2.1 HISTORY OF THE STUDY OF TOK PISIN

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2.1.1 INTRODUCTION

As one of the central aims of the present handbook is to summarise the re-
sults of research into this language it seems appropriate to begin with a brief
overview of the motives, methods and phases in its study. This task is facili-
tated greatly by research carried out in recent years, in particular Laycock's
summary of Tok Pisin studies (1970d) and the publication of the *Bibliography of
pidgin and creole languages* as well as the preliminary results of work carried
out in the Department of Language at the University of Papua New Guinea (McDonald
1975) and the Anthropos Institute (Z'graggen 1976). The *Bibliography of pidgin
and creole languages* (Reinecke et al. eds 1975) contains brief abstracts of a
large number of minor articles and materials on this language and it is for this
reason that little reference will be made to such studies in the present summary.

However, in spite of the value of the publications just mentioned, a new
statement on the history of Tok Pisin studies is called for since a) the cut-off
point of available bibliographies is around 1970 and b) the author has located
numerous materials, in particular mission materials and materials on Samoan
Plantation Pidgin which suggest the need to re-evaluate some earlier statements
(cf. also Mosel and Mühlhäusler 1982).

2.1.2 MOTIVES IN THE STUDY OF TOK PISIN

As has been pointed out by a number of writers, most recently by Bickerton
(1976), the field of pidgin and creole studies was regarded (until very recently)
as being marginal to the wider field of linguistics. This lack of serious scien-
tific studies of pidgins and creoles is encountered in the case of Tok Pisin,
though recent research by McDonald of the Tok Pisin Research Unit of UPNG and the
present author at the Australian National University has led to the discovery of
a number of valuable older research materials. Thus, it seems warranted to say
that Tok Pisin is one of the best documented pidgins. Still, the documentation
of its linguistic past is not as complete as one would wish especially since the
value of much of the older work on this language is diminished by the motives
underlying its compilation and by the rather blunt analytic tools used in its
descriptions. The motives underlying work on Tok Pisin can be labelled as follows:

a) The desire of the writer to amuse his audience with anecdotal
   observations about a 'queer' variant of English.

b) Pedagogical motives, in particular the desire to teach Tok Pisin
   to expatriates.

c) Scientific interest in the structure and social role of the
   language.

d) Discussing the merits of Tok Pisin as an official language, its
   use in education, etc.

The first motive is the one most frequently encountered in the shorter state-
ments on Tok Pisin such as are found in numerous popular articles, travel books,
diaries written by expatriates and newspapers such as the prewar *Rabaul News*.
A longer monograph with this expressed aim is that by Churchill (1911) who remarks:

> Beach-la-mar is an amusing speech; in this brief treatise we
> have studied it with a gaiety of enjoyment which it would be
> a shame not to have expressed.

Prior to Churchill's monograph a number of German and English writers had expressed
a similar view. Names that come to mind are the much-cited travel writer Baron
von Hesse Wartegg (1920:52-54), Daiber (1902:254-256) and Hernsheim (1883:102).
Very often, Tok Pisin is used as a literary device illustrating the 'primitive-
ness' of its speakers rather than an object of study per se.

This tradition of writing about Tok Pisin without much knowledge and insight
continues, though in recent years anecdotal accounts have come to be replaced by
more serious assessments. Instead of giving an exhaustive account of such popular
writings, some common ideas found in many of them (often being handed down for
generations) will be illustrated by means of a number of quotations. It is hoped
however, that a fuller history of popular accounts of Tok Pisin and the prejudices
contained in them will be written, once the materials have been located and prop-
erly catalogued. Some of the often-repeated myths about Tok Pisin in such accounts
include:

a) Tok Pisin is a hotch-potch of words from many sources. The following
   quotations illustrate this:

   > The pidgin-English as spoken in these days is about the most
   > atrocious form of speech perhaps one could find in any corner
   > of the globe. It is neither one thing or the other. Consisting
   > of a mixture of Samoan and Chinese here and there, with an
   > occasional word of Malayan, it is conglomeration truly worthy
   > of the tower of Babel. (Editorial *Rabaul Times*, October 16,
   > 1925.)

   > Pidgin, which is a completely unscientific and apparently
   > spontaneous arrangement of words and phrases, is used by
   > millions of people. (R.W. Robson in *The Australian soldiers
   > pocket book*, August 1943.)

   > It will be a welcome change to speak a language, a real language,
   > instead of this hybrid conglomeration of crudities known in
   > the aggregate as Pidgin. (*Pacific Islands Monthly*, July
   > 1945:24.)

b) Tok Pisin is just 'Comic Opera Talk Talk' (Robertson 1971:13). Most
   popular accounts of Tok Pisin contain a number of real or imagined
   examples of Tok Pisin to illustrate this point. The following two
   passages represent this point of view:

   > This "Pidgin"! Since publication of my note in last issue,
   > quite a number of good friends have sent in some startling
   > examples of lingual ingenuity. The best comes from the Editor
   > of a Metropolitan daily - a man, otherwise, of unblemished
   > reputation - but as this is a family journal of unchallenged
   > respectability, we must firmly refuse to print it. Here,

> however, are two, direct from New Guinea, which have been
> passed by the censor: A European Lady: "Big fella missus he
> put water belong stink along him." In other words, the
> average white woman is best remembered by the natives owing
> to her use of perfume. A Piano: "Big fella bokus (box) you
> fightem he cry." This is highly ingenious - particularly
> the description of keyboard action. (*Pacific Islands Monthly*,
> September 16, 1930.)

> A resident of Townsville sends me more lively examples of
> "pidgin." This is how a New Guinea boy says: "You're bald!":
> "Grass belong coconut he no more stop." "Picaninny is a "baby";
> "deewhy" is a "tree" - "piccaninny belong deewhy" therefore is
> "fruit." "Copper" is a covering, such as a roof; therefore
> "copper belong 'and," for fingernail, is quite ingenious.
> "Lik lik" is "small"; "lik lik too much" is "smaller"; "lik
> lik plenty too much" is "very small." (*Pacific Islands
> Monthly*, December 16, 1930.)

Underlying many such statements about Tok Pisin is a distinctly racist
attitude towards the indigenous speakers of the language. The following remarks
by Daiber (1902:54) are representative of many made later:

> Translation:
> Thus the white man attempted when he settled upon the palm-
> shaded islands of the South Seas, to bring English as a common
> language to the multilingual black natives, with which they
> could communicate with the whites as well as among one another.
> But the childish son of the wilderness was not yet ripe for
> abstract linguistic concepts. He transformed the language
> in his own ways, intermingled it with his own expressions and
> the quaint Pidgin English was created. (author's translation)

This quotation illustrates another preoccupation of many popular writers, namely
their desire to demonstrate that Tok Pisin developed as a result of certain quirks
of history rather than out of a need for communication whilst maintaining social
inequality. Thus, one myth about the origin of Tok Pisin encountered in the
popular literature is that Tok Pisin was invented by the Germans, either in order
to prevent the indigenes from using German (cf. Reed 1943:271) or because they
were unable to pronounce its guttural sounds (Helton 1940:5). Another widely
held belief is that Tok Pisin was brought to New Guinea by Chinese indentured
labourers. These views have been discussed in detail by Mühlhäusler (1978d and
1979c). Since popular and anecdotal accounts of Pidgin form a large percentage
of the older sources on this language, investigators have to rely on information
gleaned from them for the reconstruction of earlier stages of this language.
Although a time-consuming task, valuable data can be found among careless presen-
tations and obvious misrepresentations. Mühlhäusler (1979c) has found these
sources of particular help for the reconstruction of the lexical component of Tok
Pisin, but there are indications, as given by Sankoff (1976), that some insights
into earlier stages of syntax can also be gained from them.

The literature about Tok Pisin designed to entertain is complemented by a
second set of materials, namely pedagogical materials. Again, the usefulness of
these materials to the linguist (and the language learner) varies. The general
impression gained from a review of Tok Pisin teaching materials (i.e. materials
teaching Tok Pisin as a second language) is that, with very few exceptions, those
writers who knew the language best knew little about writing down its rules or

the principles of language teaching, whilst some of the technically more sound pedagogical grammars are characterised by a lack of insight into the structures of the language. There are some exceptions. In particular, Dutton's audio-lingual course in Tok Pisin (1973) is based on an intimate knowledge of the language and its speakers and a thorough understanding of second-language teaching.

The development of reliable materials which could be used for teaching Tok Pisin as a second language was hampered, as were linguistic descriptions, by the negative attitudes prevailing throughout the colonial period in Papua New Guinea and, in addition, by certain assumptions both about Tok Pisin and language learning processes on the part of those who provide pedagogical grammars and course materials. The learning of Tok Pisin by speakers of English is a relatively recent phenomenon. Previously it was usually assumed that Tok Pisin is a simplified and corrupted form of English and to produce 'Pidgin English' one needed only to speak a sort of baby talk "liberally besprinkled with -em and reduplication, and ignoring all syntax." (cf. comments by Wedgwood 1954:784), and with certain lexical items such as were felt to be appropriate to a pidgin situation.

This attitude was generally not shared by the survivors of the abortive French attempt to colonise New Ireland, e.g. Mouton (cf. Biskup 1974) and the German colonisers. German settlers made serious efforts to learn Tok Pisin before written grammars were available, and it was generally learnt by the Germans orally in their dealings with the natives, i.e. it was learnt in the restricted set of contexts in which it was used, with the results that many German speakers acquired an excellent working knowledge untainted by English habits of speech. However, the hostile attitude of the German administration towards Tok Pisin (cf. Mühlhäusler 1975b) prevented serious work on materials which could help newcomers to acquire the language quickly. It appears that no phrase books and vocabularies of the kind provided for West African Pidgin English in the Cameroons (von Hagen 1910), were made available for New Guinea. However, newcomers from Germany found some guidance in accounts of Tok Pisin such as that by Schnee (1904), which outlines the essentials of its grammar and lexicon and Friederici (1911). The latter explicitly states that he wishes to supplement Schnee's sketch with further remarks which would be of use to those "who would like to inform themselves about Pidgin English before their journey to the South sea" (author's translation). However, on page 95 Friederici remarks that proper Tok Pisin should be learnt in one's dealings with natives and that grammatical sketches compiled by Europeans could at best be supplementary to this. (For more comments on Friederici's article see McDonald 1977.)

Whilst the learning of Tok Pisin by the German settlers through dealings with the indigenous population was moderately satisfactory, the need was felt, particularly by the Catholic mission who had adopted Tok Pisin as a medium in the 1920s, to have at hand teaching materials for newcomers from Germany. Thus, the first complete course for German missionaries was written in 1930 (Borchardt: *Anleitung zur Erlernung des Tok Boi*). In many ways, this course was a step backwards. Borchardt, like many scholars at the time, held that a pidgin language is a combination of native syntax and European vocabulary. Thus his course is based almost entirely on Bley's Kuanua grammar (1912). This assumption had two consequences: rules of Tok Pisin which reflected independent developments or transfer from English were neglected, and the meaning of lexical items was characterised as being closer to English than was actually the case. Borchardt's course was based on the grammar translation method with the grammatical categories used being those of the classical European languages. This decision further weakened the course materials. The use of this and similar books has resulted, in the meantime,

in the development of a special mission dialect of Tok Pisin which is at variance with the language spoken by the indigenous population.

Borchardt translated his course into English in the early 1930s. However, it appears to have remained unknown outside the archdiocese of Rabaul and only to have been used by missionaries. Pedagogical motives also prompted a small group of Divine Word missionaries (Alexishafen) to compile dictionaries and grammars of Tok Pisin, as they had come to realise on the occasion of a conference in Marienberg in the late 1920s that few of the missionaries had the necessary understanding of the language to carry out mission work in it. Schebesta's grammar (which I have not as yet seen), and dictionary and van Baar's vocabulary and later enlarged dictionary were some of the results of this conference. The dictionary work is impressive, not only because of the wealth of materials but also because of a number of remarks about variation, the use of individual entries, etymologies, etc. An interesting side effect of these efforts by the Alexishafen missionaries was a number of aids designed to help New Guineans to acquire a reading knowledge of Tok Pisin, among them a comic strip Pigtel *pigtail*. Most of the Alexishafen materials were written in the German language and appear to have had little influence outside the mission sphere.

Such was the situation of the English-speaking settlers in the new Trust Territory, that no teaching aids were available to them, a fact which is mentioned and deplored in several editorials of the *Rabaul Times*, for instance that of December 17, 1937:

> A handbook of Pidgin would be invaluable to everybody providing it was comprehensive, and was compiled by someone who had a real knowledge of the matter, and one who knew at least one native language to guide him. If such a handbook gave us the origin of Pidgin words, the way such words could be interpreted to mean the many things they often do, the reason for the curious construction of phrases, and the elements of native psychology, a newcomer might learn in a few months what it would take him as many years to learn.

The call for pedagogical grammars and other teaching materials fell on deaf ears during peacetime and they only became available to speakers of English as a result of World War II, i.e. under the pressures for effective communication and propaganda during the war. American soldiers were taught Tok Pisin by the audiolingual method, based on Hall's structuralist analysis of this language (Hall et al. 1942), whilst many Australians learnt it from booklets such as those by Helton (1943) and Murphy (1943). The latter were written by laymen and, whilst providing valuable sociolinguistic information, often fell short of adequately characterising the syntax and lexicon of the language. In addition, they did not constitute works of any pedagogical value.

The effects of the war on the teaching of Tok Pisin were not lasting. After 1945 the majority of expatriates did not learn Tok Pisin in any formal way but continued to use their variety of broken English when dealing with the indigenes. The situation only changed just before the achievement of self-government for Papua New Guinea. The wind of change blowing in the country in the late 1960s and early 1970s resulted in the appearance of a number of courses in this language. The sudden desire to have teaching materials resulted in the publication of materials which otherwise might not have seen the light of day. For the use of anthropologists and fieldworkers two courses teaching Highlands and Lowlands Tok Pisin respectively were published (Wurm 1971a, Laycock 1970c), consisting mainly of notes on grammar, a long list of useful phrases and texts. Whilst lacking in

pedagogical sophistication, these courses proved to be of considerable value to
linguistically sophisticated academics. At the same time Litteral's *Programmed
course in New Guinea Pidgin* (1969) for members of the Summer Institute of Lin-
guistics and missionaries provided a less technical introduction to the language.
The principal drawback of this course lies in its orientation towards linguistic
structures rather than socially relevant language. As pointed out by Laycock
(1970b:47):

> The user of this book will not be able to ask his way to
> even the most primitive village toilet; and the entire
> vocabulary of sex and its organs is also lamentably absent.

A second course which appeared in the same year, Thomas' *Learning Pidgin*, put out by
the Australian Broadcasting Commission for its broadcast Tok Pisin course, teaches
a far more useful body of language, but falls short in its pedagogical approach
as well as containing several vague and incorrect statements about Tok Pisin.
However, even with these shortcomings, Thomas' course fulfilled an urgent need
and must be regarded as one of the factors contributing to a more ready acceptance
of Tok Pisin by the expatriate community. Finally, the year 1969 saw yet another
course in Tok Pisin, namely Mihalic's *Introduction to New Guinea Pidgin*. Though
designed for learners of Tok Pisin, it is primarily a brief reference book. Its
main virtues are the relevance of the language materials to communication in Papua
New Guinea and the avoidance of unwarranted generalisations about Tok Pisin.
Further notes on these three courses can be found in Laycock 1970b and Tomasetti
1970.

Teaching aids for private tuition and instruction by radio were supplemented
in the late 1960s and early 1970s with materials accompanying the adult education
courses of the Department of Education in Port Moresby. A number of such book-
lets, entitled "Tok Pisin" and written by Healey, appeared between 1969 and 1971.
They differ from earlier teaching materials in that they are much more compre-
hensive and designed for use by a teacher in a classroom situation. The method
advocated is basically a grammar translation method; however, grammatical exer-
cises are supplemented with an impressive amount of sociolinguistic information.
The main drawback of these books is a lack of organisation, and an often confusing
treatment of points of grammar, reflecting the author's lack of background in
linguistics and methods of language teaching. However, Healey's materials would
still make good supplementary reading to the more formalised courses by Litteral
(1969) and Dutton (1973).

The demand for more sophisticated teaching materials continued to increase
and resulted in the publication in 1973 of two courses designed explicitly for
the teaching of Tok Pisin to Europeans, namely those of Dutton (1973) and Sadler
(1973b).   Both courses are based on the grammar and vocabulary of Mihalic (1971)
though Dutton, in particular, supplies additional observations about the language
and its use. A comparison between the content offered in the two courses has
been made by Franklin (1974:56-63). Franklin's observations need to be supple-
mented with notes on the methods and techniques employed in these two courses.
I shall first consider Sadler's course. The method used is one outlined by Nida
(1957), namely the learning of a language in a field situation with the help of
an unskilled native informant. Because of the limitations of the informant-
teacher the discussion of grammar and vocabulary needs to be comprehensive,
explicit and systematic. Unfortunately Sadler's course falls down badly on these
points. Further drawbacks of the course are the lack of sociocultural inform-
ation, and the unjustified stress on production skills rather than comprehension
skills. With regard to the latter point Sadler repeats the mistakes of many of
his forerunners: in that the aim of language learning is seen as being able to

speak the language rather than to comprehend and meaningfully interact in it. The emphasis on production brings with it the danger that Tok Pisin is used by the white learner for one-way communication, i.e. to give orders and instructions rather than to learn from the Tok Pisin-using community.

These shortcomings are not encountered in Dutton's course. In fact, Dutton's *Conversational New Guinea Pidgin* must be seen as a major breakthrough and it can only be hoped that the author, who himself has taught the course many times to various groups of learners, will incorporate his experience in a revised version soon.

Dutton's method is audiolingual and is appropriate mainly to language laboratory teaching on an intensive or semi-intensive scale. Language skills are built up in a controlled manner by grading of grammatical structures and by means of carefully devised drills. A strong point of the course is its relevance to everyday-life situations in Papua New Guinea, its presentation of culturally relevant vocabulary and notes on the social context in which the language is used. However, with Tok Pisin's continued functional expansion and with Papua New Guinea being an independent nation, some of the texts may have to be revised in future editions. The main drawback of Dutton's course is probably his fairly strict adherence to the audiolingual method which may become tedious for intelligent learners. However, as the course is a short one in comparison with audiolingual courses in other languages, this criticism is not serious. In my opinion, a certain amount of drilling is essential, particularly with adult learners. A final strong point of Dutton's course is the availability of tapes for private study. It must be stressed, however, that an experienced teacher cannot easily be replaced by tapes. Dutton 1976b discusses how his course can be expanded to promote communicative competence among the learners.

Teaching materials for speakers of languages other than English or German have not been available until very recently. In particular, no materials for Papua New Guineans, apart from some unpublished mission texts, were available. In 1973 the first course designed to teach Tok Pisin to adult Papua New Guineans (particularly illiterates from newly opened up areas) was made available (Sadler 1973a). The method used is the direct method, i.e. the teacher uses Tok Pisin for instruction from the beginning, moving from words and phrases for actions in the classroom to common situations outside. The book is designed in a way which requires only minimal teaching experience from the instructor. As yet, no report about the use of the book in an actual classroom situation has come to my attention. However, I suspect that some of the advantages of the use of the direct method would be neutralised by the fairly rigid and unimaginative organisation of the contents. It must be hoped that empirical research in the ways in which Tok Pisin is acquired informally by Papua New Guineans on plantations, towns or patrol posts will result in new insights into how Tok Pisin is best taught in such a situation. Sadler's book is an interesting experiment, nevertheless.

This concludes the discussion of the history of pedagogical grammars and textbooks in Tok Pisin. The following section will deal with more theoretically oriented research into the language.

2.1.3 LINGUISTIC DESCRIPTIONS OF TOK PISIN

Descriptive work in Tok Pisin has been carried out for two principal reasons: first, in order to provide a foundation for pedagogical grammars and teaching materials and second, in order to settle certain controversies in linguistic theory.

With regard to the former motive one finds a number of 'straightforward' descriptions, beginning with Brenninkmeyer's grammatical sketch of Tok Pisin spoken in the Baining area of New Britain (1924). Though the description is made within a strictly conventional ('classical') framework and therefore tends to be unenlightening, Brenninkmeyer's "Einführung ins Pidginenglisch" contains a large number of sample sentences which appear to be an accurate representation of Tok Pisin spoken in the Baining area at the time. (A very interesting set of data supplementary to Brenninkmeyer's are the Tok Pisin equivalents in Thurnwald's Baining fieldnotes, a preliminary draft of which has been compiled by Carrington at the A.N.U.) Borchardt's *Kleine Tok-Boi Grammatik* (1926) has less grammatical detail than Brenninkmeyer's, but contains some interesting insights into the aspectual system of Tok Pisin in the mid-1920s, a result of its not being fitted into the straitjacket of traditional grammar. The grammar later became the basis of Borchardt's Tok Pisin course. Unfortunately I am in no position to comment on Schebesta's Pidgin grammar, but if it is anything like his dictionary it should constitute an important piece of evidence about Tok Pisin in the 1930s. Hall 1943a constitutes a major breakthrough in the description of Tok Pisin as it was the first attempt to provide a comprehensive account of the language using modern descriptive techniques. It still has to be considered a standard reference work for this language, in spite of the fact that it exhibits certain shortcomings due to the methods and theoretical orientation current at the time it was written. Thus, it is a description of the 'overall pattern' of Tok Pisin, an abstraction from the various subsystems of the language, and it therefore creates a false impression of homogeneity which in actual fact is not found. The argumentation used by Hall that Tok Pisin as spoken by Europeans constituted valid data for such an overall description cannot be subscribed to in full; it certainly seems dangerous to give such a prominent position to European Tok Pisin (Tok Masta). Hall's structuralist approach also accounts for shortcomings in his treatment of word-formation (see discussion by Mühlhäusler 1978a). However, it is easy to criticise a book written 40 or more years ago and for its time it was an excellent piece of work; moreover, much of it remains valid. The next major grammatical description of Tok Pisin is that of Mihalic (1957) (and the revised version of 1971). Mihalic bases his description on Hall 1943a and Schebesta's grammar as well as his own observations. Both the 1957 and the 1971 version are written for laymen. This has led to a lack of precision in a number of areas of grammar, although the numerous examples make good many of the shortcomings and the book remains a standard reference work for linguistically unsophisticated learners and speakers of Tok Pisin. However, as Tok Pisin has been undergoing a number of changes in recent years, particularly in the urban areas and in the context of creolisation, a revision of certain areas of the grammar, such as relativisation and complement-ation, seems necessary. The addition of new constructions, such as embedded questions or adversative clauses, would also be desirable. Two comprehensive descriptions of Tok Pisin are those by Laycock (1970c) and Wurm (1971a). Both arose out of courses designed for fieldworkers in Tok Pisin, but Wurm's account of Highlands Tok Pisin in particular takes more the form of a reference grammar. Wurm states his aim as providing "a reasonably systematic sketch of some of the most important structural features of Pidgin, including remarks on some of the characteristics of Highlands Pidgin" (1971a:3). He exceeds this goal, however, and his treatment of parts of Highlands Tok Pisin grammar, such as the aspect and tense system, remains a valuable source of information about this variety of Tok Pisin at a time when it appears to have been maximally divergent from coastal varieties. Both Wurm's and Laycock's grammars include transcribed texts from a number of speakers and localities.

The most recent descriptive account of Tok Pisin is that by Bauer (1974). This analysis suffers from the author's lack of firsthand experience with Tok Pisin, and an inconsistent descriptive framework. The first factor has led Bauer to accept both suspect data and reliable recordings on a par, whilst the second factor accounts for his attempt to write an 'overall pattern' grammar of Tok Pisin which includes apparently unrelated varieties of Pidgin English such as Kiwai Pidgin of Papua. As it is, Bauer's description is of value only to those who have an intimate knowledge of Tok Pisin and who are able to distinguish between genuine insights and unwarranted generalisations. A detailed discussion of Bauer's Tok Pisin grammar is found in a review article by Mühlhäusler (1978c).

All treatments of grammar discussed so far were done within either traditional, ad hoc, or structural frameworks of description. Whilst these models facilitate the treatment of a large part of Tok Pisin grammar with limited resources, this tends to be done at the cost of insights into some less obvious aspects of the language.

New trends in the description of Tok Pisin can be observed from the early 1960s. However, new descriptive frameworks, such as the transformational-generative model or various models aiming at explaining variation, have forced linguists to pay attention to small subparts of Tok Pisin grammar rather than its grammar as a whole.

An early attempt to deal with Tok Pisin in a transformational framework is an article by Hooley (1962). Hooley's principal purpose is to use a pre-Chomskyan (Harris) type of transformational description to discover areas of grammar where Tok Pisin differs from English, his general conclusion being that Tok Pisin and English are indeed closely related structurally. However, as pointed out by Turner (1966:206f.), his conclusions are hardly warranted in view of his rather blunt analytical tools and the restricted body of evidence considered. A further weakness of Hooley's approach is that he compares two static abstract models, ignoring both variation in Tok Pisin and its diachronic development.

Another article inspired by the work of Harris is one dealing with a contrastive analysis of Tok Pisin and English 'morpheme sequence classes' (Dingwall 1966:39-61). As the author himself notes, the logical simplicity of the model used goes paired with its inability to account for many aspects of real language. Nevertheless, Dingwall's article deserves more attention than it appears to have received hitherto.

Another attempt at a transformational-generative description by Young (1971) has not been made available to a wider audience and I have not seen a copy of it. It appears, however, that a static generative model of description imposes severe limitations on those working with Tok Pisin. The criticisms made against it include that it is inappropriate for dealing with linguistic variation and that it forces the investigator to sweep under the carpet of 'linguistic performance' data which are of direct relevance to the shape and development of linguistic rules, such as those relating to speakers' strategies. As a result, many of the studies carried out in the more recent past follow a linguistic paradigm which admits quantitative analyses and sociolinguistic data.

Much of this criticism cannot be applied to Woolford's Duke University Ph.D. (1977) *Aspects of Tok Pisin grammar*. This thesis is based on extended fieldwork and a thorough knowledge of recent developments in syntactic theory. The model of description used is similar to that of Chomsky's revised standard theory, a theory well suited to the discussion of near-surface level syntax and to a comparative study of Tok Pisin and English.

Some more recent papers concerning aspects of phonetics and phonology include Bee's account of interference between Usarufa and Tok Pisin (1972:69-95). Bee's analysis does illustrate the limitations of both informant tests and the predictive power of contrastive analysis, as well as the danger of testing outside an adequate situational context. Her study is important in that it constitutes the first comprehensive study of substratum influence in any part of Tok Pisin grammar. As yet, few aspects of Tok Pisin sound system are well documented and both Pawley's account of epenthetic vowels (1975) and Tetaga's study of prenasalisation (1971) are welcome exceptions. These features are variable in Tok Pisin phonology, and both Pawley and Tetaga consider a number of linguistic and social factors which could account for such variation. No conclusion is reached in either case as this would have required the analysis of a considerable amount of additional data. Pawley's tentative conclusion, that the deletion of epenthetic vowels appears to be stylistic, i.e. determined by the rate of the utterance, is true mainly of Urban Pidgin. Tetaga's demonstration that prenasalisation is a feature most common among older speakers of non-Melanesian languages and his prediction that prenasalisation is on the way out has to be taken with care, particularly as Tok Pisin is increasingly becoming the language of non-Melanesian-speaking highlanders.

An attempt to present an exhaustive account of Tok Pisin's segmental phonology is that by Litteral (1970). In spite of its use of suspect constructs such as 'phonemes', this study is very valuable and it is to be deplored that it was never published. A recent M.A. (Technical University Berlin) by Pishwa (1977) contains a chapter on Tok Pisin's sound system. Whilst it uses data from Laycock 1970 and Litteral 1969, the post SPE (Sound Pattern of English) framework used provides new insights into the nature of this part of Tok Pisin grammar.

A group of studies by Sankoff and a number of her associates are concerned with the question of linguistic change and development of Tok Pisin, particularly with regard to creolisation in the urban centres of Papua New Guinea. Although the creolisation of Tok Pisin may be a special case among creole languages in as much as it has followed a prolonged period of stabilisation and expansion of second-language Tok Pisin, the case studies at hand are still of great importance for a better understanding of language change in general. Languages change either as a result of contact or because of various as yet only partially understood internal pressures. Sankoff concerns herself mainly with the latter. She aims at providing functional explanations for the development of a number of grammatical devices in Tok Pisin, namely the change of the adverb baimbai to the tense marker bai (Sankoff and Laberge 1973), the development of the relative clause marker ya out of the adverbial hia (Sankoff 1975a and Sankoff and Brown 1976), and most recently the cliticisation of pronouns (Sankoff 1976a, 1977). The studies are important in that they involve a return to a functionalist approach to language, i.e. they no longer exclude - as required by both structuralists and transformationalists - 'performance' factors, such as the strategies speakers adopt in order to meet certain communicative requirements. These studies by Sankoff allow significant insights into the forces underlying the linguistic change and development of Tok Pisin.

Similar questions are raised in an often-quoted but never published paper by Labov (1971). He examines, among other things, how the reduction in form influences the communicative potential of various pidgins and creoles, including Tok Pisin. The paper contains some valuable observations about the tense-aspect system of the language.

One of the tools for discovering ongoing trends in the development of languages is quantitative analysis. This figures prominently in the articles just

mentioned as well as in several others written at about the same time, including Woolford's treatment of the conditions underlying the variable presence of the predicate marker i and Lattey's account of object deletion (both 1975). The last two papers illustrate the suitability of implicational scaling to data from pidgins and creoles. However, the results are based on a fairly limited set of data and must be regarded as preliminary explorations rather than solutions to some very complex problems. The same must be said of Smeall's analysis of the predicate marker i (1973). A preliminary quantitative study is in a working paper by Mühlhäusler on the grammatical category of number in Tok Pisin (1975a). More data on number, using better data and more refined techniques have since been published (Mühlhäusler 1981a).

Developmental studies on other aspects of Tok Pisin grammar deal with causatives (Mühlhäusler 1979d) and complementation (Woolford 1979). A summary of developmental studies on Tok Pisin is given by Sankoff (1979) whilst Mühlhäusler 1980b discusses the wide implications of 'gradual creolisation' to the field of creole studies. It appears that studies of Tok Pisin based on a dynamic framework of description promise to result in significant advances in the study of this language.

Before turning to other topics, mention must be made of a number of smaller linguistic studies.

An early analysis of Tok Pisin's lexicon (mainly restricted to the lexical inventory) is contained in a paper by Hall (1943b). An important article by the same author is his discussion of innovations and changes in Tok Pisin between 1943 and 1954 (Hall 1966) which demonstrates the incipient development of an urban variety of the language. In the same year, a brief note on *yes* and *no* in Tok Pisin, illustrating the 'yes, we have no bananas' usage of the two words, appeared (Hall 1956). This article deals with sentence-questions and their answers only, and does not consider the use of *yes/no* after wh-questions (see Mühlhäusler 1979c: 300-301). Many of Hall's linguistic writings on Tok Pisin between 1942 and 1955 are summarised in his defence of the language (1955). A detailed critical review of this book is that by Morgan (1956:368-374). Finally, a preliminary discussion of ergative aspects of Tok Pisin is given by Heringer (1966). Since this question is potentially of great theoretical interest it is hoped that it will receive further treatment soon.

2.1.4 STUDIES INTO TOK PISIN'S ROLE IN EDUCATION

Efforts to spread education among the population of Papua New Guinea were begun only relatively recently and research into educational policies, in particular language policies, is sparse. The impression gained from the large body of writings on the question of the use of Tok Pisin in education is that untested assumptions about the relative merits of Tok Pisin and English prevail and that genuine research into the problem is only at its beginnings. Among the first to raise the question of language and education was Groves in his "Native education and cultural contact in New Guinea" (1936). Groves argues strongly against the introduction of English, a view which he expressed in several places after the Second World War, when he was Director of Education.

The question of language choice in education became topical after World War II, and the merits and deficiencies of Tok Pisin as a language for primary school instruction have since been widely debated. A comprehensive summary of the discussion up to 1955, as well as detailed arguments for the use of Tok Pisin, are

contained in a number of papers by Dietz (1955). Dietz lists a number of insti-
tutions where Tok Pisin has been used with success and concludes that "Pidgin is
an adequate medium of instruction at all levels and in all fields." (1955:3).
Dietz's views are also shared by Hall (1954a and 1955a). A more balanced account
is presented by Wedgwood (1954), who argues that English is not suitable as an
initial medium of instruction but should be taught as a second language.

Discussion about the pros and cons of Tok Pisin in education flared up again
in 1969 on the occasion of a symposium on Pidgin and Nation Building at which
Smith (1969) presented a detailed discussion of a number of factors which have
often been neglected in the heat of debate. His paper contains some valuable
insights into the language problem and can be regarded as programmatic for
research into this question. Gunther (1969), on the other hand, made a strong
plea against the use of Tok Pisin, his main argument being that it was not a
'real' language since it could not be used for self-expression or in functions
other than basic communication. Though familiar with the linguistic and socio-
linguistic research of the period, Gunther gives the impression of being unfam-
iliar with the degree of structural and functional sophistication of Tok Pisin
at that time. Thus, as his premises can be shown to be in need of considerable
revision, his argument remains unconvincing.

A number of participants at the 1973 conference on Tok Pisin again took up
the question of Tok Pisin in education. Of these, Litteral provided the most
detailed theoretical argument as well as proposals for the implementation of Tok
Pisin teaching policies (cf. Litteral 1974 and 1975), whilst both Franklin (1975)
and Staalsen and Strange (1975) provided badly needed data on the actual use of
Tok Pisin in teaching situations and cross-cultural communication. With the
publication of a two fascicle volume on the sociolinguistic situation in the New
Guinea area (Wurm, ed. 1977) a number of important articles on both the teaching
of and teaching in Tok Pisin have become available to the wider public, including
those by Olewale (1977), Healey (1977), Dutton (1977) and Carrington (1977).

Dutton's inaugural lecture (1976a) contains many arguments in favour of
extending the use of Tok Pisin to secondary and tertiary education. The letters,
interviews and statements arising from the ensuing national language debate have
been edited by McDonald (1976a), thus providing a fascinating insight into pre-
vailing attitudes towards the use of Tok Pisin.

As yet, the question of Tok Pisin's merit in education, particularly higher
education, remains unsettled, though it appears that at present the facts would
favour the use of Tok Pisin in an ever-widening context of teaching situations.

2.1.5 STUDIES INTO THE ETHNOGRAPHY OF SPEAKING

Whilst the question of Tok Pisin in education remains controversial, mainly
because the large number of factors which need to be considered present ample
scope for disagreement, descriptions of the use of Tok Pisin in everyday communi-
cation and in a number of special contexts are much less dependent on the observ-
ers' personal convictions. Again, though the ethnography of speaking of Tok
Pisin is better documented than that of most other pidgins and creoles, there is
still a shortage of in-depth studies in the field. It is impossible to present
a full review of shorter notes and articles on this topic here; however, such a
review is included in Mühlhäusler 1979c and 1979a.

Some important early studies concerned with the role of Tok Pisin in German
times were made by Friederici (1911), Jacques (1922:96f.), Neuhauss (1911:121ff.)

and Schnee (1904:299ff.), and these studies, together with numerous remarks in travel books and newspapers, provide valuable data on the early history of Tok Pisin. Of particular importance is Neffgen's article on Samoan Plantation Pidgin (1915), which deals with the Samoan language situation at a time when most of the plantation workers came from the New Guinea area. A survey of the Pidgin English included in the literature on Samoa has been written by Mühlhäusler (1978d).

Documents relating to the social position of Tok Pisin in the years between the wars have until recently been considered rare (cf. Laycock 1970:108). However, recent research at the Australian National University has brought to light a number of important documents concerning the use of Tok Pisin during this period. These supplement the two major sources, namely Mead (1931) and an outstanding sketch by Reed (1943:267-291), as well as Reinecke's survey of printed sources (1937:727-771).

The social position of Tok Pisin during the Second World War, in particular its use in communication between the warring parties and the indigenous popula-tion, has been the topic of a number of smaller studies, two particularly inter-esting ones being by Clark (1955) and Luke (1945). The role of Tok Pisin in the army in Papua New Guinea is the topic of two well-documented articles by Bell (1971 and 1977).

Notes on the social context in which Tok Pisin is acquired as well as a discussion of its role vis-a-vis English are given by Ruhen (1963 and 1976). It is interesting to observe that the author has undergone a complete change from rather negative to a sympathetic view of Tok Pisin in his second article. A number of studies dealing with more restricted aspects of the use of Tok Pisin have appeared in recent years. Its use in the House of Assembly is discussed in a paper by Hull (1968) and its role in agriculture is discussed by Scott (1977). Scott's article contains interesting remarks on referential deficiencies of the language and the negative impact of an impoverished version of Tok Pisin on agricul-tural progress. The role of Tok Pisin in publications is discussed briefly by Baker (1944:271-274), though a much better-documented discussion is that by Turner (1960:54-64). More recent remarks on literary and printed Tok Pisin as well as its role in community development have been made by Piniau (1975), Mihalic (1977) and Laycock (1977a), as well as Siegel (1981, 1983, 1984).

Mission recognition of Tok Pisin has been slow, and this lack of recognition has resulted in the neglect of studies concerned with the use of the language by the missions. Apart from some minor articles and notes, discussed by Mühlhäusler (1979c), the only major summary to appear for a long time was that by Höltker (1945). However, a number of other accounts have recently been published, in-cluding Mihalic's account of Tok Pisin in the Catholic Church (1977), Neuendorf's survey of teaching in Tok Pisin by the various denominations (1977) and Renck's statement about the policies of the Lutheran Church (1977).

A number of studies concerned with the role of Tok Pisin in the global context of Papua New Guinean life, in particular its role as a vehicle for promoting nationhood, have appeared since the end of World War II. An early example, fore-shadowing developments after the end of World War II, is an article by Bateson (1944). The status of Tok Pisin in the mid 1950s is discussed by Hall (1966), whilst the role of Tok Pisin in nation-building is discussed in a number of articles by Wurm (1966, 1969 and 1977). Wurm strongly advocates the use of Tok Pisin as a national language, pointing out the advantages of such a move. At the same time he considers the necessity of preserving both the local languages and English as vehicles of communication in a number of contexts not covered by Tok Pisin. A useful general survey of the situation with regard to Tok Pisin in the

late 1960s was made by Wolfers (1971). A survey of Tok Pisin's status, empha-
sising the growing importance of the language, is that by Laycock (1969). Another
account of the status of the language was published by Capell in the same year
(1969). A comprehensive survey by Bauer (1975), purporting to deal with the
sociocultural function and development of Tok Pisin, fails to achieve this goal
mainly because of his uncritical acceptance of earlier writings and its 'static
view' of the language which fails to bring out the drastic changes over the last
20 years. A popular but well documented account of the role of Tok Pisin in pre-
independence Papua New Guinea is that by Brash (1975).

A topic touched upon by a number of the writers just mentioned is that of
Tok Pisin being a colonial relic, or more precisely, a manipulative tool belonging
to an outmoded social system. A study by Sankoff (1976b) contains a number of
pertinent remarks on the role of Pidgin in expressing non-egalitarian relation-
ships. With Tok Pisin having become a language of self-expression (as is docu-
mented by a growing body of Tok Pisin literature which Laycock has analysed in
detail (1977a)) and for the assertion of political aspirations (cf. Noel 1975),
the regimented character of relations between speakers of Tok Pisin has been con-
siderably relaxed. However, as has been pointed out by Scott (1977) and
Mühlhäusler (1977f), Tok Pisin continues to be used as a means of social control,
be it only for the fact that publications in this language are almost entirely
controlled by the government and missions (Lynch 1979).

Practical problems with the language and its role in Papua New Guinean
society include its growing diversification, as well as questions of standard-
isation, planning and spelling reform.

Whilst most earlier writers subscribed to a view that Tok Pisin was fairly
homogenous, more recently there has been a growing realisation that Tok Pisin is
just a cover term for a variety of different 'lects'. This was first pointed out
by Laycock (1969:12) and subsequently elaborated upon by Mühlhäusler (1975e and
1979e). Whilst most writers are now in agreement that there are a number of
structural properties which set apart the four main varieties distinguished in
folk taxonomy (i.e. Tok Masta, Bush Pidgin, Urban Pidgin and Rural Pidgin), no
exhaustive study of the linguistic character of the continuum along which these
sociolects are ranged has yet been made. There are however indications of certain
breaks in intelligibility both between Urban and Rural Tok Pisin (cf. Wurm,
Mühlhäusler and Laycock 1977) and between Tok Masta and the other varieties of
Tok Pisin (cf. Hall 1955a:18ff.).

The lexical properties of the principal varieties of Tok Pisin have been
discussed by Mühlhäusler (1979c). To date, however, these varieties have been
discussed with reference to abstract sociolects rather than to a linguistic con-
tinuum. Reasons for this include the fact that the study of variation in Tok Pisin
is only just beginning and that, because Tok Pisin is not the first language of
most of its speakers, attention must be paid to factors such as substratum influ-
ence. The possibility of a continuum developing between Urban Pidgin and New
Guinean English has been raised by Bickerton (1975a), though no case study has
yet been made. Variation in Tok Pisin has been studied not only from the view-
point of social dimensions but also with regard to stylistic variation. The
presence of special secret registers of the language has been discussed by
Aufinger (1948/49), whilst Brash (1971) has drawn attention to the "imaginative
dimensions in Melanesian Pidgin", in particular the use of figurative expressions
(tok piksa). A survey of the registers found in Tok Pisin has been made by Wurm
and Mühlhäusler (1982).

A special case of variation is that provided by creolisation, i.e. the pro-
cess by which Tok Pisin becomes the first language of a speech community, involving

significant changes in linguistic structure. An article by Sankoff and Laberge (1973) discusses the development of tense marking among first language speakers of Tok Pisin, and the data collected by Sankoff have served as the basis of a lengthy theoretical discussion by Labov (1971). As pointed out by Bickerton (1975b and 1976) Tok Pisin must be regarded as a special case among the creoles of the world, in that its creolisation occurs only after a long period of expansion and restructuring and not from an undeveloped incipient pidgin. It is for this reason that the structural changes accompanying creolisation in Tok Pisin are gradual rather than sudden, and that the children growing up speaking Tok Pisin as their first language appear largely to develop tendencies already encountered in second-language Tok Pisin, rather than to introduce completely new structures. This is also confirmed in investigation of the creolised Rural Pidgin of Manus Island carried out by Mühlhäusler (1977b). The study of child language acquisition of Tok Pisin has been begun by Lang (1976). Further work in the field of creolisation is to be encouraged, since, although the findings for Tok Pisin may not be generalisable to other creoles, they will undoubtedly contribute substantially to an understanding of language change.

Linguistic change can be observed not only in creolised Tok Pisin but also in the diachronic development of the language from its early beginnings as a rudimentary jargon to its present-day sophistication. However, studies of language change are still hampered by a lack of data, particularly syntactic data, though studies by Sankoff and Brown (1976) and Sankoff (1976a) indicate that a careful screening of earlier data may well enable detailed studies of Tok Pisin's diachronic development. The position with regard to the lexicon is much better, as most earlier work was concerned with the lexical properties of the language. A detailed account of the development of both the lexical inventory and word-formation in Tok Pisin is given by Mühlhäusler (1979c).

Many of the older diachronic or historical studies were concerned with the question of Tok Pisin's origin, in particular its relationship to other pidgins such as Chinese Pidgin English and Queensland Pidgin English. As yet, linguistic documentation of this factor is sparse. External evidence for Tok Pisin's origin on the Queensland plantations has been proposed by a number of authors including Wurm (1966) and Laycock (1970d). Salisbury (1967) objects to this hypothesis however, both because the number of New Guineans involved in the Queensland Labour Trade was fairly insignificant and because of the prior presence of Pidgin English in the New Guinea area. Salisbury's article also contains interesting remarks on the parallels between the stabilisation of Tok Pisin today in remote areas and the development of a stable pidgin in New Guinea in the 1880s. Hall (1955a:33f.) appears to give support to the Queensland hypothesis, though in later writings (e.g. 1966:118f.) he seems to support the view which derives Tok Pisin from a kind of Proto-Pacific-English, which subsequently developed into a Proto-Pidgin-English.

The debate about the origin of Tok Pisin was revived by Mühlhäusler's claim (1976 and 1978d) that many of the structural and lexical properties of Tok Pisin are the result of the employment of New Guineans on the German plantations of Samoa. Whilst the Samoan plantations are certainly not the only source of Tok Pisin it is beyond doubt that they have played a much more important role in its formation than previously assumed (cf. Reinecke 1937:736). Further indications of other influences may come from Clark's present research into the early history of the Pacific varieties of Pidgin and Creole English (Clark 1977), and Mosel's work on linguistic aspects of Tolai and Tok Pisin (Mosel 1978). At present a study of Queensland Plantation Pidgin is being prepared by Dutton and Mühlhäusler and an analysis of the hitherto relatively unknown Papuan Pidgin English has appeared (Mühlhäusler 1978b). Whilst many details remain to be filled in, it has

become clear that single-cause explanations such as that of relexification are inappropriate as explanations of the origin and history of Pacific Pidgin English. Instead, present-day Tok Pisin must be regarded as the result of a large number of diverse linguistic and social forces; interesting, though not entirely convincing, accounts of this relationship are given by Johnston (1971) and Heitfeld (1979).

2.1.6 LEXICOGRAPHY AND LEXICOLOGY

The belief that external social conditions lead to the development of pidgin languages accounts for a fair proportion of lexicographical and lexicological studies of Tok Pisin. Early vocabularies of varieties of Pacific Pidgin English are those by Ray (1907) of Pidgin English recorded in the Torres Straits and Churchill's Beach-la-Mar vocabulary (1911). Only the latter contains materials taken directly from Tok Pisin, together with items from related varieties of Pacific Pidgin English.

Perhaps the earliest dictionary of Tok Pisin has only recently been discovered by Mosel. It is a handwritten draft for a grammar and dictionary of the language, the vocabulary part comprising about 500 lexical entries. Unfortunately, it is not dated, but the title *Pidgin-Englisch von Deutsch Neuguinea* suggests that it was written before 1914. The fact that variant pronunciations are given in phonetic transcriptions makes Dempwolff's vocabulary a very important document.

More comprehensive vocabularies were to appear only after German colonial administration had come to an end. As in the case of syntactic descriptions, the Catholic missions were the main force behind the developing tradition of dictionary making in Tok Pisin.

The only study containing fairly exhaustive information on Tok Pisin lexicography is that by Laycock (1977c). The absence of information as to the author, place and year of publication of many vocabularies and dictionaries makes such a study a difficult one. Very useful bibliographical information about mission publications has recently been provided by Z'graggen (1976).

The first dated vocabulary, comprising about 1000 entries, is ascribed to Brenninkmeyer. It is dated 21/9/25 and consists of one-word Tok Pisin entries with a very short German and English translation. A similarly basic vocabulary is an undated German-Tok Pisin ascribed to Borchardt and presumably a predecessor of the more comprehensive *Tok-Boi Wörterbuch* by the same author (1926). This dictionary-like work contains about 1200 entries in Tok Pisin with a German and English translation, numerous example sentences, remarks on variable pronunciation, as well as monolingual (Tok Pisin) explanations of many lesser known terms. It appears to represent Rabaul and Manus Pidgin. Further works written within the archdiocese of Rabaul include Kutscher's German-Tok Pisin vocabulary and two versions of a detailed Tok Pisin-English and English-Tok Pisin dictionary by Dahmen (1949 and 1957). I have only seen the enlarged 1957 edition which takes the form of an encyclopedic dictionary in which Tok Pisin entries are explained in the language itself and illustrated with sample sentences, in addition to providing English equivalents of the dictionary entries. Dahmen's dictionary in particular is a source of information about many aspects of Tok Pisin and it must be deplored that it has never been published for use by a wider audience.

The writing of Tok Pisin vocabularies and dictionaries by the Alexishafen missionaries began somewhat later than that of the Rabaul missionaries. According to private letters and mission circulars made available to me by Father Z'graggen,

the first dictionary compiled on the New Guinea mainland was van Baar's German-Tok Pisin vocabulary (undated - possibly 1930), which both in scope and format has the character of a preliminary inventory. Following a meeting of the SVD missionaries in Marienberg in 1930/31 a resolution was adopted which recommended that van Baar should complete his dictionary project. The outcome (a German-Pidgin dictionary) was completed before 1938 (Z'graggen, personal communication) and gives the impression of being a thorough piece of lexicographical work. Again, this dictionary was regarded as the predecessor of a larger dictionary, whose preparation was delayed for many years.

In the meantime Father Schebesta was independently preparing a dictionary, and proposals for spelling and content were being circulated for comment. The outcome of Schebesta's work was a dictionary ("Wörterbuch mit Redewendungen", undated) which was far more comprehensive than anything that had appeared earlier. The Wörterbuch contains numerous examples, idiomatic expressions, remarks on variable pronunciation and neologisms and is an invaluable document of the state of Tok Pisin's lexicon in the late 1930s. A revised version of this dictionary appeared shortly after the Second World War (Schebesta and Meiser 1945), the main difference being that the glosses were provided in English and that a number of new lexical items, reflecting the increased use of Tok Pisin in the mission con-text, were added.

Whilst the vocabularies and dictionaries mentioned so far were never printed, Father Mihalic's *Grammar and dictionary of Neo-Melanesian* (1957) was the first work designed for a wider audience. In more than one respect it can be regarded as a summary of all the dictionary work carried out by the Alexishafen (SVD) missionaries. In addition it contains new entries and the spelling conforms with the 1954 standard spelling. For many years, this dictionary remained the stand-ard reference work on Tok Pisin. The revised edition (1971) being enlarged, contains the results of dictionary work carried out by the Vunapope/Rabaul Catholic missionaries and as such includes the knowledge and work of both schools. It is intended for the use of laymen but contains valuable materials for the linguist. It remains the most comprehensive dictionary of Tok Pisin. As the language has undergone significant changes, including a considerable expansion of its lexicon, in recent years, a major revision is at present being prepared.

Little dictionary compilation has been carried out outside the Catholic missions. A number of vocabularies and phrase books for the use of soldiers did appear during the Second World War, however, of these that by Helton (first edition 1940) is the most comprehensive, whilst others, such as Ostrom's (1945), are very restricted in scope. Hall's (et al.) *Melanesian Pidgin phrasebook and vocabulary* (1943), published for the United States Armed Forces, is more reliable than the others examined by the author, but again limited in scope. A special status is occupied by the various editions of Murphy's *Book of Pidgin English* (first edition 1943), since it contains useful cultural information on many lexical entries. Steinbauer's trilingual Tok Pisin-German-English dictionary (1969) contains little that is not listed by Mihalic, as its aim was to include only those words which were in general use. The etymological information provided is often of dubious reliability and the example sentences seem contrived.

Lexicographical data gathered on Manus Island and in the New Guinea Highlands form the backbone of Smythe's Tok Pisin-English dictionary. Due to the premature death of its author it was not completed. The manuscript contains many valuable observations, however, particularly on Manus Tok Pisin.

Balint's *Sports dictionary* (1969), on the other hand, must be regarded as one of the major disasters in dictionary making for Tok Pisin. It is full of

inaccuracies, inconsistencies and downright howlers. Balint's attempt to create neologisms in the field of sport terminology is, however, interesting, in as much as it illustrates some of the mechanisms used in vocabulary extension. Balint's second project, discussed by Balint (1973), is an encyclopedic dictionary of Tok Pisin. It is not clear at this point whether it will appear in print, though there certainly is the need for a monolingual Tok Pisin dictionary designed for the use of Papua New Guineans. A comprehensive scientific dictionary of the language, similar to the one prepared by Cassidy and Le Page for Jamaican Creole (1967), would be most welcome. However, this would need intensive teamwork over a prolonged period of time, additional fieldwork and a close scrutiny of existing materials.

Whilst lexicography is concerned mainly with the compilation of reference works, lexicology studies words and other lexical items with regard to promoting an understanding of the structural and social dimensions of the language. In the study of Tok Pisin, concern with the origin of its vocabulary figures prominently. An early study devoted mainly to this problem is that by Nevermann (1929:252-258), who examines a number of possible sources of Tok Pisin's vocabulary, including cases of syncretism. Hall (1943b) again looks at the composition of the vocabulary as well as at some aspects of word-formation in Tok Pisin. Hall's discussion of the names of parts of the body is an early example of the linguistic treatment of a semantic field. A more up-to-date version of this paper is found in Hall 1955a: 90-99.

Among more recent lexical studies one has to distinguish between those concerned with etymologies and composition of the lexicon, such as Roosman's (1975) treatment of Malay words in Tok Pisin or remarks on lexical items of German origin by Mühlhäusler (1975b) and Heitfeld (1979), and those dealing with Tok Pisin's derivational lexicon, such as those by Mühlhäusler (1975c, 1978a and 1979c). These studies document the amazing 'power' of the derivational lexicon of this language, a power which may be of importance in future vocabulary planning (cf. Wurm, Mühlhäusler and Laycock 1977 and Lynch, ed. 1975). Higher level lexical items, in particular idioms involving parts of the body, have also been the subject of studies by McElhanon (1975), McElhanon and Barok (1975) and Todd and Mühlhäusler (1978).

2.1.7 CONCLUSIONS AND OUTLOOK

This concludes this brief review of major studies on Tok Pisin. Their very number has made it impossible to discuss every individual publication in detail. However, reference to many of the works quoted will be made in this handbook.

With regard to the future of Tok Pisin studies it seems important that, after many years of neglect, Tok Pisin has now moved to the centre of interest, not only for linguists concerned with the New Guinea area, but also for general linguistics. A reflection of this fact is the growing number of younger scholars who are writing theses on this language. My own thesis, "Growth and structure of the lexicon of New Guinea Pidgin" (Australian National University) was completed in 1976. Ellen Woolford's thesis on "Aspects of Tok Pisin grammar" (Duke University) was submitted in 1977. A thesis dealing with sociolinguistic aspects of Tok Pisin was submitted by Valerie Heitfelt at Essen University (1978). Tok Pisin features prominently in Bauer's dissertation on Pidgin English (Regensburg University 1973), and the proposed thesis on relativisation by Gail Dreyfuss (University of Michigan).

The setting up of a Hiri Motu and Tok Pisin Research Unit (cf. Dutton 1976a) at the University of Papua New Guinea raises hopes that young Papua New Guinean scholars will soon be engaging in studies of the languages which are the country's most important lingue franche. At the same time, Tok Pisin studies continue to be one of the long-term projects of the Department of Linguistics at the Research School of Pacific Studies of the Australian National University. Moreover, a number of overseas universities have shown a fresh interest in Tok Pisin in the wake of the recent expansion of pidgin studies as a whole.

However, I want to conclude this survey on a cautious note. The optimism generally shown with regard to the role of Tok Pisin in promoting progress in general linguistics, in particular the development of a new dynamic and socio-linguistic model of language, can only be justified if continued research is carried out into the multitude of aspects of Tok Pisin's grammar which at present are only poorly understood. Amongst the projects which should prove particularly worthwhile would be:

1) child language development in creolised Tok Pisin;

2) the study of speech errors;

3) a study of the pragmatic aspects of communication in Tok Pisin;

4) a study of the developing Tok Pisin English continuum in urban areas;

5) further scrutiny of unpublished sources on the earlier stages of the language, including private letters, diaries and court reports;

6) studies of the development of grammatical structure;

7) studies on substratum influence;

8) studies on the standardisation of Tok Pisin grammar (as pioneered by Wurm 1978).

This will require money and manpower as well as the willingness of investigators to carry out fieldwork and to live in the areas where the language is used. The potential contribution of the study of Tok Pisin to general linguistics seems enormous, particularly as one can observe, in situ, developments which have only been postulated by linguistic historians. Now that the straitjackets of static linguistics have been cast off and more realistic models of linguistic description have become available, the chances that this will indeed happen are better than ever.