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The Malay contribution to the lexicon of Tok Pisin

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1. Introduction

As is well known, the lexicon of Tok Pisin has also been influenced by Malay. According to Mühlhäusler (1985a: 48 and 206), the following were what he calls “the sources of Malay”: the Malays and Chinese labourers employed on the plantations in what was then German New Guinea; the Malay traders, operating mostly in a few villages west of Wewak, in particular Tarawai Islands; the bird-of-paradise hunters from the formerly Dutch part of New Guinea.

The varieties once spoken in what is today Papua-New Guinea include what is known under the names of “Bazaar Malay”, “Coastal Malay” or “Trade Malay” (Mühlhäusler 1985a: 48, Tryon & Charpentier 2004: 198). This pidginized variety of Malay was spoken not only by ethnic Malays, but also by the Chinese labourers on the German plantations. The latter were recruited in the then Dutch East Indies and Singapore (Mühlhäusler 1976: 82, 1979: 66, Tryon & Charpentier 2004: 198); according to Mühlhäusler (1985a: 48), “many of the Chinese coolies had worked on the tobacco plantations of Sumatra before coming to [German] New Guinea”. These Chinese workers therefore “brought a knowledge of Malay with them” (Mühlhäusler 1985a: 48). Moreover, on the German plantations Bazaar Malay was also spoken by some New Guineans (Mühlhäusler 1985a: 48). Under these circumstances, Bazaar Malay was for a rather brief period of time the lingua franca of the plantations in German New Guinea, on the mainland. However, after 1900 the import of Malay-speaking labourers ceased and “the influence of Malay all but disappeared” (Tryon & Charpentier 2004: 389). According to Mühlhäusler (1985b: 206), “the presence of lexical items of Malay origin reflects the brief period of time during which Coastal Malay was the lingua franca of the plantations on the New Guinea mainland”. There

is a second variety of Malay which needs perhaps to be taken into account, Papuan Malay, which may have been spoken by the bird-of-paradise hunters, engaging in incursions from the neighbouring formerly Dutch part of New Guinea. The bird-of-paradise trade declined after 1900. To sum up, the influence of both varieties of Malay on Tok Pisin came to an end at about the same time. Importantly, contact between Malay and Tok Pisin took place after the latter had already stabilized. This accounts for the fact that the Malay influence on Tok Pisin is limited to loanwords.

The Malay loanwords in Tok Pisin have been discussed by among others Roosman (1975), Mühlhäusler (1976: 261, 1979: 199, 1985b). A number of words assumed to be of Malay origin are mentioned by Roosman (1975), but Mühlhäusler (1979: 199) rightly concludes that “on closer examination, these claims appear very doubtful”. What is said to be a full list of lexical items of Malay origin is provided by Mühlhäusler (1985b: 207).

The present paper revisits the issue of the Malay loanwords in Tok Pisin. It discusses in some detail Tok Pisin lexical items for which a Malay etymon can plausibly be proposed. These include a number of words for which different sources have previously been suggested as well as words considered hitherto to be of unknown origin.

The structure of the paper is as follows. The sources and methodology are presented in section 2. The Malay loanwords in Tok Pisin are discussed in section 3. The conclusions are set out in section 4.

2. Sources and methodology

The main sources consulted for TP consist mainly of: glossaries and dictionaries (Anon. a 1937, Murphy 1943 [1966], Helton 1945, Schebesta & Meiser 1945, Mihalic 1957, Steinbauer 1969 [1998], Barhorst & O’Dell-Barhorst n.d., Baing & al. 2009); texts: (Friederici 1911, Mühlhäusler & al. 2003, Tryon & Charpentier 2004); handbooks and guides: (Anon. b 1941, Anon. c 1944, Healey n.d.); grammars: (Hall 1943a, Verhaar 1995). The Malay etyma are from *Collins* (2005) and Stevens & Schmidgall-Tellings (2010). For Papuan Malay the source is the word list in Kluge (2017: 565-593).

For both Tok Pisin and Malay variants are also listed, if they are suggestive of different pronunciations or if they illustrate different uses/meanings. All examples appear in the orthography or the system of transcription used in the sources and are accompanied by their original glosses. The sources are mentioned between brackets. Tok Pisin forms are listed in chronological order.

The following abbreviations are used: E = English; G = German; M = Malay; PM = Papuan Malay; TP = Tok Pisin.

3. Malay loanwords in Tok Pisin

M *atap* > TP *atap* ‘leaf of the sago palm’ (Schebesta & Meiser 1945: 11); *atap* ‘sago palm leaf fronds used for native roofing’ (Mihalic 1957: 8). According to Mosel (1980: 25), TP *atap* is one of the lexical items which can be traced to Patpatar-Tolai languages spoken in Papua New Guinea: Mioko *atip*, Pala *itah*, Tolai *etep*¹, all ‘to thatch a house with grass’. Mühlhäusler (1985b: 214-215) includes TP *atap* ‘roof, thatch’ in his list of “items of indigenous origin” and traces it to Mioko (Mühlhäusler 1985b: 214). However, these etyma, in particular the Pala one, do not closely resemble phonetically the TP form. On the contrary, the M form is identical to its TP counterpart. Consider next the meaning of the TP word. Roosman (1975: 230) includes TP *atap* among the cases in which “a semantic change occurs”, writing that “Malay *atap* ‘roof’ occurs in MP [= Melanesian Pidgin] as ‘sagopalm frond used for roofing’ and in the Gazelle Peninsula [...] as ‘kunai grass thatch’”. However, there is no need to posit any semantic change. In addition to ‘roof, top covering of a building’, M *atap* also means ‘material for making roofs, roofing (such as [...] sago palm leaves, etc.)’ (Stevens & Schmidgall-Tellings 2010: 62). This second meaning matches exactly that of the TP word. Summing up, TP *atap* is very likely, on both phonetic and semantic grounds, of M origin.

M *bambu*, PM *bambu* > TP *mambu* ‘Floß [= ‘raft’]’ (Friederici 1911: 104); *mambu* ‘bamboo’ (Anon. a 1937: 29); *mambu* ‘bamboo; bamboo flute; native asparagus’ (Hall 1943a: 108); *mambu* ‘bamboo; made of bamboo; also barrel of shotgun’ (Murphy 1943 [1966]: 81); *mambu* ‘bamboo’ (Reed 1943: 277); *bambu* ‘bamboo’ (Helton 1945: 25); *bambu* / *mambu* ‘bamboo; bamboo flute’ (Schebesta &

¹ Mühlhäusler (1985: 184) gives the erroneous form *atip*.

Meiser 1945: 111); *mambu* ‘bamboo, the bamboo tree or plant; a flute; a pipe, a tube’ (Mihalic 1957: 79); *mambu* ‘bamboo; bamboo flute, ritual flute; bamboo as a cooking pot; pipe, tube’ (Steinbauer 1969 [1998]: 61); *mambu* ‘bamboo’ (Laycock 1970a: 6); *mambu* ‘bamboo’ (Wurm 1971: 89); *mambu* ‘bamboo’ (Barhorst & O’Dell-Barhorst n.d.); *mambu* ‘bamboo; a flute; a pipe, a tube’ (Baing & al. 2009: 48). A variant with word-initial [b], as in the M etymon, is only given by Helton (1945: 25) and Schebesta & Maiser (1945: 111). The word has undergone considerable semantic extension, thereby becoming polysemous in TP. The meaning ‘raft’², attested in Friederici (1911: 104) exclusively, is probably related to the fact that in Papua New Guinea rafts are made of bamboo.

M *binatang*, PM *binatang* > TP *binatang* ‘an insect’ (Anon. a 1937: 19); *binatay* ‘insect (in general); beetle’ (Hall 1943a: 91); *pinatang* ‘insect’ (Reed 1943: 277); *pinatang* ‘bug, insect, all small animals except snakes’ (Schebesta & Meiser 1945 : 30); *pinatang* ‘a bug, an insect, all small animals and creeping things except snakes’ (Mihalic 1957: 108); *binatang* ‘bug, insect, small creeping things’ (Steinbauer 1969 [1998]: 19); *binatang* ‘insect (often used for butterfly)’ (Laycock 1970a: 9); *binatang* ‘butterfly’ (Wurm 1971: 92); *pinatang* ‘insect’ (Mühlhäusler 1976: 277); *binatang* ‘insect’ (Barhorst & O’Dell-Barhorst n.d.); *binatang* ‘bug, insect, germ, virus’ (Baing & al. 2009: 11). Schebesta & Meiser 1945: 30) mention that the TP variant with word-initial [p] is “colloquial”. In both M and PM *binatang* only means ‘animal’. The TP equivalent has undergone semantic specialization.

M *beliong* / *beliung* / *bliong* > TP *bliong* ‘hatchet’ (Schebesta & Meiser 1945: 31); *bliong* ‘hatchet’ (Mihalic 1957: 20). The third M variant coincides with the TP form. Mühlhäusler (1985b: 207) writes that TP *bliong* appears to have been restricted to some areas on the New Guinea mainland. The word is included by Mihalic (1990: 266) in a list of words which “did not stay on” in TP.

M *dedap* / *dadap* > TP *dadap* ‘a species of trees with edible leaves’ (Schebesta & Meiser 1945: 40); *dadap* ‘a kind of tree with edible leaves’ (Mihalic 1957: 27); *dadap* ‘tree with edible leaves’ (Mühlhäusler 1985b: 216). Whether the original M word had /ə/ – spelled <e> – or /a/ is irrelevant to the outcome: the expected TP reflex of either of these two vowels is [a]. Note that TP *dadap* figures (Mühlhäusler 1985b:

² See the TP sample sentence *mambu where he stop?*, translated into German as *Wo ist das Floß?* ‘Where is the raft?’ (Friederici 1911: 104).

216) in the list of “many items that are given no clear source in available dictionaries” (see Mühlhäusler 1985b: 215-217).

M *gada* > TP *kunda* ‘rattan’ (Anon. a 1937: 26); *kunda* ‘cane (or lawyer-vine walking stick)’ (Anon. b 1941: 8); *kanda* ‘rattan; cane; lawyer-vine’ (Hall 1943a: 102); *kanda* ‘rattan cane; walking stick of cane; made of cane’ (Murphy 1943 [1966]: 73); *kunda* ‘cane’ Helton (1945: 27); *kanda* ‘rattan; cane’ (Schebesta & Meiser 1945: 84); *kanda* ‘cane, rattan’ (Mihalic 1957: 54); *kanda* ‘cane, rattan, stick’ (Steinbauer 1969 [1998]: 44); *kanda* ‘rattan cane’ (Laycock 1970a: 6); *kanda* ‘cane, rattan’ (Wurm 1971: 89). The <u> in *kunda* is an anglicized spelling, presumably an attempt at rendering the vowel [a]. The TP forms illustrate two phonological processes: the substitution of [k] for etymological /g/ and the prenasalized reflex of etymological /d/³.

M *gurita*, PM *gurita* > TP *kurita* ‘octopus’ (Schebesta & Meiser 1945: 99); *kurita* ‘an octopus’ (Mihalic 1957: 68); *kurita* ‘octopus’ (Steinbauer 1969 [1998]: 53); *kurita* / *urita* ‘squid, octopus’ (Wurm 1971: 92); *kurita* ‘octopus’ Baing & al. (2009: 40). As in other TP words, [k] is the reflex of an etymological /g/. Steinbauer (1969 [1998]: 53) specifies *Mel*, i.e. of Melanesian origin. The etyma from various Patpatar-Tolai languages suggested by Mosel (1980: 31), King *varido*, Mioko *urita*, Molot *urita*, Label *urita*, Lamassa *vurit*, Tolai *urita*, cannot account for the word-initial [k] in TP *kurita*. Note, however, that Murphy (1943 [1966]: 140) gives for ‘octopus’ *urita* / *wurita*. A form *urita* ‘squid, octopus’ is also given by Wurm (1971: 92). It is these forms that can be traced to the etyma proposed by Mosel (1980: 31). To conclude, TP *kurita* is of M origin whereas the competing TP forms *urita* / *wurita* are borrowings from the substrate languages. As shown, in some varieties of TP, e.g. in Highlands TP (see Wurm 1971), both a form borrowed from M and one from the substrate languages, i.e. *kurita* and *urita*, are recorded.

M *jambu*, PM *jambu* > TP *yambo* ‘guava fruit’ (Schebesta & Meiser 1945: 176); *yambo* ‘the guava tree and fruit’ Mihalic 1957: 163); *yambo* ‘guava tree and its fruit’ (Steinbauer 1969 [1998]: 116); *yambo* ‘guava’ (Baing et al. 2009: 123). In the TP form etymological /u/ undergoes lowering to [o].

³ See e.g. the discussion in Murphy (1943 [1966: 2) and Mihalic (1957: xviii).

M *jati* > TP *yati* ‘teak wood’ (Schebesta & Meiser 1945: 176); *yati* ‘teakwood’ (Mihalic 1957: 163). As in *yambo* (see above), the TP reflex of etymological /dʒ/ is [j].

M *kacang*, PM *kacang* > TP *kasang* ‘peanut’ (Murphy 1943 [1966]: 74); *kasang* / *kashang* ‘peanuts’ (Schebesta & Meiser 1945: 88); *kansang* ‘peanuts’ (Roosman 1975: 230); *kasang* ‘peanuts’ (Mihalic 1957: 57); *kasang* ‘peanut’ (Steinbauer 1969 [1998]: 46); *kasang* ‘peanut’ (Laycock 1970a: 7); *kasang* ‘peanut’ (Wurm 1971: 89); *kasang* ‘peanuts’ (Baing et al. 2009: 34). Schebesta & Meiser (1945: 88) write that the form with [s] is “more common”. Indeed, [s] is the normal TP reflex of the /tʃ/, spelled <c>, in the M source word. The variant with [ʃ] is rather surprising, given the general absence of this fricative in TP. According to Roosman (1975: 230), the variant *kansang*, with intrusive [n], is attested in the Rabaul area. Note, finally, that TP *kasang* is illustrative of M-derived “items, which were widely used in parts of the Sepik area [but] have begun to be replaced by words used in other parts of New Guinea or by new loans from English” (Mühlhäusler 1985b: 207). These more recent words include Lowlands and Coastal TP *bilinat* ‘peanut’ (Laycock 1970a: 7), Highlands TP *bilinat* ‘peanut’ (Wurm 1971: 89), Gazelle Peninsula TP *galip* ‘peanut’ and *pinat* ‘peanut’ (Mühlhäusler 1985b: 207). The word *kasang* is included by Mihalic (1990: 269) among the “workaday terms of yesteryear” about which he notes that “youngsters in both town and village today have no idea what is meant” by them.

M *kambing* > TP *kambing* ‘sheep, goat’ (Schebesta & Meiser 1945: 83); *kambing* ‘goat’ (Mühlhäusler 1975: 261); *kambing* ‘goat, sheep’ (Mihalic 1990: 266). M *kambing* only means ‘goat’, so the meaning ‘sheep’ in earlier TP is an instance of semantic extension. The M loanword has fallen out of use (Mihalic 1990: 266), the current forms in general use being *meme* ‘goat’ (Baing & al. 2009: 223) and respectively *sipsip* ‘sheep’ (Baing et al. 2009: 310).

M *kangkung*, PM *kangkung* > TP *kangko* ‘watercress’ (Murphy 1943 [1966]: 73); *kangong* ‘a vegetable, growing in water’ (Schebesta & Meiser 1945: 84); *kanggo* ‘a vine which grows in water holes and whose leaves are used as greens’ (Mihalic 1957: 55); *kango* ‘water cress’ (Baing & al. 2009: 33). The reflex of M /u/ is [o] in all variants. Schebesta & Meiser (1945: 84) specify with respect to the TP form provided by them “pronounce kang-gong; ng is ng in long). This remark and the spelling <ngg> in Mihalic (1957: 55) suggest that [g] is the reflex of the etymological /k/ in

the onset of the second syllable. However, the TP form given by Murphy (1943 [1966]: 73) preserves the etymological word-medial consonant cluster /ŋk/, as shown by the spelling with <ngk>. The etymological word-final /ŋ/ occurs only in the form listed by Schebesta and Meiser (1945: 84).

M *kapok* > TP *kapok* ‘kapok’ (Hall 1943a: 102); *kapok* ‘the tree and its fibers’ (Reed 1943: 277); *kapok* ‘kapok’ (Helton 1945: 36); *kapok* ‘the light waterproof fibre covering the seeds of a species of silk-tree’ (Schebesta & Meiser 1945: 85); *kapok* ‘the kapok tree or the silk-cotton it produces; cotton’ (Mihalic 1957: 55); *kapok* ‘kapok tree, cotton’ (Steinbauer 1969 [1998]: 45); *kapok* ‘kapok tree’ (Laycock 1970a: 8); *kapok* ‘kapok tree’ (Wurm 1971: 90); *kapok* ‘the kapok tree; cotton’ (Baing & al. 2009: 33). According to Mühlhäusler (1985b: 184), *kapok* ‘kapok (tree)’ is one of “a number of Malay words [which] were borrowed in all likelihood not from Malay speakers but from English and German”. Since all the forms attested point to the pronunciation [kapok] an E intermediary can safely be ruled out. Note, however, that an alternative form, *keipok* ‘cottonwool, kapok, kapok tree’ is recorded by Murphy (1943 [1966]: 74). The transcription with <ei> is the only one in the available sources which suggests a pronunciation with the diphthong [ei]⁴. This most likely reflects the E pronunciation of the word [ˈkeipok].

M *kelambu* / *klambu*, PM *klambu* > TP *kolombo* ‘mosquito net’ (Anon. b 1941: 10); *klambu* ‘mosquito net’ (Hall 1943a: 104, Hall 1943b: 193); *kolambun* ‘mosquito net, small net’ (Murphy 1943 [1966]: 76); *klambu* ‘mosquito net’ (Reed 1943: 277); *klambu* ‘mosquito net’ (Schebesta & Meiser 1945: 91); *kelambu* ‘a mosquito net’ (Mihalic 1957: 61); *klambu* ‘mosquito net’ (Steinbauer 1969 [1998]: 48); *kalambo* ‘mosquito net’ (Healey n.d.: 213), *klambu* ‘a mosquito net’ (Baing & al. 2009: 37). The word-final <n> in the form given in Murphy (1943 [1966]: 76) is most certainly a transcription error. In the majority of the TP forms listed the etymological /u/ is preserved, i.e. it does not undergo lowering to [o]. Note also that this M-derived item is being replaced by the word *taunam*⁵ used in other parts of New Guinea, e.g. New Ireland (Roosman 1975) or by the E loanword *moskeda net* (Mühlhäusler 1985b: 207).

⁴ See Murphy (1943 [1966]: 2): “EI–similar to the sound of “ei” in the English word “rein”.

⁵ The only form listed in e.g. Barhorst & O’Dell-Barhorst (n.d.).

M *kerani* / *krani* > TP *kranie* ‘any Malay person’ (Anon. a 1937: 27); *krani* ‘Malay’ (Anon. b 1941: 10); *krani* ‘Malay trader’ (Hall 1943a: 105, Hall 1943b: 193); *karani* ‘Malay’ (Murphy 1943 [1966]: 73); *krani* ‘clerk; Malay’ (Reed 1943: 277); *cranny* ‘Malay’ (Helton 1945: 38); *krani* ‘salesman in a store, a half-cast or more often a native’ (Schebesta & Meiser 1945: 96); *krani* ‘a Malay trader, a storekeeper’ (Mihalic 1957: 65). The TP form given by Murphy (1943 [1966]: 73) is the only one which does not start with the consonant cluster [kr]. It may derive from the M variant *kerani*, with TP [a] as the reflex of etymological /ə/. Since the M word means ‘clerk’, the various meanings of its TP counterpart are the outcomes of semantic shift and semantic extension. The TP word has gone out of use (Mihalic 1990: 266).

M *kerbau* > TP *karabu* ‘cattle’ (Anon. a 1937: 27); *karabaw* ‘water buffalo’ (Hall 1943a: 102); *karabu* ‘buffalo’ (Murphy 1943 [1966]: 73); *karabau* ‘water buffalo’ (Reed 1943: 277); *karabu* ‘water buffalo’ (Helton 1945: 53); *karabau* ‘buffalo; caribou’ (Schebesta & Meiser 1945: 86); *karabau* ‘the carabao’ (Mihalic 1957: 56). As can be seen, all the forms listed exhibit an epenthetic [a] between /r/ and /b/. However, three of the earliest variants listed end in [u] instead of the diphthong [au] of the M source word.

M *lombok* > TP *lumbo* ‘chillies, peppers’ (Helton 1945: 55); *lombo* ‘red pepper, chillies’ (Schebesta & Meiser 1945: 106); *lombo* ‘chillies, capsicum’ (Murphy 1966: 80); *lombo* ‘red pepper, chillies’ (Mihalic 1957: 72); *lombo* ‘red pepper, chillies’ (Steinbauer 1969 [1998]: 57); *lombo* ‘capsicum’ (Laycock 1970a: 8); *lombo* ‘capsicum’ (Wurm 1971: 90); *lombo* ‘red pepper, chillies’ (Baing & al. 2009: 44). The <u> in the first Tok Pisin form listed is most probably a faulty transcription. The etymological word-final /k/ is not preserved. This is not surprising given that, as is well known, /k/ is phonetically realized as the glottal stop [ʔ] in M, while in PM “concerning the voiceless stops, elision applies most frequently to /k/” (Kluge 2017: 79).

M [*burung*] *lori* > TP *lori* ‘a species of parrot’ (Schebesta & Meiser 1945: 108); *lori* ‘a kind of parrot’ (Mihalic 1957: 75). In M, the names of bird species are generally preceded by the word *burung* ‘bird’. TP has thus borrowed only the name of the species.

M *mandur* > TP *mandor* ‘overseer’ (Reed 1943: 277); *mandor* ‘a native overseer, a spokesman, a leader’ (Mihalic 1957: 80); *mandor* ‘overseer, spokesman, leader’ (Steinbauer 1969 [1998]: 61). Note that the form *mandor* given by Roosman (1975: 231) is actually the Standard Indonesian one (see Stevens & Schmidgall-Tellings 2010: 613). Here again, then, M /u/ is lowered to [o] in the TP word. According to Mühlhäusler (1985b: 207), TP *mandor* is another M loanword which appears to have been restricted to some areas on the New Guinea mainland. Also, it is no longer used (Mihalic 1990: 266).

M *meski* > TP *maski* ‘never mind’⁶ (Baker & Huber 2001: 203); *maski* ‘as far as I am concerned; never mind; rather; in spite of’ (Hall 1943a: 108); *maski* ‘it doesn’t matter; I do not care; leave it; in spite of it; never mind’ (Schebesta & Meiser 1945: 114); *maski* ‘to be indifferent, it does not matter, no matter; who cares?; in spite of, despite’ (Mihalic 1957: 82); *maski* ‘it does not matter, who cares; despite, in spite of; forget about it, leave it’ (Steinbauer 1969 [1998]: 63); *maski* ‘never mind, although’ (Wurm 1971: 22 and 76 respectively); *maski* ‘although’ (Barhorst & O’Dell-Barhorst n.d.); *maski* ‘negative imperative; never mind, no matter; although, even though’ (Verhaar 1995: 39, 44, 68 and 440 respectively); *maski* ‘never mind, it doesn’t matter, who cares?; nevertheless’ (Baing & al. 2009: 49). Several possible sources of TP *maski* have been suggested in the literature⁷. These include Chinese Pidgin English *maski*, G *macht nichts* and M *meski*, discussed in what follows. According to Clark (1977: 54, n. 4), “NG [= New Guinea] maski “never mind” has a clear Chinese cognate”. Tryon & Charpentier (2004: 116) state that *maski* is one of the “items known from Chinese Pidgin English and the earlier Portuguese-influenced maritime jargon [which] were almost certainly part of the Pacific tradition”. More recently, Franklin (2015a, 2015b) and Kubler (2015) argue in favour of a Chinese Pidgin origin of TP *maski*. Given that *maski* is first documented in Chinese Pidgin English as early as 1769 (Baker 1987: 175, Baker & Huber 2001: 203, Tryon & Charpentier 2004: 161), on chronological grounds this could be the source of the TP form. However, there are no attestations of *maski* in any other Pacific variety of Pidgin English predating its first known occurrence in TP, as noted by Clark (1977: 54, n. 4) and Baker (1987: 177). Therefore, Clark (1977: 54, n. 4) suggests that the TP word “may

⁶ Recorded in 1908. This is the earliest attestation of *maski* in TP.

⁷ For the ultimate Portuguese and/or Spanish origin of this item see Vázquez Veiga & Fernández (2012).

have been a relatively recent direct borrowing from CC [= China Coast]”, but does not elaborate on how this would have been possible. Moreover, as shown in section 1, the Chinese employed on the German plantations on the New Guinea mainland had been recruited in the former Dutch East Indies and Singapore and spoke Bazaar Malay. Therefore, a Chinese Pidgin English etymon for TP *maski* can be ruled out. G *macht nichts* as the source of TP *maski* is rejected by Engelberg & Stolberg (2017: 38-39) on phonetic grounds. While TP [s] is a possible reflex of G /ç/⁸, TP [k] as a reflex of G /t/ “seems puzzling”, given that [t] occurs quite frequently in TP, and “the apparent reduction of *nichts* to *(k)i* would be also be at least unusual” (Engelberg & Stolberg 2017: 38). On a more cautionary note, Mühlhäusler & al. (2003: 45) write that “German *macht nichts* ‘never mind’ may have reinforced its use in Tok Pisin”. Note, however, that the G phrase cannot account for the meaning ‘although, even though’ of TP *maski*. Consider next the case for M as the source language. Such an origin is proposed by Clark (1979: 59, n. 15). Later, Clark (2003) states with respect to TP *maski* that “the word is ultimately Portuguese, but reaches TP via some form of Malay”. The same origin is also suggested by Vázquez Veiga & Fernández (2012: 198), who show that M *meski* ‘in spite of, although’ is attested as early as 1626 and that it “has also developed a sense of ‘no matter’”⁹. More recently, Engelberg & Stolberg (2017: 39-40) conclude that *maski* “entered Tok Pisin via contact with other pidgin and creole languages and with Malay”. In light of the preceding discussion, it appears that M *meski* is the most likely source of TP *maski*, where [a] is the reflex of M /ə/, spelled <e>, and which means, as its etymon, both ‘in spite of, although’ and ‘no matter’.

M *nanas / nenas* > TP *nanis* ‘pineapple’ (Anon. a 1937: 30); *nanis* ‘pineapple’ (Murphy 1943 [1966]: 84); *nanas* ‘pineapple’ (Anon c 1944: 7); *nanis* ‘pineapple’ (Helton 1945: 56); *nanas* ‘pineapple’ (Roosman 1975: 231). This is one of the M words which according to Mühlhäusler (1985b: 184) was borrowed not from M speakers, but from G. However, positing G *Ananas* ‘pineapple’ as the etymon presupposes the occurrence of apheresis to account for the TP forms. No such phonological process needs to be assumed if the TP forms are traced to M *nanas / nenas*, with TP [a] as the reflex of M /a/ or of /ə/, spelled <e>. As for G *Ananas*, it is

⁸ As TP *tais*, from G *Teich* ‘pond’.

⁹ As in the example from a popular Malaysian song given by Vázquez Veiga & Fernández (2012: 198, n. 3): *meski terang, meski gelap* ‘no matter how bright, no matter how dark’.

the etymon of TP *ananas* ‘pineapple’ (Murphy 1943 [1966]: 59); *ananas* ‘pineapple’ (Schebesta & Meiser 1945: 8); *ananas* ‘pineapple’ (Mihalic 1957: 5); *ananas* ‘pineapple’ (Steinbauer 1969 [1998]: 11); *ananas* ‘pineapple’ (Barhorst & O’Dell-Barhorst n.d.); *ananas* ‘pineapple’ (Baing & al. 2009: 3). In other words, the TP forms for ‘pineapple’ can be traced to two sources: M *nanas* / *nanis*, on the one hand, and G *Ananas*, on the other hand. Both competing forms are first attested around the same period in the available records of TP.

M *pahit*, PM *pahit* ‘to be bitter’ > TP [*save*] *pait* ‘bitter’ (Murphy 1943 [1966]: 110); *pait* ‘to have a sharp taste, to have a disagreeable taste, to be bitter, poisonous’ (Mihalic 1957: 100); *pait* ‘something of sharp, sour taste’ (Steinbauer 1969 [1998]: 73); *pait* ‘bitter’ (Barhorst & O’Dell-Barhorst n.d.); *pait* ‘bitter, sharp or spicy taste’ (Baing & al. 2009: 60). The absence of etymological /h/ is presumably due to the fact that in M /h/ is frequently deleted if it occurs between vowels of different quality. The TP word is not derived etymologically from E, as indicated in Steinbauer (1969 [1998]: 73). Note also that in the dictionaries by Mihalic (1957: 100) and Baing & al. 2009: 60) the meanings ‘bitter’, etc. are listed in the same entry *pait*, after the meanings ‘fight, war, quarrel’, etc. This would imply that the TP *pait*, from E *fight*, has undergone semantic extension and has thereby become polysemous. In fact, M-derived *pait* and E-derived *pait* are distinct words, which are simply homophonous and are therefore entitled to separate entries.

M *parit*, PM *parit* > TP *paret* ‘small stream, race’ (Anon. a 1937: 31); *berit* ‘grave, ditch’ (Hall 1943a: 89); *pared* ‘ditch, gutter, race (water)’ (Helton 1945: 30, 34 and 42 respectively); *paret* ‘ditch, water race’ (Helton 1945: 46 and 57 respectively); *barit* / *parit* ‘ditch; drain; trench’ (Schebesta & Meiser 1945: 17); *baret* / *barit* ‘a stream, small river, ditch, furrow, rut; a groove, a wrinkle, corrugation’ (Mihalic 1957: 11); *baret* ‘ditch, groove, corrugation, river’ (Steinbauer 1969 [1998]: 15); *baret* ‘tributary, drain, gutter’ (Laycock 1970a: 6); *paret* ‘drain’ (Wurm 1971: 87); *baret* ‘ditch, drain; to be corrugated’ (Baing & al. 2009: 7). The earlier TP forms appear to have preserved the etymological word-initial /p/. According to Schebesta & Meiser (1945: 17), the variant *parit*, with word-initial [p], is “colloquial”. Consider also the forms *barad* / *parut* ‘valley, drain, water race, gully, canal’ (Murphy 1943 [1966]: 60 and 86 respectively), *barad* / *barat* ‘stream’ (Anon. c 1944), exhibiting the

same [b] ~ [p] and respectively [d] ~ [t] variation, which very likely derive etymologically from the same M source word.

M *rabung* > TP *rabun* ‘the ridge of a house’ (Schebesta & Meiser 1945: 138); *rabun* ‘the ridge of a house’ (Mihalic 1957: 117); *rabun* ‘ridge of house’ (Mühlhäusler 1985b: 216). The M word means ‘ridge of a roof’ and therefore closely matches the meaning of the TP form. Note that *rabun* is included by Mühlhäusler (1985b: 216) in the list of TP lexical items with uncertain etymology (Mühlhäusler 1985b: 215-217). According to both Schebesta & Meiser (1945: 138) and Mihalic (1957: 117), *rabun* was used in the Gazelle peninsula. However, Mihalic (1990: 266) mentions that it has gone out of use.

M *rotang*, PM *rotang* > TP *rotang* ‘rattan; cane’ (Schebesta & Meiser 1945: 141); *rotang* ‘rattan, cane’ (Mihalic 1957: 120); *rotang* (Baing & al. 2009: 79) ‘rattan’. The occurrence of [o] in the first syllable and of word-final [ŋ] points to a direct borrowing from M or PM, i.e. not through the intermediary of either G *Rattan* or E *rattan*.

M *sayur*, PM *sayur* > TP *saor* ‘any green vegetable or edible leaf’ (Anon. a 1937: 33); *sayur* ‘greens (esp. hibiscus)’ (Hall 1943a: 115); *seiyor* (Murphy 1943 [1966]: 92) ‘general term for edible leaves’, *sayor* (Reed 1943: 277); *sah-yoo* ‘vegetables’ (Anon. c 1944: 8); *sayor* ‘a general name for vegetable of any kind’ (Schebesta & Meiser 1945: 145); *sayor* ‘vegetables, greens’ (Mihalic 1957: 125); *sayor* ‘vegetables, greens’ (Steinbauer 1969 [1998]: 89); *sayor* ‘vegetables, greens (varieties)’ (Laycock 1970a: 8); *sayor* ‘vegetables, greens’ (Wurm 1971: 89); *sayor / saior* ‘vegetables’ (Barhorst & O’Dell-Barhorst n.d.); *sayor* ‘vegetables, greens’ (Baing & al. 2009: 85). The forms given in Anon. a (1937: 33) and Murphy (1943 [1966]: 92) may reflect an earlier, alternative pronunciation with the diphthong [ei] in the first syllable, as suggested by the spellings <a> and <ei> respectively. The TP form recorded by Hall (1943a: 115) is the only one which preserves the etymological /u/, which is lowered to [o] in all the other variants.

M *tanduk* > TP *tandok* ‘signal’ (Reed 1943: 277); *tandok* ‘signal; sign; the instrument with which a sign is given’ (Schebesta & Meiser 1945: 161); *tandok* ‘the signal given for beginning and/or ending work, for meals, for school or church’ (Mihalic 1957: 147). As in the case of several other M loanwords discussed, the

etymological /u/ is lowered to [o]. The TP word has undergone semantic shift, presumably via the following stages: M ‘horn’ > TP ‘signal blown with a horn’ > ‘signal’. Note that the second stage is attested in Schebesta & Meiser (1945: 161). TP *tandok* is yet another word of M origin which appears to have been restricted to some areas on the New Guinea mainland (Mühlhäusler 1985b: 207) and which is not used any longer (Mihalic 1990: 266).

M *tiang*, PM *tiang* > TP *tiang* ‘a forked post or beam’ (Schebesta & Meiser 1945: 164); *tiang* ‘a crotch, a forked post used in building’ (Mihalic 1957: 150). This loanword has undergone semantic specialization: in both M and PM *tiang* means ‘pole, post’.

M *tuan* > TP *tuan* ‘master, European’ (Mühlhäusler 1985b: 219). The M source word means ‘mister’, so the meaning of its TP counterpart has obtained via semantic shift. The word appears to have a limited distribution, being restricted to use in the area around Wewak (Mühlhäusler 1985b: 219). Moreover, it is being replaced by the *masta*, from E *master* (Mühlhäusler 1985b: 207).

4. Conclusions

According to Mühlhäusler (1985b: 206-207), “a full list of items [of M origin] is as follows”: *baret, bliong, kambing, kango, kapok, karabu, kasang, klambu, krani, lombo, mambu, mandor, pinatang, sayor, tandok, tiang, tuan*. In this paper, it has been shown that to these 17 lexical items 12 other loanwords from M must be added: *atap, dadap, kanda, kurita, lori, maski, nanas / nanis, pait, rabun, rotang, yambo, and yati*. While more than previously assumed, the 29 M loanwords still amount to only some 1% of the vocabulary of TP, as estimated by Salisbury (1967: 46) and Laycock (1970b: 115). Also, the fact remains that, as put by Mühlhäusler (1985b: 205), “Malay influence on Tok Pisin is much less noticeable than has been made out by writers such as Roosman (1975)”.

Most of the M loanwords identified appear not to have been part of the Melanesian Pidgin English vocabulary, i.e. before the split into its offshoots, TP, Bislama, and Solomon Islands Pidgin English. Indeed, they are not attested in earlier records predating the emergence of these varieties and are not listed in dictionaries of Bislama (Crowley 2003, Moon 2007) or Solomon Islands Pidgin English (Beimers

1995, Jourdan & Maebiru 2002). This suggests, in line with the socio-historical data, that the M loanwords entered TP after its stabilization as a distinct variety of Melanesian Pidgin English. The only possible exception might be M *kangkung*: a form *kankun* ‘water sweet potato or kangkong’ is recorded by Jourdan & Maebiru (2003: 89) in Solomon Islands Pidgin English¹⁰.

The M loanwords in TP go back to the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, given that, as shown in section 1, the influence of Malay declined after 1900. Mihalic (1990: 266) writes that in the “transitional historical period between Australian colonial days and independence (1975) there arose another category of words”, which includes the following M loanwords: *bliong*, *kambing*, *krani*, *mandor*, *rabun* and *tandok*. However, it is very likely that these M loanwords must also have entered TP at an earlier stage.

Some of the M loanwords are still in use. However, as also seen in section 3, others, e.g. *bliong*, *kasang*, *kambing*, *kelambu*, *krani*, *mandor*, *rabun*, *tandok*, *tuan*, have been or are in the process of being replaced by synonyms from local languages or from E (Mühlhäusler 1985b: 207, Mihalic 1990: 266 and 269). Two M loanwords, *nanas* / *nanis* and *kurita*, compete with loanwords from G and, more recently, English and respectively Patpatar-Tolai languages.

In terms of their distribution, some of the M loanwords have made it, in various forms, into “general” TP, e.g. *atap*, *binatang*, *kanda*, *kapok*, *lombo*, *maski*, *pait*, *paret*, *rotang*, *sayor*, *yambo*, *yati*. Others, as shown in section 3, appear to have been restricted to particular areas or particular varieties of TP, e.g. *bliong*, *kambing*, *mandor*, *rabun*, *tuan*. The number of M loanwords may have been larger in TP as spoken in the vicinity of the border with the former Dutch part of New Guinea. Mühlhäusler (1985b: 48), for instance, states that “the only variety of Tok Pisin which was influenced by these contacts was that spoken in the Aitape area and the other parts of the West Sepik province”.

As seen in section 3, a number of M-derived words have been phonologically adapted. The most frequently attested phonological adjustment is the lowering of etymological /o/ to [u], in both closed and open syllables. Other phonological changes

¹⁰ Also attested is *kepok* ‘kapok tree’ (Beimers 1995: 28), *kepok* ‘kapok pod’ (Jourdan & Maebiru 2002: 99). However, the [e], which is the reflex of E /e/, shows that the word entered through the intermediary of E [‘keipøk], rather than directly from M.

include lowering of /ə/ to [a], devoicing of /g/ to [k], voicing of /p/ and /t/ to [b] and [d] respectively, pre-nasalization of /d/, and lenition of /dʒ/ to [j]. Finally, several M loanwords have undergone semantic extension or semantic shift in TP.

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