

# SAMPELA NUPELA LO IKAMAP LONG TOK PISIN<sup>1</sup>

Gillian Sankoff

Université de Montréal

This paper concerns the function of the form ia and seeks to answer two questions. Firstly, does the use of this form reflect a new grammatical rule? Secondly, if it does, then what is the linguistic origin of ia?

A survey of the earliest publications on Tok Pisin yields no evidence of the form ia. Later publications indicate that hia (from English 'here') was used to distinguish particular items in a discourse.

In my Tok Pisin data the form ia has several uses. Firstly, it refers back to something already mentioned or it signals that something new is being introduced into the discourse. Secondly, the occurrence of ia also marks a convenient time for the listener to interject a question to clarify the point or for other participants to contribute their part in clarifying the point. Thirdly, it is used to emphasize a point.

Concerning the origin of ia, it may be said that many Austro-nesian languages exhibit forms which closely parallel the ia of Tok Pisin. It pleases me to note that this grammatical rule was not borrowed from English, but that it originated among speakers of Tok Pisin. This is evidence that Tok Pisin is a language in its own right and should silence the critics of Tok Pisin.

Wanpela wok mitupela Suzanne Laberge ibin mekim long 1971, bilong save long wonem kain nupela lo o rot ibin kamap long Tok Pisin. Na long narapela tok bilong mi istap long dispela buk,<sup>2</sup> mi bin stori long as bilong tingting bilong mitupela Suzanne. Orait, long dispela tok long nau, mi laik stori long wanpela liklik samting tasol istap long Tok Pisin, em, pasin o we bilong kisim tupela tingting istap long tupela tok, na bungim igo long wanpela tok tasol. Olosem, tupela tingting istap long (1) na (2), mi bin bungim long (3).

(1) Ol ikilim pik bipo.

(2) Na pik bai ikamap olosem draipela ston.

(3) Na pik ia [ol ikilim bipo ia] bai ikamap olosem draipela ston.

(Elena Z.)<sup>3</sup>

Sapos yumi tingting gut long dispela tripela tok, yumi ken klia long tupela samting. Nambawan samting, sapos pik istap long (1) em inarapela pik, na pik istap long (2) em inarapela, orait, yumi no ken wokim (3).

Tasol sapos wanpela pik tasol istap long (1) na (2), em iorait long wokim (3). Na tu, tingting istap long (1) ia, mi bin banisim insait long tupela banis (brackets) long (3), long wonem, em bilong kliaim yumi long wonem pik Elena itok long en. Em ino nambawan tingting bilong (3), em inambatu tingting bilong en. Na taim mi raitim, mi putim istap insait long tupela banis olosem [ ]. Tasol taim Elena yet ibin tokim, em tu em ibanisim long tupela liklik tok 'ia'; wanpela istap long hap ikam, na wanpela istap long hap igo.

Dispela pasin bilong bungim tupela tingting igo long wanpela tok, planti manmeri isave mekim olosem. Tok igo long wanpela samting, orait tok 'ia' bilong opim banis bilong autim nambatu tingting, pasim banis long narapela 'ia' ken, orait na kirapim nambawan tok igo.<sup>4</sup> Mitupela Suzanne ibin harim planti manmeri isave tok olosem, na mi ting olosem em iwanpela nupela lo ikamap long Tok Pisin bilong bungim tupela tingting o tupela tok. Na mi tingting olosem, dispela lo, ol manmeri isave tok Pisin, ol iyet wokim bilong halivim ol long bungim tok, ol ino kisim long skul. Na ol masta na ol gavman na ol hetman o bos samting ino wokim na givim long ol, samting ol iyet tingim.

Na sapos dispela tingting bilong mi istret, igat sampela askim o sampela kwesten istap long en. Olosem, dispela lo em inupela tru, o em istap yet long bipo? Na sapos long bipo ol ino bihainim dispela lo bilong bungim tingting, ol ikisim we na wokim olosem wonem?

Ol sampela man ibin kisim Tok Pisin long bipo, bilong painim aut ol wonem kain lo istap long en, ol itok olosem Tok Pisin inogat planti kain lo bilong bungim tingting o bungim tok. Mi lukluk long buk bilong Churchill (1911) ibin raitim long bipo tru, na mi painim popela tok, kain olosem (3). Long English ol ikolim *relative clause*. Orait dispela popela tok yu ken kauntim long (4) inap igo long (7). Mi bin bihainim pasin bilong Churchill ibin raitim, klostu olosem English, tasol mi ting olosem long dispela taim igo pinis, ol man ino save tok olosem English, kranki pasin bilong raitim tasol.

- (4) He look out all man [stop this place]. (p. 50)
- (5) Some place [me go] man he no good. (p.48)
- (6) You savey two white man [stop Matupi] he got house. (p. 42)
- (7) Chief he old man [he no savey walk good]. (p.49)

Long (4) igo long (7), long taim mi raitim, ol nambatu tok mi putim istap insait long banis. Tasol long taim ol itokim, ol ino makim dispela nambatu tok long kain banis olosem Elena ibin yusim long (3). O, sapos ol ibin wokim banis, ol masta ino harim no ino raitim. Na mi wok long lukluk long sampela narapela buk, olosem Hall (1943), Mihalic (1957, 1971), Wurm (1971) na Laycock (1970), na mi no bin lukim wanpela banis long tok 'ia' olosem.

Olosem wonem? Dispela samting em ikamap nupela, long taun tasol o long Lae tasol? Hat mo long yumi save. Mr Tamosan ibin tokim mi olosem em ibin harim ol man long hap bilong Madang isave mekim olosem. Na tu, Mr Laycock ibin tokim mi olosem em ibin harim sampela long hap bilong Sepik, tasol planti taim ol iyusim banis (tok 'ia') bilong opim tasol nambatu tok na maski long pasim ken. Na tru, mi bin kisim tok long Lae na long Morobe, tasol ol dispela lain manmeri ia mi bin kisim tok bilong ol ia, ol ikam long ologeta hap bilong Niugini: Simbu, Rabaul, Buka, Madang, Sepik.

Orait, mi tingting olosem, ol bikpela man long nambawan taim, ol ino wokim long bipo tru. Ating ol iwokim long bipo liklik, o yumi no ken save. Tasol long nambawan taim ol planti liklik tok na ol liklik samting istap bipo long Tok English, ol ino harim na holim na tanim ikam long Tok Pisin. Kain lo English ol i wokim long ol liklik tok olosem, ilus tasol. Na tu, long English ol ino yusim dispela tok 'ia' long bungim tingting o toktok.

Orait, mi bin wari tumas long dispela samting, ol ikisim dispela tok 'ia' long wonem hap na wokim ikamap olosem banis? Na mi lukluk long ol dispela buk ia mi toktok, na mi lukim olosem tok 'ia' istap. Ol iraitim olosem 'hia', na ol itok, as bilong en o mining bilong en i olosem 'wanpela ples istap klostu'. Na nambatu mining bilong en i olosem 'dispela'. Bilong suim mining bilong en, Mihalic na Wurm tupela ibin raitim sampela tok olosem (8) igo inap long (10)

(8) Yu stap hia. (Mihalic 1957:46)

(9) Em hia. (Mihalic 1957:46)

(10) Tispela haus hia. (Wurm 1971:12)

Orait, na ating ol man bilong bipo ol iharim tok *here* long English na ol itanim long Tok Pisin bilong ol, bilong tok klia long wonem samting ol itok long en. Sapos man itok, "haus ia", ino olosem ol sampela haus, em wanpela haus tasol yumi mas klia gut long en. Sapos ol itok, "ples ia", ino olosem ol ples nabaut, o wonem ples istap we, nogat, ol itingting long wanpela ples tasol istap. Ating long nambawan taim ol iyusim tok 'ia' long mekim dispela wok. Na istap long nau tu, olosem mi laik suim yu long (11) igo inap long (13).

(11) Na ol igo istap long maunten ia na wet long bikpela guria ia igo. (Noemi S.)

(12) Em kau ia, em ologeta brumakau. (Joe M.)

(13) Tupela igo, igo kisim kanu na tupela igo, igo igo nau, na meri tru ia em iwok, huk. Em iwok long pulim pis na tevel meri iwok long kaikai pis. (John P.)

Long ol dispela tripela tok, ol man itoktok ol ilaik kliaim gut ol man iwok long harim, long wonem maunten, wonem guria, wonem kau, na wonem meri ia ol itoktok. Olosem long (11), Noemi ibin tokim mi long dispela maunten na guria long bipo liklik, orait na nau, mi harim "maunten ia" na mi mas tingting bek long maunten ia em itokim mi pinis.

Tasol sapos Noemi iwok long toktok long wanpela samting, na em itok, "samting ia" (o "maunten ia," o "guria ia," o "hap ia"), na em ikirap na tingting, "O, ating Gillian ino inap long save long wonem samting mi tok long en", orait, em imas kliaim tingting bilong mi pastaim. Klia nau, em iken kirapim nambawan tok ken. Olosem long (14), Noemi itok "hap ia", orait, na kliaim liklik, tasol mi bekim long "Mm" tasol na em iwari long mi no save gut yet, orait kliaim liklik mo igo, na mi bekim strong, tok "Yes", orait, Noemi ipinisim nau.

(14) N.S. Ologeta karim kako na igo pinis--

G.S. Long maunten?

N.S. long hap ia [yu lukim bikpela vilis ia]

G.S. Mm.

N.S. [em yumi go, na igo long Mumeng ia]

G.S. Yes.

N.S. Em ia, [ol igo istap].

Orait, tingting bilong mi olosem, ol manmeri isave yusim dispela tok 'ia' long kain banis, bilong putim wanpela nambatu tingting igo insait long wanpela tok. Long planti taim, em bilong kliaim ol long wonem samting ol itok long en bipo, o ol isave long en bipo, olosem yumi lukim long (3), (11), (13), na (14). Tasol long sampela taim, em bilong autim samplea nupela save, o sampela nupela tingting, bilong halivim ol imas klia long samting bihain.

Na wanpela samting mo pastaim. Sapos man iwok long toktok, itok "samting ia" na wanpela narapela man ino klia long wonem samting, orait, em taim bilong askim. O sapos wanpela man iting olosem sampela man ino inap long save, tasol em yet em isave, orait em bai kirap kwiktaim na pulimapim dispela banis ia, nambawan man ibin opim long 'ia'. Orait long (15), yupela ken lukim sampela toktok olosem. Diane G. em iwok long stori long wanpela piksa, em ibin lukim long haus save wanpela wantaim Paul T. na Nat P. Diane ilaikim olosem ol imas save wanpela samting long man em itoktok long en, tasol Paul na Nat tupela iting olosem Diane ino kliaim gut. Orait tupela hariap na taim Diane pinisim nambawan banis bilong en, tupela kirap na autim sampela nupela save mo long dispela man.

(15) D.G. Dispela John wantaim narapela pren bilong en ia,

[dispela man ia], tupela--

P.T. Wanpela lapun papa!

N.P. Papa bilong en!

D.G. Yes, papa--ah, ino papa bilong en, pren bilong en ia!]

Tupela ikam...

Ol tripela bin stretim tok long dispela lapun pinis nau, orait stori igo, na nau Diane ilaik toktok long en ken. Orait long (16), em bai kolim lapun tasol, na banisim ken long ia.

(16) Dispela, John ia, stap insait long samting ia na em, man ia,

[lapun man ia], stap autsait ia. (Diane G.)

Orait, stori igo, na nau ol man nogut ol isutim lapun long lek. Bihain nau, Diane ilaik tok long lapun ken, orait, em ino kolim lapun, kolim "man ia, [lek bilong en idai ia]" na banisim ken long ia tasol.

(17) Tupela igo insait long haus bilong misis nau, dispela man ia

[lek bilong en idai ia], em istap insait nau, dispela man John

ia igo pasim sua bilong en na givim marasin samting. (Diane

G.)

Ating nau yupela klia long wonem kain wok dispela tok 'ia' isave mekim long Tok Pisin, olosem wok long kliaim wonem samting na wok long banis. Na wanpela kain wok mo, tok 'ia' isave mekim. Sapos igat wanpela tok olosem (18), tasol man ilaik long wanpela samting tasol imas sanap strong long en, wanpela tingting tasol imas strong, orait bai

ikisim dispela samting igo tokim pastaim, na makim tu long tok 'ia', olosem long (19) na (20).

(18) Wanpela America iputim nem long en.

(19) Em nem *ia*, [wanpela America iputim long en].

(20) Em wanpela America *ia* [iputim nem long en]. (Emma M.)

Long (20), Emma bin laik long ol imas save long *husat* ibin putim nem long pikinini bilong en, long wonem, ol ibin tok long nem bilong en pinis. Tasol sapos ol ibin save pinis long wanpela America istap, na 'nem' inupela samting, orait inap bai Emma autim tok olosem (19), na makim 'nem' tasol long 'ia'. Kain tok olosem (19) na (20), long English ol isave kolim *cleft sentences*, orait, tok 'ia' isave brukim tok olosem na makim wanpela samting o wanpela tingting imas strong mo long ologeta narapela samting.

Las tok nau, bilong bekim askim olosem, ol man ibin kisim tingting we, bilong kisim tok 'ia' na sanapim bilong mekim ol dispela kain wok? Yumi no ken save tru, tasol tingting bilong mi olosem, ol sampela ol ikisim dispela pasin long tok ples bilong ol yet. Long tok ples bilong Buang, igat wanpela liklik tok isave mekim ol tripela kain wok, olosem 'ia' isave mekim. Na tupela saveman (Andrew Pawley na Donald Laycock) ibin tokim mi olosem, long planti tokples bilong bikpela famili ol ikolim *Austronesian*, planti ol istap long Papua Niugini, dispela kain lo tu istap.

Mi skelim dispela lo *ia*, ol iwokim long Tok Pisin bilong ol, na mi amamas long en. Na mi lukim ol sampela narapela lo bilong wokim nupela tok istap long Tok Pisin (Peter Mühlhäusler (1975) ibin autim long toktok bilong en), na mi amamas tu long dispela. Samting iklia, ol manmeri isave yusim Tok Pisin, ol yet ibin kirapim ol dispela gutpela lo, ol ino kisim long Tok English. Orait *husat* bai igiaman olosem Tok Pisin ino inap *ia*? Nogat!

*Liklik tok bilong stretim sampela poin.*

1. Nambawan samting, mi save sore long ol manmeri ino inap long kauntim dispela toktok long Tok Pisin. Sapos ol sampela ilaik kauntim long Tok English, mi bin raitim long *The origins of Syntax in Discourse: some evidence from Tok Pisin* na autim long kivung long Honolulu long January 1975. (International Conference on Pidgins and Creoles). Nambatu samting, mi laik tenkyu tru long ol manmeri ibin halivim mi long kirapim dispela wok long kisim save bilong Tok Pisin long 1971: Suzanne Laberge, wanpela studen ibin kam wantaim mi long halivim mi; Colonel Harrington, nambawan bilong Igam Barracks; na ol planti manmeri bilong Lae taun na bilong Igam Barracks ibin sindaun na toktok wantaim mitupela Suzanne. Na tu, mi amamas long wok bilong Penelope Brown, Stephen Levinson na John Rickford, ol tripela ibin hatwok wantaim mi bilong painim aut as bilong tok 'ia'.

2. 'Wanpela lain manmeri ibin kisim Tok Pisin ikamap olosem tok ples bilong ol: yumi ken bihainim gutpela Tok Pisin bilong ol'.

3. 'Elena' ino nem tru bilong en, mi ting mobeta mi haitim nem tru bilong ol manmeri, nogut ol ikros long lukim nem tru bilong ol istap. Orait, mi wokim sampela giaman nem bilong ol.

4. Igat sampela tok olosem ol i bungim tupela tingting na ino yusim 'ia' bilong banisim. Mi bin toktok mo long ol dispela kain long toktok

ia mi autim long Honolulu (lukim long #1 istap antap ia).

Oi buk na toktok mi bin lukluk long ol.

- Brown, Penelope. 1972. *Relative clauses in New Guinea Tok Pisin*. Paper prepared for seminar on pidgins and creoles, Berkeley, 1972. ms.
- Churchill Wm. 1911. *Beach-La-Mar*. Carnegie Institution of Washington, Publication No. 154.
- Hall, Robert A., Jr. 1943. *Melanesian Pidgin English: Grammar, Texts, Vocabulary*. Baltimore: Linguistic Society of America.
- Laycock, D.C. 1970. *Materials in New Guinea Pidgin (Coastal and Lowlands)*. *Pacific Linguistics*, Series D, No. 5.
- Mihalic, Rev. F. 1957. *Grammar and dictionary of Neo-Melanesian*. Westmead, N.S.W., Australia: The Mission Press.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1971. *The Jacaranda dictionary and grammar of Melanesian Pidgin*. Milton, Qld.: Jacaranda Press.
- Mühlhäusler, Peter, 1975. *The functional possibilities of lexical bases in New Guinea Pidgin*. Paper presented at the 1975 International Conference on Pidgins and Creoles, University of Hawaii. ms.
- Rickford, John. 1973. *As bilong tok ia*. Paper prepared for Tok Pisin seminar, University of Michigan, 1973. ms.
- Sankoff, Gillian. 1975. *The origins of syntax in discourse: some evidence from Tok Pisin*. Paper presented at the 1975 International Conference on Pidgins and Creoles, University of Hawaii. ms.
- Wurm, S.A. 1971. *New Guinea Highlands Pidgin: course materials*. *Pacific Linguistics*, Series D, No. 3.