ON THE ORIGIN OF BODY IMAGE IDIOMS IN TOK PISIN

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1. Introduction

The purpose of this study is to investigate the origin of body image idioms in Tok Pisin and to provide an explanation for the importance which the literalizations play in the understanding of such idioms.[1] These idioms represent a class of expressions consisting of the terms for various body parts plus predications about them. Examples are bel bilong em i hat (lit. 'his belly is hot')[2] 'he is angry', nek bilong em i drai ('his neck is dry') 'he is thirsty' and ia pas ('closed ear') 'deaf'. Because Tok Pisin is still largely a contact language, one's understanding of this class of idioms in Tok Pisin must be preceded by an understanding of the corresponding class of idioms in the vernaculars.

2. Literalization and Idiom Transfer

In the three years since the presentation of a paper describing the transfer of idioms between the Selepet language of the Morobe Province and Tok Pisin (McElhanon and Barok, 1975), my understanding of idiomaticity in Papuan languages has changed in some very fundamental ways. I began my analysis of Selepet semantic structure by utilizing the standard definition of idiom, i.e., that an idiom is any polylexemic expression the meaning of which cannot be deduced from any literal understanding of its parts. The conclusion (op. cit., 195) was that the literalizations of most Selepet idioms yielded nonsense. That the literalizations played an important role in the transfer of idioms from the one language to the other, however, was supported by the following evidence:

Firstly, some Selepet idioms were transformed to another related Selepet idiom which had a literalization which was more similar to

that of the corresponding Tok Pisin idiom. Thus the Selepet expression which has the literalization ('my inside floats upward') 'I am tired out' was replaced by that of ('my strength droops') 'I am weary' before being transferred to Tok Pisin as bun bilong mi i slek ('my bones droop') 'I am tired, weary'.

Secondly, Selepet idioms were occasionally replaced by a non-idiomatic equivalent before being transferred to a Tok Pisin non-idiomatic expression. Thus the Selepet expression ('it happens to his stools') 'he has diarrhea' was replaced by ('he excretes soft stools') which was transferred to em pekpek wara ('he excretes liquid') 'he has diarrhea'.

Thirdly, the literalizations of some Selepet idioms were so different from the equivalent Tok Pisin idioms that Selepet speakers gave up trying to find a Tok Pisin equivalent.

Fourthly, if the literalization of a Tok Pisin idiom is the same as the literalization of a Selepet idiom expressing a different idiomatic meaning, then the Tok Pisin idiom is reinterpreted. Thus bel bilong em i hevi ('his belly is heavy') 'he is troubled, weary of something' was understood by Selepet speakers as meaning 'he is selfish'.

The inevitable conclusion was that both the encoding and decoding processes are performed in the categories of the Selepet language. Tok Pisin functioned solely as the vehicle of expression and due to the more generic character of its vocabulary its use contributed to the dilution or distortion of the intended message.

3. Idiom Formation

Two years later I considered the formation of Tok Pisin idioms by expatriate missionaries (McElhanon, 1975a). During this interim, further research indicated that these body image idioms expressed a psychological function and this psychological function could only be determined by comparing a significantly large number of idioms based upon terms for various body parts. In Selepet there are several

terms to express one's emotions, affection and thought. The primary words are biwi 'inside' and tep 'belly'. Both of these occur in idioms which were initially given the same English equivalent. When considered as part of a larger cognitive field it became apparent that 'inside' reflects one's attitude or frame of mind. It is psychological in focus and includes such feelings as anticipation, happiness, satisfaction, despair, anxiety, disappointment, and regret. This is in contrast with 'belly' which expresses one's emotions in a sociological context and includes such feelings as generosity, approval, desire, pity, expectation, sorrow, reconciliation, and selfishness. Compare ('his inside is white') 'he has an inner peace, calm' with ('his belly is white') 'he is peaceful after having been reconciled with an antagonist'. It was thought at this time that the psychological function of a body part should be included as a semantic component of the field structure underlying body image idioms.

In McElhanon (1975b) I stated that the body part term was basic in the formation of an idiom and to this the speaker added the predication. Both components contributed to the idiomatic meaning. For example, if one wished to express anger he could base his expression on either 'inside' or 'belly' depending upon whether or not his anger originated from a social context. Once the noun is selected then the degree of anger may be expressed by the predicate as in ('my belly is hot') 'I am angry' and ('my belly blisters and burns') 'I am very angry'.

In practice lexicographers of Papua New Guinean languages have treated all idioms as frozen and constituting a closed class. To my knowledge no one has attempted to discover new expressions. At this stage of the analysis it became clear to me that these idioms did not represent such a closed class. Rather, Selepet speakers freely "coined" or generated such expressions, and the literalizations were basic in encoding and decoding. In the light of these facts it seemed inappropriate to apply the standard definition of idiom to Papua New Guinean vernaculars.

4. Idiomaticity

More recently (McElhanon, 1976) I have reexamined the concept of idiomaticity and its definition within the cognitive framework of Papuan languages. My conclusions were that we as expatriate analysts have been unduly influenced by our own cultural background in our understanding of Papuan semantic structure. Firstly, we have consistently applied our own culturally bound definition of idiom to the various languages we have been studying. If the meaning of a given vernacular expression was not logically deducible from its parts we identified it as an idiom, treated it as a unit and simply listed it in the dictionary with or without an indication of its function in the sentence. This unit treatment of idioms is particularly evident in those bilingual dictionaries which provide the reader only with a key for the pronunication of the expressions and the idiomatic meanings. The literalizations are treated as being irrelevant and therefore generally omitted. Examples of such dictionaries are Brown (1968), Flierl and Strauss (1977), Healey and Healey (1976), Keysser (1925), Koschade (1955), Lang (1973), Lanyon-Orgill (1960), Lister-Turner and Clark (n.d.), Lithgow and Lithgow (1974), Loving and Loving (1975), Mager (1952), Nilles (1969), Renck (1977), Swick (1969), Weimer and Weimer (1974) and Wright (1964). Other lexicographers, however, included some of the literalizations chiefly as an aid to the non-vernacular reader: Franklin and Franklin (1978), McElhanon and McElhanon (1970), Murane and Murane (1974), and Ramsey (1975).

Moreover, in the application of this definition of idiom we have usually applied the rules of logic based upon our own cognitive arrangement of the world, rather than upon that of the Papua New Guineans. Thus an analyst may not consider the Selepet expression ('bad talk') 'vulgarities' as an idiom but may well regard ('living talk') 'rumour' as being idiomatic. Upon investigation, however, the cultural logic is clear; as living things are transient, have no substance in themselves and ultimately die, so also does 'living talk' have no substance in itself and will ultimately be rejected.

The need for understanding the Papua New Guinean world view and the cultural logic behind polylexemic expressions is basic for those expressions based upon a body image. Many Papua New Guineans believe that there are both material and immaterial components of man and that both of these components are involved in actions and states.

The material component is of no particular interest to us. Although different languages reflect different ways of delineating the various parts of the body (e.g., 'hand' and 'arm' may be covered by a single term) the physical capabilities are much the same; all walk, run, jump, climb, bend knees, clench fists, nod heads, etc.

The differences in the ways people conceive the immaterial part, however, are crucial. Many speakers of English deny that man has any immaterial correlates to his body. This belief, however, has not always been typical of speakers of English, and the hypothesis set forth in McElhanon (1976) is that the speakers of Old and Middle English believed that man consisted of both sets of correlates and that these speakers probably freely coined new expressions based upon their concept of the immaterial part of man. Such expressions gradually became frozen and regarded as quaint and idiomatic as a result of the age of enlightenment and the development of the concept of personality. This drift from such notions has proceeded to the point now where emotions are commonly explained by bio-physical processes and neurological impulses. Thus most linguists would state that there is no relation between the literal and idiomatic meanings of such body image idioms as did Weinreich (1969:77) of the Yiddish idioms makhn zikh harts ('make heart for oneself') 'to give oneself courage' and shlogn tsum hartsn ('beat [somebody] to the heart') 'to nauseate, disgust'.

My hypothesis is that all languages may be placed on a continuum which reflects the world views of their speakers. At one end are those whose speakers believe that man has immaterial correlates for his total body and its individual parts. Near this end one could place the languages of the European world as they were during the

Middle Ages, most current Papua New Guinean languages and undoubtedly languages of many other societies not affected by the psychology of the western world. Speakers of these languages frequently regard expressions built upon the body image in a literal sense as reflecting reality. At the other end of the continuum are those languages whose speakers totally reject this belief. For these speakers there are no immaterial correlates of the body, and all idioms involving predications about the body parts are considered as being fully idiomatic. Therefore, the degree of idiomaticity may be said to increase as one proceeds along the continuum from the former group of languages toward the latter.

What this leads up to is that the degree of idiomaticity of Tok Pisin body image expressions may be correlated with the world view of the speaker. That is to say that when a Papua New Guinean utters an expression such as blut sutim nek bilong mi ('blood shoots my neck') 'my neck has sharp pains' he will be expressing what he sees as reality, but his expression will be understood by the expatriate Tok Pisin speaker as constituting as idiom. One man's literal expression becomes another man's idiom because of the differences between their world views. In my view of idiomaticity, therefore, it is more appropriate to refer to a Papua New Guinean idiom in the Oxford English Dictionary's (Volume V:21) second sense of this term, namely, "the specific character, property, or genius of any language; the manner of expression which is natural or peculiar to it."

I have already noted the importance and functional load carried by the literalization of these expressions and have stated that they are encoded and decoded in the categories of the vernacular with Tok Pisin serving only as the vehicle for transmitting the message. This view allows for three probable sources for Tok Pisin body image idioms:

(a) common core idioms which reflect the features of the body image concept which are shared by the majority of Papua New Guineans,
(b) peripheral idioms which reflect features which are limited in distribution, and

(c) introduced idioms which reflect the features of the body image concept of expatriates.

5. Common Core Idioms

When the idioms used are of those representing the common Papua New Guinean core, communication is little impaired because there is very little interference from divergent backgrounds or opposed world views. One may assume that the tacit knowledge of both the communicants reflects the shared features of the body image concept.

This situation may be illustrated by choosing an idiom from English: he has a strong stomach. Because this idiom represents a core idiom which is common throughout the English-speaking world, and because the tacit knowledge of native English speakers includes the features of English idiom structure, most speakers of English would recognize that the idiom means 'he is unusually capable of enduring something repulsive'. The main reason that the idiom is readily understood is because native English speakers conceive of the stomach as the organ representing one's ability to endure or one's desire or inclination to do something. This latter concept is reflected in the idiom he has no stomach for fighting meaning 'he has no inclination to fight' or 'he is not able to participate in a fight because he abhors it.'[3]

This situation is paralleled in Tok Pisin by a number of idioms which reflect features common to Papua New Guinean vernaculars. Generally one's emotional responses are indicated by idioms built upon one of the internal organs, usually the belly and less frequently the liver, the inside, or the intestines. Where a language uses more than one such term, at least one of the terms is the term for the belly.[4] A large number of the common core expressions, therefore, are built upon Tok Pisin bel 'belly'.

Other body part terms reflecting this common core are ia 'ear' expressing the hearing ability, attentiveness, or stubbornness, nek 'neck' expressing the voice or singing ability, tang 'tongue' or maus 'mouth' denoting one's oratorical or articulatory skills, tingting

'thought, mind' reflecting one's intelligence, tewel 'shadow, soul' indicating fright or the approach of death, and bun 'bone' denoting strength or stamina.

Predications about the various body parts also reflect features common to the vernaculars. In general hat 'hot' and paia 'fire, burn' reflect an intensified emotional state such as anger or zeal. Kol 'cold' on the other hand shows a weakening or cessation of the emotion. Kirap 'arise' indicates an increase in the emotional state such as in excitement and i go daun 'descent' or malumalu 'soft' show a corresponding decrease. Gut 'good' indicates generosity, kindness, or happiness and nogut 'bad' reflects sadness, jealousy, and hatred. When i no hevi 'light (in weight)' is attributed to a body part one is said to be willing or eager to do something or one shows dexterity in the use of the designated body part. Hevi 'heavy' reflects the opposite characteristics. Bruk 'broken', when applied to body parts, generally indicates intense pain. This contrasts with blut i sutim 'the blood pulsates within' which denotes a sharp local pain. Doubt, a lack of resolve, or a conflict of opinions is indicated by tupela 'two' or planti 'many' applied to one's internal organs or thoughts. I pas 'to be closed, obstructed, firmly stuck', when applied to one of the sensory organs, indicates that the organ is useless.

It is important to note that whereas the use of near synonyms in the vernaculars indicates fine nuances of meaning, the vocabulary of Tok Pisin is more generic and such nuances are lost in its use; e.g., bel bilong mi i kirap ('my belly arises') expresses a number of Selepet idioms: ('my inside flares up') 'I eagerly anticipate receiving something', ('my inside ascends') 'I am aroused', ('my inside arises') 'I think I am able to do something', ('my inside shakes') 'I am ready to do something', ('my belly arose') 'I am desirous of it', ('my belly shakes') 'I have an urge for her', and ('my belly flares up') 'I am beside myself with excitement'.

The following are representative of the idioms which reflect the features common to Papua New Guinean vernaculars:

bel bilong em i kirap	'he is excited'
bel bilong em i kol	'he is calm, mild mannered'
bel bilong em i hat	'he is angry'
bel bilong em i hevi long mekim	'he is unenthusiastic about doing it'
bel bilong em i no hevi long mekim	'he is willing, eager to do it'
bel bilong em i bruk	'he has a bellyache; he is dispirited'
bel bilong em i pas	'he is unresponsive, disinterested'
bel bilong em i gut	'he is happy, kind'
bel bilong em i nogut	'he is sad, disgruntled'
em i gat tubel	'he is in doubt'
tingting bilong em i kirap	'he is alert'
tingting bilong em i go daun/pinis	'he has no more ideas'
tingting bilong em i hevi	'he is unimaginative'
tingting bilong em i pas	'he is acting irresponsibly; he is incapable of original thought'
tingting bilong em i op ('open')	'he understands clearly; he has creative thought'
em i gat tupela tingting	'he has differing opinions, conflicting thoughts'
ia bilong em i hevi	'he is slow to obey'
ia bilong em i pas	'he is deaf'
ia bilong em i op	'he has regained his hearing'
em putim ia	'he listens'
ai bilong em i hevi	'he is drowsy'
ai bilong em i pas	'he is blind'
ai bilong em i op	'he regained his sight'
em brukim ai	'he winked'
maus bilong em i hevi	'he is inarticulate'
maus bilong em i pas	'he is a mute'
maus bilong em i op	'he regained his speech; he began to talk'
em i gat tupela maus	'he contradicts himself'

nek bilong em i hevi	'he is a poor singer'
nek bilong em i pas	'he is hoarse'
nek bilong em i op	'he regains his voice; he begins to sing'
em i no gat bun	'he is weak, incapable of accomplishing something'
em taitim bun	'he exerts himself'

6. Peripheral Idioms

In the situation where the idioms reflect concepts of body image which are peripheral to this common core, the degree of understanding is in direct proportion to the degree of acculturation of the communicants. This situation can be illustrated by some differences between the Australian and American dialects. The examples which follow represent true English idioms but these idioms are peripheral, i.e., they are used by only one segment of the English speaking population.

When an American first hears the Australian idiom he did his block, 'he became angry'; he does not recognize the meaning. Even if he were informed that block meant 'head' he still would not readily understand it. Other examples are numerous; e.g., she is a sticky beak, 'she is overly curious about something' might often be confusing to an American even if he identified beak as 'nose'. The American probably would not recognize that this Australian idiom could be equated with the American idioms she is nosey or she is a rubber neck.

Similarly, in some contexts an Australian may misunderstand the American idiom he is a rough neck, 'he is an unruly or unrefined person' as meaning 'he does manual labour'. Moreover, the American idiom he is an egghead 'he is an intellectual' often means nothing to an Australian.

Not all such peripheral idioms, however, are misunderstood. Because the body image idiom structure of English represents a cognitive field, the features of which constitute tacit knowledge to

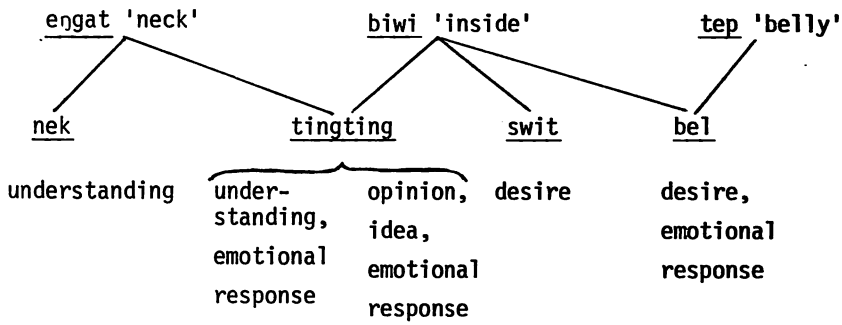
all native speakers of English, the meaning of unfamiliar idioms are often understood, particularly if they are supplied in context; e.g., he is a bonehead 'he is a fool; he is stupid', although not readily recognized by all speakers of English, is generally understood as meaning that the individual so described has some lack of mental ability.

Peripheral Tok Pisin idioms reflect vernacular idioms which are peculiar to particular languages or which are characteristic of a group of languages, whether related genetically or geographically.

The former situation is exemplified by such idioms as em i bel kaskas long mi ('he does belly-scabies with respect to me') 'he is very angry with me', em i bel hevi ('his belly is heavy') 'he is selfish',[5] mi bagarapim tingting bilong mi ('I destroyed my thoughts') 'I was in a rage' (senseless to the point of provoking blind revenge), mi pilim swit long nek ('I tasted sweetness in my throat') 'I enjoyed the food', or bel bilong em i longpela ('he has a long belly') 'he has a good appetite'. In general such idioms would sound somewhat peculiar to many Tok Pisin speakers or result in a misunderstanding.

The latter situation may be exemplified by considering some characteristics of the Tok Pisin spoken by people from the Huon Peninsula. The following diagram shows how the use of Tok Pisin nouns in building the body image idioms reflects the body image functions and semantic domains typical of the Huon Peninsula languages, in this case of Selepet. Because the population of Lae includes large numbers of Huon Peninsula people as well as people from other areas who speak Kâte or Yabim (two Huon Peninsula lingua francas), the Tok Pisin of Lae reflects these features.

The most apparent influence of these languages upon Tok Pisin is seen in the substitution of less commonly used body part terms or specific predications.



Mihalic (1971a) does not indicate tingting as being identified with expressions of emotion or desire. In Lae Tok Pisin, however, tingting is frequently used to reflect vernacular distinctions in the use of idioms based upon 'inside' rather than upon 'belly'. Note the following: tingting bilong em i pas long em ('his thoughts are firmly with her') 'he is devoted to her' reflects the vernacular idioms which denote that devotion or lasting love is shown by one's inside going to another, and i no gat tingting bilong em ('he has no thoughts') 'he is unresponsive'.

The following idioms reflect vernacular idioms which focus on an emotional or intellectual state. In a sense the two are very close: tingting bilong mi i no stret ('my thoughts are not even') 'I am uneasy about a decision', and mi brukim tingting bilong mi pinis ('I have already broken my thoughts') 'I have already decided'.

Tingting in the following idiom reflects the vernacular term for 'neck' which represents one's intellectual maturity: tingting bilong em i no kamap yet ('his thoughts have not appeared yet') 'he is immature; he is not yet responsible for his behaviour'.

In cases where Tok Pisin reflects a vernacular idiom based upon 'inside' as denoting an emotional state per se in contrast to 'belly' which denotes an emotional response to a sociological situation, the Tok Pisin expression lacks a body part term, e.g., mi pilim hevi

('I feel heavy') 'I am discouraged' rather than bel bilong mi hevi, and mi slek ('I am loose') 'I am in despair' rather than bel bilong mi i pas ('my belly is closed up') or bel i no gut ('belly is bad'). The fact that these latter idioms are not commonly used may also be due to apparent regionalisms since bel hevi can mean 'selfishness', bel pas 'constipation' or 'unsociable' and bel no gut 'jealousy' or 'hostile feelings'.

In some languages the neck is the centre of intellectual maturity and attitude. This is reflected in nek bilong em i klia ('his neck has become unobstructed') 'he has grasped a new concept, understanding' and nek bilong em i krai tumas ('her neck cries a lot') 'she continues to sorrow'. Nek also is the source of speech so that one frequently hears em stopim nek ('he plugged the neck') 'he stopped speaking' rather than em pasim maus ('he closed the mouth'). Another apparent regionalism is nek bilong mi i drai ('my neck is dry') which can mean 'I wish to smoke' as well as 'I am thirsty'. Thirst is more frequently expressed by mi dai long wara ('I am dying for lack of water'), bel bilong mi i drai ('my belly is drai'), or mi laik kaikai/dringim wara ('I want to drink water').

Rather than bel bilong em i malumalu ('his belly is soft') 'he is meek, weak willed, gentle, mild' (Mihalic 1971a: 67), I have usually heard bel bilong em i slek ('his belly is loose').

A significant feature of Lae Tok Pisin is the absence of idioms based upon lewa ('liver') which Mihalic (1971a: 121) equates with 'mind, desire (seat of affections)'. Idioms based upon the liver as the centre of one's emotions are more common among the vernaculars of the highlands in comparison with those of other parts of the country, and the Tok Pisin spoken in the coastal cities undoubtedly reflects this distribution. Furthermore, it has been noted that most of the vernaculars which do use the liver as the basis for such idioms also build idioms with similar meanings upon the belly or another internal organ. This pattern undoubtedly exerts additional pressure upon the speakers to substitute Tok Pisin bel for lewa. Ultimately lewa may be dropped as a basis for idiom formation.

7. Introduced Idioms

In the third situation, that of the idiom being drawn from the semantic structure underlying the language of the expatriate, there is a greatly increased likelihood that the idiom will lose much of its impact or not be understood at all. This situation is the one most frequently associated with the role of the expatriate as the missionary. In this role the expatriate frequently coins idioms in Tok Pisin which are still essentially in the structure of his own native language, usually English. As he continues to use these, and as his colleagues borrow them and use them in their attempts to evangelize, these become more widespread and eventually become part of the specialized vocabulary of the missionary society. As more and more Papuan New Guineans identify with the society, they learn to use these idioms in discussing psychological and spiritual concepts and thereby reinforce their specialized usage.

In coining an idiom in Tok Pisin the expatriate may use the term for a body part, e.g., bel, and assume that he fully understands the use and function of the word and knows what range of feelings are attributed to it by Papua New Guineans. This is a dangerous assumption because of the fact that each of his listeners will interpret bel within his own body image concept. Ideally the expatriate should be aware of the body image concept of his hearers, and minimally he should be familiar with the features common to the Papua New Guinean core. Not to be so is likely to result in seriously inadequate communication and probable misunderstanding.

I have already noted how the Tok Pisin idioms are more generic and encompass many related vernacular idioms in the example of bel bilong mi i kirap which encompasses seven distinct Selepet idioms.

Another example which shows an even broader inclusion is mi gat tubel ('I have two bellies') which includes the Selepet idioms ('my inside appears everywhere') 'I am indecisive' (about choosing one of several alternatives), ('I tie it with my neck') 'I am awaiting further information', and ('my inside fights and devours itself')

'I am anxious about what might happen' expressed idiomatically as 'I have butterflies in my stomach'.

Mi gat tupela bel, however, is often equated with mi gat tupela tingting. Both of these are equated with the Selepet idioms ('I have two insides') 'I am doubtful' (as to what I should do) and ('I have two necks') 'I am doubtful' (as to what should have been done or as to what someone else should do).

Mi gat tupela tingting is further equated with Selepet ('my neck is dull') 'I don't care what someone else does'. Furthermore, by pluralizing the subject one increases the possibilities to include such meanings as 'we have a difference of opinion'.

The significance of this is that when a Papua New Guinean hears a Tok Pisin idiom he frequently attributes a more specific meaning to it, and so this expands the probability for the message being misunderstood.

Moreover, Tok Pisin idioms which are not of the common core are more likely to be reinterpreted by the hearer in terms of his own language. For example, em i tanim bel ('he turned (his) stomach') 'he changed his mind, repented' is equated with the closest Selepet literalization to yield ('his stomach turned') 'he is nauseated'. The command tanim bel 'Repent!' is largely meaningless since one does not usually command someone to become nauseated. Selepet speakers trained in theological schools generally equate tanim bel with the church lingua franca idiom ('turn one's insides'), an idiom reported to have been coined by missionaries to express the concept of repentance.[6] 'To turn one's insides', however, is translated literally into Selepet with the resultant meaning 'he had a vision, saw an apparition'. This inadequate understanding indicates that the idiom tanim bel is not useful for purposes of evangelism because only those who have already identified with a mission and have been taught its meaning understand how it is being used.

Numerous lexicographers have noted that words of non-Papua New

Guinean origin which become part of the Tok Pisin vocabulary usually do not retain their distinctive foreign character. One of the most frequently cited examples is that of as which has not only the meanings of 'base, bottom' but also the meanings of 'basis, origin, cause, reason'. Such an extension of meaning has long been recognized for individual words, but it has been only recently, however, that expatriates have recognized that the more abstract terms have also undergone a shift in meaning, that when an expatriate uses such words as lo, paua and stori, he is using them in one sense, but his Papua New Guinean listeners are understanding them in quite a different sense, and assuming, moreover, that the expatriate is using them in this sense.[7]

The Tok Pisin dictionaries authored by expatriates should be used with care as a source of Tok Pisin body image idioms because some of those listed will undoubtedly have been coined and used primarily by expatriates. These have little use apart from the particular programmes promoted by the expatriates using them.

An example of such a coined idiom has been cited by Laycock (1970:48) where he asserts that the Pidgin New Testament says, 'you must get Jesus pregnant' for yupela mas gipim [givim] bel long Jisas. Boivan, Witika, and Savin (1970:43), in a reply to Laycock, assail him for many of his criticisms of expatriate pseudo-Tok Pisin, but they do not comment on his claim that the Tok Pisin idiom givim bel means in context 'to get Jesus pregnant'.[8] This absence is significant because these writers are from Madang, and one would have expected their criticisms to have included this example as well if they regarded Laycock as being incorrect. Although Mihalic (1971a: 67) cites givim bel as having two meanings: (1) 'impregnate outside of wedlock', (2) 'to love (in Madang area)', in a review of the Nupela Testamen he maintains that

> "virtually everywhere on the mainland, as well as throughout the length and breadth of New Britain, New Ireland and the Solomons, this term unfortunately [presumably because it has been misused by the expatriate translators of the Nupela

Testamen--K.A.M.] means only one thing: to impregnate outside of marriage...." (Mihalic 1971b:58).

One can conjecture that the idea that givim bel means 'to love' is not only limited to the Madang area but also is limited to Lutheran church usage because of the influence of the church lingua franca Gedaged.

This conjecture is similar to that of Ahrens (1974:36) who guessed that Bel (Gedaged) has influenced the meaning of the Tok Pisin word lo because Bel has been the official Lutheran church lingua franca for the area since 1932. Missionaries have been active in the area around Madang for decades and they have perhaps influenced the development of a peculiar church vocabulary which supplements the normal Tok Pisin vocabulary.

In attempting to coin such idioms in Tok Pisin, the expatriate is not only overlooking the fact that words of English origin often lose their English character, but also he is assuming that Tok Pisin words may be extended in the same way that English words are extended. He is in fact coining Tok Pisin body image idioms on the basis of English. Because the Tok Pisin term bel has some of the same psychological functions attributed to it that are attributed to the English word 'heart', one cannot assume that bel can then be used in the same way that 'heart' can be used. Such an assumption often accounts for the unsatisfactory coining of pseudo-Tok Pisin by expatriates. For example, some expatriates have coined the expression Jisas em i mas kam insait long bel bilong yupela to encourage potential converts to submit their wills to the will of God. This expression is an obvious semi-literal translation of 'let Jesus come into your heart', which is itself a cliché restricted to particular groups of expatriate Christians.[9]

Among many groups of people in Papua New Guinea only one class of supernatural beings are said to enter people's stomachs. These are the evil spirits of the forest, and once the spirits have entered one's body the outcome is usually tragic. Therefore, many Papua New Guineans would be expected to react with considerable hesitation to the injunction Jisas em i mas kam insait long bel bilong yupela.[10]

However, one would expect that such vocabulary would become part of the mission's statement of belief and that adherents would learn to respond yesa, Jisas em i kam insait long bel bilong mi pinis 'yes, Jesus has come into my heart'.

This highlights the fact that the conceptual world expressed through English is quite different from that expressed through Papua New Guinean vernaculars. As a result it is all the more likely that the literal translation of English body image idioms will result in gross distortions of the intended message.

8. Summary and Conclusion

This paper has asserted that any definition of idiom is culturally relative and that a definition of idiom in Tok Pisin has to reflect the world view and psychology of the Papua New Guineans as it is revealed through their vernaculars.

It has been noted that many Papua New Guineans do not readily distinguish all expressions as being either idiomatic or non-idiomatic. Moreover, their concept of man includes the belief that man has both material and immaterial correlates to his total being, and that the actions and states affecting the immaterial nature of man cause his emotional or physical condition. Therefore expressions built upon the body image concept are largely stating what is conceived to be true. They are logically composed of their component lexemes both in the encoding and decoding processes.

Tok Pisin body image idioms are drawn from both vernacular and expatriate sources. The latter can be largely discounted because they represent a jargon limited to the sphere of influence of the expatriates introducing the idioms.

The common Papua New Guinean elements of the body image concept constitute the source and vitality found in the Tok Pisin idioms. As Tok Pisin undergoes creolization one may expect that the common core of these idioms would become stable and represent a truly Papua New Guinean concept of the body image. To this core would be added idioms

from the periphery which would gain wider credence as the effects of contact and diffusion are felt within the creole community. In time some of these idioms may be memorized as lexical units without regard for the literalizations. If so, then it may be that the speakers of creolized Tok Pisin will come to regard them as true idioms in the same sense that the expatriate regards the idioms in his own vernacular.

NOTES

1. This paper was presented at the Tenth Annual Congress of the Linguistic Society of Papua New Guinea held at the University of Papua New Guinea 17-20 September, 1976.

2. Translations of literalizations from languages other than English are given in parentheses.

3. I feel that although Modern English has lost much of the vitality which characterized the Old and Middle English periods with respect to body image idioms, nevertheless the features of the system are still tacit or perhaps latent knowledge for many English speakers.

4. A number of dictionaries give the same English gloss to more than one vernacular body image idiom or cite more than one body part as the seat of the emotions. I doubt that these are cases of true synonymy but rather suspect that further understanding would show the idioms to be distinguished by semantic or contextual features not readily apparent to expatriate analysts.

5. This idiom is commonly used by speakers of a number of Huon Peninsula languages and does not appear to be very widespread. Bel hevi usually indicates 'sorrow', 'depression', or 'a lack of enthusiasm'.

6. A Selepet pastor has claimed that their religious system never included the idea of repentance. Rather, the people were only concerned with revenge by the offended evil spirits.

7. Ahrens (1974:36) cites Peter McLaren (1972) as having provided a thorough survey on the concepts of lo, paua, and stori in the southern Madang Province.

8. One could argue that Laycock's translation is unacceptable on the basis that the church has always taught that Jesus was a man. His translation, however, does point out the fact that this specialized use of givim bel results in a lexical clash. Note that in some contexts the translators of Nupela Testamen used laikim tumas to express Jesus' love (e.g. John 11:5).

9. An alternative more literal translation would be larim Jisas i kam insait long bel bilong yupela.

10. Introducing such an expression is not unlike introducing a Tok Pisinized English word, except that there is more likelihood of being misunderstood due to the fact that such expressions may have more than one meaning. Many people who coin such expressions would probably scoff at the expression Jisas em i mas induwelim yu (from 'to indwell'), although this would result in zero meaning whereas the expression built upon the body image would probably lead to misunderstanding.

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