

Language Use In A New Guinea Village : A Triglossic Profile Of Makopin I

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1. INTRODUCTION

A survey of the literature on language use in a society reveals multilingual perspectives. These perspectives promote various disciplinary interests, pragmatic considerations, and theoretical constraints. Much attention has been given to the theories behind, and descriptions of, language use in bilingual and multilingual societies, as in Fasold (1984:1), Walker (1982), Sankoff (1980:29), Salisbury (1962), and Fishman (1971); to communication in multilingual societies, as in Gumperz (1969); to language and social networks, as in Milroy (1980); and also to diglossia, as in Fasold (1984:34), and Ferguson (1959). However, far less attention has been given to "Triglossia", a situation in which three languages have some well-defined yet complementary functions in certain contexts (Eastman 1983:41). Technically, and originally (Ferguson 1972), diglossic referred to a sociolinguistic situation in which there were what could be called high and low forms of a language or related languages. Examples are classical and vernacular Arabic, classical and contemporary Greek, Haitian French and creole, etc. Since English and Tok Pisin (TP) are lexically related, one could call the situation in PNG diglossic but Makopin is not technically triglossic because Arapesh is not related to English or TP.

The term triglossia, according to Eastman (1983), departs from Ferguson's original idea and has been proposed to refer to the situation in Tanzania, where three different languages have distinct roles in individual communities, and where each of the three languages have distinct but interrelated functions: English is used in government, Swahili in primary education, and the vernaculars primarily in religion and other cultural domains.

For the purpose of this study, **triglossia** is used to cover both Eastman's definition and Conklin and Lourie's (1983:165) term **trilingualism**. The latter refers to stable trilingual communities such as the Yaqui Indians of the United States. **Triglossia**, in the Papua New Guinea (PNG) context, refers to the increasingly common phenomenon in which three different languages are used for different roles and with different prestige values. It is common among the younger generation, who have learnt English at school. Typically, it is present where vernaculars are used for traditional village functions (for example, initiation ceremonies), where a lingua franca such as TP or Hiri Motu (henceforth HM) is used, (e.g., for inter-ethnic communication or in the church), and where a world language is used in education, administration, and international trade and diplomacy (e.g. English).

1.1 Scope

In this study, I propose to examine triglossia, and to describe the social contexts in which each of the three languages is used at Makopin, a Northern Arapesh village on the north-west coast of Wewak in the East the Sepik Province of PNG. The languages are Northern Arapesh (NA), a vernacular; Tok Pisin, a pidgin lingua franca; and English (ENG), an international language. First, I will discuss the traditional social contexts of language use from pre- to post-colonial periods. Second, I will examine the social domains in which each of the three languages is used in the village setting, the community centre, and the town. Finally, I will consider the motivations and constraints governing the choice of one language rather than another in a given situation.

Mountain Arapesh (MA), a dialect of NA, is the first language and the primary medium of communication for the majority of the people of Makopin. It is used in the homes, with people in neighboring villages, and in cultural functions, such as initiation ceremonies. It is also used in the community center (the Catholic Mission Station at Dagua) and in Wewak town among the NA people, as the principal means of expressing ethnic identity and group solidarity. For the foreign husbands and wives married to Makopin, MA may be the second, third or even fourth language they have acquired.

TP is an English-based Pidgin with about 85% of its root words derived from English (Mihalic 1980:6), 2% from German and other European languages, and 13% from Melanesian, Polynesian and Malayan languages (Roosman 1975:230). All the people at Makopin speak TP as a primary medium of inter-ethnic or cross-language communication, and for Western-introduced functions such as church worship, commercial transactions, recreational activities, local courts, community school board meetings, local government council meetings in the village, the community center, and in town. They also use it for intra-language communication in many situations. Today, there is a growing population, comprising especially the younger generation who speak TP as their mother tongue.

Introduced in the 1950's, English is the most recent language used in Makopin; it is therefore spoken by a small minority who have learnt it at school. Except for speaking it to an occasional visitor who does not speak TP, English is restricted to the domain of commercial letter-writing in the village setting. Similarly, English is the only medium of instruction at the Community Centre, and is restricted to the classroom domain only. In town, English is used much more frequently, and in more domains, such as in education, air traffic control, and government departments. Its use between individuals and groups depends on the identity of the interlocutors and the degree of formality of the situation.

1.2 Methodology

The research methodology adopted for this study is the descriptive survey method suggested by Leedy (1980: 77), primarily because it deals with a situation that demands the technique of observation as the principal means of collecting data. It also demands that a researcher "assume a complete participant's role": that he be concealed, and his objectives kept from the observed. He must interact with the observed as naturally as possible in their routine activities. I also asked the observed why they had chosen to use a particular language, rather than another in their linguistic repertoire, to speak to a given interlocutor.

I have also adopted both the diachronic and synchronic perspectives (Saussure 1959:81,90), to examine language use at Makopin. From the diachronic perspective, I will examine sociolinguistic change from monolingualism in the pre-1900 colonial period to trilingualism in the post-world war II period based

largely on what I have gleaned from the vast body of literature on the MA people, their language and culture (e.g., Fortune, 1942, Mead, 1938, Nekitel 1984, 1986). The synchronic perspective facilitated discussion of language use as currently exemplified by the Makopin people because, in Saussure's (1959) words, "the synchronic viewpoint .. is the true and only reality to the community of speakers. Synchrony has only one perspective, that of the speakers, and its whole method consists of gathering evidence from speakers".

The subjects were a randomly-selected sample of native-born permanent residents of Makopin, both male and female, between the ages of eleven and forty-five. Their level of education ranged from grade six to ten, and all were known to be proficient only in the spoken form of the three languages.

Those with backgrounds of grades six to eight consisted of two groups: the push-outs (individuals who are terminated from school on the basis of low academic achievement) and the professionals, consisting of retirees and those who had resigned from their professions. These included six elementary school teachers, a plumber, two carpenters, an agricultural officer, two prison guards, a telephone operator, a salesman, and an ex-army private.

The population with grade ten education consisted of the people who had resigned, rather than retired from, their professions. They were all under the age of thirty-five, and included an elementary school teacher, two meteorologists, an air traffic controller, a chief customs and duties officer, and a patrol officer.

As a member of the same ethnic group as the subjects, I am familiar with their culture, language, social and family relationships, level of education, academic and professional qualifications, and occupations. As a result, I was aware of the domains and social settings, and was in a position to predict what language the subjects were likely to use in different situations. This study bears out many of my assumptions.

2. A Triglossic Profile Of Speech Communities In Png: A Case Study Of Makopin.

In this section, I will first consider, diachronically, the social context of language use in the pre-colonial period, and then examine how external forces affected change in the social structure of the Makopin speech community, and

consequently the change in language behavior from monolingualism to trilingualism. Second, I will consider, synchronically, the system of communications itself by discussing the observable aspects of the people's use of the three languages in social settings such as the home, church, and the classroom.

2.1. The Makopin's Social Structure and its Language Use and Change.

Prior to German contact in late-1800's, the people of Makopin were a single, linguistically monolingual, culturally homogeneous ethnic group. According to oral tradition and the present tribal structure in the village, the Makopin comprised five clans who, due to tribal warfare, were restricted to their own geographical and linguistic boundaries. Consequently, - they were monolingual in the MA dialect of NA.

Until colonial contact, MA had been the exclusive medium of discussion, oration, traditional "singsings", education, magic, and so on. However, as a result of colonization, evangelization, urbanization, education and technology, a trilingual communication system developed. I shall briefly discuss the structure of a Makopin clan and its kinship terms, and illustrate how language is used to strengthen clan identity, social distance, and so on.

A clan is organized along the lines of chieftaincy. A chief is the supreme head of a clan from whom the members measure their social status. Within the clan are complex networks of extended kinship, the smallest unit being the nuclear family. Kinship terms have social and cultural significance and are therefore essential for a child who must master and use them in appropriate social settings. A child acquires an adequate understanding of communicative competence by the age of seven.

Colonization introduced Western education, culture and values, as well as Judeo-Christian beliefs, eventually alienating many children from their culture. Consequently, the Makopin clans are now socially, culturally and linguistically undergoing tremendous change. They have changed their value systems and customs, and have adopted (or use exclusively) non-vernacular first names in order to conform to the pressures and expectations of the new social climate in which they live. But to understand the development of, and need for, triglossia, it is

important to appreciate the reasons for the teaching and spreading of both TP and English by the colonizers.

In the early 1900's, a German Catholic Missionary called Father Jacob built a church at Yahakibur, one of the five Makopin villages. TP was taught, first by Father Jacob and subsequently by later missionaries, and spread to Makopin, opening the door to the outside world for the Makopin people. The then current colonial language, German, was soon replaced by English after German NG was seized by Australia in 1914; however, the use of TP continued as before (Hall 1955: 37), its status as a lingua franca was reinforced in a proclamation following the Australian ousting of the Germans:

All boys belonga one place, you savvy big master he come now, he new feller master, he strong feller too much, you look him all ships stop place; he small feller ship belonga him ... You look him new feller plag; you savvy him? He belonga British; he more better than other feller ... English new feller master he like him black feller man too much ... (Biskup et al. 1968:87)

The Catholic church declared TP its official medium of worship, schooling and teacher-training in 1931. Children were taught to read and write TP, to sing songs and to communicate in it, thus further spreading TP at Makopin. I grew up speaking TP as one of my first languages, like other children of the coconut plantation workers and gold miners, for my father was an indentured labourer on coconut plantations in Rabaul from 1950 to 1956.

Between 1884 and 1959, TP was the language of prestige, social mobility, employment, education, white men and, hopefully, wealth; thus, many Makopin were eager to learn and use it rather than their own mother-tongue (see also Nekitel, 1984). Today it is spoken bilingually as a first language, with NA, by many members of the younger generation at Makopin. A standard orthography was published by the Department of Education in 1956, but many Makopin did not speak or write the prescribed standard variety, instead they were sticking to their own varieties. Indeed, many still speak and write varieties pertaining to plantation and village settings.

English was introduced at Makopin through the English-only medium of education in the 1950's. In 1951, Capell, a well known linguist on Pacific

linguistics, called for the abolition of TP, saying "The very first necessity is that Tok Pisin should be abolished at the earliest possible date. It has had certain practical advantages, but it can never be a vehicle of education" (Capell 1951: Foreword). As a result of a 1955 policy statement, and pressure from academics, the colonial administration and the UN, English replaced TP and the vernaculars as the sole medium of education in the late 1950's.

At Dagua, the education of the Makopin children through the medium of TP ceased at the end of 1958, and by 1959 was officially conducted solely in English, but in practice many teachers continued to use TP. This change in school language policy forced the Makopin to learn to speak, read and write English, and to use it as a passport to higher education and employment. Thus, the sociolinguistic situation in Makopin gradually changed from colonial bilingualism to post-colonial trilingualism.

2.2 The Makopin's local and national Language Use

The resettlement of the Makopin clans at the present Makopin village has brought the people into close proximity with the Catholic Mission at Dagua community centre, and to Wewak township. This has resulted in a higher frequency of social and commercial interactions. Catholic nuns, parish priests and teachers from other parts of PNG at Dagua often visit the village and talk to the parents of the children they teach, and twice a week, Tang Mow's (Chinese) trucks ferry goods from Wewak to Makopin stores. In these interactions, all three languages are used by the Makopin for intra-and inter-group communication.

The Makopin are often involved in political rallies, campaigns and celebrations. They sometimes perform traditional singsings for the heads of other provincial governments, or for visiting foreign heads of state. In their traditional singsings and dances, they use MA; TP to do Western rock music; and English to interact with the speeches of visiting dignitaries.

Three commercial crops are at Makopin grown and sold at Wewak: copra, cocoa and coffee. With the money earned, the Makopin buy Western foods and other goods at the Chinese shops. Chinese have been in NG since 1900; modern Papua New Guinean Chinese are the descendants of free migrants who came when Australia introduced new immigration laws in 1921. According to Wu (1982:9), in

1966, there were 80 Chinese at Wewak, while in 1971 the number had increased to 102.

At Wewak, all the Chinese are either shop- or cinema-owners. They employ many indigenous Papua New Guineans as cooks, drivers, shop assistants, house servants and baby-sitters. Wu (1982) says that Chinese children grow up learning TP first, before Chinese and English. All the Chinese at Wewak speak TP and use it as a primary language between themselves, their customers and employees. The Makopin rely exclusively on TP when shopping at the Chinese stores and while working for the Chinese.

PNG has an undeclared official language policy in which ENG is the official language of education, law, medicine, international trade and communication, while TP and Hiri Motu serve as official languages for other national and provincial functions. In the East Sepik province, TP is the primary language of radio broadcasts and the church, while Hiri Motu is used in the same domains in several southern provinces. The Makopin use TP and ENG to communicate with others at the national level.

This present state of affairs is likely to remain for a long time, as is evidenced by the following statement (still effective) made in the National Parliament by the 1973 Chief Minister of PNG, now Foreign Affairs Minister in the Namaliu led-government:

The question of a national language is one that will need to be considered by the cabinet and by the House of Assembly before any action is taken. My own personal opinion is that English would probably be the official language for education and administration while Pidgin and Hiri Motu could be the official languages for other purposes. (Johnson 1977:456)

With ENG and TP as the official languages of the nation and the province, the Makopin are able to receive and transmit information about politics, economics, education, and government, as well as understand major international events. They are therefore no longer isolated; they are now a dynamic people, integrated into the Western economic and political world order.

As such, they cannot exist without regular, frequent contact with other Papua New Guineans, for together they are subject to the same political authority, attend

the same schools, exchange services, and cooperate in many other respects (Gumperz 1969:435). For the Makopin, then, MA, TP and ENG are each essential for use at different times for various purposes.

3. The Domains Of Language Use At Makopin: A Sociolinguistic description

In this section, I will consider three social settings: the village, the community center (the Catholic mission) and the urban center (Wewak town) as “socially defined universes” (Gumperz 1968:219), in which I will examine which languages are used in what domains, and for which purposes, by the Makopin. First, I will consider a Makopin speaker’s language use in intra- and inter-group social, commercial, political, religious and educational settings. Second, I will examine the frequency of usage of MA, TP and ENG within each of the three universes. Finally, I shall discuss a Makopin’s strategy for deciding which language to use in a given situation from the standpoints of social psychology and sociolinguistics.

3.1 The Social Domains of Language Use

A survey of literature on multilingual speech communities in PNG shows that an increasing number are practising triglossia. Litteral (1982:12) observed that “in some PNG societies English is limited to the domain of the classroom, a pidgin language operates in introduced functions such as the Western religion, government services and commerce, while the vernacular retains the more traditional village functions such as in the home and traditional ceremonies”. Sankoff (1980:35) writes that “the Buang people use Buang (vernacular) for ethnic-identity purposes, TP for the domains of government and business, and English for the domain of the classroom”. Sankoff’s study reflects the fact that triglossia is becoming a nationwide sociolinguistic phenomenon.

At Makopin, the Dagua community centre and Wewak town, there are certain domains in which one of the 3 languages is exclusively used by a Makopin speaker (see Table 1). Although there is evidence of intrusion of TP into the traditional village domains, code-switching and code-mixing between MA and TP, and between TP and ENG, there are particular domains in which one, and only one, language is used.

For example, in the village setting, MA is exclusively used in traditional domains, such as Buain (The Bamboo Dance), initiation and mourning rituals, and others. However, TP is exclusively used in prayers, village courts, health clinics, local government and with foreigners. One of the reasons for the use of TP in Western-introduced domains is that MA lacks the terminology to describe and define Western concepts. Second, TP has been used in these domains since colonial contact began, and has come to be regarded as the language of prestige and religion.

Finally, ENG is used in the commercial letter-writing domain: I discovered that three individuals were ordering and receiving commercial products from Japanese companies, and two had been writing to the Sears Savings Bank requesting information about investment opportunities. A third asked me to proof-read an application for a job on an oil rig in Australia.

At the Community Center, MA is used exclusively among the Mountain Arapesh. It is very rarely used between the speakers of MA and Beach Arapesh (BA), both of whom prefer to use TP because of linguistic differences between the two varieties; this is an illustration of language choice. Here TP has replaced Latin as the ritual language of the church, and is also that used in the hospital and teacher-parent meetings. Conversely, only ENG is officially used in the classroom domain.

At Wewak, a town of approximately 20,000 people, including 700 aliens (Sinclair & Inder 1980), MA is restricted to the family domain and home. Its chief use in town is to express Arapesh identity and solidarity, to exclude the non-Arapesh from participation in confidential conversation, and to make unpleasant remarks about them. Here TP is the language of the hospital, market place, court, mass media, provincial government, while ENG is the language of inter-communication for the elites, such as in research and publication, professional occupation and conferences. The obligatory use of ENG in education is in compliance with the present language policy for schools, stipulating that "... language instruction in all schools and colleges of the National Education system is English...." (NEB Report, 1979-1980:70).

Thus, in a typical working day in town, a Makopin teacher will use ENG as the medium of instruction in the classroom, TP to inquire about food prices in

Chinese shops, and MA to socialize with spouse and children at home. Table 1 illustrates the three Social universes, their domains and language use. This information was gathered through participant observation, interviews and through the author's experience as an ethnic member of the Makopin people.

Table 1: Social Universes, domains and Language Use

Social Universe	Domain	MA	TP	ENG
Makopin Village	Prayers, hymns		X	
	Councillor meetings		X	
	Traditional singsings	X		
	Personal letters		X	
	Commercial letters			X
	Reading commercial ads			X
Dagua Community Center	Church		X	
	Education/Classroom			X
	Family	X		
	Informal jokes	X		
	P & C / PTA meetings		X	
	School broadcasts			
Wewak Town	Church		X	
	Education			X
	Chinese shops		X	
	A Makopin home	X		
	Air Traffic Control			X
	Informal jokes	X		

The domains in each social universe can be further divided into informal and formal social settings; consequently, the language varieties used are informal or formal depending on the participants, topics and situations. For example, a mother will use a common, everyday variety of MA to discuss her day's activities with her daughter at home, but will use a specific (i.e. for a particular purpose) variety to exorcise an evil spirit from her child in a secluded room. Similarly, a man will use an everyday TP variety in a local bar, but a more specific one at a village

prayer meeting. Notice, too, that although English and TP are used for joking, MA is most often used for intimate conversation and special effects.

3.2 Social Domains and Frequency of Language Use

The number and variety of social domains within a social universe are the primary factors influencing an increase or decrease in the frequency of use of one language over another. For example, in the village social universe, MA is spoken more frequently than TP and ENG because of the larger number of MA domains, and because of the homogeneity of the speech community in terms of language, cultural values, education and living standard. However, in the larger speech communities of Dagua and Wewak, the number of domains in which MA is essential decreases because of the greater number and variety of Western-introduced domains, and the heterogeneity of the speech members in terms of language, culture, economy, education and social status.

Currently in Dagua and Wewak, there is a much greater number of domains that are exclusively restricted to ENG and TP. Thus, in a given day, an MA speaker in a Western-oriented speech community who wishes to communicate with its members, is likely to use a foreign language (including TP) much more frequently than a vernacular. It appears, therefore, that as the number and variety of domains in which a particular language is used exclusively increase, so does its frequency of use. For example, while TP and ENG increase in frequency in the Community Center and town social universes, there is a decrease in the frequency of use of MA in the same social universes. However, at the village social universe, MA is used much more frequently than TP and ENG because of the homogeneity of the speakers of MA, and the traditional domains of the Makopin culture.

Nekitel (1984:91) writes that in the Abu' area, where another dialect of MA is spoken, between 60-70 percent of any discourse is conducted in TP). Thus, on the basis of his findings, and my own participant observation, I estimated the percentages of language use in the three domains to be as follows: In the village setting, 50-60 percent of any discourse is conducted in MA, 40-50 percent in TP, and 1-2 percent in ENG; in the Community Center setting, 50-60 percent in MA,

50-60 in TP, and 2-3 percent in ENG; and in the town setting, 30-40 percent in MA, 60-70 percent in TP, and 3-5 percent in ENG.

The increase in the frequency of ENG use at both Community Center and town is minimal. Indeed, it is statistically insignificant in comparison to the frequency in the use of MA and TP for two reasons. First, unlike MA and TP, ENG is not a common language of any of the three settings; that is, it is not used as a medium of communication at all. Second, ENG is primarily an occupational medium used principally by the upper socio-economic class in their jobs, and not as a means of social interaction with the non-educated and semi-literate masses.

At the community center, the frequency of use of TP and MA are approximately equal, primarily because the Community Centre serves as a half-way house between village and town (see Table 2), and is therefore a semi-homogeneous social universe in which the number of domains that are restricted to MA and TP is approximately equal. There is equal usage in the domains such as marketing and sports because these are areas in which there is a lot of code-switching, with speakers equally efficient in MA or TP.

In summary, MA is used much more frequently in the village social universe because there is little or no ethnic diversity among the people there: they speak the same language and observe the same cultural traditions; there are no class differences, and, by and large, they are related by tribal and clan affinities. At the community center, the community is semi-homogeneous; therefore, there is an approximately equal frequency of MA and TP use because of the equal number of domains in which both are exclusively used. In town, the community is heterogeneous in terms of ethnicity, language and education. Therefore, TP is used much more frequently than MA and ENG. Finally, in all three social universes, ENG occupies the bottom rung of the language-use ladder because it is used in a small number of domains by a very tiny minority of the population.

The variables of homogeneity and heterogeneity play a major role in the frequency of language use. Table 2 presents the indicators of homogeneity and heterogeneity that determine the frequency of language use in each social universe.

Table 2: Indicators of Homogeneity and Heterogeneity that determine Frequency of Language Use in a Social Universe (adapted from Eastman 1983: 64).

Social Universe	Variables of a Speech Community	Indicators of Homogeneity and Heterogeneity
		a) small area, more traditional MA domains b) mono-ethnic, -cultural & linguistic group c) close family, clan, tribe & cultural affinity d) simple social, economic & political organizations e) subsistence farming f) rural
Dagua Community	Semi-homogeneous and heterogeneous	a) area larger than village but smaller than town b) close dialect and tribal ties c) bilingual groups d) more Western introduced domains (e.g. Church) e) partly subsistence-farming & cash income f) partly urbanized
		a) larger area, and more TP and ENG domains b) multi-ethnic, -cultural, & -linguistic groups c) little or no family clan, tribal affinity; little vernacular use

(continued next page)

Wewak	Heterogeneous	<p>d) social, economic, political and bureaucratic organizations</p> <p>e) cash-employment living</p> <p>f) high per capital income</p> <p>g) urbanized & industrialized</p> <p>h) hub of complex social interactions & commercial transactions involving provincial, national, and alien members of different cultural & language groups</p>
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The more homogeneous the universe is, the higher the frequency of use of a vernacular; the more heterogeneous it is, the higher the frequency of use of a lingua franca; and where the universe is semi-homogeneous, there is likely to be an equal frequency of use of a vernacular and a lingua franca, while a third (e.g. ENG), often restricted to highly formal domains, is used much less frequently.

Eastman (1983), referring to national language use, writes that “the wealthier the society, the more linguistically homogeneous it is”. This view is probably characteristic only of national states, and not of small speech communities such as Makopin, which is linguistically homogeneous, but economically poor.

4. Language Choice: Motivations And Constraints

The choice of one language rather than another to speak to an interlocutor in a given setting in a social universe is generally governed and/or constrained by cultural values, and by social, psychological, economic and educational needs and demands (Fasold 1984). A Makopin who decides to speak MA to a BA speaker in a bar in town is probably motivated by the need to express social identity and to reveal cultural solidarity. Similarly, if they both use TP to speak to a speaker of another language in the same social setting, they indicate a wish to socialize with

him. And if they choose ENG to ask the bartender for a beer, they are using the language strictly for instrumental, and not for integrative, purposes.

Such decisions, then, are usually determined by interlocutors, topics, social settings, channels, message forms, moods, intentions, and desired effects (Jacobson 1960 and Hymes 1962). For instance, in a family domain in the village, MA will be used if the topic is a hunting trip, the setting is the home, and the participants are all members of the family.

Formal domains are excluded from consideration here because first, a speaker has no power to decide which language he can use; the choice has already been made by society. Thus, a Makopin cannot decide what language to use in church, because TP alone has been chosen for worship. Second, I wish to focus on individuals' language choice in informal domains, and not on group language choice in formal ones.

The most common strategy that a Makopin uses in deciding what language to use in a given situation is usually a reaction to external stimuli. One familiar stimulus is the identity of the person being addressed, which is established by asking the following unspoken questions (See Table 3): a) Is the addressee a family member, an MA speaker, a Chinese, an European, or a Melanesian stranger? b) What is the topic of discussion? c) Is the social setting more or less informal? d) Is the addressee a child, male, female, adult, educated or uneducated? e) Is the message oral or written?

In general, a Makopin always chooses TP to speak to a stranger or to a Makopin's foreign wife or husband, because of the social distance between them. If a Makopin is socially close to him or her, then MA would initially be used, but if he is not, TP or ENG would be selected. At some point in their conversation, they borrow lexical items between the codes. This happens when a particular lexical item is not available in the medium of use to adequately describe something. It also happens when there is a need to avoid outsiders understanding what is being said, or it can happen simply for the sake of style. Switching between codes is socially acceptable, indeed encouraged, at Makopin: when beginning conversation in MA, or switching from TP to MA with a foreign born brother/sister-in-law, the Makopin is in effect saying: "You are now one of us, a Makopin, and I want you to know that I consider and accept you as such".

To understand an individual's motivation for choosing one language rather than another available to him in his linguistic repertoire, I have adopted the concepts of "convergence" and "divergence" in Giles's theory of accommodation in linguistic behavior (Fasold 1984). One is convergent when one chooses a particular language or dialect to address an interlocutor if, in one's judgement, the interlocutor's identity or knowledge suggests that s/he understands that language. Conversely, one is divergent when choosing to use one's own, rather than an interlocutor's language, dialect or accent.

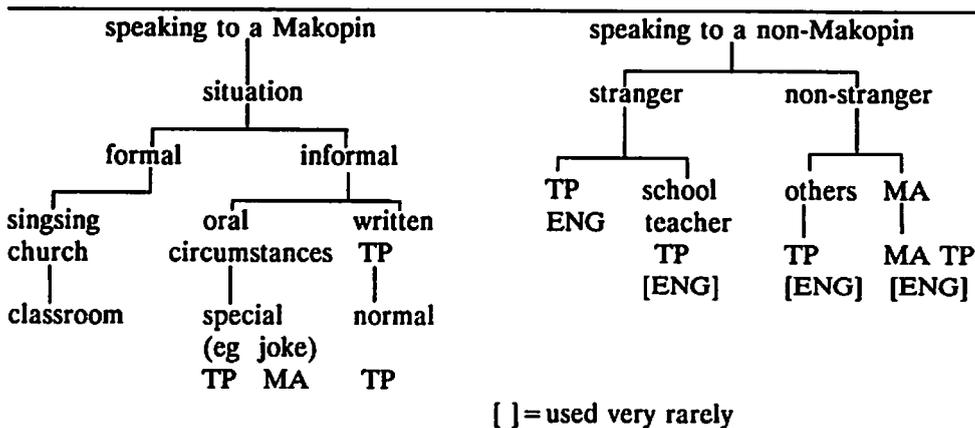
One of the reasons for a Makopin's convergent behavior is sensitivity to an interlocutor's language needs. As a result, a Makopin always attempts to probe for cues which would enable him or her to choose the language that the interlocutor knows, and that accommodates his or her needs. On the other hand, a Makopin's divergent language behavior is the result of his cultural upbringing. As a child, a Makopin is expected not to mimic the idiolect of an elder or the dialect of a speaker of a neighboring speech community, which is considered rude; and thus a violation of the society's normative, socially acceptable language etiquette. As a result of the society's cultural and social coercion towards uniformity in language use, an adult invariably chooses not to converge when speaking to a speaker of another MA dialect or a variety of TP or ENG.

As Makopin is traditionally a classless society, there are no dominant or subordinate cultural, linguistic, and economic groups. A Makopin converges or diverges in his language use only because he is bilingual or trilingual. Thus, triglossia has brought about a new dimension in the language behavior of a Makopin, in that it enables him to choose a language for the purpose of convergence or divergence in order to meet the linguistic needs of interlocutors in a modern multilingual society.

A review of literature has revealed a basic assumption that speakers choose a language for use primarily as a means of revealing their cultural values, and of expressing their social identity and solidarity. Studies by Jackson (1974:90), Leach (1954:37), and Walker (1982:90), for example, have claimed that an individual speaking the same language as his neighbor, or an individual's formal affiliation to a language, is an expression of solidarity, and a mark of social identity with that neighbor.

This claim is a dubious assumption by outsiders whose understanding of the languages, culture, psychology and linguistic behavior of the indigenous people they observe often constitutes an educated but alien perspective. However, in terms of the use of a mother-tongue by its speakers, this claim is partly true of the sociolinguistic behavior of an ethnic group, for example, Anglo-Americans versus Vietnamese-Americans. But this claim is not true for a Makopin when he uses TP and ENG in intra- and inter-ethnic group settings. Observation of and responses to an interview with MA speakers confirm that in an urban setting, MA is used for both integrative and instrumental purposes, whereas TP and ENG are used exclusively for instrumental purposes such as shopping and education. TP and ENG do not normally express cultural and social identity between speakers of different ethnic or language groups; they merely serve as vehicles of communication for instrumental purpose. As an illustration, the tree diagram below shows the possible interlocutors, topics, domains and social settings which determine which language an MA speaker chooses.

Table 3: Determinants of Language Choice (Adapted from Sankoff 1980:36)



Having identified some of the parameters that motivate an individual to choose one language rather than another in a given situation, I shall discuss an example of one of the principal factors that constrain the use of MA between these Northern Arapesh people and the Dogur, who choose TP, and not MA, as their medium of communication. It should be noted that MA and BA are mutually

intelligible to the speakers of both dialects. One explanation for this use of TP is that there are several important linguistic differences between MA and BA, including intonation, phonology, lexicon and grammar. In essence, it is these linguistic differences that cause speakers to shy away from using their language variety, and consequently force them to use TP as the common medium of communication. In addition, there are also cultural and social factors that play a part, either in motivating or constraining, the use of MA language variety as a vehicle of interaction in inter-dialectal groups.

5. The Future Of Triglossia At Makopin

The domains of language use in the village, the community center and the urban setting have shown that MA, TP and ENG will continue to be used in them. However, it seems certain that with both the increasing number of young people speaking TP, and the growing number of Western and inter-ethnic functions which require the use of TP, it is probable that TP will eventually replace MA and ENG as the primary language of all communication.

The language that is most in danger of dying out is MA. Without its own orthography and dictionary, its survival in the next fifty years will be greatly jeopardized. This concern is shared by Nekitel (1984), who says: "Tok Pisin being the predominant language of communication in the village, especially among children and the young generation of Womsis (West Sepik) parents, naturally becomes the first language of the children".

The future of TP seems secure, although English may become a long term threat. It is the lingua franca of the vast majority of the village people, the community centre, the urban setting, and the nation. It is the language of the provincial radio and the newspaper, the church and the bible. There is a bilingual dictionary (Mihalic: 1971) of TP and ENG and numerous literary publications and courses in and on TP. It is also taught at the University of PNG, and at several overseas universities.

ENG will remain, but will continue to be restricted to education, law, science, medicine, administration and international affairs. ENG is the language of the national news media, and of the growing upper socio-economic class.

The maintenance of the current triglossic situation is essential for the needs, and the economic, political and educational participation, of the Makopin in provincial, national and international affairs. Triglossia facilitates two-way communication between the Makopin and the community at large. It enables people to initiate communication from the bottom up, and the government from the top down. If triglossia is to be maintained, then all three languages should be taught and used equally as media of instruction at the community school level.

6. Conclusion

The primary goal of this study has been to show that Makopin, as a representative sample of the modern Western-influenced societies in PNG, is practising triglossia. I have also discussed the sociolinguistic reality of triglossia in PNG which has received virtually no attention elsewhere as yet. I have also shown evidence that trilingualism does exist, and that it has transformed, and will continue to transform, many traditionally monolingual and bilingual speech communities into triglossic ones. Although research studies have described the use of certain languages in certain domains for particular purposes under the rubrics of multilingualism and vernacular language respectively, they have not explicitly mentioned the phenomenon of triglossia as such and as a sociolinguistic reality on a par with bilingualism in PNG. This study has therefore aimed at describing triglossia in the social contexts in which each of three languages is used at Makopin.

I do not claim that triglossia is the common linguistic behavior of all the speech communities throughout PNG, since only a few language communities in which triglossia has become stabilized (out of more than 750 different ones) have been considered. However, on the basis of this study and the available literature, it is safe to speculate that triglossia has or will become the major language behavior in the linguistic repertoire of many language communities in PNG.

The implications of the study are both theoretical and practical. Theoretically, linguistic studies should place less emphasis on bilingualism and multilingualism, and more on triglossia. Such studies should examine the acquisition and use of three languages, the development of communication models for triglossia, and the development of trilingual education models for PNG.

Practically, this calls for Language Planning Centers to be established in the country so as to consider the question of bilingual and trilingual education, and other matters in relation to it within existing economic and political constraints.

NOTES

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