

“Eh, you stay awesome, cuz you stay God!”

The changes in meaning and register
in English-based Hawai'i Creole and Tok Pisin loanwords

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1 INTRODUCTION

My research focuses on the English-lexifier loanwords, that is, words that have been borrowed to the target language from English either directly or via a contact language, in Hawai'i Creole English and Tok Pisin. These are two creole languages spoken on islands in the Pacific Ocean. Hawai'i Creole English is commonly referred to as Hawaiian Pidgin or simply Pidgin and it is spoken by some 600 000 people, mostly on the islands of Hawaii in Polynesia. It is a creole language that evolved from the contact jargons spoken by the labourers on the sugarcane plantations in Hawaii. Tok Pisin is a dialect of the Melanesian Pidgin, which has some three million speakers. Tok Pisin is spoken as a first language by an estimated 122 000 people, and its use as a second language is widespread. It is an official language of Papua-New Guinea.

My interest is in examining the English-lexifier loanwords in these languages. It is estimated that about 75 % of vocabulary in Hawai'i Creole and some 80 % of Tok Pisin vocabulary is English-based. My aim is to find out how these English-based loanwords have changed in meaning and register when borrowed to these creole languages. For my data I chose excerpts from the Hawai'i Creole and Tok Pisin translation of the Bible. I intend to compare the translations with the corresponding chapters of an English language Bible translation. The status of the Bible as a holy book influences the translations so that in general they strive for maximum accuracy to preserve the original meanings. The register of the Bible is also markedly formal, which will make the changes in the register of the loanwords more apparent.

Hawai'i Creole and Tok Pisin were chosen because both are established creole languages spoken in the Pacific and share a lexifier language, English, as well as some substratum languages, namely contact jargons spoken in the Pacific in the 1800's such as South Seas Jargon. Both languages are still in close contact with the lexifier language, although in the case of Tok Pisin contact with English was temporarily lost when it was stabilising. These similarities are likely to make it easier to pinpoint changes that have originated from the substratum languages Hawai'i Creole and Tok Pisin do not share.

Studying the English-based vocabulary of Hawai'i Creole and Tok Pisin and specifically the shift in meaning and register is important because no such study exists yet as far as I am aware. This study will offer some new insight into the change in the register of loanwords and give some grounds for further research: is there a similar shift in register in other creole languages, and if so, why? Does this contribute to the fact that creole languages have in the past been seen as 'badly spoken' or broken forms of the lexifier language? Can all changes be attributed to a clear source, substratum influence or imperfect model of target language, for example?

I expect to find that at least some English loanwords have changed their register and taken on or lost additional meanings and connotations because of the influence of substrate languages. I believe some changes in register can be found in the data because it is assumed that when the Hawaiian and Papua-New Guinean contact jargons and later the creoles were born, the speakers did not have a 'complete model' of the acrolect (highest prestige) variant or the superstratum language. It is unlikely that the native speakers were speaking standard English among themselves but instead some sort of a vernacular. English loanwords were also learnt from sailors, for example, whose native language was not English but who were already speaking some sort of a pidgin language or contact variant.

The change in register is also expected because Hawaiian Pidgin is predominantly a spoken language with a quite young literary tradition: thus it is to be expected that some English colloquial vocabulary has entered Pidgin literary language. Tok Pisin is used to some extent as a literary language in contexts like news reporting and government publications and it can also be used as the language of instruction in the first three years of elementary school.

In section 2 I discuss the general theories of pidgin and creole studies as well as the history, origins and current status of both Hawai'i Creole and Tok Pisin. I have devoted one subsection to the theories in the study of loanwords and because my data is comprised of Bible excerpts, a set of guidelines for Bible translation is also examined.

Section 3 focuses on the description of my corpus, three translations of the first chapter of Romans in the New Testament. My choice of analysing the first chapter of Paul's letter to the Romans called *Fo Da Rome Peopo* in Pidgin and *Rom* in Tok Pisin is a practical one. New Testament is the only book I could find that has been translated to both languages, and the letter to the Romans is mostly straightforward prose, which I feel will give a more accurate example of contemporary use of language in Tok Pisin and Hawai'i Creole than poetry or a section of the Bible containing lists of genealogy. First I aimed at examining several chapters of the book, but because the examples of meaning and register change were so many I had to narrow it down to just the first chapter.

In section 4 the analysis of the loanwords gathered from my corpus is presented. Each example is examined in regard to one feature only (meaning, register or grammatical function). Again, this is a practical decision, as all of the examples contain evidence of all of these changes, but I feel it is more useful for the reader if they are addressed separately. This way I hope the analysis will be easier to follow and the examples clearer.

In section 5 I discuss the findings of my analysis, comparing the findings in the two languages and examining possible causes for the changes in meaning and register, as well as their implications. Finally, the conclusions are presented in section 6.

2 THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

In this section I discuss the general theories of pidgin and creole studies. Subsection 2.3. contains some thoughts on the history and current status of Hawaiian Creole and subsection 2.4 on Tok Pisin. Subsection 2.5 concentrates on the study of loanwords in relation to prestige in these two languages and finally a set of guidelines for Bible translation is examined in subsection 2.6.

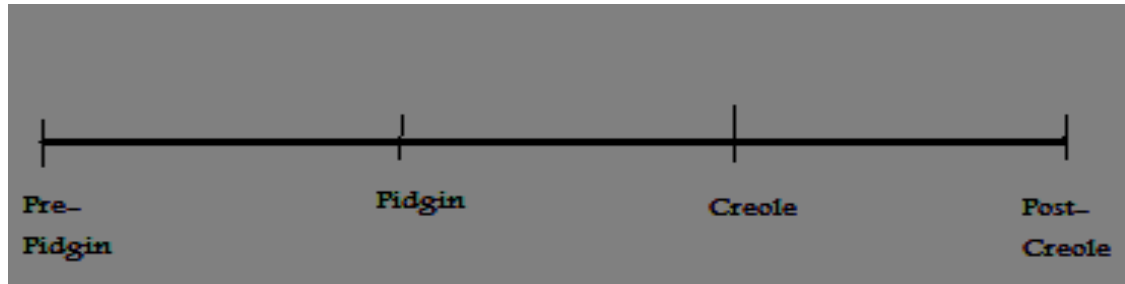
2.1 Pidgins and creoles

Pidgins are, in essence, contact languages that came to be when two or more groups of people, who had no common language, had to interact for some purpose, such as commerce, work and so on (see, e.g., Bickerton 1976: 171). A more detailed definition for *pidgin* is proposed by Mühlhäusler (1997: 6):

Pidgins are examples of partially targeted second language learning and second language creation, developing from simpler to more complex systems as communicative requirements become more demanding. Pidgin languages by definition have no native speakers – they are a social rather than individual solution – and hence are characterized by norms of acceptability.

A creole language is often seen as the logical continuation of language evolution: when a pidgin gains native speakers, it becomes a creole. This theory has been discussed in Mühlhäusler (1997: 7-10) and in light of contemporary research the case seems not to be as simple as that, but for the purposes of this paper it will suffice. A popular way to illustrate the relationship between pidgins and creoles (and later post-creoles) is to depict the situation as a continuum, called the pidgin life cycle model:

Figure 1. Pidgin life cycle (adapted from Kwary).



A pidgin starts its life as a simple contact jargon but starts to move little by little towards the creole stage as it gains more domains, speakers, vocabulary and use. All pidgins do not become creoles, some remain at the pidgin or even pre-pidgin stage for the time period they are needed and then die out. Some creoles decreolize and start to gradually resemble more and more the standard variant of the lexifier language.

Pidgin and creole languages generally seem to share many features among themselves, despite having different superstratum and/or substratum languages. Many explanations have been offered for this, among them the notion that all pidgin speakers received an ‘imperfect model’ for the target (superstratum) language, because the native speakers they encountered were using ‘foreigner talk’ or ‘baby talk’ (i.e. simplified forms of the language) when speaking to the substratum language natives, and a pidgin was formed as a result of this ‘imperfect learning’ (Mühlhäusler 1997: 96-97).

Another explanation, which does not presuppose that substratum language speakers were necessarily trying to learn the superstratum language is the universalist theory: the similarities in pidgin and creole languages can be attributed to the speakers somehow accessing their innate *faculté de langage* and selecting a “universally motivated base grammar” (Kay & Sankoff 1974 as cited in Mühlhäusler 1997: 109). This means that they are creating a new language based on speaker-internal grammar rules that are supposedly shared by all speakers.

Social stratification can also affect pidgin genesis. Sato (1985: 256) quotes Whinnom (1971) who argues that the reason behind the ‘imperfect model’ is not foreigner talk, but simply the inaccessibility of the socially superior language and lack of motivation to

improve performance in it: the pidgin language is sufficient for the speakers' communicative purposes.

The universalist theory of pidgin formation is applied to creolisation as well: children of pidgin speakers hear many different (and contrasting) forms used in the pidgin-speaking, non-native community, and 'fill in' the gaps and inconsistencies in its grammar according to their own innate knowledge of language and grammar (Bickerton 1980, as cited in Mühlhäusler 1997: 101-102). This enables the pidgin to gain sufficient stability and usage for it to become someone's first language. This interpretation of the development of pidgin languages mirrors the larger scale "nature versus nurture" debate considering the development of human psychology and behaviour.

In my data, analysed in detail in section 4, it seems that the influence of the substratum languages is strong. Most of the changes in the meaning and register of the English-based loanwords can be attributed to the various substrates. Thus the universalist theory of pidgin formation seems questionable in regard to my data.

Siegel (2008: 4) discusses the complexities of defining languages as pidgins or creoles in light of Melanesian Pidgin (Tok Pisin):

Some linguists who emphasize sociolinguistic criteria call it a pidgin, because it is a second language rather than the mother tongue for the large majority of its speakers. Others call it a creole because it has some native speakers and it is used in a wide range of functions. Those who consider only linguistic criteria call it a creole because the grammatical features which it has developed are just as complex as those of clearly recognized creoles.

The analysis of a formal register in creole languages is also of interest because of widespread bi- or multilingualism in creole-speaking societies. According to Garret (2000: 63-65) it is rare to have a formal register on a creole language, because the lexifier language is often seen as the prestige variant and used in formal and public contexts. In this regard it is easy to classify both Hawaiian Creole and Tok Pisin as

creole languages: clearly their usage has been broadened to formal domains and domains in the public eye, such as the church.

Holm (2000: 69) sees the imbalance of power and prestige as a determining factor in pidgin genesis. “It has been suggested that colonialism or slavery might be key factors in the sociolinguistics of pidginization and creolization. [...]The relevant factor would seem to be the degree of power of one group over another, since very powerful social forces are usually needed to counter the momentum of normal language transmission.” In a language contact situation where a pidgin is used the superstratum language speakers are typically European and hold the most powerful positions in society. The lexifier language is seen as more prestigious than the local language(s) and learning pidgin is at first seen as a way of moving forward in life.

According to Rickford (1985: 146) after this initial prestige and with continued contact with the lexifier language the standard attitude is that the standard variety of the lexifier language is ‘good’ and other varieties, including creoles are ‘bad’, and even the speakers themselves are sometimes hesitant to identify as pidgin or creole speakers, as shown in an example from Rickford, where a Guyanese creole speaker explains that the creole “ don’t take you nowhere. It don’t do good to a person” (1985: 146).

2.1 Register, loanwords and prestige in Hawai’i Creole and Tok Pisin

In this section the theory of word borrowing and its reasons is examined as well as the concept of register as it applies to creoles. Creole languages are in essence composed of loanwords that come from one predominant source (the superstratum language) and several other sources (the substrata), so it is useful to take a brief look at the study of loanwords. Garrett (2000: 63) claims that it is very rare for creoles to have a “high” or formal register especially in cases where the superstratum language of the creole is used in its standard form in the society for formal occasions, and that the standard variant, in the cases of the languages studied here, English, is used in formal occasions and the creole in less formal ones. Thus the lexifier language replaces the high register or acrolect for the creole, which in turn is seen as the least prestigious, basilect variant.

According to Haspelmath (2009: 35), words are commonly borrowed from one language to another if the source language has a concept the recipient language does not have: in essence, both the thing or action and its name are adopted simultaneously to another culture. However, languages often borrow words that already have a corresponding lexeme in the recipient language. In this case Haspelmath (2009: 48) suggests that the reason for borrowing is prestige. Speakers of the recipient language wish to be associated with the donor language and its perceived higher position in society.

Haspelmath (2009: 48) also mentions the case of widespread bilingualism in a culture and claims that it affects the number of loanwords in the languages. When all speakers understand two or more languages, it does not really matter which of the languages the speaker uses for a given lexical item.

If we think about the genesis of Hawaiian Creole (discussed more in-depth in section 2.3), it would seem that both widespread bilingualism and prestige contributed to stabilising its lexicon. First Hawaiian Pidgin English was used as a contact language and its lexicon and forms were largely unstable, but as it gained more usage and its first native speakers, an estimated 75% of its vocabulary was borrowed from English or from English-lexifier pidgins. English was thus perceived as the most prestigious of the various languages that have contributed to Hawaiian Creole, and as it had been taught in Hawaiian schools since the mid-1800s, many people were at least marginally bilingual in it.

Tok Pisin on the other hand did not have many “marginally bilingual” English-speakers around the time of pidgin formation. The forming pidgin was seen as a way to move forward in life, the language of business and trade, and the prestige associated with the English-based vocabulary was the prestige associated with the pidgin rather than the prestige associated with English. Workers on plantations seldom had contact with their English-speaking overseers, but due to the linguistic diversity of the area they also lacked a common language amongst themselves. Thus a need for a pidgin language was created. The former names of Tok Pisin such as Tok Boi (in reference to slaves or

servants) shows that the social stratification in the Papua New Guinean society was such that Tok Pisin was seen as the language of uneducated or lower-class people.

The register of the source words that were borrowed to the creole languages studied here is often shown to be a non-standard, even basilectal form of the language. This can often be attributed to the source of the loanwords. English expressions were learnt from tradespeople, other plantation workers or sailors, and Haines (2010: 20) suggests that even the European plantation overseers were “not drawn from the higher social classes”. As the pidgins stabilised and creolised, these expressions came to be the standard varieties used in the language, and in section 4 I expect to find that the register or style of the expressions in Tok Pisin or Hawai’i Creole is sometimes markedly more formal than what we would expect from the source word or expression in English.

2.2 Substrate and superstrate languages

In this thesis I use the notion of *substrate* or *substratum language* to refer to the native languages of the pidgin speakers and to other languages that were present during the formation of the pidgin. These languages have typically contributed grammatical features as well as semantics and usage of the vocabulary to the forming pidgin, whereas the majority of lexical items are borrowed from the *superstratum* or *lexifier language*.

Hawaiian Creole has many different substrate languages, but the most prominent are Hawaiian, Chinese, Portuguese and Japanese. Other substrata include contact languages and pidgins, such as Chinese Pidgin English, Pacific Pidgin English and South Seas Jargon (Siegel 2000: 201). Keesing (1988) as cited in Siegel (1998: 349) proposes that the most important substratum language for Tok Pisin, in addition to various indigenous languages of the islands (for example Tolai and related languages), is Pacific Pidgin English. According to Siegel (1998: 350-351) the languages of other Pacific islands and nations have had an effect as well, because of widespread labour migration.

Superstratum language or *superstrate* refers to the main lexifier language, in the case of Hawaiian Creole and Tok Pisin, English. Superstrate languages are often European languages of the plantation owners or colonists: English, French and German.

2.3 Hawai'i Creole

This section focuses on Hawai'i Creole. First, the origins and history of the language are briefly explained in section 2.3.1 and in the following subsection I examine its usage and status, as well as the attitudes towards it, in contemporary Hawaiian society.

2.3.1 Origins and history of Hawai'i Creole

A pidgin language has been in use in the Hawaii Islands since the early 19th century. The first pidgin to emerge was a Hawaiian-lexifier pidgin that developed among the Hawaiian population, European plantation overseers and (mainly) Chinese labourers (Sakoda & Siegel 2003: 5). According to Carr (1972: 4), however, English-lexifier pidgin words, borrowed from international nautical pidgin and contact languages, had entered common Hawaiian speech as early as 1791.

In 1875, when the United States and Hawaii signed the Reciprocity Treaty, which allowed free trade with and immigration from the United States, the linguistic dominance started to shift from Hawaiian to English (Sakoda & Siegel 2003: 6-7). Learning English had become something of a popular pastime a couple of decades earlier: Kuykendall (1938) (as cited in Carr 172: 4) writes that “[d]uring the later 1840’s and the early 1850’s, the craze among the Hawaiians for learning English led to the establishment of a number of small schools [...] whose sole or principal object was to teach the English language to natives”.

During the last decades of the 19th century, more and more immigrant families (as opposed to single men) started to arrive on the Islands, and their children entered the English-speaking school system. Plantations were also now run in English, and at first the new emerging English-lexifier pidgin retained many words from the earlier Hawaiian-lexifier pidgin, especially in the field of plantation life: *hana hana* was used to mean ‘work’, *hanawai* ‘to irrigate’ and *hoe hana* ‘to hoe’. (Sakoda & Siegel 2003: 7).

All these derive from Hawaiian word *hana* ‘work’. Even as English became the new dominant language, Hawaiian-lexifier Pidgin did not disappear completely; it seems to have been in use quite widely at least until 1890 and was used in rural areas in the first decades of the 20th century (Siegel 2000: 202).

Sato (1985: 259) suggests that the English-lexifier pidgin stabilised fairly late, as plantation workers from different ethnic backgrounds were generally housed separately: they conducted most of their daily business in their native language and used pidgin only at the workplace. After the majority of the Portuguese had arrived and got their children educated in English, pidgin began to creolize and it stabilised fully during the first decades of the 20th century (Sato 1985: 261).

2.3.2 The status of Hawai’i Creole today

Hawai’i Creole (also called Hawaiian Creole English) or Pidgin, as it is commonly referred to by its speakers, is spoken by an estimated 600 000 people in the state of Hawaii in the United States (Sakoda & Siegel: 2003: 1). It would be interesting to know how many of these identify themselves as Pidgin mother-tongue speakers, but unfortunately none of the source materials I had were able to answer this question.

In the census form U.S. residents are asked if they speak a language other than English, and in the data from the 2000 census (U.S. Census Bureau) concerning population over 5 years old, only 150 persons reported speaking Hawaiian Pidgin at home. This number is very small when compared to Sakoda & Siegel’s figure of 600 000 speakers, but it probably reflects the reality of the attitudes towards Pidgin rather than the actual number of Pidgin mother-tongue speakers. Pidgin speakers might be hesitant to report themselves as the language question is followed by “How well does this person speak English?”, giving the impression that it is mainly meant for immigrants who are expected not to know English very well. As the vast majority of Pidgin speakers are bilinguals (Nichols 2004: 134) they might not feel the need to report their “additional” language: they are native speakers of English as well.

It might also be that Pidgin is still seen as a variety of (badly spoken) English and not as a language in its own right, even by its speakers. This attitude is reflected even in

contemporary linguistic research: in *Loanwords in the World's Languages* Parker Jones mentions Hawaiian Creole in passing and describes it as “an English dialect which is known in Hawai’i as Pidgin” (Parker Jones 2009: 775). In 1999 the Board of Education Chairman Mitsugi Nakashima held Pidgin responsible for the poor performance by Hawai’i students on standardized, national writing tests: "I see writing as an encoding process and coding what one thinks, and if your thinking is not in standard English, it's hard for you to write in Standard English" (cited in *Da Pidgin Coup*, 1999). This reflects the dated theory that if children speak a minority language at home, they can never fully learn the national language, in this case English.

Pidgin is thus not a language of high prestige, and speakers might not want to identify with it for fear of being stigmatised, and they may also feel that what they are speaking is not in fact a language, but only their dialect or idiolect of the English language. Ehrhart et al. (2006: 130) argue that pidgin and creole speakers generally do not have a positive attitude towards their language and may not even feel that it is an autonomous linguistic system. Australian Aboriginal Creole speakers, for example, refer to their speech as “shit languages”.

It is also worth noting that Pidgin receives no support from the State of Hawaii: it is not an official language of the state nor is it officially used in schools or other public institutions. Hawai’ian was recently accepted as the co-official language of the state, despite it having only 8000 speakers, of whom 1000 or so native (Ethnologue), and this in my opinion reflects the general attitude towards Pidgin. Ehrhart et al (2006: 131) write that Hawaiian Pidgin “continues to be marginalized and denigrated”. Even the writers of *Pidgin Grammar* (one of whom is a co-author of *Da Pidgin Coup’s* (1999) position paper on Pidgin and education) present the idea of using Pidgin as the language of instruction as ridiculous: “Of course, we are **not** suggesting that Pidgin should be taught in the classroom, or that it should be the language used for instruction” (Sakoda&Siegel 2003: 109, emphasis theirs). If even the most vocal Pidgin advocates do not think it is a language worthy of being taught or used in teaching, we can only hazard a guess as to how negative an opinion the everyday speaker of Pidgin has of the language.

The census data (U.S. Census Bureau, 2000) concerning language use at home also has some 2000 speakers of “Pidgin” (distinguished from Hawaiian Pidgin), but it is unclear as to which language this refers to or where this other “Pidgin” is spoken. The U.S. Census Bureau uses its own classification of languages and I was not able to find how these compare to, for example, the ISO classification of languages. It is thus possible, that Hawaiian Pidgin has even more speakers, who in the census stated their language simply as Pidgin (the question was a fill-in type), but as we do not know for certain, no definite conclusions can be drawn.

2.4 Tok Pisin

In this section Tok Pisin, the creole language of Papua New Guinea, is discussed. First the history of the language is examined in section 2.4.1 and then its current status as an official language of the state and an important means of communication is briefly looked at.

2.4.1 Origins and history of Tok Pisin

The history of Tok Pisin begins in the early 1800s, when Europeans began whaling in the region. Tok Pisin is closely related to other creole languages spoken on nearby islands, namely Solomon Islands Pijin and Vanuatu Bislama, and these three languages are sometimes referred to as Neo-Melanesian or Melanesian Pidgin (Siegel 2012). Siegel (2008: 84) argues that up until the beginning of whaling and trade in the Pacific, Europeans had learned the local languages to conduct trade with the local populace, but as Melanesia is one of the most linguistically diverse areas of the world, it was impossible to learn all the local languages. Instead, they “used simplified English and existing contact languages such as South Seas Jargon and various forms of Aboriginal Pidgin English from Australia” (Siegel 2008: 84) and it is on these foundations, as well as on the various local languages, that the Tok Pisin of today is based.

The official name of the language has been Tok Pisin (from English ‘talk pidgin’) since 1981. Before that it has been referred to as Neomelanesian, New Guinea Pidgin, Tok Vaitman (in reference to Europeans), Tok Boi (from *boy* meaning servant, slave and by extension a non-European native of the islands) and many others. Mühlhäusler proposes

that the language should be called Tok Pisin only when speaking about the contemporary language, and New Guinea Pidgin would be the most neutral way to name the various developmental stages the language has gone through. (Mühlhäusler et al. 2003: 2). Siegel and Wurm in their respective works however speak of Melanesian Pidgin when referring to the development of the language known today as Tok Pisin. For the sake of clarity and to avoid misquotations the original terms used in the source materials have been retained in paraphrases and quotes in this paper.

The three languages that Melanesian Pidgin is composed of started to form around the same time and share many features amongst themselves because of the Pacific labour trade which started 1863. Many Melanesians were recruited or kidnapped to work on plantations in Australia, Samoa and Fiji, where they at first had no common language with other workers or plantation owners (Siegel 2008: 84). As the Melanesian islands have many indigenous languages that are not mutually intelligible with others and had no native lingua franca on the coastal areas (inland Hiri Motu was used to some extent), the pidgin formed on plantations spread to the islands when the workers returned home and gained wide usage.

Melanesian Pidgin was also used on the plantations on German New Guinea, Solomon Islands and Vanuatu by the internal labour force after the external labour trade had ended in the turn of the century. On each of these islands the local languages influenced the vocabulary and grammar of the stabilising pidgin and thus all of the three languages or dialects began to diverge from their common ancestor and form the languages spoken in the area today: Tok Pisin, Bislama and Pijin (Siegel 2008: 85).

The spread of administrative control after the turn of the century resulted in many of the tribes making peace with each other in what was then German New Guinea, and thus a common language for communication and trade across tribal boundaries was needed. This helped Tok Pisin spread even further and it began to creolise. According to Mühlhäusler (Mühlhäusler et al.2003: 6):

Tok Pisin was now increasingly also used outside this context at home to discuss non-traditional topics and for communication across the numerous language barriers of the country. [...]. With

the gradual change in the use of Tok Pisin from vertical (between Europeans or plantation foremen and workers) to horizontal communication (between equals within or outside the plantation) there was a reduction in the influence of English as a model: while the Native peoples regarded Tok Pisin as the language of the Europeans until about 1930, from then onwards there begins to be signs that it was the language of the Native peoples.

It has been argued that up until World War II Tok Pisin remained a language used mainly by people of lower social standing, as there was “no social intimacy between indigenes and Europeans” (Wurm 1985: 375). However, Mühlhäusler (Mühlhäusler et al. 2003: 6) argues that it was the language of government quite early on: “From approximately 1900 onwards most villages under the control of the government had an interpreter who could speak pidgin, and knowledge of the language was generally accepted as the means of achieving material prosperity (tobacco, European tools, clothing etc.) and power. Apart from the ‘academy’ of the plantations, there was also a governmental institution in which Pidgin English was taught: the prisons.”

During the war Tok Pisin was used extensively for war propaganda and recruiting soldiers and it became a language with which solidarity among all the different ethnic groups of Papua New Guineans could be expressed. According to Mühlhäusler “its status changed from that of a language of workers and servants to a medium of liberation and self-assertion.” Wurm (1985: 375) notes that this war-time use could be seen as a deliberate act of language planning.

After the war English was chosen as the language of instruction for the public school system in Papua New Guinea and “United Nations Organization called upon Australia to discontinue the use of New Guinea Pidgin in the then Trust Territory of New Guinea” (Wurm 1985: 375, citing Hall 1955). According to Mühlhäusler (Mühlhäusler et al. 2003: 7) the use of Tok Pisin was regarded as colonial repression. These measures, however, were not successful in stabilising English as the lingua franca of the islands and Tok Pisin continued to gain more domains and usage, being used even in more formal contexts, such as on the radio and in newspapers. (Wurm 1985: 357-358).

2.4.2 The status of Tok Pisin today

According to Wurm (1985: 373) Tok Pisin is spoken today by over 1 500 000 speakers at a first-language level and it is one of the official languages of Papua New Guinea, the others being Hiri Motu and English, both with some 200 000 speakers. Siegel (2012) argues that more than three million people of the Papua New Guinea population of four million know Tok Pisin to some extent, and that it is still widely used as a lingua franca.

Substratum languages of Tok Pisin include German, Malay, Portuguese, contact languages such as the South Seas Jargon, Australian English-lexifier pidgins and a multitude of indigenous languages of the Central Eastern Oceanic language group, most notably Tolai (Siegel 2008: 83-85, Wurm 1985: 374-375). The superstratum language is English. Wurm (1985: 373) estimates that the vast majority of words come from English, with 15 percent having their origins in the Tolai language and about five percent coming from the rest of the substrates. The English-based words were in all likelihood borrowed both from English directly as well as from the English-lexifier pidgins.

Tok Pisin has received strong official recognition from the Papua New Guinea government. It is one of the official languages of the country, and in order to obtain citizenship a person must speak either Tok Pisin or Hiri Motu (Wurm 1985: 384). Although the formal language of the Parliament is still English, most debates are conducted in Tok Pisin. Tok Pisin has for a long time been used in public contexts such as in the church, and it has a literary tradition, for example newspaper articles have been published in Tok Pisin since 1951 (Mühlhäusler et al. 2003.213).

Attitudes towards Tok Pisin are generally more positive than towards Hawai'i Creole. Tok Pisin is still seen as the language of progress and is associated with urban areas, thus it seems to have retained or regained a lot of the prestige associated with pidgins when they first came to use. Tok Pisin is widely used in contexts such as parliamentary debates, newspaper articles and interviews and public service announcements. Radio Australia has a Tok Pisin newscast and online content and a weekly Tok Pisin

newspaper *Wantok* has a steady readership of some 10 000 people (<http://wantokniuspepa.com/index.php/distribution>). Siegel (2012) writes:

Until recently, English was the official language of education in PNG, and used in all government schools (although Tok Pisin was widely used in community and church-run pre-schools and vocational schools). However, with the recent education reform, communities can choose the language to be used in the first three years of elementary education, and many have chosen Tok Pisin.

It is debatable whether Tok Pisin is still a pidgin language or whether it has attained a sufficient number of native speakers, usage and domains to be called a creole (see for example Siegel 2008: 4 quoted in section 2.1.). Romaine (1988: 155) sees Tok Pisin as a creole because of the native speakers, and notes that the differences between an expanded pidgin and a creole are minimal in terms of usage, stability and structure.

Mühlhäusler (Mühlhäusler et al. 2003: 7) states that after Papua New Guinea gained independence the “decentralization and increasing power of the provinces has contributed towards the fact that Tok Pisin is in some cases being pushed back by native languages. At the same time, the influence of English has become considerably more pronounced, and even in the more remote regions the difference between the rural and urban varieties of the language is therefore on the decline.”

If the speakers of a creole remain in contact with its lexifier language, there is “a historical tendency for the creole to drop its most noticeable non-European features, often (but not always) replacing them with European ones – or what are taken to be such” (Holm 2000: 20). This process of decreolization might be underway in Papua New Guinea, as new English loanwords are entering the language of some speakers quite rapidly, and as noted above, the language of remote areas is getting closer to the variant spoken in towns. Tok Pisin is however in no danger of dying out just yet, since it is used in everyday conversation as well as in official contexts, and newspapers and literature are published in it.

2.5 Bible translation conventions

As the data for my research is comprised of three translations of the New Testament it is useful to take a brief look at the guidelines and conventions that are used when translating the Bible.

The Forum of Bible Agencies, a parent organisation for Bible agencies and translators, has formulated guidelines for bible translation in 1999. According to these guidelines, the first aim of any translation of the Bible should be:

[T]o translate the Scriptures accurately, without loss, change, distortion or embellishment of the meaning of the original text. Accuracy in Bible translation is the faithful communication, as exactly as possible, of that meaning, determined according to sound principles of exegesis (Forum of Bible Agencies 1999).

Furthermore, the feelings and attitudes of the text as well as the different literary genres present in the original should be translated as accurately as possible to the target language (ibid.).

Assuming that the Bible translators of the Hawai'i Creole and Tok Pisin versions kept these guidelines in mind while doing their work, I feel that we can make relatively accurate observations about the shift in meaning and register of English-lexifier words in the Hawai'i Creole and Tok Pisin Bibles. If the purpose is to retain the original meaning as closely as possible and also the register (in the different literary genres), the end result will probably be quite reliable.

The Forum of Bible Agencies allows for the change in meaning and register of the translated Bibles when compared to the original texts only in cases where “different kinds of translation into a given language may be valid, depending on the local situation, including, for example, both more formal translations and common language translations (Forum of Bible Agencies 1999)”. As the Hawai'i Creole Bible translators do not state anywhere that their work is intended to be a less formal translation, we can assume that they strived for the principles of accuracy presented in the guidelines.

Lothmann (2006: 70-71) mentions that the Tok Pisin version is a “common language” version, but notes that it is not the same as “trivial language”: the biblical style and use of different genres has been taken into account. As Tok Pisin has been in use by the Christian churches in Papua New Guinea since the 1930's it is safe to assume that some sort of a religious register has developed.

3 DA JESUS BOOK AND NUPELA TESTAMEN

My data is comprised of excerpts taken from the Hawaiian Creole translation of the New Testament, called “Da Jesus Book”, the Tok Pisin New Testament “Nupela Testamen” and the corresponding excerpts from the New English Translation Bible. The Hawaiian Creole translation is available online at www.pidginbible.org, the Tok Pisin version at <http://www.bible.is/TPIPNG> and the English translation at <http://www.biblegateway.com/versions/New-English-Translation-NET-Bible/>.

I chose to analyse the first chapter of Paul’s letter to the Romans (called “Fo Da Rome Peopo” in Pidgin and “Rom” in Tok Pisin) because it is mostly straightforward prose and does not contain lengthy lists of genealogy or the like and thus it will provide a varied and accurate example of the use of language in the Hawai’i Creole and Tok Pisin versions. It provides many examples of English loanwords that have shifted in their meaning or register, but I do not feel the choice of data has any impact on the findings. I expect that any given prose passage from the Bible would have contained similar language. The versions of Romans 1 in all three languages are included in the appendices.

The New English translation was chosen from the myriad of English-language Bible translations because the version was “completed by more than 25 scholars – experts in the original biblical languages – who worked directly from the best currently available Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek texts” ([biblegateway.com](http://www.biblegateway.com)) and can thus be seen as a reliable translation following the source text as accurately as possible in preserving the original meanings. It was also chosen because it uses contemporary language (as opposed to the King James version, for example), something I feel will make a more reliable comparison with the contemporary Pidgin and Tok Pisin versions.

The Hawai’i Creole version of the Bible has not been published yet in its entirety, The New Testament, however, was published in 2000 and the Old Testament is forthcoming. The Hawai’i Creole translation committee does not state its aims regarding the New Testament translation online, but as the (as yet unpublished) Old Testament is in the process of comparing the translation with the Hebrew text and various commentaries

(http://pidginbible.org/2-who_make.htm) we can assume that they strived for maximum accuracy by following the same procedure of comparing the translation to the original source texts and commentaries with the New Testament as well.

The Hawai'i Creole version is translated mostly by volunteers who speak Pidgin as their native language. The Wycliffe Bible Translators have provided help and training (http://pidginbible.org/2-who_make.htm). The Wycliffe Bible Translators do not state their translation philosophy anywhere, but as they are a member of the Forum of Bible Agencies, we can assume that they are committed to the translation principles discussed above.

The complete Bible was translated into Tok Pisin first in 1989. The New Testament had been translated in 1969, but it was revised for the 1989 edition of the *Buk Bible*. The translation is intended as an ecumenical version and was contributed to by translators of various denominations (Lothmann 2006: 69). Whereas the Hawai'i Creole Bible was translated by native speakers of the tongue, Lothmann (2006: 70) notes that the majority of the Tok Pisin translators did not speak Tok Pisin as their first language. Most of the translators were Papua New Guineans, and assistance was provided by linguists and missionaries. As Tok Pisin still predominantly serves as a language of contact, a second language to most of its speakers, the lack of native speakers in the translation team is understandable.

Lothmann further states that the translation was done in the dialect of the rural Momase region to aid understandability to all Tok Pisin speakers. The language of the greater cities could have been less intelligible to rural speakers because of the high number of new English loanwords. Momase dialect is characterised as conservative but not archaic or old-fashioned (Lothmann 2006: 70-71).

Mundhenk (1990: 345) claims that the two main sources for "standard Tok Pisin" are the Tok Pisin Bible and the Wantok newspaper. Thus the Tok Pisin Bible translation has had a notable effect on both the spoken and written language of today. According to Lothmann (2006: 71-72) the translators have taken into account stylistic considerations, making the version "common language" but with regard for the different stylistic

aspects in the source text, making a translation which would be available to all Tok Pisin speakers and contribute to the discourse in Tok Pisin in general, not just to religious Tok Pisin.

As with the Hawai'i Creole version, the Wycliffe Bible translators provided help with the Tok Pisin translation as well, and Lothmann (2006: 84) states that the Tok Pisin version is in line with the set of guidelines by the Forum of Bible Agencies discussed in section 2.6.

Thus the two New Testament translations to be analyzed seem to have in common the aims for easy understandability to the everyday speaker of the language, as well as adherence to the principles of accuracy and formality of language presented in the Bible translation guidelines in section 2.6. They will in all likelihood provide an accurate and varied example of contemporary language use both in Hawaiian Creole and Tok Pisin.

4 ANALYSIS OF LOANWORDS IN HAWAI'I CREOLE AND TOK PISIN

In this section the analysis of the excerpts from the first chapter of Paul's letter to the Romans is presented. I will analyse each example in regard to one feature only (meaning, register or grammatical function). All the examples contain evidence of all of these changes, but I feel it is clearer for the reader if they are addressed separately.

In this thesis I use the word *shift* to mean a slight change in meaning: words have typically come to mean slightly different things in Hawai'i Creole and Tok Pisin than what the original meaning of the source word is in English. Some lexical items have gained additional meanings that are not present in the source language while others have lost some of their connotations and only the base meaning has been borrowed to the target language.

The numbers after the examples refer to the chapter and verse numbering in the Hawai'i Creole and Tok Pisin version. Italics are added to highlight the important or interesting lexical items which are analysed. A corresponding translation of the passage in the New English Translation Bible is often presented, especially with the Tok Pisin examples as they are incomprehensible to an English-speaker who does not speak Tok Pisin. A more literal translation of the Hawai'i Creole and Tok Pisin passages is sometimes provided to aid understanding. These translations are mine and as I do not claim to be a fluent speaker of either language, the reader is advised to keep in mind that the translations are quite broad and convey only the literal meaning in English. Stylistic and semantic considerations were taken into account only minimally in the translations.

Unless otherwise stated, in the analysis I have used the online version of the *Oxford English Dictionary* (OED in the text) for the definitions of words in English and *Pidgin Grammar: An Introduction to the Creole Language of Hawaii* by Sakoda and Siegel (2003) for the Hawai'i Creole definitions. *Papua New Guinea Study Dictionary of Tok Pisin* by Baing et al. (2008) was used for the Tok Pisin definitions.

The various translations of Romans 1 can be found in their entirety in the appendices. Appendix 1 is the Hawai'i Creole version *Fo Da Rome Peopo 1*, appendix 2 the Tok Pisin translation *Rom 1* and appendix 3 the New English Translation *Romans 1*.

4.1 Analysis of loanwords in Hawai'i Creole

In this section I will analyse the excerpts I have chosen from *Fo Da Rome Peopo*, chapter 1. First the analysis of grammatical functions is presented in section 4.1.1, then the shift in meaning in 4.1.2 and finally the change in register in the English-based loanwords in Hawai'i Creole is addressed. Analysis of the grammatical functions is presented first to aid understanding of the examples, offer some background for the analysis of meaning and register and familiarize the reader with the language.

4.1.1 *No can* – The grammatical functions

Some English loanwords have taken on new grammatical functions when borrowed to Hawai'i Creole, or words that already carried grammatical functions in English have changed their meaning to take on different functions.

(1) God wen make me one spesho talka *fo* tell peopo da Good
Kine Stuff From Him (1: 1)

Fo, from the English *for*, is used in the same way as *to* is used in English to introduce an infinitive clause. It is thought that this is because of Portuguese substratum influence: the portuguese word *para* ‘with a view to’, ‘for the purpose of’, ‘in order to’ or ‘intended for’ (Barker & Atkinson 1969 in Siegel 2000: 225) is used in this function, so it seems probable that the Portuguese substratum grammar influenced the usage of the superstrate loanword.

(2) God *wen tell* me *fo* come be his guy (1: 1)
(3) Den you can *stay* mo strong an more solid inside (1: 11)
(4) O mo betta our god *goin* look jalike *one* bird o *one* lizard o
one nodda animal (1: 25)

In examples (2), (3) and (4) (in English “God told me to become his prophet”, “Then you can be stronger (spiritually)”, “ Or furthermore our God will look like a bird or a

lizard or another kind of animal” respectively) we see that some verbs borrowed from English are used as tense or aspect markers in Hawai’i Creole: the word *wen* from English *went* has become the past tense marker in Hawai’i Creole, *stay* ‘be’ from English *stay* is used as marking present progressive aspect and *goin* from English *going to* as the future marker.

In example (4) *one* (from English *one*) is used as the indefinite article. Carr (1972: 142-143) attributes this to influence from languages that lack articles (Chinese, Japanese, Korean) and Siegel (2000: 216) specifies that the use of the numeral one as an indefinite article is a well-documented feature of both Chinese Pidgin English and Pidgin Hawaiian, and thus it has probably present in Hawaiian Creole due to various substratum language influences.

(5) *No matta get* guys Greek o no Greek, o guys who *get* smarts
o guys dat no moa (1: 14)

The corresponding passage to example (5) reads in the English Bible translation: “both to the Greeks and to the barbarians, both to the wise and to the foolish.” In Hawai’i Creole the English loanword *get* seems to have acquired a use it does not have in the source language. It is used as a copula in existential clauses in the same way as *be* is used in English.

No matta in example (5), coming from the English *no matter* is used in Hawai’i Creole to introduce a negative contrastive adverbial clause (Sakoda & Siegel 2003: 98, 101), the meaning is roughly ‘even if’. In English the expression means something like ‘regardless’, and the Pidgin grammatical function is likely to be an extension of this meaning.

(6) But den dat time, *no can* (1: 12)

Negating present tense verbs, as in example (6), is done in Hawai’i Creole with the English loanword *no*. it is thought that the placing of the negation before the verb is substratum influence from Cantonese, and the usage of *no* instead of *not* could be

influence from almost any of the substratum languages: at least Hawaiian, Cantonese and Portuguese support this kind of use (Carr 1972: 140).

(7) An everyting come *mo betta* fo you guys (1: 13)

Pidgin uses the word *mo*, from English *more*, as the comparative marker for all adjectives, as in example (7). The loanword *mo* has broadened its usage when compared to the donor language. In English *more* is used as a degree modifier with only certain adjectives, but in Pidgin all adjectives seem to follow this analogy. The case in example (7) is irregular because *betta*, from English *better*, is already a comparative. According to Sakoda & Siegel (2003: 38) only *betta* and *worse* get this double comparison, others are compared with the word *mo* (as in *mo small* ‘smaller’).

(8) ...jalike everyting come all dark *inside* dea heart (1: 21)

Inside is used in place of the preposition *in* in example (8). Carr (1972: 135) explains this as substratum influence from the Hawaiian language: the English loanword has encompassed all the meanings of Hawaiian *puku* ‘in, inside, into, within’, including not only its semantic properties but also its grammatical functions. The usage of *inside* could also be based on the related term in Japanese, *no naka ni*, with similar meanings as *puku* but as the Japanese arrived to the islands relatively late, mostly in the first decades of the 20th century, when Pidgin had (for the most part) already stabilised, it is likely that the Hawaiian word was the basis for this extension of meaning, though the arrival of the Japanese language influence probably helped to preserve the word in its broader meaning.

The changes in grammatical functions are many and varied, but the majority of them seem to have formed because of the substrata influences: the prestigious English-based loanwords took on semantic connotations and usage of the substrate words and adopted their grammatical properties as well. The changes are not limited to just one word class or function: the substrate languages have influenced word order, tense and aspect markers, comparison of adjectives and article usage, among others.

4.1.2 *His talka guys* – The change in meaning

The vocabulary of Hawai'i Creole is mostly English-based, but the meanings of the words that were borrowed have changed. This change can be subtle, a shift in connotations or usage, or the semantic properties can be very different than those of the source word. In this section the excerpts are analysed in terms of this change and the possible origin or cause for it.

The Hawai'i Creole word for 'later' (it can also mean 'otherwise') is *bumbye*, as seen in example (9):

(9) Dat time, God wen promise um dat *bumbye* he goin tell
peopo da Good Kine Stuff. (1: 2)

The passage is in English roughly: "Then God promised him that later he will tell the people the gospel." *Bumbye* comes from the English expression *by and by* meaning 'after a while', 'soon'. In Hawai'i Creole the expression has gained a much more frequent usage than in English: in the light of my data it certainly is the most commonly used, unmarked word for the meaning 'later'. Carr (1972: 126) cites several authors who have studied other creole languages and it appears that this expression has gained widespread usage in Melanesian Pidgin, Neo-Melanesian and Jamaican Creole as well.

This feature was first recorded in Hawaii as early as 1791 (Siegel 2000: 201), well before the stabilisation of the English-lexifier Pidgin, so the language it was borrowed from was probably not English directly, but Chinese Pidgin English or Pacific Pidgin English. Even though the word did not come directly from English, the English influence and the prestige associated with the English language in the 19th century, as well as the continued contact with other English-lexifier pidgins probably helped to stabilise the expression into the forming pidgin.

In example (10) the English lexifier word *blood* is used to mean Jesus' whole body, his flesh or everything in him that was not directly from God:

(10) His Boy's *blood* come from King David. (1: 3)

In English the corresponding verse reads: "his Son who was a descendant of David with reference to the flesh" In this case the meaning of the loanword has changed slightly. When used figuratively in English, it refers to lineage, kinship or ancestors, and we could interpret the Hawai'i Creole meaning of the word as this as well, but as the English translation specifies it to be in reference to physical flesh (as opposed to the spirit which supposedly comes from God) it seems that the Hawai'i Creole word has a more literal meaning: 'blood, the physical body'.

In examples (11) and (12) the Hawai'i Creole usage of the English loanword *guys* can be seen to differ from current English usage:

(11) I really like stay by *you guys*. (1: 11)

(12)...cuz I trus him too *jalike you guys*. (1: 12)

In Hawai'i Creole the word means roughly 'people' or is simply used to mark the preceding word as the plural form. Throughout my data the word *guys* is used to mark the previous noun as referring to people (see example (18) *talka guys* 'prophets'). It can refer to both men and women, whereas the English source word *guy* refers predominantly to males. The word *jalike* comes from English *just like*, but in this case the meaning has stayed much the same, even though pronunciation and orthography have changed. *Jalike* is used very often in my data, and I feel it has only lost some of the emphasis of the English source word; in Hawai'i Creole it seems to mean simply 'like, alike'.

The English word *trust* has taken on more metaphysical meanings when borrowed to Hawai'i Creole, as in example (13)

(13)... cuz he *like* all da peopos from all differen places to *trus* um an *make* da way he tell um. (1: 5)

In English it means something like: "Because he wants all the peoples from all over the world to believe in him and behave like he tells them to". The corresponding section in

the English Bible says: “Through him [we have received our apostleship] to bring about the obedience of faith among all the Gentiles on behalf of his name.” *Trus* in Hawai’i Creole is used to mean ‘believe (in), have religious faith’; whereas the meaning of the English language source word is considerably more secular: ‘confidence in or reliance on some quality or attribute of a person or thing’ (OED).

Like as a verb is used here to mean ‘want’. According to Carr (1972: 137), this is a very common feature in both Pacific pidgin and creole languages and Polynesian indigenous languages: they do not differentiate between the concepts of ‘want’ and ‘like’, and neither does the Hawaiian language. Carr also suggests that the considerable Portuguese substratum influence has helped to retain this way of using *like* as the Portuguese word *querer* can also mean both.

The meaning of the verb *make* has changed as well when borrowed from English: it is used here to mean ‘behave’ or ‘do’. According to Carr (1972: 138), languages typically have “widely differing semantic boundaries for *make* and *do*” and in many languages both meanings are covered by one word. The meaning ‘behave’ is likely to be an extension of the merge with the English lexical item *do*, as the example could also be translated as “...and do the way he tells them to”, even though the meaning probably is closer to “...and behave in accordance to God’s will”.

(14) You Rome guys, dis letta fo you. Eh, God *get love and aloha* fo you guys. He *tell you fo come* his special guys. (1: 7)

In example (14) we see the Hawai’i Creole usage of the English loanword *get*. In English the passage reads: “To all those loved by God in Rome, called to be saints”. The English meaning of *get* is roughly ‘to acquire, to come into possession of’ whereas the pidgin word seems to mean ‘to have, to possess’. This can be substratum influence of the Hawaiian language, which commonly does not use the verb ‘have’ to mark possession (Carr 1972: 131), but the same feature is also present in Chinese Pidgin English and Pacific Pidgin English (Siegel 2000: 201) and was first recorded in Hawaii 1888, so its origins are impossible to pinpoint. It is safe to say that all these different substrate languages probably contributed to the widespread usage of *get* in a sense of ‘have’ in Hawai’i Creole.

(15) Dey can *figga* how God stay, no matta *no can* see God. (1: 20)

Figga from the English word *figure* is used in Hawai'i Creole to mean 'think, understand' whereas the English meaning is 'to conclude, believe, or predict', if the word is used informally in spoken language, for example.

(16) An so dey all come *all itchy* an *no mo shame notting*. (1: 26)

(17) One guy *stay all itchy* fo one nodda guy. Dey *no mo shame notting fo how dey make with each od*da. (1: 27)

In examples (16) and (17) the word *itchy* is used to mean something like 'infatuated, lustful'. In English the expression is "the men [...] were inflamed in their passions for one another" In English the word *itchy* can be used figuratively to express restlessness or tension, or the verb *to itch* to express desire for something in contexts like "I am itching for coffee", and the Hawai'i Creole meaning seems to be an extension of this: in the example the men are itching for one another.

No mo comes from English *no more*, but the meaning has shifted when borrowed to Hawaiian creole. It does not mean that something used to be, but no longer is, instead it can in this case be either a way of negating possession, saying 'does not have' (Sakoda & Siegel 2003: 83) or an emphatic way of saying 'no' (Carr 1972: 141). If we interpret it as a way of saying no, then we can see the word *shame* as having changed from noun to verb 'to be ashamed'.

The Hawai'i Creole Bible translation seems to avoid borrowing new words to cover biblical concepts, instead it uses existing vocabulary to explain the meaning of a concept that is expressed with one word in English, like in examples (18) and (19):

(18) His *talka guys* (2)

In example (18) *talka guys* refers to prophets, but it is expressed by adding the personifier and plural indicator *guys* to the end of the English-based loanword *talker*

which has lost its somewhat negative connotations present in English and is used to mean ‘a person who speaks’.

(19) Dass why God like *do good tings* fo us guys (1: 5)

Example (19) is a similar translation or explanation of the concept ‘bless’, as well as evidence of the Hawaiian substratum influence, as the Hawaiian language does not have the concept of blessing in the same sense as the Bible uses it.

The majority of the English-based loanwords have shifted in their meaning when they have become Hawai’i Creole words. Not all of these changes can be directly attributed to the influence from the various substrate languages, and it seems most likely that at least a part of these changes have come to be because of normal linguistic development in a language community. Substrata have certainly contributed to these shifts as well, but as Hawai’i Creole has its roots in so many languages, some of them earlier pidgin languages with varied substrata of their own, it is impossible to pinpoint the origin of all these changes.

4.1.3 *Dey goin get it!* – The change in register

Some English-based Hawai’i Creole loanwords seem to have changed their register when borrowed to the recipient language: the language model offered by the native speakers of English when Pidgin first came to use seems to have been largely the basilect variant (the least prestigious language variant of a community, often the most removed from ‘proper’ language use) of English, but as English in general was perceived as the prestige variant, the basilectal forms have changed to incorporate meanings and connotations of a more formal register.

The use of *da Boss* ‘the boss’ in example (20) is interesting, because it tells us something of the origins of Hawai’i Creole:

(20) You know, I stay talking bout Jesus Christ ... He stay *da Boss* fo all us guys (1: 4)

Da Boss is used to mean ‘the Lord’, as the English version reads: “Jesus Christ, Our Lord”. As Hawai’i Creole was first spoken on plantations, where the owner, or the boss, was the highest authority, it seems only logical that the everyday, informal word from English has become to represent the highest religious authority in the formal context of the Bible.

- (21) *Same ting* fo you Rome guys *too* (1: 6)
 (22) An *same ting* wit da guys (1: 27)

Examples (21) and (22) show a clear change in register. In the English version it says: “You [Romans] also are among them” and “and likewise the men also”. The use of *too* in this context (example 22) in English would be considered too informal, and *same ting* ‘same thing, the same goes for...’ seems to be used in the same sense as *also* in English: *also* is a markedly literary form, and *same ting*, which in English would be considered a form of spoken language, has broadened its register to encompass a more elevated style.

- (23) If get anybody dat no make like wat God say, *fo shua* he goin mahke (1: 32)

In example (23) the Hawai’i Creole form *fo shua*, coming from the English expression *for sure* is a strong example of a change in register. In the English version it says “[They know] God’s righteous decree that those who practice such things deserve to die “but a more literal translation for the Pidgin expression “fo shua he goin mahke” would be “he will certainly die”. In English *for sure* is not considered to be an expression of literary style but rather a colloquial, informal turn of phrase.

- (24) “You know, *if you like I donno how you goin do dis* but *been really long time* I like go see dem guys Rome side” (1: 10)

Example (24), where Paul is praying for a chance to visit Rome, shows an interesting way of addressing God. In English the passage reads: “if perhaps now at last I may succeed in visiting you according to the will of God” “According to the will of God” has changed to direct plea to God: *if you like I donno how you goin do dis*, literally: ‘If you want, I do not know how you are going to do this’ and the conversational style of

the plea shows clearly the status of Hawai'i Creole as a primarily spoken, as opposed to literary, language.

(25) I *no* shame *notting* bout da Good Kine Stuff from God (1: 16)

The literal meaning of example (25) is “I am not ashamed of the gospel” and it illustrates the way in which negation is expressed in Hawai'i Creole. Double negation is not considered a feature of Standard English, although it is very common in colloquial speech. Hawai'i Creole, however, has adopted this feature and it is used widely in the data. Thus it has changed from colloquial, even ungrammatical (if still widespread) in English to unmarked in Hawai'i Creole. According to Sakoda and Siegel (2003: 85) Pidgin commonly marks a sentence as negative by attaching negative markers on both the verb and the noun phrase.

(26) “*Gotta* trus God / Den you going *get right wit him* / An you can live fore real kine.” (1: 17)

The sentiment in example (26) is expressed in a considerably shorter form in the English translation: “The righteous by faith will live”. Pidgin lexical item *trus* has come to mean ‘believe’ as discussed in example (13), and the concept ‘righteousness’ is explained with *get right wit him*. The origin of this expression is probably the English informal expression *get (something) right*. The word *gotta* comes from English *got to*, and in Hawai'i Creole it is used in a similar manner to variants of spoken English, as a modal with the meaning ‘have to’. Once again the English colloquial expression has become acceptable in literary context when borrowed to Hawai'i Creole.

Example (27) describes God's vengeance on the unrighteous:

(27)...*dey goin get it!* (1: 27)

In the English version: “received in themselves the due penalty for their error”. In English the expression “they are going to get it”, which is the basis for the Hawai'i Creole example, in this context means roughly “they are going to be punished”, but in

English using *get it* in this sense in the Bible would not be considered appropriate, as the expression is once again too informal and markedly a variant of the spoken language, whereas in Hawai'i Creole it has become a literary, unmarked or less marked form.

In example (28) the change in register is apparent:

(28) ...but dey no like tell him, “Eh, you stay *awesome*, cuz you stay God!” (1: 21)

In English the verse has: “they did not glorify him as God”. The gap in perceived formality between the words *awesome* and *glorify* is wide: in English, *awesome* in the meaning of ‘great, remarkable, outstanding’ is considered a slang expression, but in Hawaiian Creole it can be used in formal register.

The wording in example (29), *true stuffs*, shows that Hawai'i Creole apparently lacks the noun for ‘truth’, and uses the English loanword *stuffs*, from Eng. *stuff*, as a sort of a dummy head for the noun phrase “da true stuffs”:

(29) Dem guys, dey hear da *true stuffs* from God (1: 25)

In English the verse has “God’s truth”. *Stuff* in English is used informally to mean ‘unspecified things’ and would not be considered appropriate for formal register, but here it is used to mark the previous adjective as referring to a thing, much like *guys* in example (18) is used to mark the preceding word as referring to a person.

Changes in register seem to come mainly from the variety of English that is the source language for most English-based loanwords: that is, a basilectal, markedly informal spoken language. This origin shows in the many seemingly colloquial forms used in the formal context of the Bible, in forms like *no...notting*, *fo shua*, *gotta* and *dey goin get it*. It seems reasonable that this apparently markedly spoken-language, non-prestigious language use would seem stigmatised and uneducated to a native speaker of the lexifier language, and this has certainly attributed to the low esteem in which creole languages

like Hawaiian pidgin are held. Their origins in the basilect variant affect the social status of their speakers even today.

4.2 Analysis of loanwords in Tok Pisin

This section addresses the changes in English-based loanwords in Tok Pisin. First, examples of change in meaning are discussed, then the changes in register and finally the changes in grammatical functions in these loanwords are examined. Because Papua-New Guinea was a German colony when the pidgin stabilised, its methods of enlarging the limited lexicon are mostly language-internal (Mühlhäusler et al 2003: 5). This means that because Tok Pisin did not have continued input from the lexifier language during an important stage in its development, there is a tendency to form compound words using the existing lexicon and the lexical items in use are typically polysemic and regarding grammatical properties, multifunctional.

Grammatical functions are examined in section 4.2.1, the change in meaning in section 4.2.2 and finally the change in register in section 4.2.3.

4.2.1 *Ol i bin lusim tok tru* – The grammatical functions

Some English loanwords have taken on new grammatical functions when borrowed to Tok Pisin, or words that already carried grammatical functions in English have changed their meaning to take on different functions. In the case of Tok Pisin the grammaticalisation of lexemes that in English carry no grammatical functions seems to be much more widespread than in Hawai'i Creole.

(30) Bipo yet God i tok na ol profet *bilong en* i raitim dispela
gutnius na dispela tok i stap long buk bilong God. (1: 2)

The corresponding verse is “This gospel he promised beforehand through his prophets in the holy scriptures” in the English translation. *Bilong*, from English *belong* is used in Tok Pisin to express possession. This is an extension of the meaning of the source word in English. *Bilong* is used to construct possessive pronouns as in example (30) *bilong en*

‘his’ and as genitive as in example (32) *wokboi bilong Krai Jisas* “male servant of Christ Jesus”.

In example (31) we see another use of *bilong* when it is used to mean ‘for, in order to’. Tok Pisin uses adpositions to express spatial or temporal relations as opposed to case endings as does English, but in Tok Pisin the number of adpositions is smaller and their functions more varied. According to Haines (2010: 82) *bilong* and *long* are used according to the perceived relationship between the preposition and that which the prepositional phrase modifies: if the relationship is a close one (something belonging to someone, ownership, to indicate that something is *for* someone, place of origin or something a person is habitually related to) *bilong* is used.

(31) Mi laikim tumas long lukim yupela, long wanem, mi laik givim sampela presen bilong Holi Spirit long yupela *bilong* strongim yupela. (1: 11)

In the English translation: “For I long to see you, so that I may impart to you some spiritual gift to strengthen you “

In example (32) we see the omission of the copula in equational clauses:

(32) *Mi Pol, mi wokboi bilong Krai Jisas*. Em i bin singautim mi long kamap aposel, na em i makim mi bilong autim gutnius bilong God. (1: 1)

In English the passage says: “From Paul, a slave of Christ Jesus, called to be an apostle, set apart for the gospel of God” but the italicized part is literally translated as “I am Paul, I am a male servant of Christ Jesus”. Ferguson (1968: 4-5) presents that simplified speech (“baby talk” or “foreigner talk”) often omits the copula in equational clauses and that this imperfect model present in the genesis of pidgin languages is the cause for the widespread phenomenon in different lexifier language pidgin and creoles. Tok Pisin lacks an existential copula, but has a locative copula *stap* (Haines 2010: 27). *Stap* is discussed in example (38).

(33) Olkain manmeri olsem ol i *bin* lusim tok tru bilong God na senisim na kisim tok giaman. Na ol i *bin* givim baksait long God i *bin* mekim kamap olgeta samting, na ol i lotu long ol samting God i *bin* wokim, na ol i aninit long ol dispela samting. Tasol God em i as bilong olgeta samting, olsem na yumi man yumi mas litimapim nem bilong God oltaim oltaim. I tru. (1: 25)

In English the verse says: “They exchanged the truth of God for a lie and worshiped and served the creation rather than the Creator, who is blessed forever! Amen.” Example (33) illustrates the use of *bin* as an imperfect past-tense marker. The source word is English *been*. Carr (1972: 123) discusses the origins of *bin* as a past-tense marker in Hawai’i Creole and she suggests that the origins of this use might have come to Hawai’i from Melanesian Pidgin, more specifically Bislama, but cites several dictionaries which show it is used similarly in other English-lexifier creoles as well, namely Jamaican English and Australian Pidgin, that it probably originates from the trade jargons of the Pacific.

In example (34) there are two examples of the Tok Pisin perfect tense marker *pinis*:

(34) Ol dispela man i save *pinis* long planti pasin bilong God. God yet i soim ol *pinis*. Tasol ol i wok long givim baksait long en, olsem na em i mekim save long ol. (1: 19)

In the English translation: “because what can be known about God is plain to them, because God has made it plain to them.”

The source word for *pinis* is the English *finish* or *finished*. In Tok Pisin it has become the auxiliary to express an action that has been completed in the past (or will have been completed in future). The English source word *finish(ed)* does not carry any grammatical functions, and thus it is clear that this content word was incorporated into the forming grammar of Tok Pisin. The function rises from the semantics of the source word. It is worth noting, though, that in addition to the grammatical function it has the meanings of ‘over’ or ‘finished’ as well. This is a good example of multifunctionality in creole languages.

Future tense is marked with *bai*, as seen in example (35):

(35) Tingting bilong mi i olsem. Mi laik *bai* bilip bilong yupela i ken helpim mi na bilip bilong mi i ken helpim yupela tu, na dispela i ken strongim bel bilong yumi olgeta wantaim. (1: 12)

In English: “that is, that we may be mutually comforted by one another’s faith, both yours and mine”. *Bai* comes from the English expression *by-and-by* meaning ‘soon’. The expression, though not very common in contemporary English, seems to have been frequently used in pidgin languages and trade jargons in the Pacific. Carr (1972: 126) cites several authors who have studied other creole languages and it appears that this expression has gained widespread usage in Hawai’ian Creole and Jamaican Creole as well, although in these languages it is not used as a tense marker, but closer to the meaning of the original English source word.

Haines (2010: 37-38) presents that tense marking is rare in spoken Tok Pisin, where the context provides clues to the listener about the timeframe of the narration, and thus using tense markers is a feature of literary style.

Example (36) illustrates the use of the predicate marker *i* and the *-im* suffix denoting transitive verbs, both of which have evolved from English third person pronouns.

(36) God *i givim* mi wok bilong *helpim* ol Grik na ol man *i no* Grik tu, na ol saveman na ol man *i no gat save* tu. (1: 14)

In the English translation the passage is: “I am a debtor both to the Greeks and to the barbarians, both to the wise and to the foolish.” *I*, which most likely evolved from English *he* (although other etymologies have been proposed, see Franklin & Thomas 2006: 7), is the predicate marker or subject resumptive pronoun used in Tok Pisin. Its use is complicated and varies from speaker to speaker, but most commonly after all nouns and personal pronouns except *yu* ‘you’ and *mi* ‘I/me’ (more information on varied usage, see for example Mühlhäusler 1990).

Krifka (forthcoming) explains further the usage of *i*, citing Verhaar (1995):

“[Verhaar] points out that *i* is used whenever reference to an entity is included that is not given by the speech situation itself; he distinguishes between “permanent files” referring to speaker and addressee (sometimes called “local persons”), and non-permanent files that are created by introducing entities in conversation. This explains why *i* is not used for *mi*, *yu* and *yumi*, as these forms refer to participants of the speech situation only. The form *i* is used for third person, but also for first and second person non-singular forms, as they also contain reference to entities not given by the speech situation, under the assumption that the speech situation identifies exactly one speaker and one addressee.”

This usage explains the origins of the English source word *he* in this context: it might stem from a structure somewhat common in spoken English (and other languages as well) where the subject is first named and then immediately referred to for added emphasis, for example ‘this guy, he went to school with me’. In Tok Pisin it has become a standard grammatical feature both in written and spoken language, and it might be even more used in literary contexts than in speech, as Mundhenk (in Verhaar 1990: 367) notes: “The marker *i* remains one of the most troublesome items in the language in terms of establishing clear cut rules about when it should be used. In general the Bible style seems to be very pro-*i*, probably using it more than many others do.” This grammaticalisation of the subject referencing pronoun has been attributed to substratum influence from Austronesian languages (Sankoff 1993: 118)

The suffix *-im* has evolved from the English word *him*, which was borrowed to Tok Pisin first as the third person singular pronoun *em* (a variant spelling of *en* is also possible, for some speakers the two variants are used in different contexts, but for others they are in free variation). Lynch (2010: 229) states that “Because of the frequency of occurrence of 3SG pronoun objects, the structure VERB + *im/em* was a very common one, and gradually the *im/em* became attracted to the verb root as a marker of transitivity”.

In example (37) we examine the origins of the plural marker *ol* and the adjective marker *-pela*:

(37) *Ol* brata, mi laik bai *yupela* i save gut, planti taim mi gat tingting long kam long *yupela*. Wok bilong mi i bin helpim *ol* manmeri bilong *ol arapela* lain long kamap Kristen, olsem na mi laik helpim *yupela* tu. Tasol oltaim *ol* samting i save kamap na i pasim mi. (1: 13)

In English the verse says: “I do not want you to be unaware, brothers and sisters, that I often intended to come to you (and was prevented until now), so that I may have some fruit even among you, just as I already have among the rest of the Gentiles.”

Ol, from the source word *all* is used as the plural marker in Tok Pisin. This seems to be another instance where the semantic properties (i.e. the inherently plural, inclusive meaning of the word *all*) has caused the grammaticalisation of a content word. Pidgins tend to be more analytic than synthetic, that is to say, free morphemes are favoured over bound (Mühlhäusler 1990: 143-144), although some recent preliminary research to analyticity and synthenticity in Hawai’i Creole and Tok Pisin has shown that creoles are not necessarily any more analytic than their lexifier language – rather the analyticity is related to tense, mood and aspect marking and thus tends to be noticed quite easily (Siegel et al. 2014: 79)

Mundhenk (in Verhaar 1990: 368) notes that the usage of *ol* and *sampela* ‘some’ might be somewhat overlapping in contemporary Tok Pisin speech: “I believe that one example of [translationisms in the Bible] is an overuse of *sampela* in translations from English, where *ol* would often be the more natural Tok Pisin. If I am right, it suggests that the meaning of *sampela* is somewhat different than the meaning of English ‘some,’ and that this would be a valuable area of research.” This might also imply that *ol* has two functions: one marking nouns as plural and other as the indefinite pronoun ‘some’.

The adjective marker *-pela* comes from English *fellow* and is used to mark adjectives and some pronouns, as well as numerals. The semantics of the source word make it seem as though this was originally to refer to people (in the same way as discussed with *guys* in Hawai’i Creole in examples (11) and (12), without the plurality aspect), but in contemporary usage it has grammaticalised and is used with all monosyllabic adjectives, pronouns like *arapela* (‘other’, from *other* and *fellow*) and *yupela* (‘you (plural)’). With the pronouns the plurality aspect seems to have survived. If we look at second person

pronouns, *yu* without the *-pela* suffix is singular, but plural, dual and trial all have the suffix: *yupela*, *yutupela* and *youtripela*.

In examples (38) and (39) the progressive verb *stap* and the preposition *long* are examined:

(39) Ol i save *long* God, tasol ol i no ting *long* em i God tru, na ol i no litimapim nem bilong em. Na ol i no bin tenkyu *long* em. Nogat. Tingting bilong ol i kamap longlong. I olsem ol i no gat tingting na save, na ol i *stap* long tudak (1: 21)

(38) Em i olsem tok i *stap* long buk bilong God, “Ol manmeri i bilip, bai God i kolim ol stretpela manmeri na ol bai i *stap* laip.”(1:17)

In English the verses say: “For although they knew God, they did not glorify him as God or give him thanks, but they became futile in their thoughts and their senseless hearts were darkened” and “just as it is written, “The righteous by faith will live.”” *Long*, from the English source word *along* is used as preposition when the relationship between the object of the preposition and what the prepositional phrase modifies is perceived as more distant so that the use of *bilong* would be ungrammatical. According to Haines (2010: 82) possible uses are ‘who something was acquired from’, as well as a wide range of both spatial and temporal uses corresponding to English prepositions *in*, *at*, *on*, *with*, *because of*, *during*, *according to* and *about*. Thus when borrowed to Tok Pisin the relatively rare English preposition *along* has become extremely multifunctional.

Stap from English *stop* is used in Tok Pisin to mark the progressive aspect of verbs. Very similar in this regard is the Hawai’i Creole use of *stay*. Carr attributes this feature of Hawai’i Creole to contacts with Melanesian Pidgin speakers (1972: 150) and notes (1972: 151) that previously *stop* was used in Hawai’i Creole to mean ‘to remain, to be present’. According to Foley (1986: 142-158) there are several Papuan languages that are substrata to Tok Pisin and have the tendency to express tense, modality and aspect (TMA) lexically, with one or more TMA-marking verbs attached to the core verb denoting the action performed. Thus this feature of Tok Pisin grammar might be attributed to extensive substratum influence from various local languages.

The grammaticalisation of various English-based loanwords in Tok Pisin is hardly surprising when we consider the origins of the language. Pidgins were used on plantations and were more or less left to stabilize on their own, without a continued input from the lexifier language, as Papua New Guinea was a German colony before being occupied by Australia in 1921. Mühlhäusler (Mühlhäusler et al 2003: 5) notes that “[t]he main function of the plantations in this development was in stabilizing the unstable jargon English varieties known to the different recruits to form a standardized lingua franca. In the case of Tok Pisin it was important that the plantation owners and colonial masters were Germans, which meant that the English language was not available as a model. The consequence was that Tok Pisin developed its own internal mechanisms of enlarging its vocabulary at an early stage”. The same development most likely affected grammar as well, as the small number of adpositions, for example, have evolved to perform multiple functions in contemporary Tok Pisin.

4.2.2 *God i stap hait* – The change in meaning

Because of the word-forming strategies discussed above the English-based lexical items in Tok Pisin have typically changed quite a lot in their semantic properties. Thus I feel that using the term *shift* as I did with Hawai’i Creole would be inappropriate with Tok Pisin.

(40) *Bipo* yet God i *tok* na ol profet bilong en i raitim dispela *gutnius* na dispela tok i stap long buk bilong God. (1: 2)

In English the corresponding passage reads: “This gospel he promised beforehand through his prophets in the holy scriptures”. The items of interest in example (40) regarding the shift in the meaning of the English-based loanwords are *bipo* and *tok*.

Bipo is an English loanword, the source word being *before*. The usage in Tok Pisin is restricted to the temporal sense and is not used to refer to spatial relation (for example as in “the house stands before us”) as it is in English. The meaning can thus be seen to have changed in at least two ways: The usage has been confined to temporal relation, and the exact meaning is closer to English ‘earlier, formerly’. Carr (172: 132) notes that

this is a widespread usage of lexical items stemming from *before* in English-lexifier pidgins and creoles and might be attributed to Chinese, Japanese and Korean substratum influence.

According to Oxford Tok Pisin English Dictionary *tok* from English *talk* when used as a noun means “a message, a word, an account, a speech”. The English source word refers only to spoken language acts but when the word got borrowed to Tok Pisin it broadened its meaning to encompass written words as well. Since Tok Pisin was for a long time (and still is to some extent) a predominantly spoken language, we may assume that when the pidgin stabilized, most messages in Tok Pisin were indeed in spoken form, which probably helped to stabilize the word *tok* to mean any kind of relaying of information.

In example (41) there are likewise two interesting English loanwords in regard to meaning: *kamap* and *lain*.

(41) Em i gutnius bilong Pikinini bilong em. Dispela Pikinini i
kamap man, na em i stap long *lain* bilong King Devit. (1: 3)

In English the verse reads: “concerning his Son who was a descendant of David with reference to the flesh” The verb *kamap* comes from English *come up*, and its meaning is given in the Tok Pisin dictionary as ‘to come up, to appear, to grow, arrive, become, get, begin.’ A literal translation of the Tok Pisin would be something like “This child grew as a man, and he was of King David’s clan”. It has often been argued that pidgins and creoles make maximum use of minimum lexicon (see, for example Romaine: 1988: 33-38; Mühlhäusler 1997: 158-162). Lexical items in this relatively small base lexicon are used, as well as in their most literal sense, to refer to more abstract concepts that are somehow related in the speakers’ minds. The usage of *kamap* could be an example of this: The source expression is not necessarily seen as a phrasal verb *come up*, it could also be that the literal meanings of ‘come’ and ‘up’ are combined to produce *kamap*, ‘grow’.

Lain comes from the English word *line*, which in itself cannot refer to ancestry but is present in such expressions as bloodline or lineage, even though the latter is probably

etymologically unrelated. The Tok Pisin literal translation for *lain* (in this context, it can also mean ‘row’ or ‘queue’ in other contexts) is ‘clan, the extended family and ancestors.’ The word was borrowed to describe a local concept of clan as a person’s primary reference group.

(42)Mi *laikim tumas* long *lukim* yupela, long wanem, mi laik givim sampela presen bilong Holi Spirit long yupela bilong strongim yupela. (1: 11)

In example (42) we find the expression *laikim tumas* and the verb *lukim*. In English the passage reads: “For I long to see you, so that I may impart to you some spiritual gift to strengthen you”. *Laikim* is used to mean ‘want, desire’ and, as discussed in section 4.1.2 this is probably a substratum influence from the local languages as well as from Pacific Pidgin English that contributed some of the English-based lexicon to Tok Pisin. According to Carr (1972: 137) the considerable Portuguese substratum influence to seafaring jargons has helped to retain this way of using *like* in Pacific pidgin and creole languages as the Portuguese word *querer* can also mean both.

Tumas comes from the English expression *too much*, but the meaning in Tok Pisin is ‘very much’, losing the English meaning of *too* ‘in excess, more than enough’ and uses the word *tumas* as an emphatic expression. This is a common feature in English-lexifier pidgins and creoles, and can probably be attributed to substratum influence from a trade pidgin such as Chinese Pidgin English or South Seas Jargon.

Lukim, from English *look* can be used in Tok Pisin to mean ‘visit’ as well as ‘look’ in a similar way as English *see* can mean both physical action of seeing something as well as the action of going to visit someone. This might be an instance where the semantic fields of both *look* and *see* were encompassed in a single lexical item that was borrowed from English.

(43)*Tingting* bilong mi i *olsem*. Mi laik bai bilip bilong yupela i ken helpim mi na bilip bilong mi i ken helpim yupela tu, na dispela i ken *strongim bel* bilong yumi olgeta wantaim. (1: 12)

In English the passage corresponding to example (43) reads “that is, that we may be mutually comforted by one another’s faith, both yours and mine.” Literally: “My thought is this: I want your faith to help me and my faith to help you as well so that we may be together strengthened (in our faith in the future)”.

The first word, *tingting*, is a reduplication stemming from the English word *think* and its meaning in Tok Pisin is ‘an idea, a thought, an opinion’. Its meaning is clearly broader than that of the English source word, but the form is somewhat confusing. Mühlhäusler (1997: 117-118, 179-180, 196-197) and Romaine (1988: 132-133) discuss reduplication in Tok Pisin but do not come to any conclusion as to what is its purpose or source. They both note, though, that it is a common feature in pidgin languages and might be substratum influence from other pidgins or a feature of ‘foreigner talk’ or ‘baby talk’. In Tok Pisin it can be used for emphasis, to describe continuous or habitual action or differentiate between what would otherwise be homophones because of the phonology of the language, for example *sip* (‘ship’) and *sipsip* (‘sheep’).

Olsem ‘this, in this way, similar’ comes from English *all* and *same*. According to Mühlhäusler (1997: 168) *ol* is used as a plural marker, and its inclusion in the word meaning ‘similar’ most likely originates in grammatical agreement between the noun and the adjectives that refer to it, but it might also have something to do with avoiding the word *sem* by itself, as it can refer to taboo things: shame, and by extension the genitals.

The expression *strongim bel* (from *strong* and *belly*) illustrates the way substrata languages affect the usage of the loan words. In many Papua New Guinean languages stomach is seen as the seat of emotions, thus to “strengthen one’s belly” means ‘to prepare for action’ or ‘to convince’.

(44) Long han bilong Jisas Krai tasol God i marimari long mipela, na long nem bilong en, God i putim mipela long wok aposel. Em i mekim olsem bai olgeta lain *manmeri* i ken bilip long Jisas na *bihainim* tok bilong en. (1: 5)

In English the verse says: “Through him we have received grace and our apostleship to bring about the obedience of faith among all the Gentiles on behalf of his name” In example (34) the word *manmeri* means ‘people’ and is a compound of *man* ‘man’ and *meri* ‘woman’ (from the English given name Mary). This is an example of word-forming via compounds, combining two lexical items to form a third.

Bihainim, from the English source word *behind* means ‘to follow’. In this expression the more concrete meaning of the source words has broadened its meaning to more figurative uses as well: in the example all clans can be behind Jesus’ word, e.g. follow his teachings. According to Mundhenk (1990: 368) the noun from which the verb *bihainim* is formed, *bihain* in Tok Pisin has a temporal meaning as opposed to locative (which is the basic meaning of the word *behind* in English), but to me the verb seems to be used in a figurative locative sense.

In example (45) below we see an interesting use of the word *singautim* as well as another usage of an idiom with the word *bel* discussed in example (44):

(45) Yupela man bilong Rom, God i givim bel bilong em long yupela na em i bin *singautim* yupela na yupela i stap lain manmeri bilong em, mi raitim dispela tok long yupela. God Papa bilong yumi, wantaim Bikpela Jisas Kraus, i ken marimari long yupela na mekim *bel* bilong yupela i stap *isi*. (1: 7)

In English the passage reads: “To all those loved by God in Rome, called to be saints: Grace and peace to you from God our Father and the Lord Jesus Christ!” Tok Pisin *singautim* comes from the English *sing out* ‘to call or cry out’. The Tok Pisin expression means ‘to call someone or for something, to send for, to demand, to invite’ and the meaning is once more broader and the usage more frequent than that of the English source word.

Bel isi (from English *belly* and *easy*) means ‘relaxed, peaceful’ and is another example of stomach as the seat of emotions in Papua New Guinean society.

(46) Long dispela rot ol man inap save long sampela pasin bilong God i stap *hait*. Ol inap save long *as* bilong pasin bilong

God, na ol inap save long bikpela strong bilong en i stap oltaim oltaim. Olsem na i no gat man inap long tok olsem, "Mi no gat asua, long wanem, mi no bin save long God." (1: 20)

The corresponding passage to example (46) says in English: "For since the creation of the world his invisible attributes – his eternal power and divine nature – have been clearly seen, because they are understood through what has been made. So people are without excuse." This passage contains a lot of special religious terminology (invisible attributes, eternal power, divine nature) and the Tok Pisin translation illustrates the way these concepts are either explained or the existing vocabulary used to refer to them, to make the translation as accessible to the average reader as possible.

The source word for Tok Pisin *hait* is English *hide* and it is used here to mean invisible. The meaning is given as 'to be hidden, secret, concealed' in the dictionary. Tok Pisin *as* (from the English *ass*) has broadened its meaning and in Tok Pisin refers to the beginning, bottom or basis of a thing, as well as to a person's buttocks. The original English meaning of 'donkey' has been lost when the word was borrowed.

(47) Ol i givim baksait long God, olsem na God i lusim ol i stap long ol *dotipela pasin* nogut bilong ol yet. Ol meri bilong ol ol i lusim *strepela pasin bilong marit*, na ol i bihainim pasin i *no stret*. (1: 26)

In English: "For this reason God gave them over to dishonorable passions. For their women exchanged the natural sexual relations for unnatural ones." The stem of the adjective *dotipela* comes from the English word *dirty* and the basic meaning is the same in both Tok Pisin and English. The phrase *dotipela pasin* means 'sinful behavior', and it is clear that the figurative dirtiness, somewhat present in the English usage of the word *dirty* as well, is predominantly religious in contemporary Tok Pisin use.

Strepela pasin bilong marit is a euphemistic way of referring to sexual intercourse – roughly 'the proper behavior of marriage'. *Pasin* comes from the English word *fashion*, and in Tok Pisin the old meanings of 'Mode of action, bearing, behaviour, demeanour' or 'a method of doing anything' (OED) are retained, even though these are rare or obsolete in contemporary English usage.

Stret, coming from English *straight*, means ‘proper, correct’ and its usage in Tok Pisin mirrors the colloquial English usage: ‘Free from crookedness; frank, honest, law-abiding’ (OED). It might be that Tok Pisin borrowed this word when it was already used in this way in English or that it is the figurative extension of a literal meaning.

(48) Na ol man tu ol i lusim stretpela pasin bilong marit, na *bel* bilong ol i *kirap* olsem paia, na ol i mekim pasin nogut wantaim ol arapela man. Ol man i mekim ol dispela pasin i gat *sem*, olsem na ol yet i *kisim pe* nogut inap long bekim dispela pasin nogut bilong ol. (1.27)

In English the verse says: “and likewise the men also abandoned natural relations with women and were inflamed in their passions for one another. Men committed shameless acts with men and received in themselves the due penalty for their error.”

The expression *bel kirap* from *belly* and *get up* means ‘arouse, excite’ and reflects the semantic patterns for properties attributed to body parts in Melanesian Languages (Haines 2010: 45). The usage and meaning of this expression, although both words have got their form from English, is a substratum influence to Tok Pisin.

The word *sem* comes from the English *shame* and its basic meaning is the same in Tok Pisin. In example (48) it is used in the expression *pasin i gat sem*, which means roughly ‘in a shameful way’. It is commonly used to refer to the genitals as well, and Mundhenk discusses this usage (1990: 363): “This usage occurs even in our translation, and as long as one intends to refer to the genitals, there is no problem. The problem comes if one is translating, ‘She was very much embarrassed’ and comes up with *Em i gat bikipela sem* (literally, ‘She has/had big shame.’) In ordinary usage *Em i gat bikipela sem* is a quite acceptable way of expressing that idea. But in a written text which may at times be used as a source of fun, it seems safer to say instead something like *Em i sem nogut tru*.” The extension of meaning has clearly affected the usage of the Tok Pisin lexical item and the meaning can be seen to have changed significantly when borrowed from English, even though the original base meaning was conserved as well.

Kisim pe comes from English *catch* and *pay*. *Kisim* has broadened its uses considerably in Tok Pisin, where the meaning is ‘to get, take, obtain, receive’. The meaning of the phrase *kisim pe* is comparable to the English expression *pay one’s dues*. The use of the verb *kisim* might be related to the old, now colloquially used meaning of both *get* and *catch*, which, according to the Oxford English Dictionary “to receive, suffer, by way of punishment”.

In example (49) the usage of *mas* from the English modal auxiliary *must* is illustrated:

(49) Strepela lo bilong God i tok olsem, “Ol man i mekim kain pasin olsem ol i *mas* i dai.” (1: 32)

In the English version: “Although they fully know God’s righteous decree that those who practice such things deserve to die.” The changes in the usage of *mas* as opposed to *must* is a good example of the change in meaning, as we look at the corresponding word in the English translation, *deserve*, the limits of Tok Pisin vocabulary become apparent. The language has no word for ‘deserve’, the meaning is instead expressed by various expressions that explain the meaning, such as “*kisim samting long gutpela pasin o wok bilong yu*” literally, “to get something because of your good behavior or work”. The meaning of *mas* is given in the dictionary as ‘must, should’ and this in itself shows a shift in the meaning of the verb: the meaning of *must* in English is of necessity and obligation, whereas the meaning of *should* is less demanding.

Nogat, from English *no* and *got* has come to be used in Tok Pisin as an emphatic way of negation, meaning something like ‘never’ or ‘not at all’, as seen in example (50) below:

(50) Na tu, ol i no mekim ol dispela pasin nogut tasol. Nogat. Ol i save litimapim nem bilong ol man i mekim ol dispela kain pasin. (1: 32)

In English the passage says: “they not only do them but also approve of those who practice them.” *Nogat* has become an intensifier, which according to Haines (2010: 102) has “an equally (or more) important highlighting or intensifying function which focuses attention to the preceding word or phrase” in addition to its lexical meaning of ‘no’.

The lexical items that Tok Pisin has borrowed from English have changed their meaning very much. The most common change in light of my data seems to be the broadening of meaning where single lexical item is used to refer to various related concepts, or where the literal original meaning of the word is now used figuratively. Both substratum influence and the limited vocabulary of the stabilizing pidgin during German colonisation have probably attributed to this.

4.2.3 *Bikpela bilong yumi* -The change in register

Some English-based Tok Pisin loanwords seem to have changed their register when borrowed to the recipient language. This is a phenomenon that is apparent in such well known examples on Tok Pisin vocabulary as *bagarap* ‘broken’ from English *bugger up* and *as* ‘bottom, origin’ from English *ass* and suggests that the English speakers from whom the lexicon was borrowed did not speak the acrolect variant of English but rather basilectal or regional variants. As English in general was nevertheless perceived as prestigious, the basilectal forms changed to incorporate meanings and connotations of a more formal register.

In example (51) the use of *Bikpela* illustrates the change in register that has taken place when English lexical items have been borrowed to Tok Pisin. The word originates from the English words *big* and *fellow* (the use of *-pela* as adjective marker is discussed in more detail in section 4.2.1).

(51) Na long taim God i kirapim em long matmat, Holi Spirit
bilong God i soim yumi olsem, em i strongpela Pikinini Bilong
God. Em i Jisas Krais, *Bikpela* bilong yumi. (1: 4)

In English the passage reads: “who was appointed the Son-of-God-in-power according to the Holy Spirit by the resurrection from the dead, Jesus Christ our Lord” and *bikpela* or *Bikpela* is indeed now used primarily to refer to the Lord in religious contexts (Mundhenk 1990: 360). *Bikpela* or *bikman* was earlier used interchangeably to refer to any important person, but nowadays the usage of *bikpela* is mostly restricted to religious register and can be seen as a part of special religious terminology. *Bikpela* seems to usually refer to Jesus and God is addressed as *Papa* for the meaning ‘lord’.

(52) Yupela man bilong Rom, God i givim bel bilong em long yupela na em i bin singautim yupela na yupela i stap lain manmeri bilong em, mi raitim dispela tok long yupela. God *Papa* bilong yumi, wantaim Bikpela Jisas Krais, i ken marimari long yupela na mekim bel bilong yupela i stap isi. (1: 7)

Example (52), in the English translation "to all those loved by God in Rome, called to be saints: Grace and peace to you from God our Father and the Lord Jesus Christ!", shows the use of *papa*, in English reserved to language of children, used in very formal religious context to address God. The fact that this particular English word for 'father' got borrowed to Tok Pisin might support the 'baby talk' theory of pidgin origins, and it certainly is the most phonologically simple alternative for that meaning. Its connotations seem to be much the same as for English *father*, as the dictionary gives it both the definition of 'biological father' and 'the Lord'.

(53) Na ol man tu ol i lusim stretpela bilong marit, na bel bilong ol i kirap olsem paia, na ol i mekim *pasin nogut* wantaim ol arapela man. Ol man i mekim ol dispela pasin i *gat sem*, olsem na ol yet i kisim pen nogut inap long bekim dispela pasin nogut bilong ol. (1: 27)

In example (53) the expression *pasin nogut*, from *fashion* and *no good* is used to mean 'sinful behavior'. In English the passage is "and likewise the men also abandoned natural relations with women and were inflamed in their passions for one another. Men committed shameless acts with men and received in themselves the due penalty for their error". *Nogut* or *not good* is not used in Tok Pisin or English as a specifically religious term, but according to the Oxford Tok Pisin English Dictionary the expression *pasin nogut* is restricted to religious context, thus its register has shifted partly when borrowed to Tok Pisin: *nogut* can be used in informal and everyday speech, but the compound it forms with *pasin* is clearly marked as an expression of religious register.

Gat sem can be literally translated into English as *have shame*, and this way of using the word *shame*, old-fashioned or poetic (OED) in contemporary English usage, might be the source of this expression. If this is the case, the register shift has not occurred in the time of the borrowing, but rather the original register (non-marked, everyday speech)

has been preserved in the Tok Pisin loanword, whereas the usage of the English source word has evolved to a more elevated, poetic register.

The Tok Pisin usage of *strepela*, from English *straight* is illustrated in example (54) below:

(54) *Strepela* lo bilong God i tok olsem, “Ol man i mekim kain pasin olsem ol i mas i dai.” Dispela ol man i save gut long dispela lo, tasol ol i save sakim na mekim ol kain kain pasin nogut. Na *tu*, ol i no mekim ol dispela pasin nogut tasol. *Nogat*. Ol i save litimapim nem bilong ol man i mekim ol dispela kain pasin. (1: 32)

In the English version: “Although they fully know God’s righteous decree that those who practice such things deserve to die, they not only do them but also approve of those who practice them.” The meaning of *strepela* here is ‘just, honest’, and as it has been seen as a correct translation for the same concept that the English chose *righteous* for, it can be seen that the appropriate domains of use and also the perceived formality of the source word *straight* differs considerably from those of the Tok Pisin lexical item.

Tu, coming from the English source word *too* seems to be used in the same sense as *also* or *as well* in English: *also* is a markedly literary form, and *tu*, which in English would be considered a form of spoken language, has broadened its register to encompass a more elevated style.

The usage of *sapos* in example (55) illustrates the spoken-language roots of the English-based vocabulary in Tok Pisin:

(55) long taim mi mekim prea. Na oltaim mi beten strong long em olsem, *sapos* em i laik, em i ken painim rot bilong mi na mi ken i kam long yupela. (1: 10)

In the English translation: “and I always ask in my prayers, if perhaps now at last I may succeed in visiting you according to the will of God.” *Sapos* comes from the English word *suppose* and in Tok Pisin its meaning is ‘if’. Oxford English Dictionary gives a colloquial use of *suppose* as ‘introducing a suggestion or proposal’ (as in “suppose we

work together to get out of here”), and this, when taken into account the sentence-initial position of *sapos* in the Tok Pisin text, seems the most likely origin of the loan. This kind of usage in English is not literary, but in Tok Pisin it has become the standard way of expressing possibility, used in literary genres as well as in everyday speech.

(56) Mi Pol, mi *wokboi* bilong Krais Jisas. Em i bin singautim mi long kamap aposel, na em i makim mi bilong autim gutnius bilong God (1: 1)

In the English translation: “From Paul, a slave of Christ Jesus, called to be an apostle, set apart for the gospel of God.” *Wokboi*, from English *work* and *boy*, is an interesting word. Originally *boi* referred to local men in employment of European colonialists, and then by extension any local habitants. *Wokboi* nowadays means simply ‘employee’ as does *wokman*. The choice of word is interesting, because it is a call back to employment in colonial times, probably close to the meaning of the original word which has been translated into English as *slave*.

(57) Ol i save long God, tasol ol i no ting long em i God tru, na ol i no *litimapim* nem bilong em. Na ol i no bin tenkyu long em. Nogat. Tingting bilong ol i kamap longlong. I olsem ol i no gat tingting na save, na ol i stap long tudak. (1: 21)

The expression *litimapim nem* in example (57) is worth noting in terms of register change. *Litimapim* means ‘to lift, to pick up, to raise’ and the source word is English *lift up*. *Nem* comes from English *name*, and the meaning is the same in Tok Pisin. In English the corresponding passage reads: “For although they knew God, they did not glorify him as God or give him thanks, but they became futile in their thoughts and their senseless hearts were darkened.”

Litimapim nem is a good example of Tok Pisin word formation, where existing English-based vocabulary is combined in new ways to express new meanings: Here the literal translation of ‘lift up a name’ does the expression no justice, instead it has become a idiom to be used in literary context with meaning ‘to praise’.

(58) Olkain manmeri olsem ol i bin lusim *tok tru* bilong God na senisim na kisim tok *giaman*. Na ol i bin *givim baksait* long God

i bin mekim kamap olgeta samting, na ol i lotu long ol samting
 God i bin wokim, na ol i aninit long ol dispela samting. Tasol
 God em i *as* bilong olgeta samting, olsem na yumi man yumi
 mas litimapim nem bilong God *oltaim oltaim*. I tru. (1: 25)

In English the corresponding passage is: “They exchanged the truth of God for a lie and worshiped and served the creation rather than the Creator, who is blessed forever! Amen.”

Tok tru means ‘truth’ and is derived from English *talk* and *truth*. *Tok* is the basis for a baffling number of expressions relating to different types of speech acts (see for example Haines 2010: 20-22), and in this the origins of Tok Pisin as a spoken language are illustrated. These kinds of expressions have first referred to spoken words, but as the language has developed to be used in literary contexts as well, they have become appropriate for use in different written registers as well.

Giaman, ‘lie’ comes from English *gammon* meaning ‘absurd, worthless, or manifestly false talk or ideas; rubbish, nonsense’ (OED). This usage of the word is now considered archaic in English and the Oxford English Dictionary suggests that its origins were in thieves’ cant. In Tok Pisin it has become the standard form for ‘lie’ and can thus be seen to have changed its register considerably when borrowed from English.

Givim baksait from English *give* and *backside* means ‘to ignore, to show contempt’, literally to turn one’s back to something. In English the meaning of the word *backside* when referring to people is usually ‘bottom’, and would not be appropriate to use in formal contexts, but in Tok Pisin the meaning has changed to ‘back, other side’ and with the meaning the appropriate uses for the word.

Oltaim oltaim (from *all* and *time*) ‘again and again, eternal, eternally’ and is another case of reduplication of uncertain origin (see discussion of example (33)), but most likely it is emphatic, since *oltaim* by itself means always. The use of *oltaim oltaim* is by no means confined to church or religious contexts, but it can be seen to have got a more elevated tone as well when borrowed to Tok Pisin.

(59) Ol i *hambak* na i tok, “Mipela i gat save,” tasol ol i kamap
 longlong tru. (1: 22)

In English the corresponding passage to example (59) says: “Although they claimed to be wise, they became fools.” *Hambak*, from English *humbug* ‘a thing which is not really what it pretends to be; an imposture, a deception, fraud, sham’ is used in Tok Pisin to mean ‘boastfulness, showing off’. In English it is used primarily as an interjection, but in Tok Pisin it has become a part of standard vocabulary and can be used in any context.

The English-based loanwords in Tok Pisin have often experienced a change or at least a broadening of register when compared to the register or style of the word in the source language. This change is, however, more related to the change of the meaning of the word than simply the changing of registers, since words with taboo overtones in the source language have changed to refer to non-taboo concepts in Tok Pisin. Thus a word which might be considered quite rude in English, like *ass* or *backside*, can be used in Tok Pisin literary and religious contexts with ease.

5 DISCUSSION

In this section I'll take a brief look at what we have learned from the analysis presented in section 4.

The majority of the English-based loanwords have shifted or changed their meaning when they have become Hawai'i Creole or Tok Pisin words. Not all of these changes can be directly attributed to the influence from a given substrate language, and it seems most likely that at least a part of these changes have come to be because of normal linguistic development in a language community (see section 4.1.2 for examples and discussion in this thesis and Mühlhäusler 1997 (especially chapter 5) for a more general perspective). Substrata have certainly contributed to these shifts as well, but as both Hawai'i Creole and Tok Pisin have their roots in so many languages, some of them earlier pidgin languages with varied substrata of their own, it is impossible to pinpoint the origin of all these changes.

The changes in grammatical functions in Tok Pisin and Hawai'i Creole are many and varied, but the majority of them seem to have formed because of the substrata influences: the prestigious English-based loanwords took on semantic connotations and usage of the substrate words and adopted their grammatical properties as well. The changes are not limited to just one word class or function: the substrate languages have influenced word order, tense and aspect markers, comparison of adjectives and article usage, among others.

The widespread grammaticalisation of various English-based loanwords in Tok Pisin seems quite natural when we consider the stages of development the language has gone through. The pidgin variety was used on plantations under the German rule of Papua New Guinea and input from English was limited or non-existent. Thus Tok Pisin vocabulary is largely multifunctional as regards grammatical functions: the limited number of adpositions, for example, perform multiple tasks. The number of words with both lexical meaning and grammatical functions is quite high.

The changes in meaning of Tok Pisin words seem to be more marked than in Hawai'i Creole, and this is probably due to little contact with standard English during the stabilisation period and the language-internal mechanisms of expanding vocabulary as discussed in (Mühlhäusler et al 2003: 5). The most common change in light of my data seems to be the broadening or narrowing of meaning, where a single lexical item is used to refer to various related concepts, or the loanword is used to refer to only a part of the original meaning of the source word, as seen in examples (10) with the word *blood*, (13) *trus*, (40) *tok* and (41) *lain*, for example.

Another common change in meaning, related to the former, is the use of the loan word in new, figurative meanings. Sometimes a clear explanation based on the substratum influence can be presented, but oftentimes the substrata are so many, that an exact source is hard or even impossible to find. Hawai'i Creole and Tok Pisin also seem to share some extensions of meaning, for example lexical items based on *like*, *make* and *by-and-by*, despite having various different substrates. From this we can perhaps conclude that this part of the lexicon both borrowed from the same source. My examples are not extensive by any means, though, so similarity might be coincidental as well.

Changes in register seem to come mainly from the variety of English that is the source language for most English-based loanwords: that is, an informal spoken language, not always spoken by native speakers. The languages studied here both have English-lexifier nautical or trade jargons as their substrata, and this shows in their vocabulary: sea-faring terminology such as *capsize* and basilect expressions like *bugger up* have been incorporated into Tok Pisin everyday speech as *kapsaitim* 'to fall' or *bagarap* 'broken'. The origin of the loanwords shows in the many seemingly colloquial forms used in the formal context of the Bible as well, like the Hawai'i Creole expressions *no...notting*, *fo shua*, *gotta* and *dey goin get it*.

In Tok Pisin the change in register of the loanword when compared with the source words is apparent, but mostly has to do with the change in meaning as well. Thus a word which might be considered quite rude in English, like *ass* or *backside*, can be used in its borrowed form and meaning in all contexts, formal and informal, in Tok Pisin.

The meanings of the words have changed so much that this is not strictly a matter of register change: the words simply have come to mean different things in the languages.

Thus a change in register seems to be extremely common among the English-based loanwords, and it appears to be the case that the loanwords are inclined to change their register to more formal when borrowed to Hawai'i Creole or Tok Pisin. The reason for this is probably found in the variety of the lexifier language that provided the model for the loanwords. The variant spoken by the first English-speaking (or English-lexifier pidgin-speaking) contacts was a markedly informal and colloquial form of English. This origin shows in the many seemingly colloquial forms, for example in cases like the double negation *no...notting* and non-literary, markedly informal expression *dey goin get it* used in the highly formal context of the Bible.

In sum Hawai'i Creole and Tok Pisin seem to have employed more or less the same mechanisms for word-borrowing and the subsequent changes in their semantic properties. Words are used in a meaning slightly different to that of the source word, and register has changed to more formal from more informal. Grammatical features such as transitivity marking in Tok Pisin and the usage of the preposition *inside* in Hawai'i Creole have most likely developed because of substratum influence from local languages spoken in Papua New Guinea and Hawai'i, respectively. The progressive aspect of verbs, expressed by *stay* in Hawai'i Creole and *stap* in Tok Pisin is an interesting shared feature among the two languages, but its origins are uncertain.

Originally basilectal forms carry less stigma in Hawai'i Creole and Tok Pisin than they do in the source language and have become a part of the standard target language. In Tok Pisin these changes in word usage are more pronounced because of less input from English during its history and in Hawai'i Creole the continued contact with the lexifier language has contributed to the whole language being seen as a basilect variant of English by some.

My research data and the analysis presented in section 4 clearly show that the English-based loan vocabulary of both Hawai'i Creole and Tok Pisin is greatly affected by the superstratum language and the myriad substrate languages, mainly Hawaiian, Tolai and

other Papua New Guinea indigenous languages, Portuguese, Chinese and Japanese. The English-based loanwords, borrowed from English directly or via another contact language, form the majority of vocabulary in both languages, but their usage and meaning has changed considerably. This seems to be on one hand because of the strong substratum influence and on the other because the variety of English that was provided as the model was a non-standard, basilect variant.

Substratum influence can perhaps most clearly be seen in the shifts in meaning of lexical items and also in the new grammatical functions of the loanwords. The majority of the English-based loanwords have shifted in their meaning when they have become words in Hawai'i Creole and Tok Pisin. Even though the origins of most changes cannot be determined with precision, the substratum influence is clear in the usage of verbs such as *like*, *get* and *make*. The varied substrata have also influenced grammatical functions of the English-based loanwords. The superstrate lexemes have taken on grammatical functions that words that were seen corresponding to a given English word in the substrate languages carry: for example the Hawaiian word *puku* was seen to correspond with the English *inside*, which has caused *inside* to take on all the meanings and functions of *puku*. The changes are very much varied in terms of function: even some of the most basic grammatical actions, such as negation of verbs and comparison of adjectives, are performed with an English-based loanword, but with its usage influenced by the substrata.

The English-based loanwords used in the Hawai'i Creole translation of the Bible seem to have changed their register from informal in the source language to formal in the recipient language. This can in my opinion be seen as contributing to the fact that Hawaiian Pidgin is not seen as a language of high prestige, but rather a variant of the lexifier language, and a 'badly spoken' or broken variant at that. The fact that Pidgin has been (and still is to some extent) a predominantly a spoken language with a quite young literary tradition has certainly contributed to the seemingly colloquial voice of the Bible translation and to English informal vocabulary becoming literary in Hawaiian Creole. It seems reasonable that this apparently markedly spoken-language, non-prestigious language use would seem stigmatised and uneducated to a native speaker of the lexifier language. This has certainly attributed to the low esteem in which creole

languages like Hawai'i Creole are held. Their origins in the basilect variant affect the social status of their speakers even today.

The Tok Pisin translation of the Bible, however, is illegible to an English-speaker who does not speak Tok Pisin because of the considerable changes in orthography, meaning and usage of loanwords. The extensive changes make the original colloquial tone of the source words a more distant comparison. Because of the isolation from English for a critical period in the language stabilisation process Tok Pisin bears less overt resemblance to the lexifier language and thus is more likely to be seen as a separate language than a variety of English. The extensive previous research done into Tok Pisin has probably contributed to this rise in status as well.

6 CONCLUSION

In this thesis I have studied the changes in meaning, register and grammatical functions in English-based loan vocabulary in Hawai'i Creole and Tok Pisin. Most of the changes in the usage or meaning of the words can be attributed to two sources: either the variant of English where the lexical item was borrowed from or the substratum influence from indigenous languages or other English-lexifier contact languages.

Some English-based loanwords such as present progressive markers based on the English word *stay* are used in a similar way in many pidgin and creole languages, but the exact source of the usage is unknown and would require more research to be done.

The status of the two languages is markedly different, and the closeness of contact with the lexifier language as well as changes in meaning and register of the loanwords have attributed to this. Further research needs to be done to see what kinds of changes are present in other creole languages and whether a different choice of corpus would affect the results. A language attitude survey among creole speakers would provide useful information as well.

My research provides a reliable picture of contemporary literary language use in a fairly formal register. I expect the findings would have been similar in any written works published recently. More research needs to be done to find out how the different registers are expressed in Hawai'i Creole and Tok Pisin literature, and to see if there is a marked difference in style between, for example, literary prose and the translations of the Bible. Very little literature has been translated to or written in Hawai'i Creole, but in Tok Pisin such study would be possible.

While conducting the research for this thesis the scope of my data got smaller as the analysis progressed. My first thought was to analyse the whole of the Romans, but as the project progressed I realised that there was way too much to analyse for a 75-page paper. Consequently the analysis presented here is only a small but hopefully representative sample of the vast amount of changes in English-based Hawai'i Creole and Tok Pisin vocabulary.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: For Da Rome Peopo 1

Appendix 2: Rom 1

Appendix 3: Romans 1

Appendix 1. For Da Rome Peopo 1

Aloha!

1 Dis letta from me, Paul. I one worka fo Jesus Christ, da Spesho Guy God Wen Send. God wen tell me fo come be his guy, cuz he like send me all ova da place fo talk fo him. God wen make me one spesho talka fo tell peopo da Good Kine Stuff From Him.

2 Befo time, God wen make his talka guys write his Good An Spesho Bible fo um. Dat time, God wen promise um dat bumbye he goin tell peopo da Good Kine Stuff

3 bout his Boy. His Boy's blood come from King David. 4 But how his spirit stay, an da way he stay good an spesho fo God, dass wat show dat he God's Boy. We know dat, cuz God wen use plenny power fo make um come back alive afta he wen mahke. You know, I stay talking bout Jesus Christ. He da Spesho Guy God Wen Send. He stay da Boss fo all us guys.

5 Dass how Jesus stay, an dass why God like do good tings fo us guys. Dass why he stay sending us guys all ova da place, cuz he like all da peopos from diffren places fo trus um an make da way he tell um. An me, I like do dat so dey know who Christ.

6 Same ting fo you Rome guys too. You guys come from all da diffren peopos from diffren places, an Jesus Christ tell you guys, "Eh come! Be my guys!" 7 You Rome guys, dis letta fo you. Eh, God get love an aloha fo you guys. He tell you fo come his spesho guys. God, he our fadda, an Jesus, he da Boss, he da Spesho Guy God Wen Send. I like dem two do plenny fo you guys, an make yoa hearts rest inside.

How Paul Pray Fo His Friends

8 First ting fo start, I like tell God "Mahalo plenny!" everytime I tink bout you guys, cuz Jesus Christ, he stay make me feel lidat. I feel good inside cuz all ova da world get peopo talking bout da way you guys trus God.

9 God know dat I telling da trut. He know I stay work fo him hundred percent wit my spirit. I make like dis fo tell da peopo all da Good Kine Stuff Bout His Boy. An God know dat I not goin give up tinkin bout you guys. 10 Everytime I go pray, I aks God lidis: "You know, if you like, I donno how you goin do dis, but been really long time I like go see dem guys Rome side."

11 I really like stay by you guys, cuz I like share da good kine stuff from God's Spirit wit you guys. Den you can stay mo strong an mo solid inside. 12 Dis, az wat I mean: Bumbye wen I go stay wit you guys, I like you guys give me good kine words cuz you guys trus God, an same ting, I goin give you guys good kine words cuz I trus him too jalike you guys.

13 Bruddas an sistas! I like you guys know dis: Plenny times I tink, "Maybe az now da time fo me fo go by da Rome peopo!" But den, dat time, no can. Ony now, I can go.

Wen I go ova dea fo stay wit you guys, I like plenny peopo go trus Christ, an everyting come mo betta fo you guys, jalike wen happen wen I wen stay wit da odda peopos.

14 No matta get guys Greek o no Greek, o guys who get smarts o guys dat no moa, I jus gotta take care all dem awready. 15 Dass why I stay ready fo tell you guys all da Good Kine Stuff From God wen I go ova dea Rome side fo see you guys.

Da Good Kine Stuff From God, Get Plenny Power

(Habakkuk 2: 4)

16 I no shame notting bout da Good Kine Stuff From God. Dat stuff get plenny power from God, fo take peopo outa da bad kine stuff dey stay doing, wen dey trus him. Was da Jewish peopo dat wen find out bout um first, an afta dem, all da odda peopos from diffren places too. 17 You tink bout all dis Good Kine Stuff From God, you goin undastan wat God wen do fo make peopo come right wit him. But gotta trus him from da start to da end. Da Bible wen say dis befo time:

“Gotta trus God.

Den you goin get um right wit him,
An you can live fo real kine.”

Everybody Make How Dey Not Suppose To

18 One mo ting God wen let us undastan: Da peopo ack jalike God no matta, an dey do da kine tings dey not suppose to do. But God no take wat dey do. Az why he goin judge um from up dea in da sky. Inside dem, dey know wass true, but dey stay do da kine tings dey not suppose to do. Az how dey no let da odda peopo know wass true.

19 Dey no mo excuse, cuz everyting dat peopo can know bout God, ony easy fo dem fo undastan, az why. God, he wen show dem awready. 20 Dis wat I mean: From befo time wen God wen make da world, anybody dat try fo undastan da stuffs God wen make, dey can figga how God stay, no matta no can see God. You know, God get dis unreal power dat goin stay lidat foevas. By how he make, he stay God fo shua. An dey can undastan all dat, dose guys. Az why dey no mo excuse fo how dey make.

21 Dey know bout God, but dey no like tell him, “Eh, you stay awesome, cuz you stay God!” Dey no like tell um “Mahalo plenny!” Dass why wat dey stay tinkin, all poho awready. Cuz dey no undastan notting, jalike everyting come all dark inside dea heart.

22 Dey tell, “Me, I one akamai guy dat everytime know wat fo do!” Dey ony tink dat, but you know, dey still yet stupid. 23 Dey no like stick wit da God who everytime awesome an no goin come poho bumbye. But dese guys, dey tink lidis: “We no like dat kine God! Mo betta we stick wit one idol kine god dat look jalike one guy, no matta bumbye he goin come poho. O mo betta our god goin look jalike one bird o one lizard o one nodda animal.”

24 Cuz da way dey acking, dass why God wen let um go do wat dey like. He let um do all da kine pilau kine stuff, cuz dass how dey like do inside dea hearts. Dass why dey no mo shame notting, how dey make any kine wit dea own bodies wit odda peopo. 25 Dem guys, dey hear da true stuffs from God, but dey no like lissen. Dey tink lidis: “Mo betta

we go do da odda stuff, no matta bulai!” Dey show respeck to all da stuffs God wen make, an dey do all da kine religious stuff fo um, but da One who make everyting, dey no like give love an respeck to him. I stay talking bout God. Eh, he all right! Can talk good bout him every time! Az right!

26 An dass why God wen let dem guys do all dat, an dey ony go do how dey like do. An so dey all come all itchy, an no mo shame notting. Eh, you know, even da wahines, dey no like make like dey wahines, dey like change how dey stay. 27 An same ting wit da guys. Dey no like make like dey suppose to wit da wahines. One guy stay all itchy fo one nodda guy. Dey no mo shame notting fo how dey make wit each odda. So fo dat, dey goin get it! Cuz dey stay far from da right way, an dey going get watevas fo how dey wen make.

28 Dey tink, “Mo betta no go tink bout stick tight wit God fo real kine!” Az why God wen let um go do how dey like do. Az why dey ony can tink pilau kine stuff. So, no good how dey make.

29 Dey not right kine peopo. Dey ony do pilau kine stuff. Dey greedy guys. Dey get pilau attitude. Dey all jealous. Dey like kill peopo. Dey like go beef everybody. Dey sneaky buggas. Dey ony tink bad kine stuff. Dey tell stuffs dey not suppose to bout da odda guys. 30 Dey talk stink. Dey everytime stay huhu wit God. Dey tink dey so high makamaka, so dat peopo no can come by dem. Dey tink dey it. Dey talk big. Dey try figga how dey can make everyting hamajang. Dey no do wat dea mudda-fadda guys tell um fo do. 31 Dey no like undastan notting. Dey make promise, but dey no keep um. Dey no mo love an aloha, an dey no give chance notting.

32 God wen tell um how dey suppose to make, an dey wen hear all dat awready. Dey know dis too: if get anybody dat no make like wat God say, fo shua he goin mahke. But dese guys, dey go do all dat kine stuff, an dey tink good wen da odda guys go do lidat too.

www.pidginbible.org

Appendix 2: Rom 1

1 Mi Pol, mi wokboi bilong Krai Jisas. Em i bin singautim mi long kamap aposel, na em i makim mi bilong autim gutnius bilong God. 2 Bipo yet God i tok na ol profet bilong en i raitim dispela gutnius na dispela tok i stap long buk bilong God. 3 Em i gutnius bilong Pikinini bilong em. Dispela Pikinini i kamap man, na em i stap long lain bilong King Devit. 4 Na long taim God i kirapim em long matmat, Holi Spirit bilong God i soim yumi olsem, em i strongpela Pikinini Bilong God. Em i Jisas Krai, Bikpela bilong yumi. 5 Long han bilong Jisas Krai tasol God i marimari long mipela, na long nem bilong en, God i putim mipela long wok aposel. Em i mekim olsem bai olgeta lain manmeri i ken bilip long Jisas na bihainim tok bilong en. 6 Yupela tu i stap insait long lain bilong Jisas. Yupela i harim pinis singaut bilong Jisas Krai na yupela i bihainim. 7 Yupela man bilong Rom, God i givim bel bilong em long yupela na em i bin singautim yupela na yupela i stap lain manmeri bilong em, mi raitim dispela tok long yupela. God Papa bilong yumi, wantaim Bikpela Jisas Krai, i ken marimari long yupela na mekim bel bilong yupela i stap isi.

8 Pastaim mi laik tokim yupela olsem, long olgeta hap graun ol man i save stori long strongpela bilip bilong yupela. Olsem na mi ting long yupela olgeta, na long nem bilong Jisas Krai mi tenkyu long God bilong mi. 9 Mi save strong long mekim wok bilong God, em long autim gutnius bilong Pikinini bilong em. Na God yet i save, oltaim mi save tingim yupela. 10 long taim mi mekim prea. Na oltaim mi beten strong long em olsem, sapos em i laik, em i ken painim rot bilong mi na mi ken i kam long yupela. 11 Mi laikim tumas long lukim yupela, long wanem, mi laik givim sampela presen bilong Holi Spirit long yupela bilong strongim yupela. 12 Tingting bilong mi i olsem. Mi laik bai bilip bilong yupela i ken helpim mi na bilip bilong mi i ken helpim yupela tu, na dispela i ken strongim bel bilong yumi olgeta wantaim. 13 Ol brata, mi laik bai yupela i save gut, planti taim mi gat tingting long kam long yupela. Wok bilong mi i bin helpim ol manmeri bilong ol arapela lain long kamap Kristen, olsem na mi laik helpim yupela tu. Tasol oltaim ol samting i save kamap na i pasim mi. 14 God i givim mi wok bilong helpim ol Grik na ol man i no Grik tu, na ol saveman na ol man i no gat save tu. 15 Olsem na bel bilong mi i kirap long autim gutnius long yupela ol manmeri bilong Rom tu.

16 Mi no save sem long autim gutnius, long wanem, strong bilong God i stap long gutnius, em strong bilong kisim bek olgeta man i bilip, ol Juda pastaim, na ol manmeri bilong ol arapela lain tu. 17 Long gutnius God i soim yumi pasin em i mekim bilong kolim yumi stretpela manmeri. Yumi mas bilip na em i ken kolim yumi stretpela manmeri, long wanem, long rot bilong bilip tasol yumi inap kamap stretpela manmeri long ai bilong God. Em i olsem tok i stap long buk bilong God, "Ol manmeri i bilip, bai God i kolim ol stretpela manmeri na ol bai i stap laip."

18 Yumi save, God i stap long heven na em i kamapim ples klia belhat bilong en. Em i bekim pe nogut long olgeta man i givim baksait long em na i mekim pasin nogut. Long dispela pasin nogut bilong ol, ol i wok long daunim tok i tru. 19 Ol dispela man i save pinis long planti pasin bilong God. God yet i soim ol pinis. Tasol ol i wok long givim baksait long en, olsem na em i mekim save long ol. 20 Stat long taim God i mekim kamap olgeta samting na i kam inap nau, ol man i lukim ol samting em i bin wokim.

Long dispela rot ol man inap save long sampela pasin bilong God i stap hait. Ol inap save long as bilong pasin bilong God, na ol inap save long bikpela strong bilong en i stap oltaim oltaim. Olsem na i no gat man inap long tok olsem, “Mi no gat asua, long wanem, mi no bin save long God.” 21 Ol i save long God, tasol ol i no ting long em i God tru, na ol i no litimapim nem bilong em. Na ol i no bin tenkyu long em. Nogat. Tingting bilong ol i kamap longlong. I olsem ol i no gat tingting na save, na ol i stap long tudak. 22 Ol i hambak na i tok, “Mipela i gat save,” tasol ol i kamap longlong tru. 23 Ol i givim baksait long God i save stap oltaim, na ol i no moa lotu long em. Nogat. Ol i wokim ol piksa bilong ol man i save dai, na ol piksa bilong pisin na abus na snek na palai samting, na ol i lotu long ol dispela samting.

24 Ol manmeri i givim baksait long God, olsem na God i lusim ol, na laik nogut bilong ol yet i pulim ol long mekim pasin doti, na ol i save bung wantaim na mekim pasin nogut long bodi bilong ol yet. 25 Olkain manmeri olsem ol i bin lusim tok tru bilong God na senisim na kisim tok giaman. Na ol i bin givim baksait long God i bin mekim kamap olgeta samting, na ol i lotu long ol samting God i bin wokim, na ol i aninit long ol dispela samting. Tasol God em i as bilong olgeta samting, olsem na yumi man yumi mas litimapim nem bilong God oltaim oltaim. I tru.

26 Ol i givim baksait long God, olsem na God i lusim ol i stap long ol dotipela pasin nogut bilong ol yet. Ol meri bilong ol ol i lusim stretpela pasin bilong marit, na ol i bihainim pasin i no stret. 27 Na ol man tu ol i lusim stretpela pasin bilong marit, na bel bilong ol i kirap olsem paia, na ol i mekim pasin nogut wantaim ol arapela man. Ol man i mekim ol dispela pasin i gat sem, olsem na ol yet i kisim pe nogut inap long bekim dispela pasin nogut bilong ol.

28 Ol i no tingting long i stap aninit long God, olsem na God i larim ol i bihainim tingting nogut bilong ol yet. Na ol i mekim ol kain kain pasin i no stret. 29 Ol i save mekim ol kain kain pasin nogut olsem, ol pasin i no stret na pasin bilong mangal nogut na pasin birua. Ol i save bel nogut long ol man i gat planti samting, na ol i save kilim ol man i dai na kros nabaut na giaman na pulim samting bilong ol arapela man, na ol i save mekim nogut long ol arapela man. Dispela olgeta pasin nogut i pulap tru long ol. Ol i save tok baksait 30 na mekim ol giaman tok bilong bagarapim nem bilong ol arapela man. Ol i save birua long God na bikmaus nabaut na hambak na litimapim nem bilong ol yet. Ol i save kamapim ol nupela kain pasin nogut. Ol i save sakim tok bilong papamama. 31 Ol i no gat gutpela tingting. Ol i no save bihainim tok na promis bilong ol yet. Ol i no save laikim ol wanblut bilong ol. Ol i no save sori long ol arapela man. 32 Strepela lo bilong God i tok olsem, “Ol man i mekim kain pasin olsem ol i mas i dai.” Dispela ol man i save gut long dispela lo, tasol ol i save sakim na mekim ol kain kain pasin nogut. Na tu, ol i no mekim ol dispela pasin nogut tasol. Nogat. Ol i save litimapim nem bilong ol man i mekim ol dispela kain pasin.

<http://www.bible.is/TPIPNG/Rom/1>

Appendix 3: Romans 1

Salutation

1: 1 From Paul, a slave of Christ Jesus, called to be an apostle, set apart for the gospel of God. 1: 2 This gospel he promised beforehand through his prophets in the holy scriptures, 1: 3 concerning his Son who was a descendant of David with reference to the flesh, 1: 4 who was appointed the Son-of-God-in-power according to the Holy Spirit by the resurrection from the dead, Jesus Christ our Lord. 1: 5 Through him we have received grace and our apostleship to bring about the obedience of faith among all the Gentiles on behalf of his name. 1: 6 You also are among them, called to belong to Jesus Christ. 1: 7 To all those loved by God in Rome, called to be saints: Grace and peace to you from God our Father and the Lord Jesus Christ!

Paul's Desire to Visit Rome

1: 8 First of all, I thank my God through Jesus Christ for all of you, because your faith is proclaimed throughout the whole world. 1: 9 For God, whom I serve in my spirit by preaching the gospel of his Son, is my witness that I continually remember you 1: 10 and I always ask in my prayers, if perhaps now at last I may succeed in visiting you according to the will of God. 1: 11 For I long to see you, so that I may impart to you some spiritual gift to strengthen you, 1: 12 that is, that we may be mutually comforted by one another's faith, both yours and mine. 1: 13 I do not want you to be unaware, brothers and sisters, that I often intended to come to you (and was prevented until now), so that I may have some fruit even among you, just as I already have among the rest of the Gentiles. 1: 14 I am a debtor both to the Greeks and to the barbarians, both to the wise and to the foolish. 1: 15 Thus I am eager also to preach the gospel to you who are in Rome.

The Power of the Gospel

1: 16 For I am not ashamed of the gospel, for it is God's power for salvation to everyone who believes, to the Jew first and also to the Greek. 1: 17 For the righteousness of God is revealed in the gospel from faith to faith, just as it is written, "The righteous by faith will live."

The Condemnation of the Unrighteous

1: 18 For the wrath of God is revealed from heaven against all ungodliness and unrighteousness of people who suppress the truth by their unrighteousness, 1: 19 because what can be known about God is plain to them, because God has made it plain to them. 1: 20 For since the creation of the world his invisible attributes – his eternal power and divine nature – have been clearly seen, because they are understood through what has been made. So people are without excuse. 1: 21 For although they knew God,

they did not glorify him as God or give him thanks, but they became futile in their thoughts and their senseless hearts were darkened. 1: 22 Although they claimed to be wise, they became fools 1: 23 and exchanged the glory of the immortal God for an image resembling mortal human beings or birds or four-footed animals or reptiles.

1: 24 Therefore God gave them over in the desires of their hearts to impurity, to dishonor their bodies among themselves. 1: 25 They exchanged the truth of God for a lie and worshiped and served the creation rather than the Creator, who is blessed forever! Amen.

1: 26 For this reason God gave them over to dishonorable passions. For their women exchanged the natural sexual relations for unnatural ones, 1: 27 and likewise the men also abandoned natural relations with women and were inflamed in their passions for one another. Men committed shameless acts with men and received in themselves the due penalty for their error.

1: 28 And just as they did not see fit to acknowledge God, God gave them over to a depraved mind, to do what should not be done. 1: 29 They are filled with every kind of unrighteousness, wickedness, covetousness, malice. They are rife with envy, murder, strife, deceit, hostility. They are gossips, 1: 30 slanderers, haters of God, insolent, arrogant, boastful, contrivers of all sorts of evil, disobedient to parents, 1: 31 senseless, covenant-breakers, heartless, ruthless. 1: 32 Although they fully know God's righteous decree that those who practice such things deserve to die, they not only do them but also approve of those who practice them.

(<http://www.biblegateway.com/versions/New-English-Translation-NET-Bible/>)