sociolects I therefore choose an alternative approach, namely to describe the varieties of Pidgin in terms of their deviation from a norm which I call *Rural Pidgin*. This variety which Laycock (1969: 7) has characterised as "fluent but unsophisticated, coastal rather than Highlands, and Melanesian rather than English", has developed into a kind of standard form which is spoken by the majority of Pidgin users and which recently has received additional importance through its becoming the recognised norm for printed Pidgin such as is used in the Bible translation or *Wantok* newspaper. Grammars of this core Pidgin have been written by Hall (1942), Laycock (1970) and Mihalic (1971) to name a few.

The deviations from this standard form are such that they can be grouped into three classes: *Tok Masta* (the Pidgin spoken by Europeans), *Bush Pidgin*, and *Urban Pidgin (Tok Buk)*. This classification is in agreement with both the intuitions of the average speaker of Pidgin and with the grammatical facts. I shall discuss all four varieties of Pidgin by pointing out the kind of phenomena that can be found rather than by giving an inventory of grammatical rules and lexical items for each-- a task which is impossible for the reasons discussed above. Therefore, for discussing Bush Pidgin for example, I shall point out the kind of deviation from the standard that one can expect to find and give illustrations using data collected in the field. These illustrations are not taken from a single individual but from a group of speakers that typically fall into this category.

Factors Accounting for the Division into Sociolects

(1) Ethnic origin of the speaker

Whether a speaker is European or not decides in the majority of cases what his Pidgin will be like. Europeans with English as their first language but also others with a knowledge of English speak a variety that is heavily coloured by English Grammar, in fact it is in most cases an ad hoc simplification of English which has very little to do with standard Pidgin, and is referred to as *Tok Masta* (language of the Europeans) in Pidgin.

The professional status of some Europeans (administration officers,

missionaries, anthropologists) however, leads them to learn a more standard variety.

(2) Urban versus rural communities.

Whereas for the average European living in an urban settlement the motivation to learn Pidgin is only slight, for the Papua New Guinean it is of vital importance that he is able to express himself in Pidgin in an urban environment. It is in the towns that the traditional vernaculars are replaced by Pidgin and that the traditional culture is given up in favour of a new way of life in which European standards are often uncritically accepted as a measure not only for social but also for language behaviour.

Since it is in the urban centres that education in English is most readily available and since English is used in some spheres of public life it has become a prestige language and a model for the Pidgin used by town dwellers. It is in the towns that a new and heavily anglicised variety of Pidgin is developing (cf. Hall 1956: 93). One can distinguish between the towns on the one hand and a continuum of places that are increasingly cut off from urban areas. Isolation of areas is due to both geographical and historical factors. An obvious distinction is the one between places that can be reached by road or river, those that can be reached by air only, and those that can be reached by neither road, river or air. The importance that Pidgin plays for a community decreases with increasing isolation. Isolation and proximity to European settlements determine a third factor that is of importance for the classification of sociolects, namely

(3) Age at which Pidgin is learnt.

One could distinguish between three cases: (1) learnt between the ages of 2 and 6, (2) learnt between the ages of 6 and 18, and (3) learnt after the age of 18. This suggests that the distinction between pidgin and creole is not clear cut, but that one has to conceive of a scale with creolised Pidgin at one end and an imperfectly learnt second language at the other end.

The types 1-3 can be paired with the locality in which Pidgin is learnt. Type 1 reflects the case of children growing up in or close to urban areas. They learn Pidgin in an environment that often does not coincide with the cultural background of either of their parents.

Type 2 can be found in areas not quite as near to the towns but which are accessible through road or river transport. Children on the one end of this continuum may grow up having only a passive knowledge of their parents' language and are open to many influences of urban culture. Towards the other end of the continuum urban influences are very limited. There the village culture is basically intact and contacts beyond a small geographical area are rare. Children of school age do not know Pidgin but learn it when they start attending primary schools, though many of them would not attend at all.

Type 3 can be found in very remote areas which have come under administrative control recently and in which contact with European culture is minimal. There are generally very few Pidgin speakers. In such areas Pidgin is learnt either in the village from returning labourers or during a working period in a town or on a plantation.

The discussion of the three ways of learning Pidgin was done with

reference to how it is acquired today. However, there is also a historical dimension which is reflected in the proficiency in Pidgin of members of different age groups.

(4) Age of speaker.

In a community in which children learn Pidgin as their first language or at the same time as their parents' first language, members of the middle aged and old group have learnt their Pidgin in a different way. The type of Pidgin spoken by the middle aged people in such a community corresponds to the Pidgin learnt in a more remote area, i.e., type 2 whereas the type of Pidgin spoken by the very old people is in structure like a Pidgin learnt under conditions 3. This means nothing else but that with the continuous spread of Pidgin, its linguistic history is repeated, so that, for instance, the contact situation in a very remote area today resembles that of a developed area fifty years ago. The linguistic phenomena encountered, too, are very similar in kind. In its expansion Pidgin has become repeatedly pidginised and brought back to the norm that had developed in the meantime.

(5) Profession of the speaker.

We have already seen that the profession of a speaker of European origin can have a considerable influence on his performance in Pidgin. For the Papua New Guinean it is the amount of regional mobility and the amount of contact with English brought about by his profession that are most important.

Table A.

	TOK MASTA	BUSH PIDGIN	RURAL PIDGIN	URBAN PIDGIN
ETHNIC ORIGIN OF SPEAKER	European		Papua New Guinean	
LOCALITY	Mainly towns	Remote	Distant but Accessible	Mainly towns
AGE AT WHICH PIDGIN IS LEARNT	18+		6 - 18	2 - 6
KNOWLEDGE OF ENGLISH	Fluent or first language	None	Little or none	Fair to fluent
PROFESSION	White collar, housewives, urban prof.	Traditional occupations Plantation work		Connected with urban economy
ETHNIC ORIGIN OF SPEAKER			Europeans	
PROFESSION		Mission or Administration		

It has been the case--at least until the development of larger urban areas--that the best speakers of Pidgin came from those professional groups that require a fair amount of regional mobility: for instance, members of the police and armed forces, sailors, medical orderlies, teachers and catechists, and more recently, drivers of Public Motor Vehicles (PMV's). With an increase in the number of High School leavers, many new jobs have become accessible that involve daily and intimate contact with English. Just as Pidgin used to be the language associated with prestige professions for the older generation, English has now become the prestige language for a large group of young Papua New Guineans.

Having discussed the main factors underlying the division of Pidgin into four varieties I now want to give a brief description of each individual sociolect which will then be followed by a discussion of certain grammatical properties of each.

Description of Pidgin Sociolects

First I want to turn to the two marginal varieties, that is, marginal in their importance and in the number of speakers, namely Tok Masta and Bush Pidgin. They are marginal too in terms of their speakers' participation in Papua New Guinean affairs. In both cases the speakers are not motivated to acquire a sufficient knowledge of Pidgin to be able to participate in any but the most basic types of conversation.

(1) Tok Masta

This is the name given by the Papua New Guineans to the type of jargon used between Europeans and their domestic servants which is restricted to a very limited range of situational contexts. Bell (1971: 38) says of the expatriate community: "A rough and hopeful guess is that one in fifty can understand Pidgin as spoken by the indigenes to each other." For the other 49 one can hear "the garbled baby talk twaddle" which has been the cause of misunderstandings and continuous non-intimacy between Europeans and Papua New Guineans. Examples can be found in the literature on Pidgin (cf. Hall 1955: 15, 17ff.; Bell 1971: 33 ff; Laycock 1970: 110 ff.).

Tok Masta is a variety that is heavily marked with colonial attitudes, the result of "the unwillingness of the native speaker of English to make the necessary effort to understand what Pidgin is really about" (Hall 1955: 18).

Grammatically it is characterised by its instability. It is heavily loaded with words that are not intelligible to the average Pidgin speaker and the categories of meaning and grammar are direct carry-overs from English. We have reports that similar domestic dialects can be found in other pidgins, too (cf. Mafeni 1971 for Nigerian Pidgin).

Tok Masta is a relic from colonial days and it is doomed to die with colonialism. Already, the new requirements laid down by the Papua New Guinea government have made fluency in Pidgin (or Hiri Motu) one of the conditions for foreigners to obtain citizenship in Papua New Guinea. Tok Masta will eventually be restricted to second-class travel books, and to jocular conversations. It is to be regarded as a special register of English rather than as Pidgin.

(2) Bush Pidgin

Bush Pidgin is the name given to the varieties of Pidgin that are found in remote areas of New Guinea which have often come in contact with the Administration only very recently. Poor communication with the outside world, general conservatism and limited learning facilities create the climate in which Bush Pidgin survives. There is very little incentive to learn Pidgin, especially for the older generation and women. When spoken, Bush Pidgin is characterised by a very deviant sound system, very simple syntax and a limited vocabulary. This goes hand in hand with poor understanding and misinterpretation of the Pidgin spoken by more fluent speakers. Bush Pidgin comes nearest to the phenomenon discussed by Labov (1971: 447): "there are pidgins which show such a fluctuating and unsystematic character that one can question whether or not they are systems in the sense given above."

Bush Pidgin is heavily dependent on the situational context and on extralinguistic means of expression. I have observed an increased use of the hands for pointing and describing and a degree of repetitiveness which is not normal for other varieties of Pidgin.

In Bush Pidgin we can observe a recapitulation of the earlier stages of Pidgin, the stage in which Pidgin was an inadequate language for purposes beyond the most basic communication. It is what one would classify as a jargon rather than proper Pidgin; "it is no one's first language, it has little (if any) social prestige among its speakers and most importantly of all....its structure is defined only in relation to a particular component first language of its speakers" (Silverstein 1972: 378).

(3) Rural and Urban Pidgin.

The two main rivals that are left are Rural Pidgin and Urban Pidgin. As in many other distinctions we have to assume a continuum rather than a clear-cut division. However, it is quite obvious that the distinction between Urban and Rural Pidgin is a valid one. It is the outcome of a development that is not unknown for other creole and pidgin speaking areas, e.g., Jamaica, Haiti, West Africa. However, the importance of the distinction seems to have been underestimated for New Guinea Pidgin. It is not the case that new loans and replacements from English are mere additions to Pidgin or innovations; they are having a tremendous impact on the whole structure and character of the language and have resulted in the development of a variety of Pidgin that is not only closer to English but also less intelligible to the average unsophisticated Pidgin speaker than is often realised.

Official language policy, school policy and attitudes to Pidgin in official publications are the main reasons for the development of a new variety of Pidgin, spoken by literate people. It is likely that this development will continue as long as English remains the prestige language and as long as it is assumed that any development of Pidgin must necessarily happen under the influence of English.

Rural Pidgin

There is a form of Pidgin that can be described as the standard variety. It is used by a large number of people as a second language for all contacts beyond the village level. Brought originally by the missions and administration it now is a means of communication among

Papua New Guineans rather than between Europeans and Papua New Guineans.

In spite of certain minor variations which can be expected with any second language that is used as a lingua franca there are many facts that account for the uniformity of standard Rural Pidgin: (1) pressure for effective communication lessens the number of non-standard forms; (2) the high regional mobility of its speakers prevented the development of regional dialects; (3) the missions have created a written and spoken standard that derives from Rural Pidgin spoken in the Madang area. It is spread by numerous publications.

The grammar of Rural Pidgin is characterised by its relative independence from both the speaker's first language and English, although occasional loans from English have found their way into this variety, especially in the case of expressing new concepts. Syntax and idiomatic expressions are least influenced by English.

The social setting of Rural Pidgin is a community that has been under the influence of Western ideas for a considerable time but as a whole has maintained its identity. Although there is little everyday contact with the town, most members of the community have visited or worked in a town. As a rule everybody in the younger generation knows and uses Pidgin, only the older women and some very old men have no knowledge of Pidgin.

One should not expect the Pidgin spoken in a rural community to be homogenous. Again we may find the whole spectrum from Bush Pidgin spoken by some members of the old generation to Urban Pidgin spoken by young children who have learnt some English in Primary school.

The name Urban Pidgin stands for the variety that is spoken not only by the inhabitants of urban areas but also by people who as a result of their education and professional status have had a fair amount of contact with a European way of thinking and are engaged in activities that do not belong to the traditional Papua New Guinean way of life. A school teacher in a rural area or a doctor on patrol in a remote bush area would nevertheless be classified as speakers of Urban Pidgin.

As in Bush Pidgin the idiolects of speakers of Urban Pidgin vary a great deal. Common to all is that their Pidgin is heavily influenced by English--not so much in the syntax, although occasional syntactic patterns are taken over from English, but in the pronunciation and above all in the vocabulary.

The fact that speakers of Urban Pidgin also have a knowledge of English indicates that these two languages are in a diglossic relationship. This means we have a situation in which "the juxtaposed linguistic systems are sufficiently alike in some ways to encourage their structural fusion at certain points" (Stewart 1962: 149). This distinguishes Urban Pidgin from all other varieties.

Several factors have caused Urban Pidgin to become gradually more unlike the standard variety. One reason is that the urban environment imposes new modes of behaviour and attention to new technologies. The other is that the use of English expressions is considered to enhance the speaker's prestige.

So, whereas Pidgin in the rural areas has remained virtually unchanged (cf. Healey 1969), Urban Pidgin is developing at a fast rate and is becoming increasingly difficult to understand for the speaker of Rural

Pidgin. The gap between educated and uneducated Papua New Guineans thus becomes wider and wider.

Although it is unrealistic to demand that no innovations should be made, one has to try to find standards that are acceptable for speakers of Rural Pidgin, too. If nothing is done about the present tendencies, there will soon be a situation in which people in rural areas become cut off from the developments that are going on elsewhere. This is certainly not a desirable thing to happen, taking into consideration that Pidgin's main function is to promote unity and collaboration among Papua New Guineans from all language and social backgrounds.

Part II: Sociolects and the Pidgin Lexicon

As an illustration of how a speaker's social position determines his linguistic behaviour I will demonstrate how social differences are reflected in the Pidgin lexicon. I assume as valid the division of Pidgin into four varieties: Tok Masta, Bush Pidgin, Rural Pidgin, and Urban Pidgin, the latter three of which can be thought to form a continuum rather than being totally discrete varieties. This continuum does not, however, extend to standard English as is the case, for instance, in Jamaican Creole. The continuous presence of English as a prestige language may lead to such a development in future.

The Structure of the Pidgin Vocabulary

Although a large percentage of the Pidgin vocabulary is derived from English (the sources give between 60% and 80%), certain types of lexical differences can be found. These differences are of various kinds and their importance varies with the sociolects under discussion. It can be said briefly, that we get the maximum divergence from English in Bush Pidgin varieties and maximum convergence in Urban Pidgin.

I shall begin by discussing the differences between Rural Pidgin and English and then proceed to point out the lexical properties of the other three sociolects. The framework I shall use is a modified and extended version of that developed by Stewart in dealing with lexical differences between French and Haitian Creole.

The differences will be discussed under five subheadings: (1) differences in the phonemic shapes; (2) differences due to historical causes; (3) differences where semantic equivalents are non-cognate; (4) differences in meaning of related words; and (5) differences in semantic field properties.

(1) Differences in the phonemic shapes.

Most differences in the phonemic shapes of lexical cognates are due to the dissimilarity of the phonemic systems. Since the phonemic inventory of standard Rural Pidgin (and for most other varieties) is smaller than in English, we get a relatively large number of instances where distinct English words have fallen together in Pidgin:

(1)	'bandage, fence'	*banis*
(2)	'village, place'	*ples*
(3)	'salt, soul, shoulder'	*sol*
(4)	'director, tractor'	*trakta*
(5)	'switch, sweet'	*swit*

(6) 'turn, done' *tan*
(7) 'to/shove, swim' *subim*
(8) 'to round, run' *ronim*

It has been known for a long time (cf. Brenninkmeyer 1924: 23) that many speakers of Pidgin reinterpret some of the above forms as having the meaning of any possible shared semantic feature. *Tanin hatwara* for instance, would be interpreted as something like 'to stir the soup and thereby cause it to be done'.

The fact that certain distinctions that are made in English are not made in Pidgin (e.g., the phonemes/p/ and /f/ or /sh/ and /s/) and that certain English phonemes are missing (e.g., /th/ and /dz/) accounts for the main differences between the phonemic systems. In addition, on the phonetic side certain habits of speech are often carried over into Pidgin. This does not affect the system, however, and various pronunciations are tolerated in Rural Pidgin.

(2) Differences due to historical causes.

Some differences in the phonemic shape of lexical cognates cannot be explained in terms of the dissimilarity of the two phonemic systems. Most of the examples listed (nos. 9-16) have to do with reinterpretation of phonemic boundaries.

(9) */kuap/* 'to go up'
(10) */tesin/* 'station'
(11) */krutman/* 'recruit'
(12) */nap/* 'enough'
(13) */belo/* 'bell'
(14) */traut/* 'to throw out (vomit)'
(15) */kiap/* 'captain'
(16) */wanpela yias/* 'one year'

The number of items that fall into this category is fairly limited, partly because the constant presence of English has eliminated some of the 'deviant' forms that can be found in early descriptions of Pidgin; */sasait/ 'to exercise'*, for instance, has been replaced by */asasait/*.

(3)

A large number of very common Pidgin words are not derived from English. Laycock (1970: 115) reports that the composition of the Pidgin vocabulary is as follows: English 77%, Tolai 11%, other New Guinea languages 6%, German 4%, Latin 3%, Malay 1%. The percentages vary between the various sociolects. There are also minor regional differences (e.g., more words of Tolai origin are used in New Britain and more words of Malay origin in the West Sepik District), which, however, are tending to disappear. There are also other differences associated with such factors as the age of speakers; for example, the percentage of German words in idiolects of old people in certain regions may be much larger than in Standard Pidgin. Taken as a whole, however, these differences are not significant.

Rather than just compiling a list of lexical items derived from languages other than English, I shall now show that the vocabulary supplied by these languages is confined as a rule to certain areas of meaning. Thus we find words derived from Latin in religious contexts:

(17) *santu* 'holy'
(18) *misa* 'mass'
(19) *prosesio* 'procession'
(20) *benediksio* 'benediction'

Words of German origin are found in the contexts of building, carpentry and certain mission activities:

(21) *hobel* 'plane'
(22) *winkel* 'square'
(23) *sange* 'pliers'
(24) *swinge* 'clamp'
(25) *beten* 'to pray'
(26) *singen* 'to sing'

However, most of these words are on the way out and can be found only in places that have been under the influence of German administration or German speaking missionaries.

Tolai words and words from New Guinea languages are often used as plant names, names for objects of traditional culture and animal names.

(27) *aupa* 'native spinach'
(28) *diwai* 'tree, wood'
(29) *pukpuk* 'crocodile'
(30) *balus* 'pigeon, aeroplane'
(31) *natnat* 'mosquito'

There are a number of very common words that do not belong to any of the categories mentioned above:

(32) *amamas* 'to rejoice, be glad'
(33) *birua* 'enemy, accident'
(34) *guria* 'tremble, shake'
(35) *kiau* 'egg'
(36) *lapun* 'old' (of people)

(4) Differences in meaning of related words.

In a small number of cases the meaning of two phonologically related words is different in Pidgin (column one below) and English (column two below). The elements found in this category are of importance because of the difficulties and misunderstandings they cause for native English speakers.

(37)	*bihain*	behind	'later'
(38)	*brata*	brother	'sibling of the same sex'
(39)	*dewel*	devil	'shadow'
(40)	*stap*	stop	'to be'
(41)	*si*	sea	'stormy sea, waves'
(42)	*baksait*	back side	'back' (N)
(43)	*poisen*	poison	'sorcery'
(44)	*pasim*	fasten, pass	'to obstruct'
(45)	*ating*	I think	'perhaps'
(46)	*duim*	do	'incite, force'

(5) Differences in semantic field properties.

Here I want to mention cases where the semantic field properties covered by Pidgin and English words do not coincide, i.e., the meaning of a Pidgin word is either wider or narrower than the meaning of its

English equivalent.

Due to various factors, the semantic field occupied by an English word (column two below) and its derived Pidgin equivalent (column one below) rarely coincide. One of the main reasons for this is that due to the relatively small size of the Pidgin vocabulary (around 1500 items in Rural Pidgin) the semantic load of the individual words is generally much greater than in English. Take the following examples:

(47)	*hevi*	heavy	'heavy, difficult'
(48)	*gras*	grass	'grass, lawn, hair', 'fur, feathers'
(49)	*han*	hand	'hand, arm, sleeve', 'branch'
(50)	*prais*	price	'price, payment, salary'
(51)	*namba*	number	'number, amount, rank'
(52)	*tumora*	tomorrow	'tomorrow, the next day'
(53)	*kol*	cold	'to be cold, wet' (matches), 'flat' (battery), 'impotent'
(54)	*slip*	sleep	'to sleep, to be in horizontal position'

Narrowing of meaning is known, too, although it is much less frequent. An example are the words *bringim* 'to bring' (in the case of things that can walk) and *kisim* 'to catch' (in connection with things that cannot walk).

The grammatical properties of words also differ. For example, *askim* does not only mean 'to ask' (used as a verb) but also 'question' (noun); *sem* can mean 'to shame', 'the shame' and 'ashamed', according to the functional position it occupies in the sentence. This phenomenon is referred to as multifunctionality and is one of the basic processes of Pidgin grammar.

It is not known in how far the field properties of words differ in regional varieties of Rural Pidgin, but the differences may be considerable and an obstacle to efficient communication.

I can only quote a few examples. One is the word *painim* related to *find*, which would have the meaning 'to search for, to find' in most Rural varieties. For Pidgin speakers with Kâte as their first language it would have the additional meaning 'to create'. Thus, *God i painim graun* would mean 'God created the world'. Note that except in heavily anglicised Urban Pidgin a construction like *mi painim hat* for 'I find it hard to' is unacceptable.

Another example is that of names for parts of the body. It seems that Pidgin follows the distinctions and groupings made by the user of Pidgin in his first language. So, according to his language background, a speaker would have one word only or two distinct words for 'nipple' and 'breast' (*susu* or *susu* and *ai bilong susu*), or for 'navel' and 'belly': (*bel* or *bel* and *butoma*). I found that the word *sagana* 'groin' was used by a speaker to refer to both 'groin' and 'armhole', presumably because the same word was used for both in his first language. I feel that this problem offers plenty of scope for further investigation.

Having discussed the main differences between the Standard English and Rural Pidgin lexicons, I now want to turn to a discussion of the properties of the lexicon of other Pidgin varieties.

The Lexicon of Bush Pidgin

The phonological systems of Bush Pidgin varieties seem to be maximally divergent from those encountered in both English and Rural Pidgin. The phonological interference between the speaker's first language and Pidgin is considerable. The result is both poor understanding (a very good case study can be found in Bee (1972) and poor production.

Whereas the formal relation between cognates in English and Rural Pidgin seems to be fairly straightforward (the relation being interpretable in terms of phonological rules), there is a tendency in Bush Pidgin to distort and reinterpret words.

The following short list of examples will serve to illustrate this point. I do not want to imply that these forms will be found in all or even the majority of Bush Pidgin varieties, but they show what can happen in varieties of imperfectly learned Pidgin.

	Bush Pidgin	Rural Pidgin	English
(55)	*skeda*	*natnat*	'(mos)quito'
(56)	*haus pital*	*haus sik*	'hospital'
(57)	*sel kambang*	*selp gavman*	'self government'
(58)	*plak tesin*	*plantesin*	'plantation'
(59)	*ta*	*taro*	'taro'
(60)	*hamas hamas*	*hamamas*	'to rejoice, be glad'
(61)	*hambag*	*hamamas*	'to rejoice'
(62)		*hambag*	'to fool around'
(63)	*toswin*	*sotwin*	'short winded'
(64)	*tori tori*	*teritori*	'territory'
(65)	*Siapani referring to both Siamani (Germany) and Siapan (Japan)*		

Here it is not so much the composition as the size of the vocabulary that strikes the observer. It often happens that Pidgin words are simply not known and that the speaker tries to overcome this by either pointing or by inserting words from his first language. Unfortunately, I have insufficient data to illustrate this point. More investigation should be done in the marginal varieties of Pidgin.

It is conceivable that the meaning of words in Bush Pidgin varieties is often wider than in Rural Pidgin. With the decreasing number of words known to the Pidgin speakers the generality of the meaning of individual words increases, in addition to this it is likely that we will get an extension of the use of Pidgin words in conformity with the use of the corresponding word in the vernacular of the speaker. An example is the use of *pul* by a very old speaker in Korokoba/Keram River.

		English	Rural Pidgin	Bush Pidgin
(66)	*pul*	'to pull'	'to pull, paddle'	'pull, paddle, work'

Although much remains to be done in the description of Bush Pidgin varieties, it is obvious that we are here concerned with forms of language that are most removed from both the accepted norms of Rural Pidgin and from the norms of the target language, English.

Urban Pidgin

With increasing urbanisation in Papua New Guinea and with formal

schooling in English becoming more widespread, a variety of Pidgin which is heavily influenced by English has developed over the last decades. This development was observed many years ago. Thus Brenninkmeyer (1924: 1) remarked that "von Jahr zu Jahr nähert sich diese internationale Verkehrs sprache immer mehr dem reinen English". Schebesta and Meiser (1945: 2) state that "since Bisnis-English is a living language in the strictest sense of the word it is constantly changing owing to the influence of the white; vocabulary and grammatical structure are in a stage of transition from the original primitive lingo (commonly called *tok boi*) to more anglicised typed (often called by the *bois* 'tok skul')."

Hall described these changes in his paper "Innovations in Melanesian Pidgin". However, we are not only concerned with innovations, that is, additions to an already existing Pidgin, but also with the development of a new distinct variety of the language. These innovations do not appear in all varieties, but mainly in what Hall calls "the centres of diffusion" these being the European settlements. Some of the mechanisms of diffusion are described on p.93 of his article.

Samarin (1955: 261) described a similar development for Pidgin Sango: "The Sango of those who have had more than a smattering of French but no formal education is almost unintelligible for the haphazard use of French expressions". The descriptive adjective "haphazard" is also appropriate for at least some extreme cases of Urban Pidgin. English is not only used where no Pidgin word or construction is available, but is also used in other instances too, and large parts of Rural Pidgin grammar are disregarded and superseded. I shall exemplify this for the Pidgin lexicon.

(1) Hall's discussion of the phonemic pattern in his article on innovations (1956) included an excellent description of the things that happen in this field.

I have mentioned that by introducing words from English via phonological rules, Pidgin has received a considerable number of homophones. In at least some cases homophones are disambiguated by introducing new words from English.

	Rural Pidgin		Urban Pidgin	
(67)	*ples*	'place, village'	*ples*	'place'
			viles	'village'
(68)	*subim*	'to shove, swim'	*subim*	'to shove'
			swim	'to swim'

In example 68 we also get a grammatical reclassification; whereas *subim* 'swim' is considered to be a transitive verb in Rural Pidgin (e.g., *subim kramsel* 'to swim, dive for conch shells') *swim* is an intransitive verb in Urban Pidgin and can be made transitive by adding *-im* (*swimim* 'to swim for').

(2) Other differences in the phonemic shape of lexical cognates are reinterpreted in the light of the speaker's knowledge of English:

	Rural Pidgin	Urban Pidgin	
(69)	*kuap*	*go ap*	'go up'
(70)	*kirap*	*get ap*	'get up'
(71)	*tesin*	*stesin*	'station'
(72)	*kamda*	*kapenta*	'carpenter'

(3) One of the most noticeable effects of English on Urban Pidgin is the *replacement* of non-cognate words with direct loans from English. Together with the *addition* of new words for new concepts, this accounts for the close resemblance between the lexical inventories of Urban Pidgin and English. Again, many additional examples can be found in Hall (1956: 105).

	Rural Pidgin	Urban Pidgin	
(73)	*as*	*risen*	'reason'
(74)	*bilum*	*strinbek*	'string bag'
(75)	*bungim*	*kolektim*	'to collect'
(76)	*bris*	*warp*	'wharf'
(77)	*gat*	*hevim*	'to have'
(78)	*longlong*	*stupid*	'stupid'
(79)	*pasin*	*maner*	'manner'
(80)	*pulpul*	*grassiket*	'grass skirt'
(81)	*stretim*	*korektim*	'to correct'

The words in the above list are just a few examples taken from unpublished readers' letters to *Wantok* newspaper.

In introducing new words, additional homophones are created. This can start off a sort of chain reaction in which an old word is replaced with a new loan from English which happens to be homophonous with an already existing Pidgin word. This second word consequently may also be replaced by a new word. Take the following examples:

	Rural Pidgin		Urban Pidgin	
(82)	*kros-im*	'to swear at'		
	bruk-im	'to cross'	*kros-im*	'to cross'
			swer long	'to swear at'
(83)	*pasim*	'to dress, wear'		
	abrusim	'to pass'	*pas-im*	'to pass'
			dres	'to dress'
			wer-im	'to wear'

Sometimes Pidgin words are replaced by English ones only to be replaced again by an even more prestigous form which comes from a more sophisticated style of English:

	Rural Pidgin	Urban Pidgin I	Urban Pidgin II	
(84)	*bek-im*	*ansa-im*	*replai-im*	'to answer, reply'

There are two particularly unstable groups in the Pidgin vocabulary. One of these comprises words of German origin referring to things that are in everyday use and which get no reinforcement from English. *Blaistik* 'pencil', *luftsip* 'aeroplane' and *esik* 'vinegar' have been replaced by *pensil*, *balus* and *viniga* even in Rural Pidgin. The few words that are still preserved in the rural varieties such as *beten* 'to pray', *malen* 'to paint' and *soken* 'socks' have been replaced by their English correspondents in the urban varieties.

The second group consists of compounds and circumlocutions, but especially the latter. Whereas Bush Pidgin is characterised by heavy reliance on circumlocution and Rural Pidgin by moderate reliance, Urban Pidgin tends to replace compound expressions by simple words derived from English. Compare the following:

	Rural Pidgin	Urban Pidgin	
(85)	*bung wantaim*	*uniti*	'unity'
(86)	*bik graun*	*menlen*	'mainland'
(87)	*bosman*	*menesa*	'manager'
(88)	*sik tomato*	*leprosi*	'leprosy'
(89)	*haus dring*	*hotel*	'hotel'
(90)	*go het*	*progres*	'progress'
(91)	*draiwa bilong balus*	*pailot*	'pilot'
(92)	*sithaus*	*toilet*	'toilet'
(93)	*raunwara*	*lek*	'lake'
(94)	*no gat sik*	*helti*	'healthy
(95)	*winmani*	*profit*	'profit'
(96)	*tok sori*	*ekskius*	'excuse'

(4) This fairly small group of words is also undergoing reinterpretation in Urban Pidgin.

	Rural Pidgin		Urban Pidgin	
(97)	*gip*	'poison'	*poisen*	'poison'
	poisen	'sorcery'		
(98)	*no hatpela*	'easy'	*isi*	'easy'
	isi	'softly'		
(99)	*duim*	'entice'	*duim*	'to do'
	mekim	'to do'		
(100)	*solwara*	'sea'	*si*	'sea'
	si	'waves'		

It is obvious that such a change of meaning of some of these very frequent words may lead to serious misunderstandings.

(5) Although the semantic (field) properties of words in Urban Pidgin are brought closer to English, there is still a certain amount of fluctuation, particularly in the field of kinship terminology, colour terms and answers to negative questions. Often the meaning of a very general word can become restricted and/or part of its former meaning comes to be expressed by a new loan word in Urban Pidgin.

	Rural Pidgin	Urban Pidgin	
(101)	*brata*		'sibling of same sex'
		brata	'brother'
(102)	*tumora*		'tomorrow, next day'
		tumora	'tomorrow'
		neks de	'next day'
(103)	*as*		'buttock, stump, cause'
		as	'buttock, stump'
		risen	'cause, reason'
(104)	*bris*		'bridge, wharf'
		warp	'wharf'
		bris	'bridge'

Another example is the field of names for people belonging to different age groups. One can see that the introduction of the new terms *bebi* and *boi* and *gel* have brought this semantic field closer to English.

(105)

Age 1-3	3-6	6-12	12-18	Sex	
pikinini man		manki		male	Rural Pidgin
pikinini meri		manki		female	
bebi pikinini man		boy		male	Urban Pidgin
bebi pikinini meri		gel		female	

Introducing new loan words not only affects the semantic properties of the Pidgin vocabulary but also the grammatical properties of certain words. I have mentioned multifunctionality, the use of the same word in various grammatical functions. Two things can happen in Urban Pidgin; either the functional possibilities of Pidgin words become restricted as new suppletive patterns are introduced from English as in examples 106-107 or else Pidgin words acquire additional functions bringing Pidgin closer to the English model as in examples 108-109.

	Rural Pidgin	Urban Pidgin	
(106)	*bekim (NV)*	*bekim*	'to answer'
		ansa	'the answer'
(107)	*bik (N,Adj)*	*bik*	'big'
		seis	'seize'
(108)	*taim*	*taim*	'time' (N)
		taim	'at the time, when' (Conj)
(109)	*bipo*	*bipo*	'previously'
		bipo	'before' (Conj)

Constructions such as *bipo mi pinisim, mi laik askim yu* 'Before I finish it I would like to ask you' are totally unknown to speakers of Rural Pidgin but become more and more frequent in the urban varieties.

Conclusion

I hope to have demonstrated with the above examples how the differences between the various varieties of New Guinea Pidgin can be illustrated with examples from the lexicon. I have tried to show the kind of differences one can expect. For reason of clarity I have chosen examples that give a fairly neat picture rather than to discuss the areas where the distincions between sociolects are blurred. The implications of the data presented are that Pidgin is not a homogenous language and that differences between varieties are closely related to the social position of the speaker.

In making decisions on language planning these differences should be taken into account and attempts should be made to increase the intelligibility between the various varieties.

References

Bee, Darlene. 1972. 'Phonological Interference between Usarufa and Pidgin English', *Kivung*, 5(2): 69-95.

Bell, H.L. 1971. 'Language and the Army of Papua New Guinea', *Army Journal*, 264: 31-42.

Brenninkmeyer, Leo. 1924. *Einführung ins Pidgin Englisch*. typescript. Kamanacham.

DeCamp, David. 1968. 'Towards a Generative Analysis of a Post-Creole Speech Continuum', in D. Hymes (ed.), *Pidginization and Creolization of Languages*, pp. 349-370. Cambridge: University Press.

Hall, Robert A. Jr. 1943. *Melanesian Pidgin English*. Baltimore: Linguistic Society of America.

______. 1955. *Hands Off Pidgin English!* Sydney: Pacific Publications.

______. 1956. 'Innovations in Melanesian Pidgin', *Oceania*, 26: 91-109.

Healey, L.R. 1969. *Tok Pisin*. Port Moresby: Department of Education.

Labov, William. 1971. 'The Notion of 'System' in Creole Languages', in D. Hymes (ed.), *Pidginization and Creolization of Languages*, pp. 447-472. Cambridge: University Press.

______. 1971a. *On the Adequacy of Natural Languages*. mimeographed. University of Pennsylvania.

Laycock, D.C. 1969. 'Pidgin's Progress', *New Guinea*, 4(2): 8-15.

______. 1970. 'Pidgin English in New Guinea', in *English Transported*, pp. 102-122. Canberra: A.N.U. Press.

______. 1970a. *Materials in New Guinea Pidgin, Pacific Linguistics*, D.5.

Mafeni, B. 1971. 'Nigerian Pidgin', in *The English Language in West Africa*, pp. 95-112. London: Longman.

Mihalic, Francis. 1971. *Jacaranda Dictionary and Grammar of Melanesian Pidgin*. Milton: Jacaranda Press.

Samarin, W.J. 1955. 'Sango, an African Lingua Franca', *Word*, 11: 254-267.

Schebesta J. and L. Meiser. 1945. *Dictionary of Bisnis English*. mimeograph. Alexishafen.

Silverstein, Michael. 1972. 'Chinook Jargon: Language Contact and the Problem of Multi-Level Generative Systems I', *Language*, 48(2): 378-406. 6.

Stewart, W.A. 1962. 'The Functional Distribution of Creole and French in Haiti', in *Linguistics and Language Study* (Thirteenth Annual Round Table on Languages and Linguistics), pp. 149-163. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press.