The Increasing Anglicisation of Tok Pisin:

An Analysis of the *Wantok* Corpus

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Abbreviations

The following abbreviations are used in the present study:

ETr	English Translation
FUT	Future
HAB	Habitual
LBH	Language Bioprogram Hypothesis
MPE	Melanesian Pidgin English
NGO	Non-Government Organisation
NoO or O	Number of Occurrences
NP	Noun Phrase
NSWPE	New South Wales Pidgin English
P	Productivity
P3	*Pes 3* = Page 3
PNG	Papua New Guinea
PNGE	Papua New Guinea English
POST	Part of Speech Tagging
PPE	Pacific Pidgin English
PR	Predicate Marker
PREP	Preposition
S	Source
SPP	Samoan Plantation Pidgin
ST	*Stori Tumbuna* = Ancestor Stories
TAM	Tense, Aspect and Modality
TP	Tok Pisin
TR.V	Transitive Verb
UCSD	University of California, San Diego
VP	Verb Phrase
Y	Year
YfO	Year of first Occurrence
YlO	Year of last Occurrence

INTRODUCTION

The present study analyses the lexicon of Tok Pisin, the variety of Melanesian Pidgin English spoken in Papua New Guinea (PNG). Tok Pisin is one of the three official languages, together with Hiri Motu, "a pidginized form of the Austronesian language Motu" (Smith, 2002: 10), and English. In a country with over 850 languages, Tok Pisin is the most important lingua franca for nearly six million people.[1]

Tok Pisin is a well-documented language within the field of pidgin and creole linguistics, especially regarding its history and development. Corpus studies, on the other hand, are rare. Those that exist are predominantly based on spoken data, while investigations of written texts either deal only with one specific linguistic feature,[2] are limited to a short period of time, or both.[3] By contrast, a corpus of written Tok Pisin covering a period of over 30 years is analysed in the present study. Under the assumption that the influence of English is increasing in Papua New Guinea, it focuses on the development of the lexicon of Tok Pisin.

English, which has been available as a lexifier for the better part of Tok Pisin's history, is considered to be highly influential for several reasons. First and foremost, English is the language of education in Papua New Guinea from grade three onwards. Romaine (1992a: 20) describes an episode that illustrates its status in PNG classrooms: A notice reminds pupils that speaking English is good, speaking Tok Pisin is bad, and speaking *tok ples*[4] is worst. Furthermore, proficiency in English is associated with social prestige by many locals and is advantageous in finding a good job (Wurm, 1991: 3ff.). Because it obviously originates from a pidgin, there are still substantial gaps in the lexicon of Tok Pisin. Inventions, new phenomena and all kinds of innovations must be reflected linguistically, however. Tok Pisin speakers

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[1] This is the estimate given for July 2009 by the Central Intelligence Agency, available at <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/pp.html>; 01 Mar. 2010.

[2] Franklin/Thomas (2006) examine idioms, for example, while Mühlhäusler (2008) deals with multifunctionality.

[3] Both Romaine (1992a) and Smith (2002) use spoken corpora, for instance, while two other authors work with *Wantok* but analyse only very small corpora: Feldmanis (2002) uses 10,000 words, Levey's first corpus (2000) has 16,000 words and his second (2001) 31,206.

[4] *Tok ples* means a native language, a mother tongue.

frequently choose a simple way of adapting, (re-)creating and enlarging their vocabulary: they borrow from English. It is the obvious candidate.

As early as 1971, Wolfers considered the possibility of "a situation in which the educated and political elites will speak either English or a form of the pidgin [i.e., today's Tok Pisin] with rather more foreign words in it" (ibid.: 417). Given the political and technological development of the country, he felt that the Neo-Melanesian language, as it was then called, and its vocabulary would prove inadequate. While Siegel (1997) and G. P. Smith (2002) doubt that decreolisation is taking place, Bickerton (1975), Sankoff (1980) and A.-M. Smith (1978 and 1988) all stress the growing influence of English on Tok Pisin.

A corpus is a "collection of texts assumed to be representative of a given language, dialect, or other subset of a language, to be used for linguistic analysis" (Francis, 1982: 7). As such, it is ideal for investigating the extent of anglicisation of the Tok Pisin lexicon. Whereas spoken language contains slips of the tongue, self-corrections, filler words, hesitations, false starts, etc., written texts can be edited beforehand. Spoken language is more variable and not only picks up but also discards certain features again swiftly. A case in point is the reduction of the Tok Pisin aspect marker *save* to *sa*, as in *em <u>sa</u> stap* 'he (habitually) stayed (there)', a form that occurs in the spoken corpora of both Romaine (1992a) and Smith (2002), but is not found in Verhaar's (1995) written corpus. What is included in written texts, on the other hand, is unlikely to be a nonce word or feature coined on the spur of the moment.

For a long time written materials in Tok Pisin were mainly of religious nature, since the first and main efforts to standardise the language were made by missionaries, both to spread the word of God and for educational purposes. Indeed, the orthography used in the *Nupela Testamen* (New Testament), which had been proposed by Hall, was officially acknowledged in 1956. Adherence to this standard would have been desirable and beneficial to the stabilisation of Tok Pisin, but its observance was never supervised or enforced by the government. Official recognition and a clear-cut language policy still remain desiderata. The writers of contemporary indigenous printed texts, such as poetry and creative writing, manuals,

comic strips[5] and the weekly newspaper *Wantok*, are, technically, free to spell as they please.

The word *wantok* literally means 'one talk' and refers to people sharing the same language. *Wantok Niuspepa* was founded in 1969 by the late Father Frank Mihalic of the Society of the Divine Word. The orthography originally used by *Wantok* is also based on Hall's suggested standard, as is Mihalic's revised grammar and dictionary of 1971, which is therefore often referred to as the *de facto* norm. *Wantok* initially set out to follow the proposed spelling norms and to use rural Tok Pisin, but the paper's increasing use of anglicisms has been noted by authors such as Verhaar (1995: xix) and Levey (2001: 252).

Wantok as the source for the corpus of the present study was chosen for three main reasons: Firstly, it is the only newspaper that is available in Tok Pisin, and secondly, since it "is often read out to great numbers of people, it also influences spoken Tok Pisin" (Romaine, 1992a: 51). Thirdly, "newspapers are read by a comparatively large public and are thus more representative than other written texts" (Mazaud, 2004: 2). The option of including texts from the *Nupela Testamen* into the corpus was disregarded, even though it is the most widely sold book in Papua New Guinea (Romaine, 1992a: 49). It is questionable, however, whether it is also the most widely read book. What is more, the rural variety chosen for and used in the *Nupela Testamen* does not reflect current usage, since its content is static. Newspapers, on the other hand, are dynamic – and this is mirrored in their language use.

The *Wantok* corpus[6] compiled for the present study covers the period from 1972 to 2004 and is made up of the *Stori Tumbuna* texts, meaning 'ancestor stories' or 'folktales', and the *Pes 3* (i.e., page three) texts. Based on their content, the *Stori Tumbuna* texts were expected to be indicative of a more rural variety, whereas the *Pes 3* texts were believed to have a broader vocabulary that would perforce incorporate 'modern' words over time, thereby representing urban Tok Pisin. With a

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[5] Examples of such materials in Tok Pisin are a translation of Marc Antony's speech (Act 3, Scene 2) in Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar* (Murphy, 1966: 19f.), the handbook *Save na Mekim* (Bergmann, 1982) and the comic strip *Grass Roots* (Browne, 1991).

[6] I would like to express my gratitude to the Word Publishing Company, P.O. Box 1982, Boroko, NCD, Papua New Guinea, for kindly giving me permission to use and publish texts from *Wantok*. My special thanks go to Fr. de Groot and E. Konga for their help and support.

little over 250,000 tokens the data base may at first seem small, but this is put into perspective when one considers that the "average English speaker has a vocabulary ten times the size of the urban Tok Pisin speaker" (ibid.: 171).

The texts from *Wantok* were first converted into editable electronic files using the optical character recognition program ABBYY FineReader 8.0. After manual rework the files were labelled in line with Slone's[7] naming convention. The corpus analysis tool WordSmith was used to create a word list and for concordance searches, so that every Tok Pisin word of each category to be investigated was displayed in its context.

Based on this corpus, the present study is structured as follows:

Chapter 1 outlines the history of Tok Pisin according to external events such as labour trade, the period of German influence from 1884-1914, Australian administration and its development since 1975, when Papua New Guinea became independent.

Pidgins and creoles are the subject matter of chapter 2. A summary of the theories of their origin is followed by an examination of the characteristic features of pidgins and creoles. Whenever possible, examples from Tok Pisin are supplied. The process of development from pidgin to creole is then sketched, before an account of the discussion regarding a (post-)creole continuum in Papua New Guinea is given.

After explaining the significance of *Wantok Niuspepa*, chapter 3 also describes the compilation of the corpus, i.e., the types of text that are included and the programs used.

Chapter 4, the corpus analysis, is the central part of the present study. Lexical change is perceived as the cover term for classical word formation processes and other means of enlarging the Tok Pisin lexicon. The reasons both for not dividing Tok Pisin affixes into inflectional and derivational, and for their compilation from an English speaker's perspective, are given. An example from the corpus is provided for

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[7] Thomas H. Slone kindly gave me permission to use the *Stori Tumbuna* corpus he had compiled.

all affixes, and their productivity is calculated and discussed. Sections on compounding, adapted loans, acronyms, backformation, clipping and reduplication are also included under classical word formation processes. Multifunctionality, synonymy and homonymy are all considered to be further means of enlarging the lexicon and complete the main chapter.

A recapitulation of the approach taken and a final evaluation of the findings are given in chapter 5, which concludes this study.

Corpora are currently being used for all kinds of research. So far, however, the only corpus that exists for written Tok Pisin are the *Stori Tumbuna* texts. It is envisaged to supplement this textual basis with the *Pes 3* texts compiled for the present study, which will not only increase the number of words available, but will also considerably broaden the scope of searchable contemporary Tok Pisin vocabulary.

THE HISTORY OF TOK PISIN

Tok Pisin may be seen as a pidgin which developed out of a situation of intertwined encounters between various European explorers in different parts of the Pacific and assorted South Sea Islanders. Since researchers are still unravelling these interconnections, it is difficult to determine the exact year of origin of Tok Pisin. Most works trace its roots back to the 1830s, the time around which there was a considerable increase in whaling in the Pacific, but Smith (2002: 13) even suggests that "varieties of European-based trading language [*sic*] spread out over the oceans from the 17th century onwards". The reason for not structuring the subdivisions of this chapter according to linguistic phases such as 'Jargon Phase' and 'Period of Stabilisation', but rather for choosing headings which reflect external events documenting changes in Tok Pisin's past, is that there is still much controversy in the literature regarding precisely these stages.[8]

1.1 First Contact

Sporadic exploration of the Pacific by Europeans began in the 16th and 17th centuries, but serious documentation, i.e. compilation of navigation charts, was not completed until the late 18th century. Throughout most of the 19th century European governments seemed to care little for the Pacific islands, and we do not know precisely which European nations were involved when commercial activity in the South Pacific began. However, there is evidence that English was used as the language of trade,[9] and it can be assumed to have been highly influential.

According to Clark (1983: 11f.), it is likely that English was not used during the first contacts between Europeans and locals, and therefore did not yet serve as a superstrate language. The relations were either too sporadic and required little linguistic exchange, or else the foreigners, at first probably mainly missionaries and 'beachcombers', attempted to adapt to the various local communities and learned the vernaculars. But the more trade flourished, the more even the earliest form of South

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[8] Two opposing views are held by Mühlhäusler (1985) and Keesing (1988). Keesing proposes a much earlier stage of stabilisation than Mühlhäusler, and they also differ in their assumption as to where it took place. Section 1.5 provides further details.

[9] Cf. Keesing (1988: 14ff.), Clark (1983: 13ff.) and Baker (1987: 189f.).

Pacific Pidgin spread. This view is shared by Baker (1987: 188ff.), who feels that the aforementioned factors, namely local converts who were sent to surrounding islands after having been trained by missionaries, or the high rate of fluctuation amongst the crews of trading vessels, can all be seen as effective to some extent: In each situation, some English words or perhaps even other pidgins (e.g. Chinese Pidgin English and especially New South Wales Pidgin English) were picked up and dispersed. So the expansion of trading activities required and resulted in an extension of linguistic interactions.

Until the onset of labour trade (see section 1.4 for details) in the 1860s, the area of Papua New Guinea had been largely neglected. The two distinctive stages preceding this period will nevertheless be included here, since they may be seen as the first phases of contact between Europeans and Pacific Islanders worth mentioning from a linguistic point of view. They also serve to embed the history of Tok Pisin within an overall historical framework.

1.2   Whaling

Whaling began in 1789, reached its peak between 1840 and 1860, then declined rapidly and was gradually replaced by trading activities. Local European settlements were rare at this time, so when new supplies and fuel were needed, negotiations involved mainly local inhabitants. They were also recruited to replace crewmen who deserted or were lost in accidents, which is why these vessels carried a highly assorted crew:

> The American-owned ships (the largest number) regularly carried Portuguese from the Atlantic islands, recruited to supplement the New England labour supply. There were also American Negroes and Indians, Peruvians, Europeans of various nationalities, East Indians, Malays, and of course 'Kanakas' (Pacific islanders) from various places.
>
> (Clark, 1979: 28)

According to Keesing (1988: 15), whaling began in the central Pacific and expanded to several connected island groups in the Carolines, which form the Federated States of Micronesia, the Gilbert Islands, situated in Kiribati, and Rotuma, which lies far north of Fiji. He also mentions Hawaii and Tahiti. To these ports Clark (1979: 5) adds those of the Pitcairn Islands, the Marquesa Islands, which form one of the five

administrative divisions of French Polynesia, Samoa and the Bay of Islands in New Zealand. Baker (1987: 190) names only Hawaii, the Marquesa Islands and Tahiti.[10] Due to the great variety of indigenous languages, it was not possible to find one single vernacular that could be adopted as a common means of communication. Hence, a language use thrived that has frequently been termed South Seas Jargon,[11] exemplified in the following:

> (Tahiti, 1852)
>
> "Ah! no good here; too big stoney, by, by, canoe broke; more good go 'shore; bery good eak shicken, man ashore he cook 'im; bery good, ah! by, by, sleepy sleepy, bery good; here too much a-cold, by, by, canoe broke, too much a swim, swim no good!"
>
> (Lamont, 1867: 68, quoted in Clark, 1983: 14)

It was obviously a difficult situation for all those involved in the whaling activities: On the one hand, working together forced speakers from many different regions to find a language to communicate, and on the other hand, a rapidly changing crew resulted in a highly unstable linguistic environment.[12]

Circumstances changed with the decline of whaling and the further expansion of trade.

1.3   Trade

With the increase in trade came the need for more refined linguistic expressions. The 'Jargon Phase', where only the most rudimentary communicative requirements between assorted speakers must be fulfilled, was followed by a period of stabilisation. Whilst whaling had involved only short stopovers ashore, the most sought-after trading goods, namely sandalwood and the bêche-de-mer,[13] necessitated the establishment of processing stations and the use of native labour.

The areas in the south, i.e. New Caledonia, the Loyalty Islands and the southern New Hebrides, were among the first to be involved in sustained contact with traders (Keesing, 1988: 26). Mühlhäusler stresses that the setting for participants involved in trade was once again a delicate matter:

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[10] See Map 1, Appendix A, for details.

[11] An alternative name, used e.g. by Holm (2000: 97), is Pacific jargon, while Romaine (1992a: 33) speaks of Pacific Jargon English.

[12] Clark (1979: 34) includes several references made to 'mixing languages'.

[13] An edible sea slug, which is said to have been highly prized at the time, especially in China.

> The wish to remain on non-intimate terms was reinforced by distrust on both sides. The islanders, suspicious of the Europeans and often aware of unpleasant encounters in the past, remained basically hostile. The visitors, on the other hand, were convinced of the treacherous character and the cannibalistic tendencies of the native population.
>
> (Mühlhäusler, 1985a: 38)

However, if one regards the following quotation, it seems that perhaps not all locals were as sceptical towards the foreigners as was suggested by Mühlhäusler:

> …the natives throughout the whole of the Pacific, where any degree of civilization has commenced, manifest a great desire to learn and speak English, but it is almost universally a "broken English" generally called "Bece [sic] de Mer English" or "Sandalwood English" from the fact that it is spoken by white men and natives in trading for those articles.
>
> (Jones, 1882, cited in Clark, 1977: 77)

Whatever the attitude of speakers towards one another may have been, trade flourished.

A rush for sandalwood in the Pacific began in 1841, when it was discovered near New Caledonia, and lasted until its exploitation 25 years later (cf. Clark, 1979: 36). Analyses of this period have led to three hypotheses with respect to possible sources of linguistic input. The first, put forward by Baker (1987: 188ff.), proposes a modest and mutual influence of Chinese Pidgin English.[14] The second theory is presented by the same author (191ff.), who assumes that New South Wales Pidgin English (NSWPE) has been largely neglected as a relevant factor. Finally, Melanesian may be seen as having been effective to some extent. The reason why all these assumptions seem plausible is based on the triangular trade that evolved between ports in China (mainly Hong Kong and Canton), Australia (primarily Sydney) and (southern) Melanesia (cf. Clark, 1979: 36). Goods such as tea, tobacco and guns[15] were exchanged for sandalwood. A large number of the workers who processed the sandalwood, and more and more crew members on the ships, were of Melanesian origin (cf. Romaine, 1992a: 34f.). One advantage for the overseers in employing

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[14] According to Rowley (1972: 57), "Chinese probably accompanied Malays on bird-shooting expeditions into the Sepik valley long before the Germans claimed it".

[15] Mühlhäusler's account (1985a: 35) of mutual distrust between islanders and Europeans makes little sense if we believe that one of the trading goods given to locals was guns.

Melanesians was the number of their vernaculars, as supervisors disliked hiring too many speakers from one language community for fear of rebellion (cf. Clark, 1979: 36).

Since longer stays on shore involved closer contact between workers and locals, "[a] vehicle for communication […] was needed, and South Seas Jargon was the obvious candidate" (ibid.). Not only is this scenario the standard situation in which pidgins develop, but that a recognisable stabilisation took place during this phase may also be deduced from the distinct name given to the spoken language by Europeans: 'Sandalwood English'.

A similar environment was created by the purchase and sale of the bêche-de-mer. The name for the modern language Bislama,[16] spoken in Vanuatu, reflects this situation of manifold intertwined contacts: *bicho do mar*, Portuguese for 'small sea creature', i.e. the sea slug, appears as *biche de mer* in French, and the form *Beach-la-Mar* is sometimes used as a simplifying term to describe the entire Melanesian-Pidgin language scene in the 19th century (cf. Romaine, 1992a: 33ff. and Keesing, 1988: 2).

Altogether, this stage can be characterised as one of stabilisation.

1.4　　　　Plantations

While whaling activities, the sandalwood and bêche-de-mer trade declined during the early 1860s, sugar and also copra[17] plantations began to prosper. The need for thousands of labourers to work there set off what is often called 'blackbirding' or 'labour trade'. "The first interest in the people […] [was] that for the fit adult male as an unskilled labourer. Although there was some early trading in shell, bêche-de-mer and sandalwood, the most prized asset of the coast was the New Guinean himself" (Rowley, 1972: 57).

Labourers were recruited from numerous areas, and it is likely that several of them were familiar with Sandalwood English or Beach-la-Mar. The methods applied by recruiters have given rise to substantial discussions. It seems that some of them used violence, deception, kidnapping and even murder, but there are also accounts which

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[16] Formerly this language was known as Bichelamar of the New Hebrides.

[17] Copra is dried coconut meat, from which Europeans extracted oil and with which they even fed their cattle (Clark, 1979: 58).

document that workers signed on willingly and repeatedly. Thus, the expression most commonly used is 'indentured labour', as opposed to 'slave labour' (cf. Clark, 1983: 20f.), although authors such as Rowley feel that the difference is in terminology only:

> The blackbirding trade grew after the half-century to meet needs in the new Pacific cash economy similar to those which had been served by the slave trade; it was the same kind of trade, except that those engaged in it were subject to the anti-slavery laws. […] Slavery had been replaced with the system of 'indentured' labour, under which the relationship of the worker to his master was brought within the law through the legal fiction of the contract of employment […].
>
> (Rowley, 1972: 58)

On the whole, labour trade conditions were difficult: Plantation owners competed with one another for workers and increasingly needed to avoid those areas where missionaries were gaining influence. Missionaries wanted to have as little as possible to do with the non-pious people trading in firearms, alcohol and even human beings, while the traders/recruiters knew of the missionaries' disdain of their business (cf. Clark, 1983: 11f.). Furthermore, vulnerability to European diseases had drastically decimated the number of potential labourers. Because many locals already owned their share of European goods and were no longer interested in working to obtain them, recruiters needed to expand their search to more distant areas. In their task, they increasingly came to rely on the help of men whom Keesing (1988: 37ff.) calls 'sophisticates': Those who were familiar with the 'shipboard pidgin' acted as negotiators and were instrumental in spreading Early Melanesian Pidgin.[18] Even more so, apparently many of them seized the opportunity to upgrade their position and rose from workers to overseers on the plantations, where their command of the language served to promote its development and stabilisation.

The significance of the plantations in establishing a common means of communication is emphasised by Mühlhäusler:

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[18] Melanesian Pidgin English is the "name commonly given to three varieties of Pidgin spoken in the Melanesian states of Papua New Guinea (*Tok Pisin*), Solomon Islands (*Pijin*), and Vanuatu (*Bislama*)" (Romaine in McArthur, 1992: 649). Early Melanesian Pidgin is therefore a precursor of Tok Pisin.

> The importance of the plantations in the development of pidgin languages can hardly be stressed enough, for it is here that the trade jargon was changed most readily into a stabilised pidgin. In addition the plantations acted as the main catalyst in the nativisation of pidgins.
>
> (Mühlhäusler, 1985a: 39)

The need for a general language amongst recruiters was influenced by two further factors: White plantation owners, wanting to uphold class distinctions, avoided all unnecessary contact with black workers. On top of that, the black labourers were shunned by the native population, who thought poorly of them and were sometimes even afraid they might return to their cannibalistic habits (ibid.: 40).

Keesing includes a table indicating how many labourers were recruited, in which year and for which plantations:

	New Hebrides				
Period	Loyalties	South	Central	North	Southeastern Solomons
1863-1867	421	307	881	120	-
1868-1872	643	508	961	1,481	58
1873-1877	55	1,197	2,202	4,412	813
1878-1882	-	1,327	1,892	6,435	1,561
1883-1887	-	1,143	1,355	5,437	2,509
1888-1892	-	525	953	3,116	-
1893-1897	-	265	573	1,760	3,037
1898-1904	-	528	906	1,743	5,028

Table 1: Origins of Recruits to Queensland, by Five-Year Periods, 1863-1904 (Keesing, 1988: 40)

In summary, labourers from diverse areas – both geographically and linguistically – were recruited to work on the sugar and copra plantations situated mainly in Queensland, Fiji and Samoa.

1.5   Influences on Tok Pisin

By drawing attention to three hypotheses dealing with the origin and stabilisation of Tok Pisin, the (linguistic) events just sketched are summarised and commented upon in the following. Such a synopsis seems appropriate in view of the many factors that contributed to the emergence of Tok Pisin, before going on to outline the next sequential stage.[19]

1.5.1   Keesing's Theory

Keesing puts forward a large-scale theory. In his view, there was originally "a worldwide nautical pidgin" (1988: 4) which extended across a vast area of land and sea. From this emerged a distinctive Pacific pidgin that stabilised to a considerable degree in the 1870s aboard ships in the central Pacific. The pidgins spoken in Queensland, Samoa, the Solomons, the New Hebrides and the Bismarck Archipelago[20] initially all belonged to one widespread speech community with one common lexicon. Minor modifications did not begin on the plantations until the 1870s, when the vocabulary stemming from nautical pidgin and English was enriched by indigenous languages, as well as French and German. During the 1870s local dialects began to develop, but they were to remain relatively insignificant for the next 20 years. When Germany sealed off its territory in the mid-1880s, Tok Pisin, and especially its lexicon, began to develop independently (cf. Keesing, 1988).

1.5.2   Mühlhäusler's Position

In numerous papers[21] Mühlhäusler suggests a distinct linguistic history of Samoan Plantation Pidgin and, as a result, of Tok Pisin, from the late 1870s onwards.

Although whalers and traders had already visited the Bismarck Archipelago in the 1850s, these contacts are unlikely to have had any noteworthy linguistic impact. And although originally labourers from the same – albeit dispersed – regions were

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[19] For a regional overview, see Map 2, Appendix A.

[20] The New Hebrides later became Vanuatu, where Bislama is spoken. The Bismarck Archipelago includes New Britain, New Ireland, the Admiralty Islands, the Mussau Islands, New Hanover, the Vitu Islands and the Duke of York Islands. Compare Map 1, Appendix A.

[21] For a detailed discussion see Mühlhäusler (1978). Cf. also Mosel/Mühlhäusler (1982), Mühlhäusler (1985), and Mühlhäusler *et al*. (2003). Even if the collection of new evidence results in some alterations in Mühlhäusler's position, his basic assumption remains the same.

recruited for the plantations of Queensland, Fiji and Samoa, the latter must be somewhat set apart.

Beginning around 1867, a German company brought labourers exclusively to their plantations on Samoa. Gilbert and Ellice Islanders constituted the largest number of workers found on Samoa in the 1870s, and early 'Samoan Plantation Pidgin' (SPP) resulted from their vernacular influence, combined with the fragments of Pidgin English they had acquired during earlier encounters with Europeans. In the late 1870s, many New Hebrideans were hired, whose Bichelamar also had some linguistic impact. From around 1878 onwards, the first workers originating from New Britain and New Ireland arrived. They had not been included at all in former recruiting periods and therefore had hardly any knowledge of pidgin upon their arrival on Samoa. They will also have modified the variety spoken at the time. When the Germans officially gained control,[22] they put an end to the exchange of labourers. After 1884, only Samoan plantations received workers from the Bismarck Islands. Later, upon the labourers' return to their homes, the next younger generation keenly learned to speak this pidgin and spread it. Thus, New Guineans were exposed to pidgin for seven years, i.e. from 1878-1884 at the most, and during this period contact was limited, resulting in Samoan Plantation Pidgin as the main model for Tok Pisin's development until about 1900.

1.5.3   Baker's View

In Baker's opinion (1987: 199ff.), the precursor of Samoan Pidgin English may be traced back to Australia. When one takes into account the evidence he collected it seems plausible to assume that the impact of Chinese Pidgin English (CPE) on Pacific Pidgin English (PPE) was rather limited, albeit existent, whilst the main influence was New South Wales Pidgin English (NSWPE):

> The Sydney area was identified […] as probably the first place in which a stable variety of PPE emerged, due to continuity of interaction being a feature of the settlement from the outset. Sydney was also, almost instantly, the most important center for shipping in the Southwest Pacific, and there was thus the potential for NSWPE to provide something of a model for whites who subsequently visited Pacific islands. […] NSWPE was probably the single most important

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[22] The regions are specified in Map 2, Appendix A.

influence on the development of PPE in the islands of the Southwest Pacific.

(Baker, 1987: 197f.)

These findings are further supported if one adds Clark's account that sugar cane was first grown in Queensland (1979: 6), and Rowley's statement that, by 1850, sailors from the Sydney area were familiar with the seas (1972: 58).

1.5.4 Critical Discussion of the Theories

Keesing's interpretation of historical events and his claim of a consequential worldwide nautical pidgin do not appear very convincing. There were simply too many individual factors involved. Even if one concedes that many European traders were of English-speaking origin – and the author himself admits their speech was far from uniform –, this should also hold true for their education, experience, attitude and so on. Keesing's statement that the seamen "collectively carried with them a set of linguistic and cultural expectations and strategies for "talking to natives" […] which represented a cumulative interlinking of the various lingua francas of the Atlantic, the Caribbean, the China coast, and perhaps the Indian Ocean" (1988: 23) therefore seems highly challengeable. The same applies to his assumption that stabilisation took place on the ships and not on the plantations. Numerous accounts point out the incessant substitution of crewmembers and the permanent change of recruiting grounds. It could be argued that the manner of speaking one adopts when talking to foreigners[23] is in general simplified and bears some common characteristics. Admittedly, an analysis of available speech-samples[24] does indeed display a number of similar features, indicative of a shared historical background. It is also reasonable to assume that phonological, morphological and semantic similarities must have existed, otherwise traders and labourers would have been continually 'forced' to adapt and learn a new language. Nevertheless, a substantial amount of variability remains, and it seems far-fetched to propose one single shared 'denominator' for a period of approximately 30 years. Rather, it is more plausible to

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[23] This phenomenon is well known in sociolinguistics as 'foreigner talk': "native speakers tend to adjust their speech production (in speed, choice of words, etc.) to the learner's processing capacity" (Klein, 1986: 78).

[24] Analyses of linguistic features based on historical records can be found in Clark (1979), Baker (1987) and Keesing (1988).

assume that a widely understood contact language originally existed. Upon closer and more intimate contact, features of the respective regions were added, resulting in mutual linguistic influence. The most likely scenario for this to have taken place is on the plantations, perhaps also in harbours and adjoining cities such as Sydney.[25] Therefore NSWPE, which developed from South Pacific Jargon in the area surrounding Sydney, most likely had a strong influence on Tok Pisin.

My first objection to Mühlhäusler's theory is his claim that contact between whalers, traders and the Bismarck Islanders left little to no linguistic impact. One also fails to see why recruiting for Samoa should have been so regionally restricted. All the other plantations continually received workers from the entire batch of islands, but those supplied for Samoa were restricted to certain areas. Mühlhäusler contradicts himself when referring to a source (Baessler 1895: 23-24) that "mentions 1,000 laborers from all parts of the South Seas [which] could be found on the Samoan plantations" (Tryon *et al*., 1996: 478). Furthermore, his 2003 book, which includes a brief history of Tok Pisin, contains the following statement: "There may have already existed a plantation pidgin language there [i.e. Samoa], spoken by workers from Kiribati (Gilbert Islands) who made up the majority of the plantation population between 1865 and 1880" (Mühlhäusler *et al*., 2003: 5). Surely one might assume that a time span of 15 years should have been more than enough for a pidgin to develop. I would even go so far as to claim that it might already have been quite refined. I do not contend an individual development of Tok Pisin due to the closing of borders by the German administration from 1884 on. But detailed studies such as Clark (1979) and Keesing (1988) suggest that there are numerous features shared by several pidgins, and that the proposed separateness of Tok Pisin might be overrated.

Baker's argument that NSWPE played a greater role than has been hitherto acknowledged seems rather convincing. Sydney was amongst the first ports visited by Europeans, and it was involved in a triangular trade with ports in Melanesia and China. Workers from various islands were taken to work there. With progressive research, Baker (1990) corrected the number of features first attested for NSWPE upwards, demonstrating the feasibility that Melanesian Pidgin English might have

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[25] Sydney was one of the main harbours at that time.

descended from it to some extent. This view is also supported by Clark (1983), and even Mühlhäusler does not completely exclude the possibility that NSWPE may have had an (albeit indirect) influence on Tok Pisin.

1.5.5 Transition

In point of fact, a close relationship between Samoa and labourers from New Guinea did indeed exist, which was due to the machinations of the *Deutsche Handels- und Plantagengesellschaft*. German influence increased with the official annexation of the northern half of New Guinea in 1884, as well as the large offshore islands of New Britain, New Ireland and Bougainville. New Britain and New Ireland were named the Bismarck Archipelago in honour of the then chancellor of Germany, and the German half of eastern New Guinea was named Kaiser Wilhelm's Land after the emperor. In the same year, the south-eastern half of Papua New Guinea was declared a British protectorate, and when Australia formally assumed control in 1906, the name 'British New Guinea' was changed to the 'Australian Territory of Papua'.[26]

1.6 German New Guinea (1884-1914)

To protect trade interests, the German administration isolated its plantations. As we have seen, this has led several authors to propose an independent development of Tok Pisin from other varieties of Melanesian Pidgin English (cf. Romaine 1992a: 37). Mühlhäusler (1985a: 44) therefore gives 1884 as Tok Pisin's year of birth.

Originally, "[o]fficial German policy in New Guinea was the propagation of the German language, and subsidies were paid to missions which taught German in their schools" (Johnson, 1977: 429). Concerning Tok Pisin, both the government and the missions, who mostly favoured the vernacular, seem to have had certain reservations as to its employment. But reality and policy did not concur, "and the language was successfully imposed by the people upon a reluctant administration" (ibid.: 431), and became increasingly used. The factors that promoted further linguistic stabilisation and expansion under German control thus prevailed and were manifold. Firstly, during this period, English no longer served as a model. Secondly, the Germans attached more importance to the pidgin, since for them it represented a new

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[26] For an overview of the colonial divisions at different stages in the history of Papua New Guinea, see Map 3, Appendix A.

independent language that needed to be learned (cf. Holm, 2000: 97). A third issue is the German appeasement policy. Whether or not the expression *pax Germanica* is a misnomer cannot be examined in the present study, as too many socio-historical aspects would have to be taken into consideration. The Germans did, however, attempt to end inter-tribal warfare and to enable cross-tribal communication by providing a common means of understanding (cf. Mühlhäusler, 1985a: 48). In the course of this pacification, Tok Pisin was spread by government and police officers. Interpreters were appointed to support the expansion of administrative control by supervising villages. These *tultuls* spoke Tok Pisin fluently, in most cases presumably thanks to their former work on plantations, and were greatly valued within their community (ibid.: 49). Another factor worth mentioning is that, until the arrival of Europeans, New Guinea had been a country dominated by self-subsistence. This changed drastically with the introduction of 'luxury goods', i.e. wares found in department stores, tobacco, liquor and money itself. The possession of these products was highly desirable, as was the ability to speak the language in order to acquire them. Closely connected to this was the head tax, an innovation introduced by the Germans. Up until then locals were subsistence farmers, trading for the additional supplies they needed. With the head tax came the necessity to "enter the money economy" (Romaine, 1992a: 38) in order to be able to meet the payment obligations imposed on them.

The vast extent of German influence becomes evident when one looks at the following list of words:[27]

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[27] The list is a compilation of examples found in Steinbauer (1998), Mihalic (1990) and Mühlhäusler (2001). Of the words listed above, only six occur in the *Wantok* corpus: *binen* appears 36 times, *blut* 66 times, *gumi* and *plang* were only found once. While *rausim* appears 239 times, *strafe* (not *strafim*) came up only once.

Tok Pisin Word	German Origin	English Translation
beten	*beten*	to pray
binen	*Biene*(*n*)	bee
blut	*Blut*	blood
boamasin	*Bohrmaschine*	a drill
brait	*breit, Breite*	wide, width
esik	*Essig*	vinegar
gumi	*Gummi*	rubber
hobel	*Hobel*	carpenter's plane
kail	*Keil*	wedge
plang	*Planke*	a board
plasta	*Pflaster*	adhesive tape
rausim	*rauswerfen*	to expel
ros	*Rost*	rust
strafim	*strafen*	to punish

Table 2: Borrowings from German

In this scenario, missionaries played a decisive role. They were often amongst the first to reach a village, their main aim being – in neutral terms – to spread the word of God, but often also to build schools and educate the local children. Of course the different missions, be they Catholic, Lutheran, Methodist or others, pursued different language policies, but many of them at some stage used Tok Pisin. With an educational ordinance the government intended to promote the use of German in schools in 1915, but due to the onset of World War I this could not be carried out.

1.7   The Inter-War Period

With the outbreak of World War I, Australian troops occupied German New Guinea, and after the war the League of Nations awarded its control to Australia. The former British protectorate had already been given over to Australia in 1906, when the name was changed to the 'Australian Territory of Papua'. In Papua Tok Pisin was abolished and replaced largely by Hiri Motu. In the mandated territory, however, matters were different: The Australian administration at one stage intended to replace Tok Pisin with English. Australians hardly ever attempted to learn Tok Pisin, as they considered it a corrupted form of English and did not regard it as a language in its own right. They were also intent on maintaining class-barriers (Mühlhäusler, 1985a: 49f.). But, because it was a popular form of communication with growing prestige, especially among the indigenous population, Tok Pisin had already become "much too firmly entrenched" (Holm, 2000: 99). Locals were no longer only hired for work on plantations, but also for mines, industry, shipping and other domains. Children acquired Tok Pisin at an ever younger age and regional dialects began to emerge.

Both Romaine (1992a: 59ff.) and Mühlhäusler (1985a: 52) mention the role of missionaries in the active promotion of Tok Pisin. Romaine's critical assessment demonstrates the inconsistent behaviour displayed by some of them and the contradictions in European policies. On the one hand, there was the desire to expunge traditional beliefs, rituals, clothing, etc. and to have the locals conform to Christianity; on the other hand, there was once again the wish to uphold social distance:

> Papuan adults were forced to wear a loincloth in towns where they came into contact with Europeans, but when they emulated Europeans to the extent of wearing shirts, then it was not considered seemly for Papuans to cover the upper part of their bodies. Thus, in Papua between 1920 and 1941 both males and females were forbidden by law to wear any garment on the upper part of their body.

> (Romaine, 1992a: 61)

Romaine (1989b: 72) even goes so far as to argue that "the transformation of Tok Pisin into a standard written language by European missionaries was instrumental in creating a situation of linguistic inequality". Because of their impact on local societies, the role missionaries played in advancing the use of Tok Pisin is often

considered to be controversial. Their reputation and achievements are mainly regarded negatively. Still, "both the bulk of mission writings and their significance to pidgin and creole studies have remained poorly known and under-utilized" (Mühlhäusler, 1999: 340) and they deserve more scholarly attention.

A number of dictionaries as well as grammatical and linguistic descriptions were written by missionaries between 1900 and the outbreak of World War II.[28] Naturally, these documents are the accounts of laypersons rather than of linguistic experts, but they nevertheless reflect an active interest in the documentation and spread of the language. At the time, the various missions used different linguistic standards, which is exemplified in the following three versions of the first line of the Lord's Prayer:

> Alexishafen Catholic Mission:
>
> *Fader bilong mifelo, yu stap long heven. Ol i santuim nem bilong yu.*
>
> Vunapope Catholic Mission:
>
> *Papa bolong mipela i stap antap-naim bolong ju i tambu.*
>
> Rabaul Methodist Mission
>
> *Papa bilog mi fela, iu stop an top alog peles bilog iu, i gud mi fela sigsig out tru alog nem bilog iu.*
>
> (Mühlhäusler *et al.*, 1992, cited in Romaine, 1992a: 48)

During these years Tok Pisin prospered and became widely used amongst the indigenous population as a lingua franca.

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[28] E.g. Churchill (1911), Friederici (1911), Landtman (1918) and anthropologist Mead (1931).

1.8   World War II

"World War II was an event which was to have a huge impact on the lives of all Pacific Islanders, particularly those living in Papua New Guinea […]" (Tryon/Charpentier, 2004: 389). It was not until 1942, however, when the Japanese began bombing the country, that the Papua New Guineans were directly affected. Not only was Australian administration interrupted for four years, but the indigenous population was pulled – without being asked – into the struggle for their country (cf. Waiko, 2001: 108ff.). The urgent necessity of a lingua franca was recognised on all sides, as it would enable country-wide communication and social control (Tryon/Charpentier, 2004: 389).

For the first time the expatriates endeavoured to learn and document Tok Pisin. The Allies as well as the Japanese realised that power could only be exercised where communication with locals was possible. Social barriers were overcome by an evolving solidarity between soldiers and locals who fought side by side. Mühlhäusler notes that although

> Tok Pisin had been used for a long time to exercise some degree of social control (e.g. as the language for missionary work and government control), its large-scale use in war propaganda was the first attempt to use it in a propaganda campaign founded on the techniques of modern mass communication.

(Mühlhäusler, 1985a: 56)

The millions of pamphlets that were dropped by plane promised to reward those who helped the Allies. However, it is doubtful whether the use of printed materials as a means of communication was effective. Reliable statistics are difficult to find even for present-day Papua New Guinea, but according to an internet source[29] the number of literate people in 2005 was 52 %.[30] So although schools had been established at the time of World War II, especially under German rule, it is somewhat difficult to believe that a literate person could be found in every village.[31] Romaine (1992a: 51)

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[29]   See   <http://www.adb.org/Documents/Periodicals/ADB_Review/2005/vol37-3/sharing-insights.asp>; 09 Sept. 2005. The website provides a detailed description of the project implemented by the Asian Developmental Bank to advance the rate of literacy in Papua New Guinea. The website does not give a more recent estimate of literacy.

[30] This figure is supported by Kale/Marimyas (2003: 1).

[31] The factor of illiteracy appears to have escaped the attention of authors in their accounts of this time.

mentions that this was also the time of the first radio broadcasts. Again, one cannot retrace how many people could afford to buy a radio, or where the programmes could be received. But the importance of radio transmissions should not be underestimated, since the majority of people will have relied on acoustic rather than printed information.

As the army reached the more remote regions and hired thousands of locals, e.g. as guides and carriers, Tok Pisin continued to be spread (Mühlhäusler, 1985a: 58).

1.9 After World War II

In 1946 the United Nations approved Australian Trusteeship and Australia began to administer Papua and New Guinea as one joined territory. The Australian Government supported PNG in its aspiration for independence, which was achieved in 1975.

Mühlhäusler (ibid.: 59ff.) presents several factors that contributed to the changes in the social environment of Tok Pisin after World War II. The central modifications were:

- Decline in Importance of German Missions

  The bulk of documents generated and compiled by the German missions had been destroyed in the war. Whatever they had contributed to Tok Pisin was lost. The new missionaries, mainly English-speaking, could not resort to this material, which meant that they were often insufficiently trained. It was their style of pronunciation and writing that affected the further development of Tok Pisin, however.

- Urban Centres

  Since prestigious jobs could mainly be found in towns and were first and foremost available to those who spoke English or Tok Pisin, urban areas grew rapidly. For the first time, children learned Tok Pisin as their first language. A further influential factor on the language was the number of Australians who arrived.

- New Media

  Newly founded radio stations and newspapers mainly used Tok Pisin, which was understood by an ever increasing number of people. The media intended to support the indigenous population in becoming politically and socially more advanced.

- Use of English in Education

Mission schools, which were notably involved in education at that time, were permitted to continue teaching in Tok Pisin and vernacular languages, but English was to be used for high-level courses. Thus, "the foundations for English to become the most important language even in primary education were laid […] and its prestige made itself felt in the vocabulary of Tok Pisin" (ibid.: 62).

A country where only a minority of the population could read and write would have benefited from clear-cut education guidelines and a distinct language policy. While the former have meanwhile been established, the latter does not exist to this day.

1.10   Education & Language Policy

While preparing the country for self-government and independence, Australia was to advance the general well-being of Papua New Guineans, for instance in the sectors of health, education and agriculture. The focus here is on education, particularly on the changes that took place with respect to linguistic issues.

In the early 1950s, a major task was to ensure that all children in primary schools learned English. When the United Nations Organisation prompted Australia in 1953 to put an end to the use of Tok Pisin as a medium of instruction because it was considered to be inappropriate, efforts to extend the use of English increased. The desire to relinquish Tok Pisin was shared by expatriates and Europeans alike. They regarded it as a corrupted form of English, restricted in its linguistic capacities. It was also said "to constitute a bad heritage from the days of colonialism" (Wurm, 1985a: 70). The indigenous population appears to have been divided on this issue. Some people were sure that only fluency in English would provide them with a lucrative job. Having only just realised that Tok Pisin was not actually the white man's language, they felt cheated and refused to send their children to non-English schools (Romaine, 1992a: 53f.). Others found Tok Pisin to be the language that enabled them not only to communicate with authorities and Europeans, but also with fellow countrymen from different cultural and linguistic backgrounds (Wurm, 1985a: 71). By giving financial aid to those mission schools that taught in English, the government initially further advanced its anti Tok Pisin policy. Many of the churches nevertheless used to Tok Pisin or continued to teach in the vernaculars. Thus, the

overall number of Tok Pisin speakers grew rapidly. Since the numerous churches varied considerably in their oral and written systems,[32] as did the evolving news media and government departments, the need for a standardised orthography became vital.

The Minister for Territories in Canberra must have realised that it was unrealistic to attempt to "control the use of a fully nativised lingua franca whose primary function was to serve as a means of intercommunication among the indigenous population" (Wurm, 1985a: 67). He therefore conceded in 1955 that Tok Pisin could be used restrictedly for instruction in areas where it was commonly spoken. When the Department of Education recommended the official use of Tok Pisin in the entire country, the orthography proposed by Hall[33] served as the basis for further adaptations, which were to reflect the pronunciation of indigenous speakers in the Madang area. The system was approved and officially acknowledged a year later, in 1956. This orthography was the foundation for Mihalic's grammar and dictionary, which appeared – with a few minor changes – for the first time in 1957.[34] It "has remained the uncontested standard dictionary" ever since (Smith, 2002: 4).

A growing political awareness and aspiration for autonomy began to develop in the 1960s. The first House of Assembly in 1964 contained indigenous members as well as expatriates. Although it adopted a motion declaring that, in order to advance Papua New Guinea, national unity was required, the topic of language was not an issue. The party led by the man who became the first Prime Minister of Papua New Guinea, Sir Michael Somare, was the first to advocate independence and at least sanctioned the use of Tok Pisin for everyday communication (Romaine, 1992a: 15ff.). Unfortunately, the government was negligent in supervising the observance of the standard orthography. As a result, the numerous newspapers that originated in the 1960s[35] – the bulk of which published in Tok Pisin – were all free to use their own

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[32] See the different versions of the Lord's Prayer, given on p. 21 above.

[33] According to Holm (2000: 42), Hall was "the first creolist with any extensive first-hand knowledge of a pidgin".

[34] For roughly 40 years, Mihalic's grammar and dictionary, especially the 1971 edition, was considered to be *the* standard. An online project with the purpose of revising his work, open to contributions by anyone who can speak Tok Pisin, was launched in 2001. This ongoing project can be found at <http://www.mihalicdictionary.org/Index.htm>; 07 July 2005.

[35] Romaine (1992a: 50) mentions *Bougainville Nius*, *Toktok bilong Haus ov Assembli*, *Nius bilong Yumi*, *Nu Gini Toktok*, *Kundu* and others.

way of spelling. Missions took matters more seriously and implemented the suggested norms. It cannot be deduced from the available documents which mission first published the *Nupela Testamen* (New Testament) in Tok Pisin,[36] but its immense impact becomes obvious from the fact that 40,000 copies were sold within the first nine months alone. An Orthography Committee, set up in 1969, suggested that the spelling system of the *Nupela Testamen* be accepted as the official standard. This was also used by the newspaper *Wantok*, which was founded by the Catholics and first appeared in 1970. Mihalic, whose grammar was mentioned above, was the founding editor of *Wantok Niuspepa* (Romaine, 1992a: 48ff.).

By 1973 Papua New Guinea had become self-governing, and in 1975 independence was achieved. What followed was an education plan devised for five years, suggesting that vernacular languages should be employed for basic education. Since the National Executive Council did not approve this, however, the colonial policy of English at all levels of formal education continued. When a survey conducted in the North Solomons Province at the end of the 1970s brought to light that many "parents were concerned about the social alienation of the youth, which they partially blamed on the English education system", the government for the first time supported "the use of the vernacular for initial literacy and basic education" (Litteral, <http://www.sil.org/silewp/1999/002/SILEWP1999-002.html>; 05 Oct. 2005).

From the 1980s onwards, vernacular preparatory schools emerged in other provinces as well. In 1986 a document recommending that education become more focused on aspects concerning PNG was accepted by Parliament, but it took another three years before it also officially acknowledged efforts to further literacy[37] and language awareness activities. The 1989 National Language and Literacy Policy adopted by the National Department of Education basically endorsed initial literacy to take place in the *tok ples*, i.e. a community language, proceeding to one of the official languages, meaning either Tok Pisin, Hiri Motu or English. It was up to the

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[36] In Smith (2002: 116) we find The Bible Society of Papua New Guinea and the year 1966. Mühlhäusler (1985b: 106) gives the date 1969 but does not specify which mission, and Wurm (1985b: 172f.) names the Lutherans as the first mission to publish the *Nupela Testamen* in 1968.

[37] Incidentally, the proportion of literacy for adults is highest amongst those who speak Tok Pisin, which is due to the quantity of available material in this language (cf. Litteral, <http://www.sil.org/silewp/1999/002/SILEWP1999-002.html>; 05 Oct. 2005).

communities themselves to decide which language to begin with, and it is interesting to note that they frequently chose a lingua franca instead of the vernacular.

In the 1990s, this policy was extended to include not only literacy, but also education in the vernacular. There was a 'restructuring reform' in 1991, known as the Educational Sector Review, which can be summarised in the following model:

The Old Structure		The New Structure		
Non-formal *Tok Ples Pri Skul*		All children go to Elementary School for three years		Prep 1 2
Community School	1 2 3 4 5 6	Primary School	Lower	3 4 5
			Upper	6 7 8
Provincial High School	7 8 9 10	Lower Secondary	Academic Vocational	9 10
National High School	11 12	Upper Secondary	Academic Technical	11 12

Table 3: The School System in PNG (Kale/Marimyas, 2003: 6)

At this time, emphasis was put on elementary education, including the training of teachers for this sector, terminating with the development of a special curriculum in 1995. Beginning at the age of six, children are taught in the language of their community. In the last half of Elementary 2, English is orally introduced. "Students continue with orality and literacy in the vernacular language into Grade 3 of the Lower Primary School" (Kale/Marimyas, 2003: 7). Grades 3-5 are bridging classes, which means that English is gradually introduced, but the vernacular is maintained for specific purposes. Instruction from then onwards continues in English. The idea of wanting to provide initial education in a vernacular children actually speak is commendable, but unrealistic in a country with approximately 800 languages.

> The logistics of the preparation of teachers so that each language group will be catered for clearly underestimates the enormity of the task proposed. […] [M]any children in PNG leave school functionally illiterate. This fact is not contestable. However, it does not necessarily follow that the extent of illiteracy can be attributed to the fact that education is largely presented in a foreign language. It can just as equally be argued that it is because many of the teachers possess a poor command of English and are poor pedagogical performers.
>
> (O'Donoghue, 1994: 208).

The poor quality of teaching, school fees and the distance to school are, amongst others, named as factors contributing to the retention rate of less than 65% for 1991 (Avalos, 1992: 310f.). A further aim of the Educational Sector Review was therefore to ensure that, by 2004, all children would be able to attend an elementary school as close to their home as possible.

Secondary education has apparently always been the more problematic sector. Within ten years of independence, the number of secondary schools had nearly doubled. Nevertheless, high schools were unable to provide a place for two thirds of the pupils who had completed grade 6, and there is still too little capacity for those wishing to continue their education today. As a consequence, many young people are not qualified enough for the demanding jobs in the cities, but are also too reluctant to return to village life, so they join criminal gangs (the Tok Pisin word is *raskol* 'rascal') (cf. Romaine, 1992a: 69ff.).

In the decade following independence, emphasis was also put on the tertiary sector. This was done so that, later on, the country's own educated elite would replace expatriates.

On the whole, the government is finding itself unable to meet the growing demand of education and employment expectation. Tok Pisin is currently seen as both a stabilising and a destabilising factor. It is the popular and widely accepted lingua franca, enabling speakers of different mother tongues to communicate. The destabilising nature manifests itself in the decline in traditional values and vernaculars, which is seen as a by-product of Tok Pisin's growing influence. But although for many years Tok Pisin was thought of as the resource that would pave the way into modern society, meanwhile the importance of English has become considerably more pronounced; this is boosted by the fact that English is still the main language of education (cf. ibid.: 82ff.).

Today, Papua New Guinea is a country repeatedly referred to as the linguistically most complex or diverse area in the world (cf. Foley, 1986: 3, Romaine, 1992a: vii and Kulick, 1997: 1). Estimates concerning the number of indigenous languages spoken there vary from around 700-750 (Romaine in McArthur, 1992: 747) to approximately 860 (Holm, 2000: 96). English, Tok Pisin and Hiri Motu are the three official languages[38] recognised by the constitution at present, and according to Smith (2002: 21) "[t]he inclusion of Hiri Motu, with a rather smaller number of speakers and more restricted range than the other national languages, was no doubt a conciliatory move at the time of independence in the face of political pressures for Papua to become a separate nation". Hiri Motu, a "pidginized form of the Austronesian vernacular Motu", is mainly spoken in the ex-British Territory of

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[38] There is disagreement regarding the status of Tok Pisin as an official or national language in the literature: Romaine (1992a: 231f.) speaks of Tok Pisin being only an official, not a national language, whereas Smith (2002: 21) bases the national status of Tok Pisin on the constitution. Kaplan/Baldauf (2003: 188) state that Tok Pisin in fact does not have official status. For Verhaar (1995: 1), Tok Pisin and Hiri Motu are the "national languages of the nation", while English "is not a national language but, rather, the "official" language". Part of the controversy may result from the terms' undifferentiated usage in the literature. For a detailed discussion dealing with the distinction official vs. national, see Eastman (2001). I will follow Romaine in McArthur (1992: 1044), who declares that there "has been considerable discussion as to whether it [Tok Pisin] should become the national language of PNG. Currently, it has official status with English and another pidgin, Hiri Motu […]".

Papua (Smith, 2002: 10). While the spread and significance of Tok Pisin is increasing, that of Hiri Motu is continually declining (ibid.: 21). Tok Pisin has, however, undergone considerable transformations over the past 30 years. These changes, which affect all aspects of language and the lexicon in particular, are mainly due to the continuing anglicisation. Examples and evidence for this claim are provided in the present study, specifically in chapter 4, the analysis of the corpus.

PIDGINS & CREOLES

For a long time, the general attitude towards pidgin and creole languages was poor. *Bastard Portuguese*, *Nigger French* and *broken English* are only a few terms for what were popularly considered to be second-rate and haphazard forms of proper languages. According to Holm, even linguists thought of them as marginal, "wrong versions of other languages" and largely ignored them (2000: 1). That pidgin and creole studies became a respectable academic discipline in the 1960s may be accredited to forerunners such as the philologist Hugo Schuchardt (1842-1927), who is regarded as the founding father of the field, and John E. Reinecke (1904-1982), a renowned social scientist. Since then the branch of pidgin and creole linguistics has come a long – and occasionally difficult – way.

A large part of the terminology used at first was vague. In the following years, definitions were principally agreed upon, although every linguist supplied a slightly rephrased separate explanation of each term. New insights, increasing experience, extensive fieldwork and speculations about future developments have revived heated discussions. Many 'traditional' issues, such as whether or not nativisation is a prerequisite for creolisation, are currently under debate. Since they constitute the central topics in pidgin and creole studies, however, they are presented in the established way in this chapter.[39] Problems and questions are addressed at the end of each respective section.

Firstly, an account of the theories of origin is given, before the characteristic features of pidgins and creoles are examined. This is followed by an outline of the developmental stages a pidgin passes through on its way to becoming a creole. In the next section, some papers that have dealt with the question of whether or not Tok Pisin is entering into a (post-)creole continuum are reviewed. The findings of other authors must be relied on in all areas of research except lexis. If the increasing anglicisation of the lexicon of Tok Pisin is an indication of changes to come, however, a (post-)creole continuum is very likely to develop in Papua New Guinea.

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[39] A selection of terms related to the study of pidgins and creoles can be found in Appendix B.

2.1 Theories of Origin

In their seminal works, Hancock (1971) and Holm (2000) identified more than 100 individual language varieties that may be categorised either as a pidgin or a creole. The maps compiled by Holm[40] demonstrate that, despite their vast dispersion, they can be classified according to their superstrate languages. Tok Pisin and Sierra Leone Krio, for example, are both English-based, while Guyanais Creole French and Haitian Creole French obviously both derive from French.

All theories presented in the following sections attempt to shed light on the question of how it is possible that so "many of the pidgins and creoles […] share particular linguistic features even though they are separated in time, geographical space and […] have had no contact with each other" (Singh, 2000: 37).

A number of suggestions as to how the theories could best be categorised have been put forward by various authors. Mühlhäusler (1986) introduces a distinction between two headings, namely language-specific and general theories, under which he subsumes six theories. Romaine (1988) takes note of these different methods of access, but she herself suggests no changes or corrections. Todd's (1974) classification is made up of four well-known theories: those dealing with baby-talk, nautical jargon, independent parallel development and monogenesis/relexification. With her own proposal she opts for a synthesis. In the book edited by Arends *et al*. (1995), four approaches are presented. The first deals with European influences, the second with non-European input, then developmental and finally universalist approaches are considered. Sebba (1997) differentiates between monogenesis and polygenesis in general, and divides the latter into the universalist and the substrate approach.

I suggest the following classification:[41] Relexification and Nautical Jargon are subsumed under Monogenesis, since all approaches assume that there was one protolanguage. All the other theories are included under the heading Independent Parallel Development, given that similar circumstances lead to similar results. Naturally, these theories initially concern the genesis of pidgins, as, by (traditional)

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[40] See Map 4, Appendix A.
[41] Since so many arrangements exist, it is possible that my own division may already have been suggested elsewhere. I have never come across such a categorisation, however.

definition, a creole is always preceded by a pidgin (or jargon). There are two approaches dealing with the origin of contact languages, however, that focus specifically on the genesis of creoles and are hence set somewhat apart. They represent the dichotomy between abrupt and gradual creolisation and will be treated individually.

2.1.1   Monogenesis

The monogenetic approach essentially supposes that all pidgins originate from a 15th-century Portuguese pidgin (McWhorter, 1997: 4). If we go back even further in time, this precursor could be a relic of the medieval *Lingua Franca* called Sabir, which was spoken amongst the multilingual Crusaders and Mediterranean traders (Todd, 1974: 33). This proto-pidgin "was carried around the world in the course of European colonisation, giving rise to pidgins (and later, creoles) in many places" (Sebba, 1997: 73). Two further theories are based on this starting-point.

2.1.1.1   Relexification

The English-, Spanish-, French- or Dutch-speaking colonisers are said to have largely replaced the proto-pidgin vocabulary with their own native language. Thus, the many inherent similarities between pidgins and creoles possessing different lexical bases are due to the "word-for-word replacement of Portuguese lexical items" (den Besten *et al.*, 1995: 88).

Repeated textual references[42] are taken as evidence for this theory, as are lexical and syntactic correspondences among diverse pidgins and creoles. Todd (1974: 36), for instance, cites Taylor (1971: 294), who lists twelve structural markers shared by a multitude of pidgins and creoles that are based on European languages.[43] Sebba (1997: 97) points out the remarkable "similarity of patterning across lexically 'unrelated' creoles" by giving an example from Sranan Tongo, Papiamentu and Haitian, all of which have "very similar tense, mood and aspect marking" despite their different lexifiers. A further indication in favour of this hypothesis is the high

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[42] Todd (1974: 35) names Barbot (1746), Philips (1746) and Jespersen (1922).
[43] "When the same structural form, in this case 'na', appears in different languages with approximately the same meaning, one may assume that the similarity is due either to chance or to a relationship between the languages" (Todd, 1974: 36).

percentage of Portuguese elements that can still be found in contemporary creoles such as Saramaccan, a Surinam creole, or the Guinean creole Crioulo.

Arguments against the monogenesis/relexification theory are more numerous. To begin with, there are pidgins that are not based on a European language but that nevertheless exhibit some identical features. Then, it cannot explain how the related syntactic structure of many creoles could arise from a language that does not possess such a structure itself. A further argument against a single source theory is supplied by Bakker (2002: 73), who points out that words are easily transferred from language to language in contact situations. "If they differ in origin from the majority of the vocabulary, they are more likely to be taken over (borrowed) and not be relics of an earlier stage". Correspondences such as similar pronouns are seen as indications of diffusion, not monogenesis. Thus, the common elements that exist between pidgins and creoles are unlikely to be the outcome of one proto-language, but can rather be seen as indications of universal characteristics of pidginised speech (Romaine, 1988: 91). Bickerton, whose 'bioprogram hypothesis' will be discussed later, provides severe and broad criticism:

> We are asked to believe that an original contact language could be disseminated round the entire tropical zone, to peoples of widely differing language background, and still preserve a virtually complete identity in its grammatical structure wherever it took root, despite considerable changes in its phonology and virtually complete changes in its lexicon.

(Bickerton, 1977: 62)

2.1.1.2 Nautical Jargon[44]

Probably the most recent advocate of this theory of pidgin and creole genesis is Keesing (1988), who combines it with substrate influence. "Keesing maintained that it was local speakers of related languages, the only ones who spoke pidgin with ease, who could have spread it, so making the substrate the unifying agent in them" (Tryon/Charpentier, 2004: 44).

A nautical jargon was developed aboard ships that were manned by a crew speaking various dialects and languages. In this setting substrate groups formed their pidgins,

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[44] Since this approach was already discussed in the previous chapter, it will merely be summarised here for the sake of completeness.

which explains the nautical element that exists in all pidgins and creoles derived from European lexicons, as well as common items of distant pidgins. Examples of nautical vocabulary, according to Todd, are:

English	Kamtok (Cameroon Talk)	Tok Pisin	Krio
heave	*hib*	*hivim*	
capsize	*kapsai*	*kapsait(im)*	*kjapsaj*

Table 4: Nautical Vocabulary (Todd, 1974: 33)

As world features, meaning those shared by Pacific pidgins and English-based pidgins in the world, Romaine (1988: 97) names the following:

Example	World Features
been	indicates past
got	have
piccaninny	child
plenty	quantifier (much, many)

Table 5: World Features (Romaine, 1988: 97)

Although sailors presumably did contribute to the spread of a nautical jargon, finding such elements in coastal regions is hardly surprising. The nature of a proto-nautical jargon is also likely to have varied a great deal and is largely based on assumption. Some aspects, such as lexical correspondences, might indeed be traced to a similar shipboard language, but to take this theory as the sole explanation of the origin of pidgins does not seem plausible (cf. Romaine, 1988: 84ff.; Singh, 2000: 43ff.; Todd, 1974: 30f.).

2.1.2   Independent Parallel Development

This approach most likely dates back to Hall (1966), who suggests that the similarities shared by pidgins and creoles can be explained by assuming an independent emergence along parallel lines: The people involved in the creation of these languages all encountered similar circumstances – both physical and social – and used comparable linguistic resources (cf. Sebba, 1997: 76).

2.1.2.1   Superstrate Theories

Pidgins and creoles emerged "in the context of European colonial and commercial expansion overseas", and hence "[t]he first assumptions about the genesis of these languages were […] heavily Eurocentric" (Singh, 2000: 38). We are thus dealing with processes in which superstrate languages were (inadequately) transformed. Only the last among these hypotheses, the Common Core Theory, suggests an equivalent contribution of the contact languages involved.

a) Baby/Foreigner Talk

Many adults, when talking to babies or foreigners, adapt their manner of speaking. With only few exceptions, a world-wide set of similar features is displayed. According to den Besten *et al.* (1995: 95f.), it includes:

-   accommodation (slower speech, repetitions, shorter and simpler sentences, etc.)
-   imitation (simplified structures may be copied and thereby reinforced)
-   telegraphic condensation (function words are deleted, only content words remain)
-   adoption of conventions (the use of diminutives or epenthetic vowels)

The situation that arises when speakers of a superstrate come into contact with a group of substrate speakers can be approached from several different viewpoints: One could 'blame' the substrate group for not possessing the capability to learn the superstrate language, which is why the speakers of the 'higher' group are 'forced' to resort to baby/foreigner talk. They imitate the incorrect speech of the 'lower' group, which in turn has no chance of improvement because the standard is not available. Next, one might claim that the Europeans started off the whole process by simplifying their language to make themselves better understood, while the 'lower' group merely imitated the input. Or else one assumes that the 'lower' group tries to

learn the standard it hears, but simplifies it in order to make things easier. Errors are then reinforced by the dominant group (cf. Romaine, 1988: 72ff.). The last possibility would be to suggest a contribution by both parties: "The master stripped off from the European language everything that was peculiar to it, the slave suppressed everything in it that was distinctive. They met on a middle ground…" (Schuchardt, 1914, cited in Holm, 2000: 34).

Proponents of this theory maintain that the processes of baby/foreigner talk produce attributes displayed by pidgins, namely a restricted lexicon, repetitions and simple structures in general. Den Besten *et al*. (1995: 97), however, feel that this argument is circular. Two further shortcomings of the hypothesis are noted by Todd (1974: 39ff.). In her opinion, it cannot account for the fact that pidgins are sometimes not understood by speakers of languages from which they were supposedly derived. Additionally, some pidgins stemming from unrelated superstrate languages exhibit numerous syntactic similarities amongst each other, but not with their lexifiers. The baby/foreigner talk theory cannot explain why this is so. Mühlhäusler furthermore points out that "the importance of foreigner talk in pidgin formation appears to be restricted to relatively early stages of development" (1986: 106).

b) Imperfect L2-Acquisition

The assumption of this theory is that pidgins are the result of an inadequate learning of the superstrate language by a substrate group of speakers. As comparable mistakes are made by all learners of a second language (L2), it is not surprising that we find many resemblances to and between pidgins. In an academic environment, the learning process is controlled, which means that mistakes are corrected and rules are taught. Situations in which pidgins develop will differ concerning rectification. Speakers of the 'higher' group will be inconsiderate of the 'lower' group's inability to speak their language, so the latter will attempt to adopt the native speakers' competence as quickly as possible. Since the inevitably arising mistakes are not remedied, they will become incorporated into the structure of the evolving pidgin (Singh, 2000: 41). Due to the many common features of interlanguage systems displayed by learners of second languages and pidgins, this theory is rather popular. Amongst the characteristics listed by den Besten *et al*. are:

a. invariant verb forms, derived either from the infinitive, or from the least marked finite form of the verb;
b. either no determiners, or else the use of demonstratives as determiners;
c. the invariable placement of the negator in preverbal position;
d. the use of adverbs to express modality;
e. a fixed single word order, no inversion in questions;
f. reduced or absent nominal plural marking

(ibid., 1995: 98)

Although one cannot account for all traits that characterise pidgins with the 'Deficient L2-Acquisition Theory', it should definitely be taken seriously as a possible source of explanation.

c) Common Core Theory

This explanation for pidgin and creole formation was also put forward by Hall (1961). In contact situations, the languages involved produce a pidgin that contains those traits of grammar that are shared by the respective languages. The common core of a pidgin grammar can be depicted as follows:
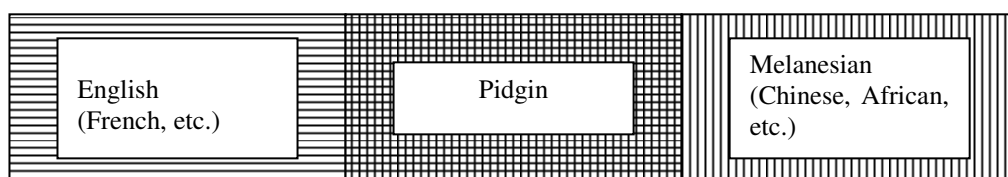
Figure 1: Structural Resources of a Pidgin Language (Mühlhäusler, 1986: 118)

The area of overlap between the parent languages supplies the structural resources of the pidgin language (Hall, 1961: 414). The similarities that exist between various pidgins could be explained by correspondences in the amalgamation of grammars:

> Thus the combination of a European lexifier with African languages in the Caribbean might produce a similar result to the combination of another European language with indigenous Austronesian languages in the South Pacific, given that there are considerable structural similarities between most European languages on the one hand, and accidental similarities between African and Austronesian languages on the other.

(Sebba, 1997: 77)

Examples of overlap can indeed be found, but this could just as much be due to language universals. The common core is likely to shrink and become more universal if the number of languages involved increases (ibid.: 78). Mühlhäusler (1986: 118ff.) compares the situation reflected in the diagram to second-language learning and interprets the hachured area as one of facilitation, since it contains those features that require the least effort on the part of the pidgin learner. The four objections to the theory he proposes are:

- these very elements might prove ineffective for communication
- the stagnancy of the model, which does not allow for modifications of the core[45]
- the assumption that the learners must be perfect bilinguals who use all available systems equivalently, since shared qualities cannot be created until they are well-established. This is problematic, as the lexifier language is often unavailable
- numerous constructions exist that can be allocated to neither parent language

Lexical items across languages and grammar across systems presumably do contribute to the grammatical development of pidgins; a common denominator for creoles, however, is difficult to discern, since the model languages are often withdrawn during the developmental stages.

2.1.2.2   Substrate Theory

At the centre of this hypothesis lies the assumption that the grammatical structure of a pidgin is made available by the substrate languages. These comprise all indigenous languages involved in the contact situation – with the exception of the lexifier. Resemblances between pidgins originating from different lexifiers must then be due to similarities of the substrate languages. For instance, Jamaican Creole (with an English lexifier), Haitian Creole (French-based) and Papiamentu (founded on Spanish) exhibit common features because of their historical relation to West African languages (Sebba, 1997: 78).

Some pidgins certainly display features that reinforce the theory of substrate influence. Tok Pisin, for example, distinguishes between inclusive and exclusive

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[45] In second-language research, one popular theory supposes different learner-varieties based on different interlanguage grammars: The first language as well as the target language influence the interlanguage grammar, which changes and becomes more refined the more a learner improves his or her L2 abilities. This is a very dynamic process and the ideal case would terminate with the complete control of the target language. See Klein (1986) for a detailed discussion.

'we' (*yumi* and *mipela*), as do many Pacific languages. Yet the lexifier language, English, makes no such differentiation, and there is no reason to assume that this feature developed as a result of grammatical simplification. Another example is the use of 'give' meaning 'for', displayed by a large group of creoles and indicative of a highly marked construction (ibid: 189f.). But examples such as these are difficult to find. Even though markedness is quite a standardised concept in phonology, it is rather difficult to show in syntax and morphology. Representatives of this theory therefore need to find many more similarities to support their arguments. Arends *et al*. also note that a feature, if it is to be acknowledged as having a substrate origin, must be marked, otherwise it could just as well be universal (1995: 100).

Although there is some controversy regarding the influence of the first language,[46] Sebba (1997: 91f.) lists a number of effects that are indeed caused by the substrates (in this case the speakers' native languages). With respect to the lexicon, not only the lexifier, but also the substrate is, to a more or less considerable degree, "represented in the word-stock"[47] (ibid.: 92). Calques, which can be found in the substrate languages, are relexified, that is, "translated literally into the pidgin or creole"[48] (ibid.: 92), and there are also grammatical features in pidgins that are derived from all available target languages.

The theory has, however, been criticised by many authors.

Mühlhäusler, for instance, examines at what stage pidgins/creoles are liable to be affected by the substrate. He states that "'finished' systems are much more open to outside influence than developing ones" (1986: 128). In his opinion substrate influence is overrated, and conclusions are drawn from inadequately conducted research. After some grammatical considerations Mühlhäusler establishes that

> […] findings to the effect that substratum languages are the principal
> source of creole semantic structures (Huttar 1975) cannot be extended
> to the syntactic component and that, in the areas of syntax and
> morphology, linguistic universals will be the main source of structural

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[46] According to Sebba (1997: 91), authors such as Klein and Perdue (1993) claim a relative unimportance of first-language transfer in the pidginisation process.

[47] One should not forget that the adoption of a function word or morpheme usually entails joint morphosyntactic characteristics as well (Arends *et al.*, 1995b: 101), although examples supplied by Mühlhäusler (1986: 121ff.) show that the attributive adjectives in Tok Pisin derive from neither superstrate language (English or Tolai).

[48] An example from Tok Pisin is *bikhet* = 'big head' = stubborn person.

expansion, irrespective of whether this expansion takes place with second-language pidgin speakers or first-generation creole speakers.

(ibid.: 129)

Furthermore, the author feels that a pidgin or creole should not be studied from a synchronic, but from a diachronic point of view,[49] and from the latter perspective a single-cause explanation is inadequate. It is more plausible to assume a "conspiracy between the different forces", as Mühlhäusler puts it (ibid.: 132).

Another problematic aspect concerns not knowing "which substrate languages were represented when and where and with how many speakers" (Arends *et al*., 1995: 100). Also worth considering is the nature of the substrate, i.e. its homogeneity or heterogeneity. If the substrate is formed from many languages that are relatively distinct, its influence on the creole will probably be marginal.

Criticism of this theory is also formulated by Sebba:

> […] it is difficult to say to what extent the similarities between the pidgin grammar and the substrate grammar derive from the grammar of the substrate itself, and to what extent they are present in the pidgin as a result of simplification of the lexifier on the basis of 'universal' principles of simplification which could be applied to any language.
>
> (ibid., 1997: 94)

Romaine (1988: 108f.) also believes in other sources of explanation than the substrate. She finds linguistic universals or general principles of simplification more appealing than to suppose that consistent structures could have evolved despite the dispersion of origin. Tok Pisin is a suitable candidate to cast doubts on the substrate theory, because the first languages of people speaking it are extremely numerous and diverse.

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[49] By giving several examples, Mühlhäusler discusses the danger of static comparison. Both Tolai (which was the main substrate language for Tok Pisin during the stages of formation and stabilisation) and Tok Pisin show cases of reduplication, so one might assume substrate influence of Tolai on Tok Pisin. On closer inspection this is not the case, however (see Mühlhäusler, 1986: 123f. for details).

2.1.2.3   Universalist Theory

The idea of universal participation arose because of the many resemblances that have been observed between pidgins/creoles all over the world that cannot entirely be accounted for by falling back on the languages involved in their formation (Muysken/Veenstra, 1995: 121).

According to this approach humans, when forming a pidgin, resort to processes that resemble those which are at work in first language acquisition. It has become virtually uncontested that human beings are born with an innate ability to acquire language and are biologically programmed to do so. Comparable principles could be operative in the creation of a pidgin: It is possible that humans are also equipped with universal strategies for simplifying language and accommodating, which would explain the many similarities shared by pidgins all over the world (cf. Todd, 1974: 42ff.). What distinguishes the persons acquiring a first language from those learning[50] a pidgin is that the former have no previous knowledge on which to build. Adults who form a pidgin, on the other hand, already have a mother tongue. In L1-research it is assumed that children must terminate the acquisition process of a language at approximately the onset of puberty in order to gain native speaker competence. After this, 'Universal Grammar' is no longer available and a language will be learned, not acquired. It may well be, however, that universal intuition regarding simplicity then takes over.

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[50] Note that for Language 1 (L1) the term 'acquisition' is used, while for Language 2 (L2) we speak of 'learning'.

2.1.3   Creole Genesis

Derek Bickerton's Language Bioprogram Hypothesis[51] (LBH) is based on a universalist approach, but focuses entirely on creole genesis. The author generally distinguishes between gradual and catastrophic emergence of language.[52] The latter, where languages are created within one or two generations – as in creole genesis – is of relevance for the current discussion (Bickerton, 1988: 268ff.). A contrasting view is the gradualist approach which favours a developmental process.

2.1.3.1   The Language Bioprogram Hypothesis

Unlike most theories of genesis which consider creoles to have been preceded by a pidgin that stabilised, Bickerton does not believe in this gradual developmental process. He feels that the numerous common traits of creoles are due to universals of L1 development (1988: 268ff.). Bickerton concentrates on creoles that emerged in extremely difficult settings, namely those where parents could not supply an adequate language model, but themselves spoke only a jargon or an undeveloped pidgin.[53] The child consequently receives no assistance in its language acquisition process. But, "[s]ince the child *must* acquire a native language, the only option is for him or her to take the 'chaotic', variable input presented by the pidgin and use it to develop a new language, using an innate 'blueprint' – the *language bioprogram*" (Sebba, 1997: 177; italics in original). Children gather whatever linguistic input is available, combine it with their own intrinsic capacities and convert their parents' jargon into a fully-fledged language. Since this ability is universal, it explains the many resemblances shared by creoles, and their simplicity can be traced back to the fundamental structures of language, which they mirror (Muysken/Veenstra, 1995: 129). Whilst in 'normal' cases of language acquisition the bioprogram is to a certain extent suppressed by the input language, creolisation constitutes a unique situation: Without an adequate language-model, the bioprogram can unfold completely (Arends, 1993: 371).

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[51] The main program is from 1981, though with a few precursors, as well as some later modifications.

[52] Bickerton (1988: 268) states that gradual evolution of language "appears to obey no particular laws and to be largely at the mercy of historical accident".

[53] Examples are Pitcairnese and Mauritian Creole.

Bickerton (1981) also provided a list of twelve syntactic and semantic features[54] that characterise 'typical creoles', which means that they can be found in creoles that were not preceded by a stable pidgin. Children must possess an innate mechanism that produces this set of rules, or else they would not be able to transform the chaotic input they receive into a proper language. All creoles created in such situations will exhibit these twelve traits:

1 *Movement rules* which allow speakers to move constituents into sentence-initial position for emphasis […]

2 An *article system* whereby:

(i) a definite article is used for all noun phrases (NPs) that have a specific reference and which can be assumed to be known to the listener […]

(ii) an indefinite article is use for all NPs that have a specific reference but which can be assumed to be unknown to the listener […]

(iii) no (zero) article is used for a non-specific NP […]

3 A system whereby *tense*, *modality* and *aspect* are expressed by three individual morphemes that occur before the main verb (that is, in preverbal position). When two or more markers are used, they always occur in that order (that is, the *tense* marker always occurs before the *modal* or *aspectual* marker; the *modal* marker always before the *aspectual*). […]

4 A system whereby *verbal complements* stating realized and unrealized events are indicated by different means […]

5 A system whereby *relative clauses* are not necessarily introduced by a relativizer […]

6 A system of negation in which non-specific subject NPs and constituents of Verb Phrases (VPs) are negated, along with the verb itself. This leads to multiple negation […]

7 A system in which the *existential* (as in 'there is') and *possession* (as in 'have') are expressed in similar manner […]

8/9 A system whereby the adjective has become a type of stative verb […]

10 A system in which there is no subject-verb inversion in yes/no questions […]

11 The use of bimorphemic (two morphemes) *question words*. They are typically compound words derived from the superstratal language […]

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[54] Bickerton's typical creole features will be partly taken up in section 2.2.2.

12 The use of *passive equivalents* […]

(Singh, 2000: 56ff.).

Notwithstanding this, there are 'typical creoles' that show no sign of the anticipated bioprogram features.[55] Bickerton's bioprogram also intends to substantiate the collective TAM (tense, aspect and modality[56]) marking in creoles. Meanwhile, however, several studies have revealed that there are many creoles that do not exhibit anterior tense marking (cf. Sebba, 1997: 178f.). The scenario painted by Bickerton concerning the linguistic options children acquiring a creole face could be labelled pessimistic, for in his opinion, vernaculars are virtually unavailable.

Sebba (ibid.: 179f.) opposes such a setting and suggests instead the probability of bilingual children who acquire the pidgin/creole as well as their parents' vernacular. From a socio-linguistic point of view the situation posited by Bickerton is also unconvincing, and authors such as Thomason/Kaufman (1988: 164) instead assume that an emerging creole receives input both from adults and children. The duration of creole genesis runs along the same line of argumentation: Contrary to Bickerton's proposal, nativisation from pidgin to creole is likely to have taken much longer, given the conditions on plantations such as a scarcity of children as a consequence of the small number of women, high rate of mortality, etc.

Furthermore, the significance of universals varies, as pidgins pass through several developmental stages. Common tactics are initially applied; then, during later stages, a pidgin grows independently and is more receptive to outside influences. Hence, many linguists[57] have argued that the contribution of sub- and superstrates should not be underestimated.

An additional, very general drawback is Bickerton's account of historical events, which is severely criticised by several authors (cf. McWhorter, 1997: 8). One case in

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[55] Mühlhäusler's comparison of Unserdeutsch and Tok Pisin demonstrates the limitations of the theory (1986: 222ff.): While Unserdeutsch would be expected to fit into Bickerton's definition and should bear numerous of the twelve features, four at the most were found. Tok Pisin, on the other hand, does not actually fit into the proposed picture, but contains eight characteristics and therefore better conforms to being a creole as defined by Bickerton (Sebba, 1997: 178f.).

[56] Because mood and modality are interconnected, a distinction between the two concepts is not made here. "**Mood** is a grammatical category associated with the semantic dimension of **modality**. Mood is to modality as tense is to time: tense and mood are categories of grammatical form, while time and modality are the associated categories of meaning" (Huddleston/Pullum, 2005: 53; emphasis in original).

[57] Eklund (1996) mentions Goodman (1985) and Roberts (1984).

point is the doubtful setting proposed, namely that children receive only jargonised and no vernacular input. The background Bickerton postulates for Hawaii[58] is highly questionable (1999: 32ff.). It is not only founded on indirect evidence, but also on a misconceived phase of formation of the creole, which can be traced back to 1880 and not, as suggested, to the period from 1900 to 1920 (cf. Holm, 2000: 64). Another critical point concerns the range of creoles that were included: Bickerton counts only Indo-European colonial languages as lexifiers.

Experts from various other disciplines also find fault with the LBH. Representatives from the field of psychology contend Bickerton's purely linguistic explanation. What they suggest instead is to examine the more general cognitive abilities/problem-solving devices children possess. Anthropologists disapprove of the model for making too many generalisations, and for biologists the complex processes are oversimplified:

> Since the language bioprogram is an innate part of every child, a child learning *any* language is 'guided' by the bioprogram. Bickerton produces evidence from studies of acquisition of 'normal' languages like English and Turkish which, he claims, show that where a language has structures that conflict with the bioprogram 'blueprint', these are harder to learn (i.e. they are the subject of more errors, and are acquired later). The question is, how did these conflicting structures get to be there in the first place? Why would languages develop structures that are 'unnecessarily' difficult for children to learn, when the bioprogram prescribes the adequate minimum?
>
> (Sebba, 1997: 180)

Despite this criticism, the LBH certainly sparked interesting and valuable discussions. Its contribution to ensuing creole studies can thus be considered positive, and its general nature attracted attention far beyond the field of linguistics.

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[58] Bickerton's data is based on Hawaiian Creole English, which arose from Hawaiian Pidgin English.

2.1.3.2   The Gradualist Approach

As opposed to the LBH, where a creole is assumed to progress from an early pidgin or even an unstable jargon and thus reflects an abrupt process of creolisation, the gradualist model proposes a comparably slow evolution. It suggests that children and adults alike are simultaneously involved in progressively transforming the pidgin into a creole. Tok Pisin is a good case in point, as it expanded and stabilised, becoming a fully-fledged language before nativisation (Arends/Bruyn, 1995: 112f.). In his diachronic investigations of the historical development of several syntactic Sranan[59] constructions, Arends (1993: 373f.) found that creolisation is not unigenerational.

These insights necessitate the reconsideration of the notion of creolisation:

1) It is a gradual rather than a catastrophic process, extending over several generations.
2) It is a continuous rather than an abrupt process, meaning that there is no clear break between pidginization and creolization.
3) It is a process carried out by adults rather than by children.
4) It is a process of second rather than first language acquisition.
5) It is a differential rather than a uniform process.

(Sebba, 1997: 192)

This approach is in itself not a novelty. But the results of some empirical, diachronic studies disclose the serious need for more extensive investigations, for instance on the developmental stages, as well as a revision of terminology. Topics that are under discussion again are presented in the next section.

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[59] Sranan is the English-based creole spoken in Suriname.

2.1.4 Current Issues

Over the past twenty years, the idea that language is a social as well as a linguistic phenomenon has directed more attention to the speakers themselves. Pidgins and creoles obviously emerged in very diverse social conditions and did not always pass through the same developmental stages. The notion of the life-cycle of pidgins, presented in section 2.2.3, will have to be reassessed. In-depth research on individual pidgin/creole languages calls for the reconsideration of theories of origin. We find cases of abrupt creolisation, e.g. in Pitcairnese and Mauritian Creole, and Tok Pisin and Sranan are examples of gradual development.

Problematic issues furthermore concern definitions, principally those of the terms 'pidgin' and 'creole' themselves. Recent studies indicate that nativisation is not necessarily a prerequisite of a creole. According to Jourdan (1991: 194f.), we can now discern pidgins and creoles without the former compulsory association of nativisation, and leave behind the fixed opposition between second language and mother tongue. In accordance with Sebba (1997: 14), a pidgin is henceforth defined as an 'auxiliary' language used by speakers in addition to their vernacular to fill a communicative need, while a creole is a main language that *can* be accompanied by nativisation, but this is no longer a *must*. McWhorter's arguments (1997: 159ff.) run along the same lines. Adults can expand a pidgin into a full language as well as children can. When Tok Pisin became nativized, this hardly affected the language because, adhering to traditional terminology, it had already become an expanded pidgin. Adults' social impetus propelled structural expansion. But if the borders between contact languages spoken by adults, which are known as pidgins, and those forms known as creoles become blurred, where and how can a distinction between the two be made? It may be necessary to adopt what is repeatedly stipulated by Mühlhäusler: dynamism (1986: 134). Like any other language, creoles are in a state of perpetual motion. They must be seen in their entirety. Diachronic and synchronic aspects must be considered alike, and at the same time room for more individuality must be made.

On the basis of these contemplations, a comparatively new model has been suggested by McWhorter. By integrating key ideas of several theories of genesis examined above, he attempts a tentative reconciliation:

> This […] model of the process of creole genesis […] incorporates a number of processes in an empirically constrained fashion, including substrate transfer, structural simplification, and internal diachronic change, as well as a small role for Bickertonian universals.
>
> (McWhorter, 1997: 145)

His three stages are pidginisation, creolisation and post-creolisation. As a general principle, only the indispensable communicative functions are encoded during pidginisation. Given the variation of linguistic input and social circumstances, some deviances are possible. Different aspects of structural simplification, superstrate and substrate contributions are active during the first phase. Much of the word-stock stems from the superstrate, while the structure is principally based on the substrate. Creolisation represents the opposite constellation, since here we are dealing with instances of structural expansion. The specific features that are obligatory for full languages, namely regularisation of morphological rules and elaboration of word-formation rules, develop as an effect of substrate influence, and in fact simultaneously display fundamental (encoded) linguistic structures. The weight of involvement regarding word-order depends on the balance between super- and substrate. If we think of creoles as having achieved a status equivalent to other 'older' or more 'natural' languages, it is obvious that they will continue to change. Communication generates and enables creativity, and during post-creolisation creoles react by developing optional grammatical constructions comparable to those of regular languages. The central factor that will make a difference is bilingualism. In a setting such as the one found in Papua New Guinea, for instance, where speakers maintain their native language, further expansion of the creole will be caused by substrate or independent changes (cf. ibid.: 145ff.).

McWhorter's central issue is salience. Substrate speakers receive input in a simplified form, as the superstrate speakers employ foreigner talk. At the same time the substrate speakers simplify their own language. They take prominent features, i.e. those of high functional importance and semantic substantiality, and transfer them to the creole. In relation to the grammars of all languages involved in the contact

situation, the outcome is a comparably simpler form. What is contained in the grammar of creoles is neither "a selection of the most perceptually salient features of the substrate languages, nor […] a boiling-down of the substrate languages to what they all have in common" (McWhorter, 1997: 156). Conclusively: "*[S]alience (of superstrate material) contributes to creole genesis as constrained by simplification (of the native languages)*" (ibid.: 169; italics in original).

In my opinion, McWhorter's proposed model of creole genesis is far less specific than he claims. The model is almost exclusively substratist, with little room for the integration of other processes. The author seems to fall back on other explanations whenever the substratist theory reaches its limits.

It will become apparent from the next section that an overall consensus on common pidgin/creole features exists among linguists. But each theory introduced above has its drawbacks when it is examined in isolation. What I fail to see is why so many authors attempt to explain the structural similarities displayed by creoles in one single approach. Instead, one could admit that several different suggestions in combination add up to a convincing whole. This would mean inclusion instead of exclusion. McWhorter is therefore definitely a welcome progress in that he does not only call upon one single explanation. More models of synthesis will hopefully follow.

2.2 Characteristic Features of Pidgins & Creoles

Despite their diversity, pidgins and creoles share a considerable number of structural features; these are dealt with in the following section.[60] Features sometimes overlap and, occasionally, fall into two categories (semantic and lexical, for instance). When examples from Tok Pisin are given, I use the term 'Melanesian Pidgin' to denote the pidgin and 'Tok Pisin' for the creole.[61]

2.2.1 Features of Pidgins[62]

The characteristics that are traditionally attributed to pidgins are divided into phonological, morphological, lexical, semantic and syntactic features. Not every pidgin will display all of them, but a language bearing most of the traits will almost certainly be a pidgin. Since a pidgin is typically used in a contact situation, it initially needs to fulfil only restricted linguistic and social functions.

2.2.1.1 Phonological Features

Simplification with respect to phonology is reflected in various ways. Tone is usually not used to discriminate meaning, even if the lexifier is a tone language (compare Chinese Pidgin English or Vietnamese Pidgin French). Also, consonant clusters are avoided, simplified or at least adjusted to conform to the mother tongue, e.g. in Melanesian Pidgin one might say *karai* instead of *krai* for 'cry'. Lastly, not all phonemes are distinctive. In Melanesian Pidgin, for example, it makes no difference whether you say *pilim* or *filim* for 'to feel'.

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[60] Because there is far less material on creole characteristics in the literature than on pidgins, creoles are treated in more detail.

[61] Strictly speaking, the designation Tok Pisin, which still contains the idea of a pidgin in its name, is outdated. But the name was officially acknowledged in 1981 as an indigenous term to replace Melanesian Pidgin English or Neo Melanesian, and at this time it was still in its pidgin phase (cf. Romaine in McArthur, 1992: 1044). See also 1.4.

[62] The list of features is a compilation of Arends *et al*. (1995), Mühlhäusler (1986), Romaine (1988) and Sebba (1997).

2.2.1.2   Morphological Features

Inflectional as well as derivational morphology is reduced. There is often no marking for gender, tense, number, case and grammatical agreement in pidgins. In addition, the possessive is a construction of the type 'X of Y' instead of 'X's', as in Melanesian Pidgin, which has *mama bilong Jon* for 'Jon's mother'. Although all pidgins have some derivational morphology,[63] it is rather limited and prone to variability.

2.2.1.3   Lexical Features

As a basic principle, pidgins make "the maximum use of a minimum lexicon" (Mühlhäusler, 1986: 171). We find multifunctionality, circumlocutions and few prepositions. In Melanesian Pidgin, *sik* can be used both as a noun (*bikpela sik* for 'terrible disease') and as an adjective (*mi sik* meaning 'I am sick'), exemplifying that one word may have several grammatical functions. Circumlocutions, e.g. *singsing long taim maus i pas* meaning 'to hum' (literally: sing when your mouth is closed), are frequently found in pidgins. There are generally fewer prepositions than in other languages, since they too often fulfil multiple functions. Melanesian Pidgin, where *bilong* indicates possession, purposes and a characteristic trait or quality, again illustrates this.

2.2.1.4   Semantic Features

Most verbal linguistic signs are arbitrary, but pidgins are located at the less arbitrary end of the spectrum. This means they are often semantically transparent. There is a high degree of motivation and metaphorical transfer. The relationship of a word reflects its relationship to the referent, as in Melanesian Pidgin *han bilong diwai* for 'hand of tree' = branch, where the meaning can easily be deduced from the components. Multifunctionality, as in Melanesian Pidgin *kaikai*, which can be used as the noun 'food' or the verb 'to eat', also plays a role in semantics. Another feature is the use of recurrent elements to express the opposite of something. In Melanesian Pidgin, *no* is simply placed in front of the construction, as in *no hatwok* = no(t) hard

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[63] In both Melanesian Pidgin and Tok Pisin the derivation of a verb from a noun using the suffix *-im* is probably the most unambiguous example.

work ≅ 'easy'. Male/female animacy is indicated by constructions of the type *pikinini meri* = child female = 'daughter' and *pikinini man* = child male = 'son'. Lastly, we find several cases of homonymy such as *sip*, meaning either 'sheep', 'jeep' or 'ship' in Melanesian Pidgin.[64]

2.2.1.5   Syntactic Features

As opposed to creoles, pidgins display more variability concerning syntactic features. TAM is often indicated by context. In Melanesian Pidgin, for instance, tense is marked externally through an adverb. Also, the copula 'to be' is rare, and definite or indefinite articles do not exist. Complex sentences are not frequently found and negations are expressed simply by placing *no* in front of the verb. Melanesian Pidgin shows the fact that questions are kept simple in pidgins, as it uses either a sentence-final question tag, or simply intonation. Finally, there are no passive forms.[65]

2.2.2   Features of Creoles

Although creole languages are rooted in different lexifier languages and are widely dispersed, both geographically and historically, there is broad agreement among linguists that substantial similarities exist. The discussion concerning the reasons for these resemblances was presented in section 2.1.3. The nature of these similarities is another matter. Some authors provide different and very general 'checklists' that contain features characteristic of creoles (e.g. Bickerton,[66] 1981; Muysken/Veenstra, 1995). As with pidgins, occasionally non-creole languages will display some of the features characteristic of creoles, and not every creole will contain them all. The catalogues available focus primarily on grammatical features. Since there is more to a language than its grammar, however, issues from other linguistic domains will be considered as well.

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[64] Note that *sip* is used differently in Tok Pisin. It is still homonymous, but the three different meanings found in the *Wantok* corpus are 'ship', 'shift' and 'cheap'. For 'jeep' *jip* is used, and 'sheep' is *sipsip*.

[65] Tok Pisin (and consequently Melanesian Pidgin) has no passive comparable to English. But according to Mihalic (1971: 28), "many intransitive verbs are actually past participles and have a passive meaning", and another way of indirectly expressing the passive voice is to place the object into sentence initial position.

[66] Not only Bickerton's Bioprogram Hypothesis induced discussion, but also his list of twelve features claimed to be typical of creoles, given on p. 44f. Since a closer study brought to light that it rarely applied to any creole, it is not discussed in detail in the present study.

Because Tok Pisin is considered to be a 'typical' creole – provided there is such a thing as a typical creole –, examples from Tok Pisin are again supplied wherever possible.

2.2.2.1   Phonological Features

Creolisation often entails phonological change. Children reduce and delete sounds and generally speak much faster than adults. McMahon (1995: 261) illustrates the effect speed has on stress in Tok Pisin. In *mì gó lòng háus* = I go to (the) house = 'I go home' the main stress is on the verb and the noun, while the pronoun and the preposition receive secondary stress. This changes to *mì gò l:áus*. The preposition is almost unrecognisable, and the main stress is on the final noun. Other comparable reductions given by Smith (2002: 54) are *tok olsem → to se(m)* ('say that'), where the middle part of the construction is no longer audible, and *bilong em → bl' em* ('his, her, its'). The former future marker *baimbai* is reduced to *bəbai*, *bai* and sometimes even *bə*, according to Romaine (1988: 138). Altogether, one can conclude that pronunciation among first-language speakers varies considerably and that the continued availability of the lexifier language as well as substrate influences contribute to this inconsistency. This also becomes apparent in an increasing number of consonant clusters, where one can clearly retrace the superstrate influence. Among the examples for Tok Pisin given by Smith (2002: 48) are *neks → nekst* ('next') and *ausait → autsait* ('outside'). He also records the introduction of diphthongs, as in *tel → teil* ('tail') and *wel → wail*(*d*) ('wild'). According to Mühlhäusler (1986: 178), creoles also display a more extensive consonant system than their predecessors.

Consonant clusters found in the *Wantok* corpus are *dipatmen → dipatment* 'department', *ares* 'arrest' *→ arestim* 'to arrest' and *fores → forest* 'forest'. Diphthongs such as *freit* 'freight' and *kempen → kempein* '(to) campaign' are also found in the corpus.

Thus, the inventory of the sound systems of creoles given in Romaine (1988: 63) does not hold for Tok Pisin, particularly not for contemporary spoken Tok Pisin.[67]

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[67] Typically, the vowels are /i, u, e, o, a/, and the range of consonants is /p, t, k, b, d, g, f, s, m, n, l-r, w, y/.

2.2.2.2   Morphological Features

Copious changes compared to the pidgin stage can be noted here – particularly for Tok Pisin, as the corpus analysis shows.

In creoles, compounds frequently replace circumlocutions. Tok Pisin examples are *man bilong save* → *saveman* 'man belong know' → 'expert' and *yau bilong em i pas* → *em i yaupas* 'his ears are closed' → 'he is deaf' (McMahon, 1995: 263).

Another feature that is said to be typical of pidgins, but that also applies to many creoles, is the absence of morphological marking. McWhorter (1997) claims that creoles are characterised by little or no inflectional affixation and that derivational affixation is always semantically transparent. This has come to be disputed, however. Analyses by Braun/Plag (2003) and Holm (2000) of Sranan, Berberice Creole Dutch and other creoles argue convincingly against the universality of this element.

While inflectional morphemes were an exception in Melanesian Pidgin, investigations by Romaine (1992a: 219ff.) and Smith (2002: 66ff.) document an increasing use of the English plural *-s* suffix among speakers of Tok Pisin. The authors think its use is largely restricted to words of English origin, however. Examples given are *bois* ('boys'), *ol mauntens* ('mountains'), *ol ailans* ('islands') and *enimals* ('animals'). In addition, Smith (ibid.: 89) remarks on a number of unanalysed *-ed* past participle forms that are used: *ol invaited gest* ('the invited guests'), *brata blen disaided* ('his brother decided'). While only five different uses of *-ed* were found in the *Wantok* corpus, the plural *–s* suffix occurs frequently and is rather productive.

Regarding derivational affixation, a notable change in Tok Pisin concerns the transitive marker *-im*. Former periphrastic causative constructions of the type *yu mekim sam wara i boil* = 'you make some water boil' are being replaced by constructions that add the *-im* suffix to the main verb, resulting in *yu boilim wara* (McMahon, 1995: 262).[68] Smith (2002: 60) suggests that *-im* may be changing due to an overgeneralisation rule where it is attached to the verb 'have', as in *wanpela taim i gatim papa* 'once there was a father' or *mi no gatim ol planti frens* 'I didn't have

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[68] Smith (2002: 60ff.) found that not only the last consonant, but sometimes even the entire syllable is elided in spoken Tok Pisin: *em toki' tupela* ('he said to the two'), *em k(i)si' disla* ('he got this'); *ol kis(im) em* ('they took him'), *yupela go pait(im) saksak* ('you go and make sago').

many friends'. His overgeneralisation observation[69] regarding *gat*, which does not normally allow *-im* suffixation even though it is generally very productive, is not supported by the *Wantok* corpus. On the whole, however, the statement that the "expansion of a pidgin is perhaps most obvious at the morphological level" and that "[l]exical expansion […] largely takes place through derivational morphology" (Sebba, 1997: 110) is confirmed by the results from the *Wantok* corpus.

2.2.1.3   Lexical Features

Circumlocution, compounding, multifunctionality, reduplication, borrowing and stylistic expansion are all potential ways for creoles to expand their lexicon from their pidgin precursors. Given the comparably small number of words in a creole,[70] it is not surprising that many of these techniques are applied.

a) Circumlocution

This strategy of describing something that has not been lexicalised yet is actually more common in pidgins. Creoles still occasionally paraphrase when defining a word that is new to the language, but frequently a single term will become established, as is the case in *kot bilong ren* 'raincoat' → *kotren* (Romaine, 1992a: 153) or *edita* 'editor', which was initially circumscribed as *man husat i raitim dispela buk* 'man who wrote this book' (Sebba, 1997: 117). The most frequently cited example in this regard, told by amateur linguists to mock pidgins, is a form of

bikpela bokis, sapos yu paitim, em i karai
'big-fellow box, suppose you fight (hit) him, he cry'

to describe a piano. Meanwhile Tok Pisin speakers use the word *piano* (ibid.: 116). Examples of circumlocutions found in the *Wantok* corpus are:

Hangare straik i min olsem bai ol sumatin i no inap kisim wanpela kaikai na stap nating inap gavman i harim krai bilong ol. (P3-01-08-02-05)
'Hunger strike means the pupils will not eat until the government hears their cry'

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[69] It must always be borne in mind that Smith (2002) analyses speech samples, whereas the *Wantok* corpus is a written one.
[70] The estimation given by Romaine in McArthur (1992: 1045) for the size of the Tok Pisin lexicon is 2500 words.

No case sabmisen i min olsem bihain long ol i ripotim evidens (long samting i no stret o rong), loya i save glasim na skelim evidens na bihain long en ol i save kisim dispela i go long Nesenel Kot. (P3-01-03-29-02)

'No case submission means that, after they have given evidence (about the wrongdoings), the lawyers examine and ponder the evidence and afterwards take it to the National Court.'

(my own free translations)

b) Compounding

As just mentioned, in creoles circumlocutions are often replaced by compounds. One problematic aspect regards orthographic convention, as creoles are frequently found in countries where this may be of minor concern, resulting in high variability.[71] Thus, identifying compounds is complicated if they are alternately represented as one form or two separate words. Consider, for example, the results for 'dessert' in Tok Pisin:

(a) *switkaikai* (Verhaar, 1995: 275)

(b) *switpela kaikai* (<http://www.tok-pisin.com>; 03 Sept. 2008)

(c) *switkaikai* and *switpela kaikai* (Mihalic, 1971)[72]

According to Verhaar (1995: 267ff.), the rule is that endocentric compounds of the type OI (old information) + NI (new information) are mostly represented separately, while the components of NI + OI compounds are mostly joined. For the former type, a case in point is *banis pik*, 'pigsty', while *draiwara* 'ebb' illustrates the latter type. Stress in endocentric compounds, the more frequent kind, is placed on the element containing the new information. There are several coordinative compounds that

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[71] Of course it should be pointed out that standards can develop even without official guidelines. See section 4.1.3 for details on compounds in general and compounding in Tok Pisin in particular.

[72] Another example is *aislip* for *ai bilong mi i laik slip*, literally meaning 'my eyes like (to) sleep' ('I'm sleepy'). It also demonstrates the inconsistency in spelling: McMahon (1995: 263) cites Foley (1988: 177), who writes it as one word, while in the new online forum that revises the Mihalic project (his definition is the circumlocution given above), the two words are separated (*ai slip*). This is also the case in <http://www.freelang.net/dictionary/tok_pisin.html>; 03 Sept. 2008, while another online-dictionary offers *ai i hevi* ('eyes are heavy') (<http://www.tok-pisin.com>; 03 Sept. 2008).

receive equal stress, as in the self-explicatory *papamama*, or *manmeri* ('men and women').[73]

While compounds are often still transparent, this is not true of borrowings, which increasingly replace established compounds. Examples from the *Wantok* corpus are *mausman* 'mouth man' (as in 'the speaker of a group'), which is being replaced by *spika*, and *stapwok* from 'stop work' meaning 'strike', for which *straik* is now mostly used.

c) Multifunctionality

Creoles generally contain lexical items that are multifunctional, i.e. words that simultaneously belong to several word classes. This is probably due to the fact that most creoles develop their vocabulary from a pidgin and therefore have only a limited set of items available. Mulitfunctionality could also be the result of a universal principle of simplification. Examples found in the corpus for Tok Pisin are *tasol*, which may be translated as 'but', 'only', 'just', 'alone' and 'however', or *apil*, which can function as the noun 'appeal' or the verb. The stronger the influence of a superstrate on a creole, the more likely it is that multifunctionality will decrease. Cases in point from the corpus for Tok Pisin are *toksave* and *kwestenim*. The former, which can mean both 'to inform' and 'information', is being replaced – especially in urban areas – by *infomesen*, clearly a noun only. The latter can only be used as a verb, while the form it is replacing (*askim*) is both a noun 'question' and a verb 'to question'.

d) Reduplication

> [R]eduplication is a mechanism for forming new words. It involves the repetition of a word (or part of a word) resulting in a distinct lexical item with a slightly different meaning. […] It seems likely that reduplication became a productive mechanism for word formation in many creoles via calquing on substrate models.
>
> (Holm, 2000: 121)

Often, the meaning of a word is intensified through reduplication, as in Haitian Creole French *gran gran* → 'huge', or Tok Pisin *harharim* → 'listen intently'.

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[73] Tok Pisin also has several bahuvrihi compounds, for instance *wanbel* for 'twin' (literally 'one belly') or *handethan* from 'one hundred hands' for 'centipede' (Verhaar, 1995: 290). Note that *wanbel* in the sense of 'twin' is not found in the corpus. The adapted loan *twins* is used instead.

Reduplication can also indicate the distribution and accumulation of many (small) things. Miskito Coast Creole English, for instance, has *wan-wan* → 'one by one', and in Tok Pisin we find *tripela tripela* → 'three each'. Recurrence can also be signified, compare Mandinka *kée-kée* → 'keep on going' and Tok Pisin *painim painim* → 'to keep looking for' (ibid.: 121f.). Given the semantically motivated character of reduplication, which is reflected especially in intensification and iteration, this phenomenon is still popular in Tok Pisin.[74]

e) Borrowing

Even firmly established languages extend their lexicon by borrowing from other languages, and creoles are no exception. On the contrary, it has been noted by several authors[75] that the main lexical influence on Tok Pisin today is English. But borrowing appears to be 'getting out of hand', with English expressions replacing terms for which a word had already been established: *bilong wanem* becomes *bikos* 'because', *pren bilong mi* is substituted by *mai pren* 'my friend', *haus mani* turns to *beng* 'bank', *tasol* becomes *onli* 'only', etc. Even the former kinship system is being adapted to correspond to the English method (cf. Mühlhäusler, 1986: 169; Smith, 2002: 95ff.).[76] In general, creoles – especially the urban varieties – borrow "to fulfil the new functions to which the language is put" (Romaine, 1992a: 145).

In the following cases an English translation of the corpus examples is considered unnecessary and is therefore deliberately not given: *apropriet teknoloji*, *pablik awarenes kempen* and *Siries Kraim Samari ripot*.[77]

f) Stylistic Expansion

Creoles, as they must increasingly meet more complex expressive needs, permit "speakers to indulge in a wider range of referential meanings and styles" (Sebba, 1997: 122). Lexical innovations such as idiomatic expressions occur (at first) especially in the spoken form, but also in advertising and comic strips. Romaine

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[74] For further details as well as the *Wantok* corpus results, see section 4.1.8.

[75] Romaine (1992a), Smith (1998 and 2002), Sebba (1997) and Litteral (1999) repeatedly point out the heavy influence English has on the lexicon of Tok Pisin.

[76] In Tok Pisin there was originally a distinction between *brata* (from Engl. 'brother'), referring to 'a sibling of the same sex', and *susa* (Engl. 'sister'), meaning 'sibling of the opposite sex'. From an English speaker's point of view, confusion might occur when a PNG woman calls her sister *brata* and her brother *susa*. For an illustrative explanation, see the Grass Roots comic in Appendix A.

[77] A discussion and more examples can be found in section 4.1.4.

(1992a: 146ff.) gives examples such as *top stret* for 'fabulous' and *stail meri* meaning 'stylish woman'. Other expressions that derive even more obviously from English are *kisim win* 'catch wind' for 'to catch one's breath', or *no waris* from (Australian) 'no worries'. According to Romaine (ibid.), European euphemisms are possibly beginning to enter Tok Pisin. Originally, it was unproblematic to openly name bodily functions such as *pekpek* 'to defecate' and *pispis* 'to urinate', but forms such as *troimwe ekskrisha* for 'to throw away excreta' and *kapsaitim wara* meaning 'to capsize water' might soon be used instead.

The literature regarding the linguistic potential of Tok Pisin is both outdated[78] and scarce; an investigation of current usage would be welcome. The existing materials address three special registers for particular speech functions. *Tok piksa* 'talk picture' can be seen as the equivalent of metaphors. When familiar words are given a new sense in order to disguise meaning, for instance when discussing a secret, this is called *tok bokis* 'talk box'. The play with words in a light-hearted manner or the "prolonged use of metaphor throughout a text" is called *tok pilai* 'talk play' (Mühlhäusler *et al.* 2003: 91).

Romaine demonstrates that insufficient knowledge of these special features can lead to confusion when used unwittingly by outsiders: *Spesel Milo* ('special Milo') is "a common tok piksa term for beer", but advertisers "have to be careful here because some brand names already figure in certain registers. [...] Milo is already a brand name for a chocolate drink" (1990: 201). As an example of *tok bokis*, Brash gives a dialog between two employees slandering about their boss in his presence without his being aware of the fact that he is the topic of their conversation:

A:	Yu harim ABC nius long morning?	Did you hear the ABC news this morning?
B:	Nogat, em i tok wanem?	No, what did it say?
A:	I nogat gutpela tok – tok win bilong kranki man tasol.	Nothing important – a load of rubbish.
B:	Tru ah, atink yumi no ken harim tok long dispela nius – yumi inap sekim tok bilong en.	Is that so? Well I don't think we have to worry too much about what it says – we can ignore it.

(Brash, 1971: 17)

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[78] Cf. Aufinger (1949), Brash (1971) and Mühlhäusler (1979).

He also notes (ibid.: 16) that metaphors "need not always belong to the realm of the colloquial", and a suitable example found in Smith is *maus bilong rot* 'mouth of road' for junction (2002: 111).

2.2.2.4   Semantic Features

Semantic changes seem to take place in many creoles, although it appears to be a neglected area within creole studies. Semantic broadening is used to describe cases where an extension of a word takes place, while at the same time the original meaning is retained. Polysemy is typical of pidgins, as they must make do with a small lexicon. The multiple meanings are then frequently transferred to the subsequent creole. Thus the Tok Pisin word *bel* (plus additions) can denote 'stomach, anger, pregnancy, heart, contentment', etc. A less complicated example is *lek*, which is used to refer to the foot as well as the entire leg. Kinship terminology plays a role in semantics as well. Any relative from the mother's side of the family was formerly labelled *kandere*, while the paternal uncle was called *smolpapa*. But with new borrowings from English, such as *anti* 'auntie' and *ankol* 'uncle', the original semantic domain or interpretation may be changing. This is a demonstration of semantic narrowing.

While pidgins have circumlocutions or semantically transparent compounds, this is often lost in creoles – mainly due to borrowing. One example given by Smith (2002: 98) is *papamama*, which is being replaced by *perents*. Such innovations could become increasingly problematic, specifically for older speakers of Tok Pisin: While they might use *bekim tok* for 'to answer', younger – especially urban – speakers often use the borrowed form *anserim*.

A remarkable illustration of internal development is the euphemism *kisim balus*. Literally it means 'get the plane' and is a nice way of expressing 'to die' (Smith, 1998: 115). Smith continues by mentioning

> a number of cases of the calquing of English phrasal verbs or idiomatic expressions or the adoption of English polymorphemic expressions in an apparently unanalyzed form. In the former category, the English phrase *take revenge on* is half-calqued as *tek rivenj long*, while the idiomatic English phrasal verb *to deal with* is converted in a similar way to *dil wantaim*. Unanalyzed phrases adopted as single words include *aptudeit*, 'to be up to date, fashionable', *brekenenta* 'to

break and enter', *slodaun* 'to slow down' and *tekpat* 'to take part',
while the unanalyzed participle *training* is adopted as the intransitive
verb *trening*, 'to train, practice'.

(ibid.: 117)

Romaine (1992a: 155ff.) comments on diagrammatic iconicity, and demonstrates the iconic relation of items belonging to the semantic field *gras* ('grass'):

Tok Pisin	English	Literal Translation
gras	hair	grass
gras bilong fes	beard	grass of the face
mausgras	moustache	mouth grass
gras antap long ai	eyebrow	grass above the eye
gras bilong pisin	bird's feather	grass of bird
gras bilong dog	dog's fur	grass of dog
gras nogut	weed	grass bad

Table 6: Semantic Field *gras* 'grass' (Romaine, 1992a: 155)

The English expressions are arbitrary, while those in Tok Pisin are motivated. The fact that other indigenous languages encode these relationships similarly shows this to be a highly successful strategy. Lately, however, the structure of Tok Pisin is becoming more irregular and complex due to English borrowings that are increasingly being used by the younger generation, such as *fedha* 'feather' (Smith, 2002: 46).

Semantic changes furthermore include reduplication, as this also leads to a change in meaning, e.g. *ronron* 'to run continuously' or *sutsut* 'to shoot continuously' (ibid., 1998: 115).

2.2.2.5   Syntactic Features

Since similarities that exist between creoles are mainly exemplified by means of grammatical characteristics, those traits posited by Bickerton that apply to Tok Pisin (according to Mühlhäusler, 1986: 222ff.) are singled out here.

a) Emphasis is made possible by movement rules, in this case into sentence-initial position (Mihalic', 1971: 13):

dispela mani yu yet mas bekim [*dispela mani*]

'this money you yourself must repay'

d) Relative pronouns exist, but relative clauses need not be introduced by a relativizer (Romaine, 1992a: 285):

em go long narapela ailan (∅ *i no gat man*)

'he went to another island (that) didn't have any people'

e) Subject copying often occurs (Verhaar, 1995: 361):

*yumi harim pinis, <u>skinhat</u> **<u>em</u>** i mak tasol*

'as we (incl.) have already heard, <u>fever</u> **<u>it</u>** is only a symptom'

d) Existential 'there is' and possessive 'has', 'have got' are expressed similarly:

i gat and *mi gat*

e) The word order in Y/N questions is the same as in declarative sentences, i.e. there is no inversion. The only indication in spoken Tok Pisin is therefore intonation:

em karim bilum (declarative) ↔ *em karim bilum*? (interrogative)

'he/she carries (a) net bag'   ↔ 'does he/she carry (a) net bag?'

f) WH-interrogatives are usually bimorphemic:

husat = 'who'; *hamas* = 'how much'; *bilong wanem*/*watpo* = 'why'

g) Many creoles do not have a formal passive voice, or else its construction differs from a 'typical' one. In Tok Pisin, the most common way of creating a passive is by using the third person plural pronoun *ol* as the subject of a sentence, followed by an active verb:[79]

ol i kolim nem bilong em Jisas = 'he was called Jesus'

---

[79] This is similar to German *man*.

h) an adjective can often be analysed as a stative verb and hence does not require a copula:

gavman em i giaman tumas = 'the government is very hypocritical/the government is lying' (Verhaar, 1995: 389)

i) Many creoles share common features regarding their copula system, viz. most have a distinct copula before locative predicates:[80]

em i stap long haus 'he is at home'

Of the features listed by Muysken/Veenstra, two are relevant for Tok Pisin:

j) "the use of serial verbs" (1995: 124), meaning that a subject is followed by two or more verbs (not auxiliaries) in the same clause without overt coordination (Smith, 2002: 145):

<div align="center">

kisim...i <u>*kam*</u>   *em*<u>   *putim pasim*</u> *em*
</div>

literal translation: 'get...*PR* come'   's/he TR.V TR.V him/her'

k) "plural marking involving the third person plural pronoun" (Muysken/Veenstra, 1995: 124):

ol meri = women

It has been demonstrated that a creole – in contrast to a pidgin or even jargon – has increased considerably in complexity. Although this process must not always be gradual, and although the process of expansion can vary, there do seem to be certain identifiable stages in a pidgin-creole developmental continuum. These are outlined in the next section.

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[80] Even though the present study analyses the lexis of Tok Pisin, not its grammar, I would like to introduce a rather unconventional point of view here. Until now, *i* has only been interpreted as a predicate marker. I do not contend that it has this function, since it is mostly followed by a verb. But in my opinion there is sufficient cause to ascribe an additional purpose and meaning to it: it is a copular verb. In phrases such as (a) *ol i amamas*, (b) *em i longlong* and (c) *em i mama bilong mi* the predicate marker *i* can be seen as a copular verb, corresponding to English 'be' in their equivalent counterparts (aa) 'they are happy', (bb) 'he/she is crazy' and (cc) 'she is my mother'.

2.2.3   Developmental Stages

According to Romaine (1988: 115), the notion that pidgins have a life-cycle is usually accredited to Hall (1962), although in fact it goes back to the work of Schuchardt (1914). For the present study, a detailed account regarding the nature of the different stages is not necessary. It should suffice to provide the model supplied by Mühlhäusler (1986: 11) and comment upon it.

To begin with, he presents some crucial distinctions. For example, one should not confuse the stages of pidgin formation with those of pidgin development:

> The formative period of pidgins and creoles embraces their development up to the point where a socially accepted grammar emerges, that is, a grammar which is transmitted without significant restructuring, to a subsequent group of speakers. As a rule, formation occurs within a single generation of speakers. By development I mean the subsequent history of the language over a number of generations.
>
> (Mühlhäusler, 1986: 54)

He continues by describing a linguistic continuum, which evolves due to the pressure of a standard lexifier language, and can be labelled a restructuring continuum. It is formed by different varieties of similar linguistic complexity, whereas the developmental continuum contains varieties of disparate complexity. Along the developmental dimension we find the different 'lects', namely basilects, acrolects and mesolects. "The variety of language in a post-creole continuum most different from the standard or superstrate language" is called the basilect (Romaine in McArthur, 1992: 109), and the one "closest to the standard or superstrate language" the acrolect (ibid.). Consequently, the varieties in between are the mesolect(s).

```
                                 jargon
                                   │
developmental continuum            ▼
                              stable pidgin
                                   │
                                   ▼         ────►  post-pidgin ────►
                            expanded pidgin                              lexifier
                                   │         ────►  post-creole  ────►
                                   ▼
                                 creole
                          ──────────────────────────────────────────►
                          r e s t r u c t u r i n g   c o n t i n u u m
```
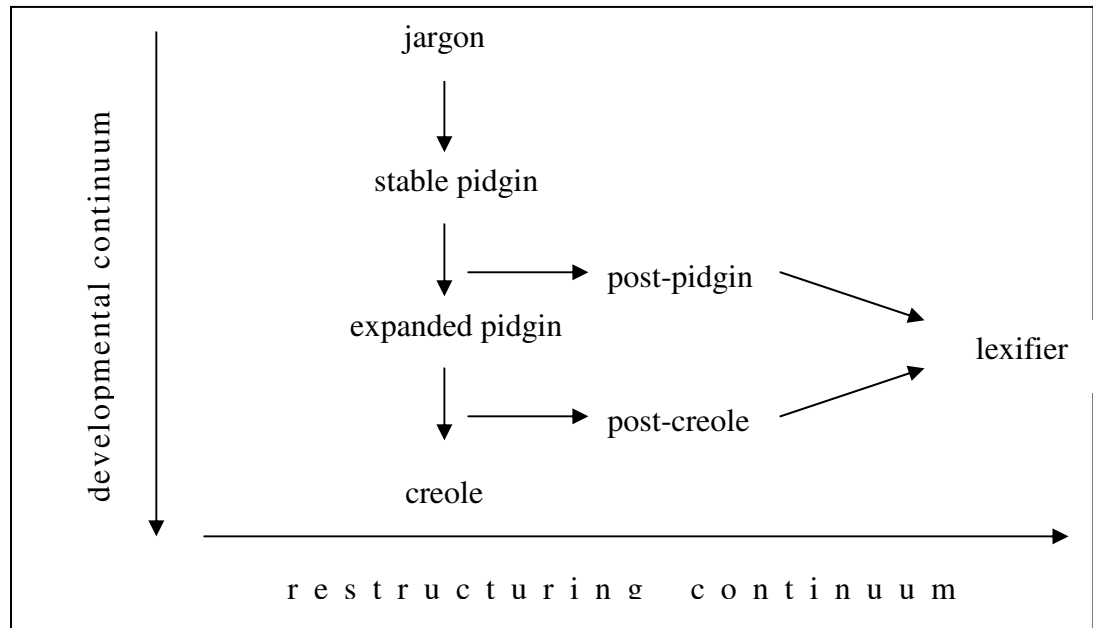
Figure 2: The Linguistic Continuum (Mühlhäusler, 1986: 11)

Given the discussion about gradual and abrupt creolisation, there are several possibilities for the development of a creole. Romaine (1992a: 32) exemplarily documents three types of creolisation of different languages:

```
        Type 1                  Type 2                  Type 3
        jargon                  jargon                  jargon
          │                       │                       │
          │                       ▼                       ▼
          │                 stabilized pidgin       stabilized pidgin
          │                       │                       │
          │                       │                       ▼
          │                       │                 expanded pidgin
          │                       │                       │
          ▼                       ▼                       ▼
        creole                  creole                  creole
West Indian Engl. Creole   Torres Straits Creole        Tok Pisin
```
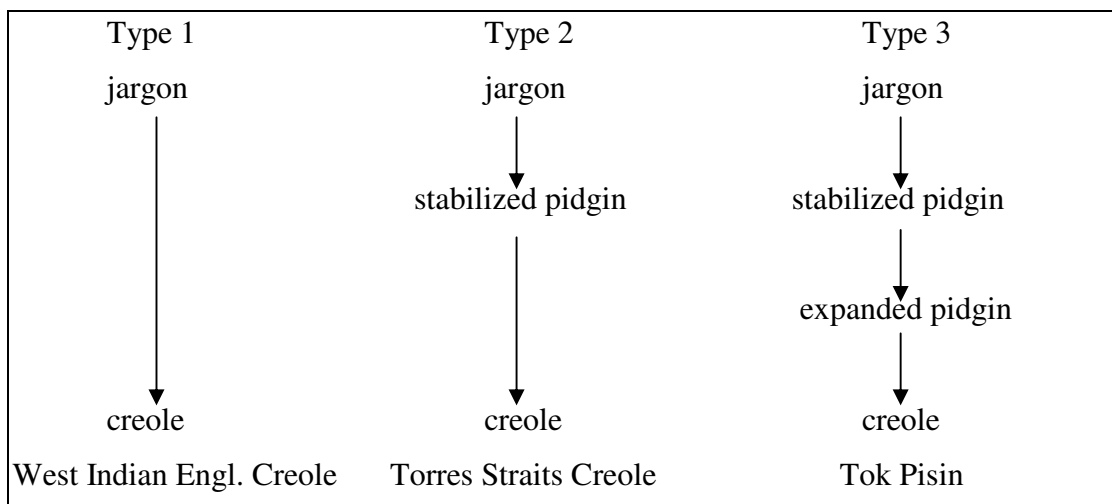
Figure 3: Three Types of Creolisation (Romaine, 1992a: 32)

The languages that we find at the end of the creolisation process are naturally not static. DeCamp (1971: 349) proposed four possible alternatives for further development: [81]

1) a creole can continue without significant change, for which Haitian French is an example

2) a creole can become extinct (compare Negerhollands and Gullah)

3) a creole can progress to become a 'normal' language, although documented examples are hard to find

4) a creole can, step by step, become one with its superstrate (e.g. Jamaican English)

If one conceives of the lexicon as an indicator of future development, I would maintain that alternative number four could also take place in Papua New Guinea. A chronological account of the opinions in this regard that have come to my attention is therefore given in the next section.

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[81] A fifth possibility is recreolisation, which, according to Sebba (1997: 225ff.), is occurring in London Jamaican.

2.2.4   Tok Pisin and the (Post-)Creole Continuum[82]

In the following, the central notions of (post-)creole continuum studies are summarised, before the important assessments regarding the situation for Tok Pisin over the years are presented.

It has become clear that pidgins and creoles come into being through dynamic language contact, and this multilingual context usually continues throughout a creole's life cycle. When a creole coexists with its superstrate language, a creole continuum develops. This was visualised by Sebba (1997: 211) for Jamaican Creole:
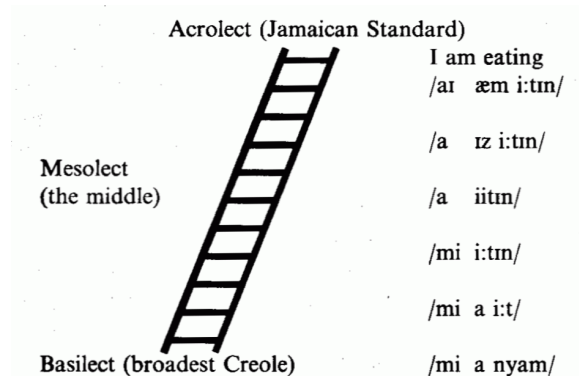
Figure 4: The Jamaican Post-Creole Continuum (Sebba, 1997: 211)

Although a creole is frequently the mother tongue for a large part of the population, it is often not associated with prestige – contrary to the lexifier language. If creole speakers are motivated to acquire the superstrate, varieties will form within the continuum. This situation becomes even more complex if we bear in mind that the process of diffusion of linguistic features works both ways.[83] There are numerous possible outcomes of this linguistic coexistence, such as koineisation, imperfect language shift by the entire population, language death or attrition (see Holm, 2000: 10ff. for a detailed account). DeCamp (1971: 351), who created the continuum

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[82] The term Post-Creole Continuum, as proposed by DeCamp (1971), is well-established in the literature. But, in agreement with Bickerton (1980: 110), 'post' is in parentheses for two reasons: Firstly, the original creole has usually neither disappeared nor become completely unrecognisable. Secondly, 'Creole Continuum' is more suitable to indicate the prevailing process.

[83] Holm (2000: 50) mentions cases for both situations: Jamaican Creole contains non-creole features, while the folk speech of the Cayman Islands is in fact a non-creole that has acquired creole features. This is especially important for historical reconstructions, where purely synchronic data would prove insufficient.

model, identifies two factors upon which the emergence of a (post-)creole continuum depends:

1) "the dominant official language of the community must be the standard language corresponding to the creole" […]
2) "the formerly rigid social stratification must have *partially* (not completely) broken down"[84]

In my opinion, both conditions largely apply to the linguistic setting of present-day Papua New Guinea.

Wolfers (1971: 417) showed remarkable farsightedness when, as early as 1971, he considered the possibility of "a situation in which the educated and political elites will speak either English or a form of the pidgin [i.e. today's Tok Pisin] with rather more foreign words in it". He felt that the Neo-Melanesian language, as it was then called, and its vocabulary would prove inadequate, given the political and technological progress of the country. The author acknowledged the immense importance of this language, especially for everyday communication, and its power to break down linguistic and racial barriers by creating solidarity. In general, Wolfers appeared to welcome its expansion, but he felt the necessity "to distinguish between the pidgin as a social phenomenon, and its role as a subject of continued political and academic debate" (ibid.: 413).

In his article entitled "Can English and Tok Pisin be kept apart?" (1975), Bickerton's reasons to assume a linguistic continuum only four years later were manifold and well-founded. He felt that, with independence imminent, a class-based hierarchy would soon evolve. The educated class would speak English to distinguish itself from the working class and the rural population. English, being a world language and very palpable for Papua New Guineans, would gain high prestige with them. His arguments why social mobility could well disrupt the division between English and Tok Pisin are worth quoting at length:

> [W]herever there is the chance of upward mobility, the mobile speaker will attempt to acquire the manners, including the speech manners, of the group which he aspires. If that group habitually uses English in its everyday life, then he will attempt to acquire English. But the

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[84] By this DeCamp means that a large part of the population must be motivated by social mobility to adapt their creole speech toward the standard, that there must be an ample educational program and other stimuli exerting pressure on the creole. Naturally, not all people are influenced by the standard in equal measure.

probability is that he will have had a much less extensive training in English than those he seeks to emulate; inevitably, therefore, what he speaks will be a kind of English heavily flavoured with Tok Pisin. This in turn will become the target of speakers a little lower down the social ladder, who will speak a variety of English yet more admixed with Tok Pisin. By this time, the accumulation of features which are neither truly English nor truly Tok Pisin will be so considerable as to form a sizeable part of the input to the language acquisition device of any child growing up in an urban area; and since the input mix of English, Tok Pisin and the hybrid varieties will vary proportionately for every such child, it will not be long before we have an urban spectrum containing all linguistically possible varieties intermediate between Tok Pisin and English.

(Bickerton, 1975: 24)

What is more, since Tok Pisin is so closely related to English, it seems only logical that bilingual speakers will sooner or later give up the distinctions between similar phenomena in favour of English, which could also entail a simplification of grammar.

In 1978 Smith observes that the form of English spoken in Papua New Guinea could become a distinct variety of English. When she takes up this topic again ten years later, she concludes that the English used in Papua New Guinea has indeed become a recognisable "variety of English in its own right" (Smith, 1988: 307). She supports her claim with linguistic characteristics displayed by the more educated people in the country.

The changing status of Tok Pisin, and later on English, is documented by Sankoff (1980: 20ff.), who also sees signs of an emerging (post-)creole continuum. For many years, Tok Pisin was thought of as the resource that would pave the way into modern society. It was also a uniting element in a linguistically fragmented country. While Tok Pisin spread as a general language accessible to all, English became the language of the elite. Today, the number of those who speak English is continually increasing, especially in major towns, proportionally surpassing the rate of Tok Pisin speakers. Although Sankoff notes that one can still clearly distinguish between Tok Pisin and English (ibid: 26), she thinks that a (post-)creole continuum could be forming in urban areas. She does not fear that local languages or Tok Pisin will die out, but there is a risk that "some speakers are more equal than others" and that

"some languages, and particularly some language varieties ("good" English), are more equal than others" (ibid.: 27).

In 1986 Mühlhäusler remarks that generalisations about the grammar of (post-)creole varieties are difficult, as they often reflect rather individual solutions. He therefore goes over the discrete components for Tok Pisin, concluding that the investigated data "do not suggest a simple unidimensional continuum between a pidgin and creole and a related target language" (Mühlhäusler, 1986: 249). His findings include the following (238ff.):

- many words are restructured to phonologically resemble their English etyma, leading to irregularity and homophony
- inflectional and derivational morphological borrowing is a random process
- syntactic constructions appear unsystematically
- lexical borrowing may have negative side-effects on other components of grammar

Romaine repeatedly and critically points out changes that have taken place in Tok Pisin. In several publications (1989a and 1992a, for instance) she maintains that the situation described by Sankoff has altered dramatically. Varieties that lie between Tok Pisin and English already exist, resulting in code-mixing, switching and borrowing. Romaine observes that there are two different varieties, namely rural and urban Tok Pisin,[85] since speakers of the latter form borrow heavily from English. An increasing amount of anglicisation is thus initiating a new regional variety of English. Citing other authors' examples, Romaine locates active lexical creativity in 'PNG English'. During her fieldwork in Papua New Guinea, she gathered the impression that locals are ambivalent regarding pidgin, indigenous languages and English (1989a: 16ff.). That decreolisation is on the move in urban areas is asserted by her throughout her 1992 book, where she describes rural and urban Tok Pisin not as discrete varieties, but as a continuum. Quotes by older rural native speakers confirm their inability to understand heavily anglicised Tok Pisin. Indigenous voices

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[85] "Urban Tok Pisin is a more anglicized variety reflecting the greater accessibility of the town to English speakers and better educational facilities. Rural Tok Pisin is also now ideologically seen by many as the 'real' Tok Pisin, while the urban variety is stigmatized as mixed and impure […]. Behaviourally, however, things are otherwise: urban speech functions as a prestige model for many younger rural speakers" (Romaine, 1992a: 3).

(Romaine mentions Nekitel and Ahai) are by and by arguing that education in English should be abandoned to prevent inequality. However, "Tok Pisin's value on the linguistic marketplace must first be increased" before any attempts can be made to replace English, which is still associated with prestige (Romaine, 1992b: 236).

Siegel (1997) doubts that decreolisation has taken place in Papua New Guinea, and analyses some of the linguistic features of Tok Pisin in order to support his claim. He admits that the "influence of English in the TP lexicon is unmistakable" and even that "formerly urban or anglicized TP items have now become common all over PNG" (ibid.: 189). But in his opinion they are either part of a special political register, or else the result of transference,[86] and lexical expansion is often not due to English influence, but rather founded on internal linguistic resources (ibid.: 190). The most remarkable change he sees is morphophonological reduction, as in *bilong* → /bloŋ/, /blo/ or /bl/, and this is internally motivated. In Siegel's opinion, θ, δ, ʒ and diphthongs "are not commonplace features of current TP" (ibid.: 193), even though they were described as early as 1955 by Hall and are, according to Smith (2002: 43ff.), increasingly being used. The *Wantok* corpus also contains several instances of diphthongs,[87] whereas the noteworthy reduction described above is not a feature found in written Tok Pisin. Siegel then calls the occurrence of the English *-s* plural, which merely signifies spontaneous as opposed to integrated borrowing, unsystematic. The verbal suffix *-ing* is also not a feature found in any variety of present-day Tok Pisin, he claims. The number of plural *-s* forms found in the corpus rule out random attachment, however, and although there are 'only' 28 different tokens with *-ing*, the suffix is no longer a novelty in written Tok Pisin. While it may be true that syntax does not seem to be affected by English influence yet, grammar is usually the last feature to change, and Siegel fails to mention what kind of restructuring is common to a (post-)pidgin/creole continuum. The following two statements are also seen as contradictory:

> But again, there is no regular correlation with social factors such as
> the urban-rural distinction or age of the speaker. All we can conclude
> is that English is one of the factors that is influencing some

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[86] Transference is "the spontaneous and momentary transfer of a single lexical item or phrase from one linguistic system to another, also known as nonce borrowing" (Siegel, 1997: 190).
[87] See section 2.2.2.1 for details.

> phonological distinctions for some speakers in some areas. This is not a pidgin-to-English continuum.
>
> […] Romaine's study (1992a: 226-32) shows that -*s* plural marking occurs more frequently in urban areas and that there is a correlation between its use and amount of schooling.
>
> (ibid.: 191f.).

Further along, his line of argumentation is again somewhat difficult to grasp: "If a pidgin-to-English continuum exists in PNG, we would expect not only the influence of English but also the influence of Tok Pisin on PNG English (PNGE). However, with the exception of the lexicon, little if any such influence can be found" (ibid.: 194). I would argue, though, that it is not a prerequisite of a creole continuum to work both ways. That is not to say we should assume a unidimensional model. It merely means that, in its most extreme form, we have a pidgin at one end and standard English at the other end of the continuum, with many varieties such as urban and rural Tok Pisin in between. A hypothetical multidimensional model that facilitates this theoretical discussion is supplied by Rickford (1987: 23):
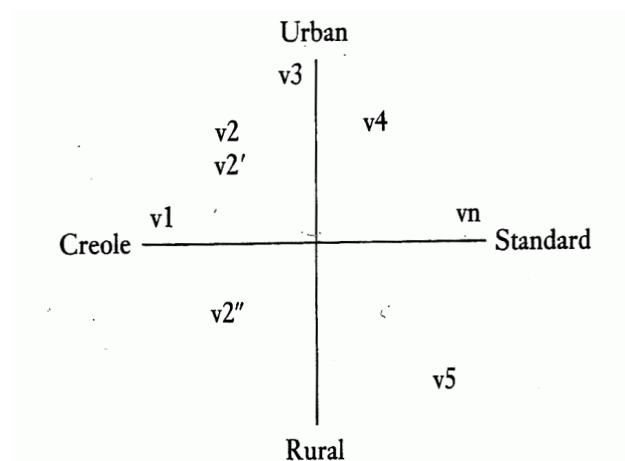
Figure 5: Positioning of Creole-Standard Varieties in a Hypothetical Multidimensional Space (Rickford, 1987: 23)

It is insufficient to distinguish only an urban-rural and a creole-standard dimension. The differentiation should be seen as occurring orthogonally. "The implication of the multidimensional model […] is that v2, v2´, and v2´´ are equally creole and differentiable only in terms of features that are distinctively urban or rural" (ibid.).

To argue that a continuum does not exist because there is no evidence that Tok Pisin is influencing PNGE is highly questionable. Siegel's socio-cultural and political factors are also not entirely convincing. While it is definitely true that Tok Pisin is a widespread, firmly established language that creates unity and solidarity, the role of English cannot be played down. In an attempt to demonstrate the distinctiveness between English and Tok Pisin, which is another reason why we cannot speak of a pidgin-to-English continuum, Siegel (ibid.: 198f.) again contradicts himself. He states that radio broadcasting is carried out in Tok Pisin, but in the copy of a newspaper article a little further down one native speaker actually complains that many radio announcers mix too much English into their Tok Pisin and are therefore difficult to understand. Siegel's claim (1997: 199) that it is the policy of *Wantok* to adhere to the more conservative sociolect is refuted by the present study.

The final – and to me somewhat unexpected – assessment of whether or not a (post-)creole continuum is evolving in Papua New Guinea is by Smith (2002). He interprets his corpus data to the effect that Tok Pisin is not decreolising, although he makes repeated allusion to the influence of English: "The words in current use as exemplified by the corpus appear to include an increased number of English-derived items" (ibid.: 93), and the "ease with which English words are borrowed and incorporated into Tok Pisin speech is quite striking" (ibid.: 99). Also, "the effect of English-medium education is likely to be the major force dictating the nature of the lexicon" (ibid.), and "even those who had not spent a long time in English-medium education showed a good deal of influence from English" (ibid.: 202).[88]

The contrasting opinion is held by Romaine (1992a), who feels that a (post-)creole continuum already exists in Papua New Guinea. This conforms to DeCamp's original definition: "[T]here is no sharp cleavage between creole and standard. Rather there is a linguistic continuum […]" (DeCamp, 1971: 350). Since the present study analyses the lexicon of Tok Pisin and not its syntax, features that are characteristic of a rural variety at one end of the continuum and of an urban variety at the other cannot be contrasted here. The pervasive influence of English has been stressed repeatedly, however, and my own data support Levey's statement:

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[88] For more examples of English influence given by Smith (2002), see pp. 27, 199, and 213 in his book.

There is ample evidence of lexical innovation in *Wantok*,[89] with a heavy reliance on borrowing from English, which suggests that in terms of lexical usage the linguistic norms of media Tok Pisin are in closer alignment with anglicized urban sociolects than with conservative rural varieties of the language.

(Levey, 2000: 22)

In the following model I present the most salient aspects of the discussion above:

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[89] Levey used *Wantok* for two separate studies. His first corpus (2000) contained 16,000 words, the second (2001) 31,206.

jargon

pidgin

creolisation

creole

acrolect

mesolect

basilect

(Post-)Creole Continuum

superstrate

adstrate

substrate
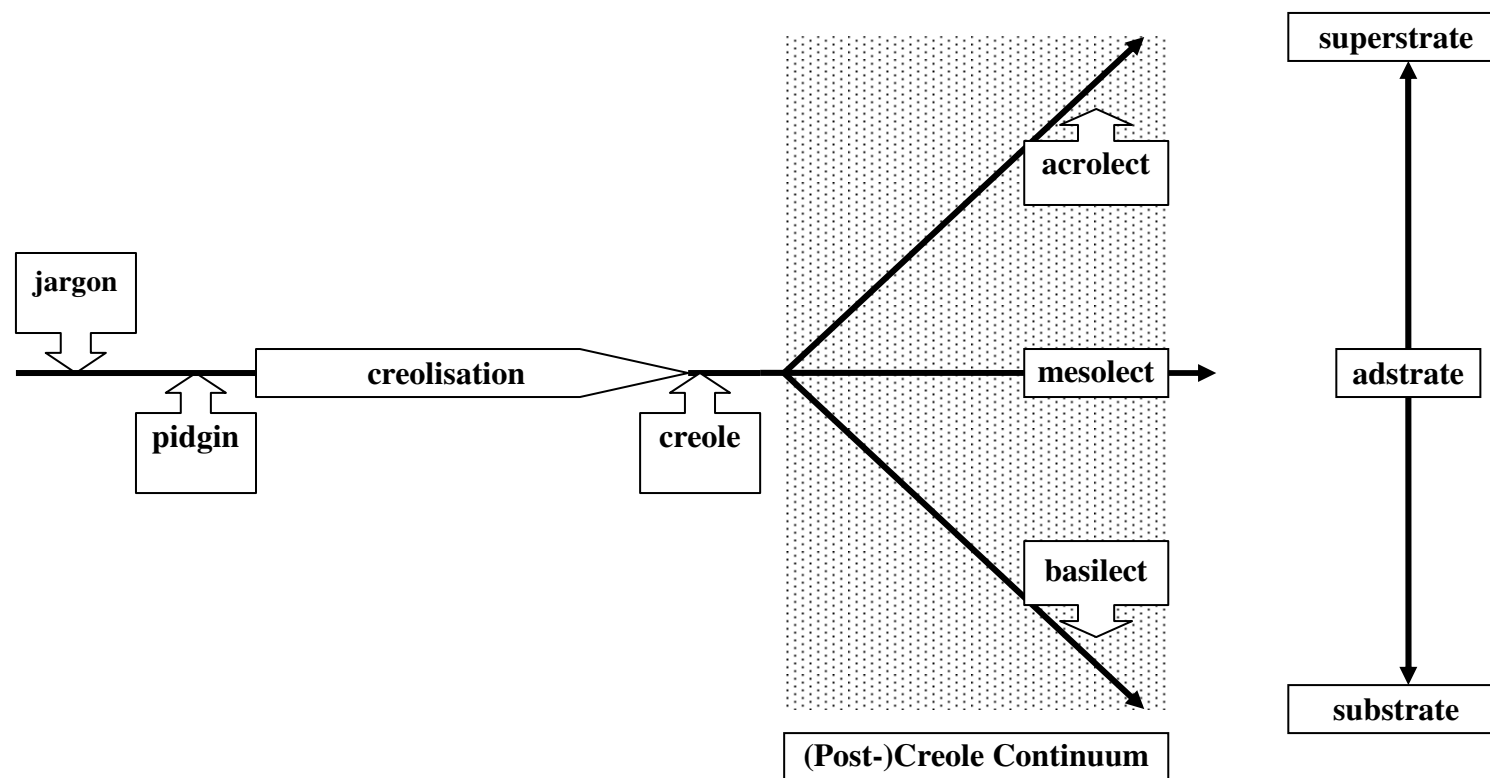
Figure 6: The (Post-)Creole Continuum

THE *WANTOK* CORPUS

"Corpus linguistics is perhaps best described […] in simple terms as the study of language based on examples of 'real life' language use" (McEnery/Wilson, 1996: 1). This chapter describes the compilation of the *Wantok* corpus, the approach taken to analyse the data and the main tool used for the analysis. First of all, however, some background information on the *Wantok* newspaper is required.

3.1　　　The Significance of *Wantok*

Wantok is the only newspaper in Papua New Guinea that is written in Tok Pisin. There is no alternative. The language *Wantok* uses is highly influential and instrumental in shaping Tok Pisin, especially since it "is often read out to great numbers of people" and therefore "also influences spoken Tok Pisin" (Romaine, 1992a: 51). It has been mentioned that, according to the Asian Development Bank, the literacy rate for 2005 in Papua New Guinea was 52%.[90] Although the aim of the restructuring reform in the 1990s was to ensure that all children would be able to attend an elementary school, the percentage of drop-outs is high, with a retention rate of less than 65% (Avalos, 1992: 310). Furthermore, "many children in PNG leave school functionally illiterate" (O'Donoghue, 1994: 208). It is probable that the rate of illiteracy is even higher amongst older people living in villages. They represent the target group to whom *Wantok* is read out.

It may be problematic to postulate a single variety being used by *Wantok*. Details such as age, gender or education of the respective author of an article were not available and could therefore not be taken into consideration. Furthermore, the existing Tok Pisin lects are not strictly separable from one another; there is a smooth transition. Yet on the whole, there **is** a discernible variety used in *Wantok*, which is clearly located at the urban end of the continuum. Evidence for this claim is provided in chapter 4.

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[90]　　See　　<http://www.adb.org/Documents/Periodicals/ADB_Review/2005/vol37-3/sharing-insights.asp>; 09 Sept. 2005). This figure is supported by Kale/Marimyas (2003: 1).

3.1.1   The Foundation of *Wantok*

Wantok literally means someone sharing the same language (compare English 'one talk') and implies being a friend. Founded in 1969 by the late Father Frank Mihalic, the first issue of *Wantok Niuspepa* was released in 1970. It had and still has a great influence on the way Tok Pisin is written. Father Mihalic published a style book containing criteria to be followed in *Wantok*. His 1971[2] revised version of the *Jacaranda Dictionary and Grammar of Melanesian Pidgin* is still deemed to be the *de facto* norm for Tok Pisin (cf. Romaine, 1992a: 49), although the lexicon has meanwhile become outdated. Mihalic was aware of the responsibility of the *Wantok* newspaper:

> It is imperative for us at *Wantok* to write and spell correct Tok Pisin because unofficially we are considered the norm for usage and spelling throughout the country. Whether we like it or not, we are setting the standards for Tok Pisin writing, simply because no one else writes and prints as much materials as we do in Tok Pisin. And what we write is spread all over the country.

> (Mihalic, 1986: 2, quoted in Romaine, 1992a: 51).

In the first issue (August 5, 1970), the aims of *Wantok* are made clear:

> *Tok Pisin em i tok bilong yu … inap nau i gat kain kain tok i save kamap long tok pisin. Tasol husat inap ritim? Em i hapkas tok pisin tasol. Man i hatwok long ritim. Dispela niuspepa Wantok em bai i spik olsem wantok tru bilong yu, em i no tanim tok pisin. Nogat. Em i tok olsem yu yet yu tok.*

> 'Tok Pisin is your language. Meanwhile there are all sorts of words coming into Tok Pisin. But who can read them? It is only a half-caste Tok Pisin. It is difficult to read. This newspaper, *Wantok*, will speak as a true *wantok* [friend] of yours. It won't transform Tok Pisin. No. It speaks as you yourself speak.'[91]

> (Quoted in Romaine, 1992a: 50)

It became a weekly newspaper and, according to Romaine (ibid.: 50), it is perhaps the most important periodical published in PNG. Robie states that it "became an icon of national development" (Robie, 2008: 104ff.). *Wantok* is still the only newspaper currently written in Tok Pisin. It is published by Word Publishing, which is owned

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[91] The translation is mine, although it is very similar to the one given by Romaine (1992a: 50).

by the "Catholic, Anglican, Lutheran and United Churches of PNG" (Eggins, 2008: 207).

One other factor was taken into consideration by Mihalic:

> One of the things we are going to have to settle before we even start printing is the smokeability of the paper we are using. That will help to sell papers. People here have the custom of rolling their home-grown tobacco into cigarettes with newsprint. They don't like the usual thin tissue paper for roll-your-owns. It burns too fast. They like newsprint–but not every kind–it must burn a certain way and produce a white ash. So we are experimenting among our staff with various samples from the paper manufacturers. We want to make sure that we have the best smoking paper in the country. Then we can advertise it that way. And well [sic] we'll have to print a warning on the front page stating: PLEASE READ THIS PAPER BEFORE YOU SMOKE IT. Maybe someday we'll get into the Guinness Book of Records as the most smoked newspaper in the world.
>
> (<http://www.svd-ca.com/mihalic.htm>; 13 July 2008; capitalisation in original)

Particulars on circulation and distribution vary. Romaine (1992a: 50) speaks of a circulation of over 10,000 with more than 50,000 readers. These 10,000 issues are also given online for 1996 by the Information Bulletin Cameco – 2 (<http://www.cameco.org/mediaforum_pdf/ib02962.pdf>; 17 Oct. 2009).

According to the specifications of the Society of the Divine Word, available on the internet, *Wantok* has "a circulation of 30,000 with an average of eight people reading each copy" (<http://www.svd-ca.com/mihalic.htm>; 13 July 2008). This figure is probably a little optimistic; Sebba (1997: 18) records "an audited circulation of 15,177", citing the newspaper's masthead. The paper's own website, which is relatively new,[92] provides the information that more than 12,000 issues are printed weekly, added to which are 4,000 copies that are "distributed and delivered Free Of Charge to schools, hospitals, Provincial Governments, Mining communities, church groups and NGO's in PNG. 1, 500 papers are delivered through paid subscriptions nationally and internationally and 6,500 is [*sic*] sold to the public" (<http://www.wantokpng.org/>; 18 Oct. 2009). Barring the subheading visible in the image below, the website is entirely in English.

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[92] The website did not exist when the corpus compilation began in 2006. A concrete date for the launch of the website was not found. The 'Credits' section by the editor John Burton, however, was posted in June 2003.

Figure 7: The *Wantok* Header (<http://www.wantokpng.org/>; 18 Oct. 2009)

It is stated on the *Wantok* website that its aim is "to try and standardize tok pisin and to reach as wide an audience as possible" (ibid.).

3.1.2 The Variety Used in *Wantok*

As expounded in chapter 2, there is a continuum of lects in Papua New Guinea, ranging from rural varieties of Tok Pisin to heavily anglicised forms spoken in towns. While a rural variety is for instance used for the *Buk Baibel* (the Tok Pisin Bible), *Wantok Niuspepa* is obviously influenced by English. Unlike Lothmann (2006), I do not believe that the *Buk Baibel* has a notably inhibiting effect on the mounting anglicisation of Tok Pisin. Lothmann himself acknowledges the progressive alienation from the Christian religion (250f., 263, 323), the pervasive anglicisation in Papua New Guinea (181, 245f., 265, 271), and that *Wantok* can be seen as a counterbalance to the *Buk Baibel* (285f.). Although the significance of the Bible is indisputable, the importance of the media can also not be denied. It is true that Mihalic aligned the second edition of his dictionary and grammar of Tok Pisin, which also served as the basis for his style book for *Wantok*, to the New Testament:

> In the second edition spellings were revised to conform with usage in the Nupela Testamen. It was decided to standardise the Tok Pisin orthography using the north coast dialect as a 'high Pidgin' because Madang Pidgin was held to be the least affected by Anglicisation.
>
> (Cass, 1999: <http://www.waccglobal.org/en/19994-language-and-the-right-to-communicate/800-Tok-Pisin-and-Tok-Ples-as-languages-of-identification-in-Papua-New-Guinea.html>; 18 Oct. 2009)

The style of language used by *Wantok* must inevitably differ from the style used in the Bible. While the contents of the Bible remain static, newspaper language is subject to contemporary developments. The variety used in the *Buk Baibel* represents the rural end of the creole continuum, whereas *Wantok* uses an urban variety. One

cannot expect a medium reporting on current events in a creole language to use a variety of over 30 years ago. English is the main language of education and is associated with prestige by many locals. Tok Pisin, on the other hand, has still not been officially standardised and is in a constant flux. Addressing contemporary issues therefore necessitates the 'invention' of new words, although at least they are largely adapted to conform to Tok Pisin pronunciation and spelling. The corpus analysis evidences this.

3.2   Compilation of the *Wantok* Corpus

The following sections describe how the textual basis was put together, for instance which genres are represented, which language varieties are represented and what was left out, as well as the technical approach taken, that is, which tools were used, the manner of correction in the compilation of the corpus, etc.

3.2.1   The Textual Basis

Two types of text make up the *Wantok* corpus: the *Stori Tumbuna* ('ancestor stories', 'folktales') and the *Pes 3* (i.e. page three) texts. It was assumed that, due to their content, the *Stori Tumbuna*[93] (ST) texts would represent the more rural Tok Pisin variety. The justification for this assumption is verified by Smith (2002: 174): the "traditional folk stories [...] were selected as being likely to be free from the influence of translated and Anglicized forms". The P3-texts, containing reports about current events of whatsoever kind, were expected to be kept up to date and to be more diversified, typifying the urban variety. Both corpora now contain texts from 1972 to 2004. The number of running words, i.e. tokens, of the ST section is 126,350. For P3 the number is 124,123.

Because the corpus compiled by Thomas H. Slone ends in 1997, some more recent issues were required. These, as well as all the page 3 issues, were purchased from the library of the University of California, San Diego (UCSD). Using a random generator that is freely available on the internet, a list of required issues was created (<http://www.randomizer.org/form.htm>; 22 June 2006). As the UCSD library did not own a complete set of all *Wantok* issues, the librarians creating the scans agreed

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[93] My special thanks go to Thomas Slone, who kindly gave me permission to use the *Stori Tumbuna* corpus for linguistic analysis, and Stuart Robinson, who provided me with text files of every issue.

to arbitrarily select an alternative whenever a requested copy was not not available. To simplify the copying process, it was decided to always select the same page – hence the title *Pes 3* (P3) corpus. Another reason for this procedure was sheer necessity. Due to the limited availability of issues at hand prior to ordering, it was not possible to properly assess the makeup of *Wantok*, especially over time. Judging from the few copies that could be appraised[94], the content of page 3 appeared to change over the years, suggesting that different types of text would be represented. It was a risk, but even though they are not evenly balanced, many text types are featured.

A visualisation of the "genre of press news" within newspapers, described by Bell (1991: 14), is presented by Mazaud (2004: 80):

---

[94] I am indebted to Elizabeth Konga of *Wantok Niuspepa* for sending me several issues for inspection.

```
                          ┌──────────────┐
                          │ newspaper    │
                          │ language     │
                          └──────────────┘
                           /            \
              ┌──────────────┐    ┌──────────────────────────┐
              │ advertising  │    │ written 'copy'/editorial │
              └──────────────┘    │ copy                     │
                                  └──────────────────────────┘
```

```
┌──────────────────────┐   ┌──────────┐         ┌────────┐
│ service information   │   │ opinion  │         │ news   │
│ (lists)               │   └──────────┘         └────────┘
└──────────────────────┘
```

SOFT NEWS   HARD NEWS

```
┌──────────────────┐   ┌───────────────┐   ┌──────────────────┐
│ editorials/leader │   │ features      │   │ special          │   │ general news     │
├──────────────────┤   └───────────────┘   │ topic news       │   ├──────────────────┤
│ columns          │                       │                  │   │ local            │
├──────────────────┤                       │ business         │   ├──────────────────┤
│ letters    to the│                       ├──────────────────┤   │ national         │
│ editor           │                       │ sports           │   ├──────────────────┤
├──────────────────┤                       ├──────────────────┤   │ international     │
│ review           │                       │ ...              │   ├──────────────────┤
└──────────────────┘                       └──────────────────┘   │ politics         │
```

```
┌──────────────────────────┐
│ • sports results          │
│ • television programmes   │
│ • share prices            │
│ • weather forecasts       │
└──────────────────────────┘
```

```
┌──────────────────────┐
│ • headlines           │
│ • crossheads/         │
│ subheadings           │
├──────────────────────┤
│ • bylines             │
│ • photo captions      │
└──────────────────────┘
```

Figure 8: Genres Relevant for Studying Newspaper Language (Mazaud, 2004: 80)

"Newsworkers' basic distinction is between hard news and features. Hard news is their staple product: reports of accidents, conflicts, crimes, announcements, discoveries and other events which have occurred or come to light since the previous issue of their paper" (Bell, 1991: 14) constitute the majority of texts. Nevertheless, other genres can be found in the *Wantok* corpus as well:

Corpus Example	Source	Genre
Dia Edita. - Mi laik autim wanpela wari bilong mi long yupela. Dispela wari bilong mi, em i go olsem. […]	P3-73-11-21-04	Letter to the Editor
Dia Edita - Hia mi laik autim liklik wari bilong mi. Em i go olsem: […]	P3-76-11-27-03	
Wanpela grup yangpela pipel bilong 8-pela kantri wansolwara bilong yumi Papua Niugini i bin kibung moa olsem tupela wik long Bomana klostu long Port Moresby. […]	P3-77-01-29-01	Editorial / Leader
Planti manmeri bilong Bogenvil i laikim Bogenvil Trensisenel Gavman i mas stap yet. […]	P3-97-09-04-03	
Praim Minista, Rait Honerabel Michael Somare, na meri bilong em Veronika na ol bikman bilong Papua Niugini i bin kisim bikpela ona tru taim ol i lusim balus i go ausait. […]	P3-77-02-05-02	Feature
Oltaim mi save harim planti stori bilong ol niusman i kisim taim long han bilong ol arapela man. Mi save harim tu ol stori bilong ol niusman i dai long taim ol i go painim nius. […]	P3-89-02-09-01	
Roosters na Brothers bai i traim bun long bikpela sisen propa gem bilong Wau Bulolo Lig long dispela wiken. Roosters em i wanpela nupela tim long Wau Bulolo Lig. […]	P3-91-05-09-02	Sports Article
Bikpela sofbal resis bilong ol man na meri bai kamap long Movel Oval long Mendi long dispela wik Sarere na Sande. […]	P3-85-12-14-01	
Wok bilong kamapim kopa, gol na silva long Bougainvil i strong yet olsem long 1983. Bougainvil Kopa (BCL) i bin kamapim olsem K54.6 milion winmani long 1983. […]	P3-84-04-21-01	Business Article
Prais Kontrola Morea Vele i tok orait pinis long prais bilong bensin bai i stat go antap long 18 Me, 1989. Dispela i kamap bihain long wanpela wok painimaut long prais bilong bensin long Janueri, Februeri na Mas bilong dispela yia. […]	P3-89-05-18-04	
• *Long ol ples olsem Mosbi na Lae, bai yu lukim olsem i gat planti kar we ol windua bilong ol i bilak. Bilong wanem na ol man i laikim glas bilong kar bai i mas bilak.* […]	P3-03-07-17-07	Column
I gat toktok long kamapim wanpela kain sistem olsem referendum o rot bilong kisim tingting bilong ol pipel pastaim long gavman o palamen i mekim wanpela samting? […]	P3-04-07-08-05	

Table 7: Genres Found in *Wantok* (1972 – 2004)

Slone's naming convention of files was used for the ST corpus: The first figure indicates the running number of stories, followed by the year, month and day on which the story appeared. For the P3 corpus, the year, month and day specification is followed by a digit. This simply separates one article from another.

'Headlinese' is what Mårdh (1980: 13) calls the specific form of language used in headlines. With reference to Straumann (1935) she describes "the type of linguistic utterance which occurs in telegrams […] and in headlines" (ibid.: 12) as block language. Although Garst/Bernstein (1961: 109) conceive of 'headlinese' as "a perverted speech" […] "that corrupts good English" and "cannot be too severly denounced" (ibid.: 163), the characteristics of headlines they describe mostly[95] match those given by Wolff:

> Bei Meldungen und Zeitungsberichten verkaufen die Überschriften ihren Artikel mit Fakten. Sie geben die Nachricht mit einem Blick zu erkennen. Das allerdings kann nicht ohne erhebliche Abstriche am Inhalt und an der Form gelingen. Für diese systematische Reduktion hat sich in der Literatur das Bild vom gemäßigten Telegrammstil eingebürgert. Danach verzichtet der Redakteur in der Überschrift zunächst einmal darauf, in ganzen Sätzen zu formulieren. Daneben fehlt in der Hauptüberschrift häufig das Verb. Dasselbe gilt für bestimmte und für unbestimmte Artikel sowie für Adjektive.
>
> (Wolff, 2006: 275)

Some attributes of the omitted headlines of the articles used for the *Pes 3* corpus are that the predicate marker *i* is dropped, 'syntax violations' and that the 'block language' rule is ignored.

---

[95] In the opinion of Garst/Bernstein (1961: 143ff.), headlines should always contain a verb and 'negative heads' should be avoided, since "[r]eaders are not as a general thing interested in learning what did not happen" (ibid.: 148). Again, there are several *Wantok* headlines that violate this rule, e.g. *SPAKMAN GO LOTU NO STRET* (P3-74-07-17-04) and *Ripotim ol stoa i no bihainim lo na apim nating prais* (P3-99-07-08-01).

Omitted Headline	Source	Violated Rule
SPAKMAN KRAI LONG HAUS SIK	P3-76-11-27-03	No Predicate Marker
Ol Ailan Prais Narakain	P3-79-12-01-02	
Hagen plis painim planti spakbrus	P3-93-09-16-02	
Kopra bod nogat inap mani	P3-98-09-24-01	Syntax Violation
Prins Philip bai lukim Mosbi long wan de...	P3-86-10-02-02	
Toktok bilong kilim ol trabelman bai kamap long Julai kibung bilong palamen	P3-91-06-06-05	Block Language Rule Violation
PNG em wanpela bilong 77 arapela kantri long wol i nogat inap kaikai	P3-00-05-25-04	
Pawa bilong makim ol Gutpela Lida o Lida Nogut i stap long vot bilong yumi	P3-01-03-29-03	

Table 8: Omitted Headlines

Only in exceptional cases (P3-77-02-05-02 and P3-82-05-22-01) were headlines maintained, since removing them would have disrupted the textflow. Cartoons and advertisements were also not taken into account, as they too are considered to represent a special kind of genre.

3.2.2 The Technical Approach

Abby FineReader 8.0, an optical character recognition program, was bought and used to convert the set of PDF files delivered by the UCSD-library into editable electronic files. Some of the issues in their possession, especially those from the 1970s, were apparently faded, and so the quality of several scans was poor; the transformed files often required manual rework.

Following Slone's style of revision in the *One Thousand One Papua New Guinean Nights*, mistakes were corrected using square brackets. Both spelling mistakes (…*Mista Michael Somare i bin givim setifiket long Mista Baratai na Mista Fabila long bipela [bikpela] hotel ol i kolim Travelodge*. P3-79-04-28-02) and what I considered faulty usages of words were marked in this way (*Olgeta dipatmen bilong gavman i gat wanpela ofisa i save wok long **givimautim** [**givimaut**] ol kain kain tok save*…P3-77-03-12-01).[96] Overcorrections[97] as well as omissions are also entirely my fault. Furthermore, special formatting could not be maintained (P3-99-03-25-03):

---

[96] Theoretically, *givimautim could also indicate a new word form. Because eight cases of *givimaut* were found, however, this was considered to be the more regular usage.

olsem:

llektoret	Ol vota
Sinasina Yongomugl	
	39, 316
Chuave	
	29, 869
Karamui Nomane	
	21, 907
Gumine	
	38, 278
Kundiawa Gembogl	
	53, 400
Kerowagi	
	57, 187

Image 2: Special Formatting

Tabular texts such as this are not supported in a plain text format.

"Oxford WordSmith Tools is an integrated suite of programs for looking at how words behave in texts" (Scott, 2004: 2). WordSmith was purchased and used to create a word list and concordance searches. From the two sets (P3 and ST) of plain format texts, a word list can be automatically generated, which displays either an alphabetical list, or one based on frequency. Although this word list helps to conduct all kinds of searches, the number of words given must be interpreted with caution and should by no means be thought to be indicative of the number of distinct words contained in the corpus. Incorrectly spelled words, proper names and place names are all added to the total number of words. This means that e.g. the spelling variants *regional / riginel / rijenal / rijenol / rijinal / rijinel / rijinol / rijonal* and *rijonel* are all counted separately. The concordance function, however, proved highly useful for the purpose of disambiguation, for instance, as it displays each word in its context.

Details about the approach taken to achieve the results for the individual sections are supplied in chapter 4.

---

[97] In some regions of PNG, /p/ and /f/ are not distinct phonemes. One speaker might say *fes*, another *pes*, to refer to the face. In cases such as the following, however, the correction seemed appropriate in my opinion: *I gat tupela kain notis o lista, Sevis Komisin i bin mekim. Wanpela em i gat nem bilong ol man husat bai pinsim [pinisim] wok bilong ol long wanpela dipatmen na **transpe** [transfe] i go long narapela dipatmen.* (P3-83-01-15-03)

LEXICAL CHANGE

It is a truism that all languages change constantly. Inventions, new phenomena and all kinds of innovations must be reflected linguistically by adapting, (re-)creating and enlarging the vocabulary of a language. While some lexical items become obsolete, others are newly formed and enter the lexicon. Speakers are faced with the challenge of keeping their language up to date. This is even more true of the speech communities of pidgins and creoles. These languages, which typically arise and expand rapidly, are confronted with numerous difficulties – be they of political, economic or linguistic nature. Modifications in pidgins and creoles occur at an acclerated pace compared to well-established languages.

Lexical change is the cover term for classical word formation processes and other means of enlarging the lexicon of Tok Pisin. The uniqueness of word formation was expounded by Brekle/Kastovsky:

> Nicht ohne Grund ist immer wieder der besondere Status der Wortbildung betont worden, der sie [...] in den Schnittpunkt der verschiedenen Komponenten einer Grammatik stellt. Denn wie immer man sich der Beschreibung einer Sprache nähert, ob von der Syntax oder dem Lexikon, der Morphologie oder der Semantik her, immer trifft man auf Erscheinungen, die mit Wortbildung zu tun haben, sich aber nicht allein mit jeweils syntaktischen, lexikalisch-lexikologischen, morphologischen oder semantischen Mitteln erklären lassen.
>
> (Brekle/Kastovsky, 1977: 12f.)

Stein (1977: 220) noted that "it is the function of word-formation to enrich the vocabulary stock of a language by changing the categorical and/or semantic component(s) of existing words". Based on the *Wantok* corpus, some of the lexical modifications Tok Pisin has undergone over the past 30 years will be provided in this chapter. Part one is about the classical word formation processes and begins with affixation, which is broken down into 'original' and 'recent' affixes. In the subsequent section the productivity of these affixes is calculated and discussed. Then follow sections on compounding, adapted loans, acronyms, backformation, clipping and reduplication. Part two deals with synonymy, homonymy and multifunctionality, which are considered to be other means of enlarging the lexicon.

4.1   Classical Word Formation Processes

In all languages, words can be broken down into morphemes. According to McArthur/Greenbaum (in McArthur, 1992: 670), a morpheme can be defined as "a minimal unit of form and meaning". The realm of morphology is then the study of "the internal structure of word-forms" (Bauer, 1989: 13). Bauer's definition, which contains the word (!) 'word', is not unproblematic, however. Although most speakers of any language basically know what a word is, defining the term has been found to be more difficult than one might assume. While speaking, we do not pause after each word to indicate its boundaries; in writing, we sometimes find different spellings for the same concept, as in 'word-formation', 'word formation' or 'wordformation' (Plag, 2003: 5). This applies in particular to languages that have not yet been standardised, such as Tok Pisin, where the forms like *nabaut* and *nambaut* ('around'), *leptenen, letenen, lutenen* and *lutenent* ('lieutenant'), or *no ken* and *noken* ('no can', that is 'cannot'), are used concurrently. Stress is also disregarded as a criterion here, for several reasons: "the phonologically defined word is not always identical with the orthographically defined word" (ibid.: 6), we are dealing with a written corpus only, and it is of less importance for simple words, but usually serves to distinguish compounds from phrases – and is thus negligible (see section 4.1.3 for details). So we are left with

> [...] the syntactically oriented criterion of wordhood. Words are usually considered to be syntactic atoms, i.e. the smallest elements in a sentence. Words belong to certain syntactic classes (nouns, verbs, adjectives, prepositions, etc.), which are called **parts of speech, word classes,** or **syntactic categories**.
>
> (Plag, 2003: 8; emphasis in original)

The syntactic classes, in turn, are another problematic topic. The linguistic discipline that usually deals with word classes is syntax, as it analyses "the ways in which words combine into such units as phrase, clause, and sentence" (Greenbaum in McArthur, 1992: 1016). But the focus of the present study is not on syntax, and although an English translation of each word is given, a part of speech categorisation is not supplied (except to make a particular point). What it means "for a Tok Pisin word to be a noun, verb, adjective or whatever" (Mühlhäusler, 1994: 137) would be an intriguing project for future research – perhaps even based on the *Wantok* corpus.

The aim of the present study is to show the influence of English on Tok Pisin, and to display each word in the context in which it occurs. The upcoming sections are based on the premise that word formation covers all those "processes by which new words are created" (Yule, 2006: 53). For example, the vocabulary of a language is expanded when a word is shortened (*eksem* from *ekseminesen*) or when the initial letters of several words are combined to form a new expression, as in *diditi* (in English, the short form would be DDT, the insecticide 'dichlorodiphenyltrichloroethane'). Smith (2002: 94) notes that "in spite of the many internal productive processes available for producing new words", viz. compounding, multifunctionality and reduplication, "the overwhelming majority of new items appear to originate from English" (ibid.). This is why the category 'synonyms', for instance, although it is not usually found in studies on word formation, is included as a further means of enlarging the lexicon: It demonstrates that lots of words of English origin exist side by side with words of a different origin in the corpus. While the 'adapted loans' category lists only the most recent English borrowings, a trend to replace existing words with anglicised terms already began at an earlier stage. Word formation is, after all,

> ein überaus komplexes Phänomen […], das durchaus unterschiedlichen, einander ergänzenden Beschreibungsverfahren zugänglich ist. […] Daß morphologische Aspekte bei der Beschreibung der Wortbildung zu berücksichtigen sind, versteht sich von selbst, da die aus den Wortbildungsprozessen resultierenden Konstruktionen Morphemverbindungen sind und als solche einer morphologischen Analyse unterworfen werden müssen.
>
> (Brekle/Kastovsky, 1977: 16).

In the next section the spotlight is therefore turned on affixation.

4.1.1   Affixation

Insofar as European linguistics is concerned, a distinction is made between inflectional morphology on the one hand, and lexical/derivational morphology, which is then considered to belong to word formation, on the other (cf. Kastovsky, 2006: 2324). However, in the present study affixation will be analysed as a whole, instead of dealing with inflection as a part of morphology and derivation as a part of word formation. One motive for this approach is the dissension among linguists regarding the classification of affixes in Tok Pisin into inflectional or derivational, an issue that is discussed in detail in the next section. Another reason is that one can expect little awareness of affixes and morpheme-boundaries from speakers of Tok Pisin, at least for the moment. This argument is taken up again in section 1.4, which deals with adapted loans.

We can see that Tok Pisin words are made up of certain identifiable components, i.e. roots, bases[98] and affixes. Words that cannot be broken down further into morphemes are called roots. A base is the "part of a word which an affix is attached to" (ibid.: 11) and morphemes that are found only in bound form are labelled affixes.[99] Bound roots are "roots that only occur in combination with some other bound morpheme" (ibid.: 10). It seems that so far only suffixes have been reported for Tok Pisin in the literature, and although they constitute the substantial part of affixes found in the *Wantok* corpus, 25 prefixes were also identified.[100]

---

[98] In accordance with Plag (2003: 11), the additional distinction between 'base' and 'stem' will not be made: "The term 'stem' is usually used for bases of inflections, and occasionally also for bases of derivational affixes. To avoid terminological confusion, I will avoid the use of the term 'stem' altogether and speak of 'roots' and 'bases' only".

[99] Stein (2000: 281) noted that "[w]ithin word-formation theory the term 'combining form' is the one which is least clear and most in need of a consistent definition which outlines its relation to other bound morphemes in English, prefixes and suffixes in particular". The distinction between affixes and combining forms is of no relevance here and will be neither discussed nor made; all forms are simply labelled 'affixes'.

[100] Please note that cliticisation, as described by Smith (2002: 84ff.), does not occur in the corpus. Findings regarding the aspect marker *save*, which is reduced to *sa*, as in *em sa stap* 'he (habitually) stayed (there)' (ibid.: 86), may be a firmly established feature of spoken Tok Pisin, but neither this nor other cliticisations are manifest in the *Wantok* corpus so far. For criteria regarding the morphological status of words, clitics and affixes as well as their distinction, see Helmbrecht (2006: 179ff.).

4.1.1.1 Original Affixes

"Tok Pisin suffixes are conveniently distinguished as the "original" ones (which have been in the language since earlier stages of its development) and the "recent" ones (which have appeared in the language at later stages)" (Verhaar, 1995: 12). But there is some controversy in the literature regarding the TP suffixes *-im* and *-pela*, i.e. the two 'original' ones. Verhaar's allocation is unambiguous: "Tok Pisin has no inflectional affixes, it only has derivational affixes—and [...] all of them are suffixes" (ibid.). For Mühlhäusler, both affixes belong to the group of inflectional morphemes (1985: 335ff.). That *-im* can be seen both as an inflectional and a derivational affix is mentioned by Smith, although he goes on to treat the two affixes in question as inflectional ones (2002: 59).

Both conceptions can be argued for, although a good case can be made for the derivational interpretation – for *-im* as well as for *-pela*.

When attached to verbs, *-im* signals transitivity. But while most transitive verbs necessitate the suffix (e.g. *askim* 'ask' or *putim* 'put'), others are always realised without it (as in *gat* 'have'[101] or *save* 'know'), and in some cases its appearance varies:

> *Pikinini i   save **dringim** wara   na i   save slip isi tru.*
> Child   PR HAB TR.V   water   and PR HAB sleep easy true
>
> 'The baby would drink water and sleep quietly.' [ST-0647-86-11-13]

> *Tupela i bin   karim ol drai kokonas wantaim ol bilong ol long   **dring** wara*
> Two PR PAST TR.V 3pl dry coconut   with   3pl PREP 3pl PREP drink water
> *na kaikai   tu.*
> and food/eat too.
>
> 'They had brought ripe coconuts with them so that they could both drink the milk and eat the meat of the coconuts.' [ST-0601-85-12-21]

The suffix furthermore indicates reflexivity (*tanim* 'turn around'), causativity (*sanap* meaning 'to stand up' as opposed to *sanapim* 'to stand something up') and often entails a change of word-class. Compare:

---

[101] Smith (2002: 60) found 10 forms of *gatim* in his corpus, mostly from the Highlands region, where informants indicated that it was not as yet a standard form, but also not uncommon. **Gatim* was not found in the *Wantok* corpus, however.

Suffix	Is Attached To	Results In	TP Word	ETr
-im	verbs (*ting* 'think')	trans. verbs	*tingim*	'to remember sth./s.o.
	nouns (*kaikai* 'eat')	trans. verbs	*kaikaim*	'to eat/bite sth./s.o.'
	adjectives (*hat* 'hot')	trans. verbs	*hatim*	'to heat sth./s.o.'
	adverbs (*bihain* 'behind')	trans. verbs	*bihainim*	'to follow sth./s.o.'
	verbs (*askim* 'ask')	nouns	*askim*	'a question'[102]

Table 9: Functions of *-im*

Suffix	Is Attached To	Results In	TP Word	ETr
-pela	adjectives (*ret* 'red')	adjectives	*retpela*	'red'
	pronouns (*mi* 'me') (sg.)	pronouns	*mipela*	'we' [excl.] (pl.)
	adjectives (*longpela* 'long')	nouns	*longpela*	'length'[103]
	cardinal numb. (*foa* 'four')	cardinal numb. (adjectival use)	*foapela*	'four'

Table 10: Functions of *-pela*

As indicated by the examples above, a similar debate can be found among linguists regarding *-pela*. While the suffix is derivational according to Verhaar (1995: 12ff.), others view it as an inflectional affix (Mühlhäusler *et al.*, 2003: 14f.; Smith, 2002: 59ff.). According to Faraclas, "the morpheme *-pela* seems to straddle the boundary between inflection and derivation" (2003: 271). In this context, a novelty introduced by Verhaar (1995) in his grammar should be pointed out: For several reasons he argues in favour of replacing the category 'adjective' by what he calls 'noun modifiers'. To start with, he establishes that it is wrong to analyse the suffix *-pela* as the adjective marker (which is done e.g. by Mihalic [1971] or Dutton/Thomas [1985]). Sometimes the Tok Pisin word needs the *-pela* suffix only in attributive position (*patpela pik* = 'a fat pig'/*pik i pat* = 'the pig is fat') or prohibits its adherence altogether (*klia* meaning 'clear'). The result is a group of words that fulfil the function of what is traditionally called 'adjective' without being overtly marked

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[102] This is a case of multifunctionality, discussed in detail in section 4.2.1.
[103] Another case of multifunctionality.

as such. Furthermore, as can be seen from the list given above, the attachment of the suffix *-pela* results not only in the part of speech known as adjectives. As a class, adjectives "should be clearly distinguishable from both verbs and nouns" (Verhaar, 1995: 387), which, according to Verhaar, is not the case. Instead, he speaks of 'modifiers' because "there is no straightforwardly recognizable class of adjectives in Tok Pisin, while no doubt there is a class of modifiers (of nouns), used either attributively or predicatively" (ibid.: 387). In his opinion "*-pela* modifiers are too nouny for adjectival status as a word class; this is true also, and perhaps even more so, of modifiers not marked with *-pela*" (ibid.: 387). The decisive motivation for abolishing the category 'adjective' is illustrated in his following example (ibid.: 69): In the TP sentence *Ol i amamas*, for which he gives the meanings 'They are happy' or 'They enjoy themselves', it is not apparent whether *amamas* is a verb or an adjective (especially as it is preceded by *i*, the predicate marker).

Let us work through Verhaar's objections to the category 'adjective', beginning with the last one that was just mentioned.

Regarding the difficulty of discerning between an adjectival or verbal function in cases like *Ol i amamas*, Mihalic's grammar gives an excellent explanation:

> Adjectives are divided principally into descriptive and definitive adjectives. Descriptive adjectives name a quality or characteristic of the substantive they modify. Definitive adjectives merely specify which or how many.

> Descriptive adjectives are divided into attributive and predicate. Attributive adjectives qualify, limit, or narrow the meaning of the substantive they modify, e.g. *bikpela haus* "a big house". Predicate adjectives, on the other hand, do two things: they not only qualify a substantive (either subject or object) but they also complete the predication begun by the verb, e.g. *Haus i bikpela.* "The house is big." Or: *Ol i katim diwai sotpela.* "They cut the wood short."

> (Mihalic, 1971: 17)

Huddleston/Pullum, in their grammar of English, distinguish similarly between attributive and predicative adjectives: "In the attributive use the adjective functions as **modifier** to a following noun in NP structure. In the predicative use it generally occurs after the verb *be* or one of a small subclass of similar verbs such as ***become***, ***feel***, ***seem***, etc." (2005: 18; emphasis in original). Furthermore, Verhaar's second reading ('they enjoy themselves') is not very convincing, for although Tok Pisin

leaves a lot of room for interpretation, reflexivity can be expressed – and this is not the case. Finally, it should be noted that the structure of a language is not determined by a translation.

As regards word-class membership, Verhaar's chief counter-argument, this is not unambiguous in English either: We speak of conversion when a word changes in function without altering its outer form. For instance, the adjective 'professional' can also be used as a noun, or we can derive the verb 'to empty' from the corresponding adjective.

I propose that one of the functions of the *-pela* suffix is to mark that group of words we call 'adjective' in English, and will therefore maintain this part of speech.[104]

For the present study it is also interesting to examine their productivity[105], and here the corpus analysis suggests that *-im* is definitely still productive, while the case is less clear-cut for *-pela*. What follows is a list of all 'new' words ending in the original suffixes *-im* and *-pela*. 'New' means the words are found neither in the dictionary by Mihalic (1971), Schaefer (1992), nor Steinbauer (1998). While Mihalic set and is still regarded as the benchmark by many, the latter two dictionaries are less well-known. But because of the very limited number of word lists available for Tok Pisin, only those words were counted as 'new' that have not been incorporated into either of the three lexicons.

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[104] I am very grateful to Dr. Ger Reesink (personal correspondence) for his comments, especially on this section.

[105] See section 4.1.2 for details. It contains both a definition of productivity and an analysis of the suffixes *-im* and *-pela*.

-im (**transitive verb-marker**)

TP word	PoST	Corpus Example	Source	Year/Edition	NoO	ETr
arestim	verb	*Ol tripela i pret nogut ol lain bilong man ya bai bekim sapos ol i* **arestim** *em.*	P3	87-11-12-04	4	to arrest s.o.
awodim	verb	*…Rudolph Kagimat i bin* **awodim** *o givim taitel bilong graun long long* [sic] *Duma Aki klen…*	P3	03-01-02-03	1	to award sth. to s.o.
bildim	verb	*…Gavman bai plenim divelopmen na* **bildim** *ol projek tasol…*	P3	00-05-25-05	4	to build sth.
biruaim	verb	*Kaunsil i askim ol bisnis haus long salim tasol ol prodak we i gutpela na i no dispela we bai* **biruaim** *pablik.*	P3	99-08-19-01	2	to injure, to damage
blowim	verb	*…na i* **blowim** *[winim] wara i go long olgeta hap…*	ST	1206-97-08-07	1	to fan, to blow
bukim	verb	*Madang provinsal gavman i* **bukim** *pinis MV Umboi…*	P3	84-06-16-02	1	to book
developim / divelopim	verb	*Gavman i mas lukluk nau long* **divelopim** *ol rurel eria na kamapim moa wok.*	P3	96-11-07-02	8	to develop
digim / dikim	verb	*Em i* **digim** *i go na em i painim samting ya.*	ST	0326-80-08-02	28 (+3)	to dig
draim	verb	*Bihain ol i* **draim** *kopa na lodim long sip na kisim i go long maus bilong Flai Riva.*	P3	86-09-11-01	1	to dry
edvaisim	verb	*…na* **edvaisim** *Seketeri bilong Treseri na Plening long noken baim bek dispela dinau…*	P3	98-12-03-03	3	to advise
egensim	verb	*Na Primia Utula Samana em i* **egensim** *Pangu Pati.*	P3	82-06-05-01	40	to contradict, to oppose
eksesaisim	verb	*…na* **eksesaisim** *ol pinga bilong ol long paitim dispela ol stil man ol i kolim poka masin.*	P3	03-07-17-07	1	to exercise
enrolim	verb	*…Ilektorol Komisin i wok long* **enrolim** *ol vota…*	P3	01-08-02-04	1	to enrol
fandim	verb	*Na wanwan provins i mas* **fandim** *dispela prosek aninit long provinsal baset bilong ol.*	P3	96-07-18-03	2	to fund
fenim	verb	*Wara i go bikpela taim mama i* **fenim** *[winim long fan] na i*	ST	1206-	1	to fan

		karamapim olgeta samting na olgeta hap.		97-08-07		
fomim	verb	*…na sut stret long karimaut polisi taim ol i **fomim** gavman.*	P3	97-04-10-01	4	to form
go hetim	verb	*• ol wok lain bilong karimaut taim tambu bai kisim spesel pas long **go hetim** wok bilong ol.*	P3	96-06-20-01	6	to advance, to promote
holimpasim	verb	*Man tu i go **holimpasim** binen na sekanim em planti taim.*	ST	0504-84-01-28	26	to hold firmly, to embrace
hostim	verb	*Mista Kari i tok sapos PNG i **hostim** ol kain bung olsem, em inap long pulim ovasis mani i kam long kantri.*	P3	03-01-02-02	4	to host
kesim	verb	*Ol i tokim ol long **kesim** ol sek bilong ol long Fraide Septemba 25.*	P3	98-09-24-01	4	to cash
ketsim	verb	*Orait neks de bikpela brata i go long bikbus na digim hul bilong **ketsim** pig i stap.*	ST	1254-98-07-09	1	to catch
kipim	verb	*…i no **kipim** ol kainkain promis ol i bin mekim long taim bilong ileksen.*	P3	01-08-02-04	1	to keep
koltaim	verb	*…wanpela PMV trak i pulap long ol pipel na i spit i ran i go antap long wanpela rot ol i **koltaim** pinis.*	P3	78-09-02-01	1	to tar
kontrolim	verb	*Ol dispela lain, em i tok i no inap **kontrolim** belhat bilong ol na tingting long sindaun bilong ol arapela pipel.*	P3	00-06-01-02	4	to control
kwestenim	verb	*Mista Kore i tok pablik i gat rait long **kwestenim** ol stoa lain…*	P3	99-07-08-01	1	to question
lodim	verb	*Em nau ol bai **lodim** na salim i go long ol ovasis kantri.*	P3	86-09-11-01	2	to load
maketim	verb	*Helpim ol turis opereta long kantri long **maketim** ol program bilong ol long winim turis maket…*	P3	00-04-06-04	1	to market
matmatim	verb	*Man, ol man i kirap nogut tru long wanem em indai na ol laik **matmatim** [planim] em na putim em arere long haus.*	ST	0695-87-10-22-10-29	1	to bury
menesim	verb	*Dokta Temu i tok dispela rot bai dispela bisnis i ken lukluk long sait bilong **menesim** wok…*	P3	04-07-29-08-04-05	1	to manage
misim	verb	*Na tu, em i **misim** [lusim] sans stret long maritim dispela angelo bilong bus.*	ST	0979-93-04-08	1	to miss
monitaim	verb	*"Pipel i wok long **monitaim** ol samting i wok long kamap long*	P3	03-01-02-02	1	to monitor

		PNG. […]				
muvim	verb	*Ol i **muvim** ol masin bilong wok konstraksen long dispela pontun bris i kam long hap sait.*	P3	86-09-11-02	8	to move
nidim	verb	*…long hap we yumi **nidim** sampela kain sapot long Wol Beng.*	P3	99-08-19-03	1	to need
ogenaisim	verb	*Em i tok long dispela taim ol man bilong mekim rong i save **ogenaisim** gut tru wok bilong ol…*	P3	84-07-21-04	1	to organise
operetim	verb	*John Patrick em wanpela aipas man na em bin kisim save bilong em long **operetim** Swisbot long Australia…*	P3	87-03-05-03	1	to operate
patrolim	verb	*Ol plis i mas **patrolim** gut tru bikpela hap long Hailans Haiwe long Kundiawa i go inap long Maun Hagen.*	P3	78-10-14-02	2	to patrol
pilaim	verb	*Bihain long misa, ol sumatin i **pilaim** ol kain kain pilai.*	P3	94-09-15-04	4	to play
pinim	verb	*…em i lukim ol posta o piksa ol **pinim** nabaut long siti…*	P3	04-04-22-03	1	to pin
pitsim	verb	*Dispela tupela pitsa i gat biknem long stail bilong **pitsim** bal olsem katres.*	P3	85-12-14-01	1	to pitch
plenim	verb	*Ol i no save tingting na **plenim** wanem ol samting bai kamap.*	P3	89-02-09-04	7	to plan
promotim	verb	*Long **promotim** gutpela wok bilong ol fainensel sistem long PNG;…*	P3	00-04-06-01	6	to promote
pusim	verb	*Olsem na plis i kisim ripot na **pusim** kot ya long kamap.*	P3	98-08-20-03	16	to push, to promote
rijektim	verb	*…PNG i save laik hostim dispela bung tasol bikos long lo na oda hevi, ol memba kntri [kantri] i **rijektim**.*	P3	03-01-02-02	1	to reject
ringim	verb	*Em i **ringim** narapela wan famili bilong em long kam kisim pinis.*	P3	04-04-22-04	6	to ring, to phone
rispektim	verb	*Em i tok ol pipel bilong PNG i mas kisim skul bilong gat pasin bilong **rispektim** arapela arapela.*	P3	00-04-06-05	3	to respect
rolim	verb	*Yu save, em tumbuna stori ya, em yet **rolim** dispela mambu i go daun long dispela wara…*	ST	1211-97-09-11	1	to roll
sainim	verb	*Na ol yunien i bin **sainim** pepa long aste.*	P3	92-09-10-02	16	to sign
salensim	verb	*Profesa Epstein i **salensim** PNG na ol manmeri husat wok*	P3	04-04-22-03	8	to challenge

		bilong ol i sut long daunim HIV…				
saplaim	verb	*Em i tok AusAID i givim helpim long **saplaim** ol buk na ol arapela samting…*	P3	96-07-18-03	3	to supply
sapotim	verb	*"Yupela i mas **sapotim** dispela lo.*	P3	03-07-17-01	61	to support
sasim	verb	*Long bungim olgeta wantaim, plis i **sasim** ol 6-pela rong.*	P3	93-09-16-02	40	to charge (with)
saspendim / saspenim	verb	*…Mekere gavman i kamap na **saspenim** Philip Taku wantaim ol menesa bilong em long NCDC.*	P3	01-11-15-01	(+4) 8	to suspend
sataim	verb	*Provinsal gavman i laik **sataim** sampela bot bilong Lutheran Shiping…*	P3	84-06-16-02	2	to charter
sekim	verb	*Draipela guria i **sekim** ailan.*	ST	0429-82-08-07	50	to shake, to rock
sekim	verb	*Baim Wantok na **sekim** olgeta wik long painimaut moa.*	P3	03-09-04-05	50	to check
selektim	verb	*…haiskul we dipatmen bilong em bai **selektim** bai i gat gred 11 na 12.*	P3	96-07-18-03	1	to select
semim	verb	*Dispela yangpela meri tu i kirap na **semim** lapun meri na pikinini bilong em.*	ST	0393-81-11-21	4	to shame, to embarrass
serim	verb	*Bikos ol i pas long bel ol **serim** ol hap insait long bel.*	P3	03-10-23-01	6	to share
skoim	verb	*Magani i **skoim** wanpela trai na wanpela gol tasol.*	P3	88-07-07-02	4	to score
sotim	verb	*Em i longpela stori tru tasol mi **sotim** [katim sotpela] na salim long Wantok.*	ST	0675-87-06-04	3	to shorten
spendim / spenim	verb	*Inap gavman i ken tokaut long stat bilong hevi i kam inap nau, gavman i **spenim** hamas mani?*	P3	96-07-18-01	2 (+1)	to spend
sponsarim / sponsorim	verb	*Las wik BHP Lysagth kampani i **sponsarim** ARC Titan West klab bilong Morobe Kantri Lig wantaim ful yunifom bilong pilai.*	P3	91-05-09-04	2 (+1)	to sponsor
stadim	verb	*Wanpela dokta bilong **stadim** pasin na kalsa bilong ol pipel o Entropoloji (Anthropology)…*	P3	04-04-22-03	1	to study
stailim	verb	*…papamama bilong kumul meri ya tokim em olsem em i mas bilas gut na **stailim** gras bilong em.*	ST	1024-94-02-10	1	to style

swingim	verb	*Tasol manki i taitim han na* **swingim** *wanpela spia kwiktaim i go anka stret long namba tu het bilong masalai snek.*	ST	0504-84-01-28	2	to swing
swipim	verb	*Namel bilong snek i* **swipim** *ol diwai na gras i kam na i laik raunim binen wantaim pikinini man.*	ST	0504-84-01-28	1	to sweep
switim	verb	*Mama bilong Mawo i yusim dispela olsem sol long* **switim** *[mekim swit] kaikai taim em i kuk.*	ST	1206-87-08-07	1	to sweeten
tasim	verb	*I no longtaim em putim han i go daun na* **tasim** *[pilim] skin bilong meri ya.*	ST	0965-92-12-30	2	to touch
teblim	verb	*Mista Bia i bin askim tu Ekting Spika, Sir Tom Koraea inap Palamen i* **teblim** *ol askim bilong em…*	P3	00-05-25-01	1	to table
tokautim	verb	*…Minista i save bosim ol lo bilong bia na ol arapela strongpela dring, i bin* **tokautim** *dispela.*	P3	78-10-14-02	1	to declare
trenim	verb	*Wokim wanpela spesel program bilong* **trenim** *ol yangpela man long kamap lida;…*	P3	78-03-25-02	5	to train
trensferim	verb	*I gat narapela 130 laisens i paia pinis na narapela em ol* **trensferim** *i kam.*	P3	87-11-12-02	1	to transfer
tritim	verb	*… we i gat ol rait lain long katim na* **tritim** *mit long en.*	P3	03-09-04-03	1	to treat
weim / werim	verb	*Taim em* **werim**, *strong bilong em i kam bek gen na em kwiktaim wel i go daun long haus…*	ST	1182-97-02-20	(+1) 4	to wear
welkamim	verb	*Em pasin bilong* **welkamim** *bikpela hetman bilong wanpela kantri.*	P3	77-02-05-02	3	to welcome

***-pela* (multi-functional marker)**

TP word	PoST	Corpus Example	Source	Year/Edition	NoO	ETr
kwikpela	adj	*Dipatmen bilong Lo i mas painim **kwikpela** we long harim na pinisim kot.*	P3	78-10-14-02	1	quick
laspela	adj	*Na mama i save tokim em olsem dispela em **laspela** liklik hap sol…*	ST	1206-97-08-07	2	last
platpela	adj	*…na em pundaun i go antap long wanpela **platpela** [stretpela] ston.*	ST	0723-88-05-12-05-18	1	flat
smatpela	adj	*Na mi yet i mekim em i kamap gutpela **smatpela** man nau olsem na bai mi maritim em.'*	ST	0700-87-11-26-12-03	34	smart, clever, chic

It is difficult to read these findings unequivocally, as there are several exceptions to the 'rule(s)' concerning the attachment of -*pela* given by Mihalic (1971: 17ff.) in his grammar:

The most frequently used adjectives in Tok Pisin consist of a monosyllabic base to which the suffix -*pela* is added (polysyllabic adjectives are generally used without the suffix). Unless it is a past participle, the suffix is obligatory in attributive position. Either of the two forms (with and without -*pela*) are possible when an adjective is used predicatively, according to Mihalic, i.e. the translation is 'This road is very short' in both cases:[106]

> *Dispela rot i sot tumas.*
> *Dispela rot i sotpela tumas.*

There are also some exceptions, i.e. adjectives to which -*pela* is not attached, e.g. *ain*, *dai*, or *les* ('iron', 'dead', 'tired'). Mihalic explicitly lists *laspela* as an adjective that never uses the suffix -*pela* (ibid.: 18), so whether the two occurrences that appear in the corpus are to be interpreted as a 'mistake' or as a potential new word cannot be resolved here. Although of course new words that function as adjectives are currently being incorporated into Tok Pisin, most of them appear to be polysyllabic – in which case the affixation of -*pela* would constitute an exception anyhow. Some examples of recently created adjectives found in the corpus (none of which end in -*pela*) are: *ilektoral*, *preferensel*, *ris*, *sinia*, and *suprim* ('electoral', 'preferential', 'rich', 'senior' and 'supreme').

75 words ending on -*im* clearly show that the affix is frequently attached to form 'new' transitive verbs; -*pela*, by comparison, renders merely four new adjectives. Even though the transitive verb marker is also attached to established Tok Pisin words such as *birua*, *matmat* and *pilai*, in the majority of cases it is added to words that originate from English. Examples are *enrolim*, *kipim*, *monitaim*, *promotim* and *teblim*.[107]

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[106] Although the present study does not focus on the syntax of Tok Pisin, it must be pointed out that, in the corpus, the attachment of -*pela* does not conform to the rules given by Mihalic (1971) in his grammar. When used predicatively, monosyllabic adjectives (the regular ones, not the exceptions Mihalic lists) nearly always drop the suffix.

[107] See the preceding affix tables for the words in context and their translation.

The other two traditional suffixes listed by Verhaar (1995: 24) are *-an* (as in the exclamation *kaman* ('come on!') and *-awe/-ewe/-owe*, even if he concedes that they are both not productive. Although there are 97 occurrences of *ranawe* 'run away' (plus 16 of its variant *ronawe*) and eight of *tekewe* 'take away' in the corpus, these formations are considered to be phrasal verbs and therefore disregarded.[108]

4.1.1.2   Recent Affixes

Recent affixes (in this case only suffixes) listed by Verhaar are: *-a*, *-al/-el*, *-ari*, *-dom*, *-eri*, *-esen/-esin*, *-ia*, *-ing*, *-men*, *-s*, *-sen*, *-sip*, *-ti* and *-tin*. He labels these 'package loans': "[T]hat which has started as a separate twosome of package loans has now ended up in the language as forms with an identifiable correlation of form and meaning" (1995: 25). This does not imply, however, that the underlying form must be a free form: "[W]hile *kaunsila* may now (synchronically) be straightforwardly analyzed as derived from the free form *kaunsil*, or *spika* from *spik*, and so forth, there is no free form like #*menes* underlying *menesa*, or #*tis* underlying *tisa*" (ibid.).

The list of affixes resulting from the corpus (see page 106ff.) is based on the same principle. The approach chosen for the compilation of affixes is not from an indigenous person's perspective but rather from an English speaker's point of view because the forms were clearly modelled on their English counterparts. Since the influence of English in Papua New Guinea will most likely increase, it will be highly interesting to monitor the further development of affixation in Tok Pisin. Currently one can safely assume that, in the bulk of cases, the words were borrowed as a whole, and not as separately analysable morphemes. It is, however, entirely possible that, sooner or later, many affixes will be consciously perceived as such and employed according to their function, making Tok Pisin word formation a more productive and rule-based process. Hence, the Tok Pisin suffix *-al/-el*, for example, is divided according to the analogous English suffixes '-al' and '-ial', and *akaunten*

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[108] The suffix *-an* in the sense 'of, relating to, coming from' (*Melanesian*) is another matter, and is listed as a productive recent suffix. If affixation had not been approached from an Anglophone perspective, the forms mentioned would perhaps have needed to be examined – but as 'recent', not 'original' affixes'.

is decomposed like its English equivalent 'account' + '-ant', instead of breaking it down into the existing Tok Pisin noun *akaun* + *-ten*.

For the compilation of the list of recent Tok Pisin affixes, the following criteria were applied: Names of sports teams, such as *Tigers* or *Wantoks*, or of companies, e.g. *Toperoi Timbers Pty Ltd*, as well as purely English constructions (as in 'Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals') were left out. If one word within the construction was of Tok Pisin origin, however (this happened for instance in *Banks **na** Financial Institution Bill 2000*), all debatable words were noted as Tok Pisin words. Occasionally, a word may be listed twice, as in *indipendens* 'independence', which appears under the suffix *-ens* '-ence' as well as under the prefix *in-*. Spelling mistakes[109] (where the correct spelling is given in square brackets immediately afterwards) were not counted as occurrences. **Komisna* 'commissioner', with one hit, was for example considered to be spelled incorrectly, as there are 44 cases where the word is spelled *komisina*. The orthography found in the *Wantok* corpus frequently differs (to varying degrees) from that found in either of the dictionaries by Mihalic (1971), Schaefer (1992), or Steinbauer (1998). Mihalic, for instance, gives *kopral* for 'corporal', while *koporol* appears in the corpus. Words such as these were not entered as an adapted loan. However, if a word was listed in one of the three dictionaries with a meaning different from that in the corpus, it was seen as an adapted loan: Steinbauer's translation of *paket* is 'pocket', although the two variants *paket* and *peket* in the corpus both mean 'package'. Whenever several spelling variants exist, the example is from the more frequently used case (as in *provinsal* [142] vs. *provinsel* [37]). There are a few borderline cases where words are listed under their corresponding suffixes even if they are (or appear to be) formed from two distinct Tok Pisin lexemes, as in *bekbensa* (which occurs once in the corpus). This can either be analysed as a compound that is formed using *bek* 'back', *bens* 'bench' and the suffix *-a* '-er', with *bens* occurring only in the combination *bek-*

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[109] In the *Stori Tumbuna* corpus, Thomas H. Slone made corrections using square brackets. For example (ST-1168-96-11-14): *Olsem na nambawan susa i kirap hariap na mekim wara i dot[i].* Altogether *doti* 'dirt(y)' is found seven times in the corpus, but words resulting from Slone's rectification were not counted. This manner of correction was adopted for the P3 corpus as well.

bens, and not at all on its own.[110] Or it could be seen as one single word, an adapted loan, that cannot be decomposed at all.[111]

Since capitalisation is also problematic in Tok Pisin, the word in the exemplifying sentence served as the model – irrespective of how many times it was found with a capital letter and how many times with a small letter; this was even applied if the word in question simply happened to be the first word in the sentence.

Where applicable, the suffix tables to some extent take account of POST, i.e. part of speech tagging.

> Tagging is the task of labelling (or tagging) each word in a sentence with its appropriate part of speech [and is thus] a case of limited syntactic disambiguation. Many words have more than one syntactic category. In tagging, we try to determine which of these syntactic categories is the most likely for a particular use of a word in a sentence.
>
> (Manning/Schütze, 1999: 341)

This means that, for those words with multiple functions such as *Luteran*, which appears both as an adjective and as a noun, one illustration is given for each case.

Only one case in point for each recent affix is given below. The complete corpus is supplied on the accompanying CD.

The table of affixes is listed in alphabetical order, and one occurrence of each resulting 'new' word is given in its context. An overview of the productivity of each affix is then provided in the subsequent section (4.1.2).

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[110] The same applies to *bek bensa* (two orthographic words): it occurs once in the corpus, *bensa* is found only in combination with *bek*, never on its own.

[111] These issues once again point up the importance of a standardised orthography for Tok Pisin.

Recent Tok Pisin Affixes

Suffix	Engl. Equiv.	TP Example	Engl. transl.
-a	-ar	*rejistra*	'registrar'
	-er	*pilaia*	'player'
	-or	*edministreta*	'administrator'
-a	-er	*apa*	'upper'
-a	-ure	*dipatsa*	'departure'
-abel	-able	*honerabel*	'honourable'
agri- /	agri-	*agrikalsa*	'agriculture'
egri-	agri-	*egrikalsa*	'agriculture'
-al /	-al	*ilektoral*	'electoral'
-el /	-al	*minerel*	'mineral'
-ol	-al	*rijonal*	'regional'
-al /	-ial	*opisal*	'official'
-el	-ial	*fainensel*	'financial'
an-	un-	*ankondisenel*	'unconditional'
-an /	-an	*Papuan*	'Papuan'
-en /	-ean	*Yuropien*	'European'
-ien	-ian	*Melanesian*	'Melanesian'
-ari /	-ary	*palamentari*	'parliamentary'
-eri		*misineri*	'missionary'
bai-	bi-	*baisikol*	'bicycle'
bai-	by-	*bai ileksen*	'by-election'
dis-	dis-	*diskaun*	'discount'
-dom	-dom	*fridom*	'freedom'
-ed	-ed	*eded*	'added'
eks-	ex-	*eks-soldia*	'ex-soldier'
en-	en-	*enrol*	'to enrol'
-en	-ant	*asisten*	'assistant'
	-ent	*independen*	'independent'
-ens	-ance	*asistens*	'assistance'
	-ence	*independens*	'independence'
enti-	anti-	*enti korapsen*	'anti corruption'
-eri	-ery	*keneri*	'cannery'
-es	-ess	*hostes*	'hostess'

-esen /	-ation	*konsevesen*	'conservation'
-esin	-ation	*infomesin*	'information'
-et	-ate	*ilektoret*	'electorate'
-i	-ee	*refuji*	'refugee'
-i	-ie	*muvi*	'movie'
-i	-y	*asembli*	'assembly'
-i	-y	*laki*	'lucky'
-ia	-eer	*ensinia*	'engineer'
	-ier	*brigadia*	'brigadier'
-ik	-ic	*demokretik*	'democratic'
in-	in-	*independens*	'independence'
-ing	-ing	*ekting*	'acting'
inta- /	inter-	*intanesenel*	'international'
inte-	inter-	*intenesenel*	'international'
-is	-ese	*Saimis*	'Siamese'
-is	-ice	*sevis*	'service'
-is	-ish	*selpis*	'selfish'
-is	-ist	*turis*	'tourist'
-isim /	-ism	*turisim*	'tourism'
-ism	-ism	*turism*	'tourism'
-is	-ist	*turis*	'tourist'
-iti	-ity	*ikwaliti*	'equality'
-iv	-ive	*edministretiv*	'administrative'
-li	-ly	*odeli*	'orderly'
-loji	-logy	*entropoloji*	'anthropology'
-man /	-ment	*gavman*	'government'
-men /	-ment	*menesmen*	'management'
-ment	-ment	*dipatment*	'department'
mini-	mini-	*mini baset*	'mini budget'
-nes	-ness	*aweanes*	'awareness'
non-	non-	*non gavman ogenaisesen*	'non-governmental organisation'
-okresi	-ocracy	*demokresi*	'democracy'
-ori	-ory	*reguletori*	'regulatory'
ova-	over-	*ova taim*	'overtime'

poly-	poly-	*polyethylene*	'polyethylene'
pri-	pre-	*prisisen*	'pre-season'
pro-	pro-	*pro – Panguman*	'pro-Pangu man'
re- /	re-	*reforestesen*	'reforestation'
ri-	re-	*rinumeresen*	'renumeration'
-ri	-ry	*forestri*	'forestry'
-s /	-s	*ailans*	'islands'
-es /	-s	*sevises*	'services'
-is /	-s	*risosis*	'resources'
-s	-s (*pluralia tantum*)	*sisis*	'scissors'
-'s	-'s	*Pipels*	'people's'
-s	-s (special cases)[112]	*woks*	'works'
sab-	sub-	*sabseksen*	'subsection'
self- /	self-	*self gavman*	'self-government'
selp-	self-	*selp gavman*	'self-government'
semi-	semi-	*semi fainal*	'semi-final'
-sen /	-ian	*politisen*	'politician'
-sian	-ian	*ilektriksian*	'electrician'
-sen	-ion	*asosiesen*	'association'
-sen	-ition	*oposisen*	'opposition'
-si	-cy	*ejensi*	'agency'
-sip	-ship	*lidasip*	'leadership'
sosio-	socio-	*sosioekonomik*	'socio-economics'
supa- /	super-	*supamaket*	'supermarket'
super-/	super-	*superintenden*	'superintendent'
supr-/	super-	*suprintenden*	'superintendent'
tele-	tele-	*telepon*	'telephone'
-(t)en	-ern	*Isten*	'Eastern'
-ti	-ty	*sefti*	'safety'
trens-	trans-	*trensnesenel*	'trans-national'
vais-	vice-	*vais minista*	'vice-minister'

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[112] For details, see page 144 and footnotes 125 and 126.

-a (- ar / -er / -or)

TP word	Corpus Example	Source	Year/Edition	NoO	ETr
administreta / edministreta	Olpela **edministreta** bilong Morobe, Aniea Sengero, i wokim wanpela singaut go long nesenel gavman long skelim gut dispela mama lo bilong provinsel na lokel level gavman we ol bin kamapim long 1995.	P3	03-01-02-04	(+1) 8	administrator
anaunsa	Na bai sampela taim insait long sampela program, **anaunsa** i mas mekim sampela tok gris bilong dispela kampani.	P3	77-01-29-03	1	announcer
audita / Odita / oudita	**Odita** Jenerel bai bihain i ripot long Ministra bilong Fainens…	P3	90-06-14-01	(1) 6 (+1)	auditor
bata	Na em i meri nogut bilong autim ol birua **bata**.	P3	85-12-14-01	1	batter
bekbensa	Nesenel Pati i tok Sir Iambakey bai go het long sanap olsem **bekbensa** long gavman na bekim toktok bilong Sir Julius.	P3	86-08-09-03	2	back-bencher
Dairekta	Dispela toksave i kam long **Dairekta** bilong Senses, John Kalamoroh.	P3	00-04-06-06	42	director
divelopa	Em i gutpela nau olsem ol papagraun wantaim Sauten Hailans provinsal gavman, nesenel gavman na **divelopa** i amamas long nupela agrimen.	P3	96-06-20-03	2	developer
draiva	Bikpela tokwin i bin raun insait long Mosbi siti long Tunde olsem ol PMV bas **draiva** bai straik …	P3	04-05-13-04	11	driver
Edita	Dia **Edita** - Plis prinim liklik wari bilong mi.	P3	76-01-21-03	47	editor
Eduketa	I gat 6-pela manmeri olgeta, Mediken [Medikal] Supaintenden Dokta Solomon, Provinsal Helt **Eduketa**, …	P3	84-04-21-03	1	educator
edvaisa	… long rausim ol sinia **edvaisa** bilong Australia i wok long ol gavman dipatmen.	P3	03-09-04-02	2	advisor
ekselereta	Misis Koroti i tanim ki long harim redio na lek bilong em i bin pas long **ekselereta** bilong ka.	P3	89-01-05-02	1	accelerator

fama	*… mipela i mas givim helpim long ol **fama** bilong mipela bai ol i ken wok hat," Sir Michael i tok.*	P3	04-07-08-03	7	farmer
Gavana	*As bilong pait i kirap long Deputi **Gavana** bilong Madang na Siaman bilong Amenob LLG Bunag Kuip …*	P3	04-04-22-02	53	governor
groa	*Dispela mani i bilong ol **groa**.*	P3	97-10-02-03	15	grower
holda	*Vernon i bin mekim dispela toktok long wanpela kibung bilong em na ol sea **holda** bilong BCL …*	P3	84-04-21-01	1	holder
huka	*Em bai i kisim gutpela helpim long ol arapela fowat pilaia olsem **huka** Francis Haro na Tau Sive.*	P3	91-05-09-02	2	hooker[113]
infilda	*Sapos ketsa na ol **infilda** bilong Tumbil i no bung gut long pilai, em bai Kolta wantaim lain Gasel man i tekewe tiket bilong ol.*	P3	85-12-14-01	1	infielder
Inspekta	*Sinia **Inspekta** Tom Pelika i tok nem bilong man i dai em Yogol Alex.*	P3	88-12-15-03	2	inspector
intaviua	*"Sapos ol **intaviua** na ol supavaisa i mekim asua long senses, ol kwaliti kontrola bai tokim ol long go bek …*	P3	00-06-01-07	4	interviewer
kastoma	*Dispela senis i min olsem mak bilong sasim interes long ol dinau mani em ol **kastoma** i kisim bai go daun.*	P3	92-12-17-02	1	customer[114]
Kaunsila	*Long wankain taim tu, **Kaunsila** Solbul i tok ol i wet yet long provinsal gavman long baim ol buai, kokonas …*	P3	91-06-06-04	6	councillor
ketsa	*Sapos **ketsa** na ol infilda bilong Tumbil i no bung gut long pilai …*	P3	85-12-14-01	1	catcher

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[113] According to the *Oxford English Dictionary* (*OED*) online version (<http://dictionary.oed.com>; 01 Oct. 2009), the meaning in this sense is derived either from rugby football or cricket:
a) "**1905** *Daily Chron*. 13 Sept. 7/4 The two front men called 'hookers' can get the ball just as well as three."
b) "**1900** W. J. FORD *Cricketer on Cricket* 102 Like Hill he is a splendid hooker."
[114] *OED* online version: "[…the word appears to be an Eng. formation upon CUSTOM.] [..] 'One who frequents any place of sale for the sake of purchasing' (J.); one who customarily purchases from a particular tradesman; a buyer, purchaser." <http://dictionary.oed.com>; 01 Oct. 2009)

kodineita	*Taim ol i pinisim kos bilong ol bai ol lokol gavman senses* **kodineita** *i go bek long ol wanwan ples bilong ol …*	P3	00-06-01-07	3	coordinator
Komanda	*Em i tok ol i holim toktok pinis wantaim Minista bilong Difens Kappa Yarka na Difens Fos* **Komanda** *Peter Ilau long dispela wok poroman.*	P3	04-05-13-01	23	commander
Komisina	*Mista Kaiulo em i Ilektorol* **Komisina** *…*	P3	01-11-15-04	44	commissioner
komputa / kompyuta	*Mista Lupari i tok insait long 9-pela mun em i wok olsem PNG Difens Fos Seketeri em i putim* **komputa** *sevis long Murray Bareks…*	P3	98-12-03-03	1 (+1)	computer[115]
Konsuma	*Kaunsil i salim ol sempel long ol samting i go pinis long* **Konsuma** *Intenesenel Rijinel opis …*	P3	99-08-19-01	2	consumer
kontena	*Ol Tupperware prodak em plastik plet, kap,* **kontena** *samting we ol i wokim long Australia.*	P3	99-08-19-01	8	container
kontrakta	*Sem taim i gat sampela belhevi olsem haiwe em bikpela* **kontrakta***, Curtain Brothers, i no wokim gut.*	P3	98-04-09-03	2	contractor
kontrola	*"Sapos ol intaviua na ol supavaisa i mekim asua long senses, ol kwaliti* **kontrola** *bai tokim ol long go bek …*	P3	00-06-01-07	4	controller
kosa	*Alan Jones,* **kosa** *bilong Balmain i tok sapos wanpela pilaia i mining long bagarapim narapela pilaia long fil, dispela pilaia i mas bungim kriminel sas.*	P3	91-05-09-03	4	causer
lida	*Ol dispela lain i no fit long karim nem olsem* **lida** *bilong PNG.*	P3	04-07-29-08-04-06	151	leader
loya	*Em i tok olsem oposisen i kisim pinis sampela edvais long ol* **loya** *bilong ol long wanem kain rot ol i mas wokim.*	P3	99-02-11-02	50	lawyer
Menesa / menija	*Wantok Niuspepa nau bai kisim nupela Jenerel* **Menesa***.*	P3	04-07-29-08-04-06	18 (+1)	manager

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[115] *OED* online version: "COMPUTE *v*. + -ER *suffix*[1]. Compare Middle French *computeur* person who makes calculations (1578). Compare COMPUTOR *n*., and earlier COMPUTATOR *n*. 2. A device or machine for performing or facilitating calculation." (<http://dictionary.oed.com>; 01 Oct. 2009)

Midieta	*Gret 5 Majistret Alan Kopi wantaim ol Len **Midieta** olsem David Harry na Rudolph Kagimat …*	P3	03-01-02-03	1	mediator
opereta / opreta	*Helpim ol turis **opereta** long kantri long maketim ol program bilong ol long winim turis maket ….*	P3	00-04-06-04	2 (+3)	operator
ofisa / opisa	*Olsem na ol i mas go long Lens opis na lukim ol **opisa** long hap.*	P3	01-12-20-03	(+14) 78	officer[116]
pasindia	*Bai i gat gutpela sekyuriti bilong ol **pasindia** taim ol i laik kalap long bas?*	P3	04-05-13-04	10	passenger[117]
pilaia	*Ripot i tok dispela **pilaia** i no kisim yesa bilong wanpela dokta long pilai.*	P3	91-05-09-04	41	player
pitsa	*Dispela tupela **pitsa** i gat biknem long stail bilong pitsim bal olsem katres.*	P3	85-12-14-01	4	pitcher
plena	*Bihain, long yia 2003, bai ol wokmanmeri bilong senses i lainim ol nesenel na provinsel **plena** long wei bilong yusim ol toktok bilong senses …*	P3	00-03-09-02	1	planner
posta	*Tasol ren i bagarapim tru olgeta ol **posta** long diwai.*	P3	82-06-05-01	7	poster[118]
produsa	*[…] Na tu mipela i bekim K1,5 milion long Wespek long 1983 na i no gat moa wari long mipela long kisim liklik mani long ol **produsa**."*	P3	84-07-21-03	1	producer
Profesa	***Profesa** Epstein i bin mekim ol dispela toktok long wanpela konfrens ….*	P3	04-04-22-03	5	professor[119]
prosekuta / prosekyuta	*Olsem na dispela kot bai hait tasol we dua bai pas na ol witnes tasol wantaim plis **prosekyuta**, ol loya na mejistret i*	P3	98-08-20-03	(+1) 5	prosecutor

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[116] *OED* online version: "classical Latin *officium* OFFICE *n.* + -*ārius* -ER *suffix*[2]". (<http://dictionary.oed.com>; 01 Oct. 2009)

[117] *OED* online version: "*passage* PASSAGE *n.* + -*ier* -IER *suffix*; compare -ER *suffix*[2]". <http://dictionary.oed.com>; 01 Oct. 2009)

[118] *OED* online version: "POST *v.*[1] + -ER *suffix*[1]. [...] A printed or written notice posted or displayed in a public place as an announcement or advertisement." <http://dictionary.oed.com>; 01 Oct. 2009)

[119] *OED* online version: "*profess*-, past participial stem of *profitērī* PROFESS *v.* + -*or* -OR *suffix*". <http://dictionary.oed.com>; 01 Oct. 2009)

	harim.				
raba	*…ol plastik **raba** ring we ol bebi i wok long gat tit i save pilai wantaim long ol…*	P3	99-08-19-01	1	rubber
registra / rejistra	*Ekting asisten kot **rejistra**, Aplina Gapi i tok Nesenel Kot long Lae i bin kisim dispela oda …*	P3	91-07-11-03	(+1) 5	registrar[120]
rida	***Ol rida** bilong Wantok i mas harim gut.*	P3	73-11-21-04	1	reader
ripita	*Orait bai em i kisim tupela wik long ol wokman bilong PTC long stretim ol wok long Maunten Notuko **ripita** stesin.*	P3	93-08-26-03	1	repeater
ripota	*Wanpela samting dispela man bilong ples i tok i mekim **ripota** bilong mipela i guria nogut tru.*	P3	04-05-13-04	10	reporter
sapota	*Sapos Blues i win, ating bai sampela Blues **sapota** i givim nem Brad Fittler long ol.*	P3	04-07-08-05	14	supporter
skwata	*Bikos Morobe gavman em papa long gavman graun na i gat olgeta rait long rausim ol **skwata** setelmen, Mista Sengero i tok.*	P3	95-05-11-03	6	squatter
solisita	*Morobe provinsal ligal opisa bai makim provinsal gavman na ol loya long opis bilong pablik **solisita** bai makim Stet.*	P3	91-07-11-03	3	solicitor
Spika	*Olsem na em i askim **Spika** long katim pe bilong ol.*	P3	04-07-29-08-04-02	22	speaker
supavaisa	*Lukautim ol intaviua bai i gat 11 000 ol wokmanmeri husat bai i wok olsem ol bosboi o **supavaisa**.*	P3	00-06-01-07	5	supervisor
tisa / titsa	*Ol pablik sevan na ol **tisa** i no kisim wanpela alokesen long baset bilong dispela yia.*	P3	01-12-20-01	22 (+4)	teacher
trela	*Wanpela draiva i bin dai long taim **trela** i pundaun antap long em.*	P3	88-12-15-03	1	trailer
Trena	***Trena** David Omauaoh i bilip ol yangpela pilaia bilong*	P3	91-05-09-02	1	trainer

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[120] *OED* online version: "f. REGISTER *v*. + -AR[2]". <http://dictionary.oed.com>; 01 Oct. 2009)

	Roosters long autim Brothers.				
tresera	*Wok i stap long gavana, edministreta na* **tresera** *bilong wanwan provins long sekim benk na kisim mani.*	P3	96-07-18-04	4	treasurer
vota	*Plis, olgeta* **vota** *mas tingting gut.*	P3	01-08-02-04	10	voter
woka	*Na pe ol i kisim i wankain tasol long ol arapela pablik sevis* **woka**.	P3	92-01-02-03	7	worker

-a (-er) comparative suffix

TP word	Corpus Example	Source	Year/Edition	NoO	Etr
Apa	*Bipo bipo tru long wanpela ples ol i kolim Was Kambeep [Kambirip] long* **Apa** *Karinge…*	ST	1223-97-12-04	2	upper
haia[121]	*Poka masin em i wankain olsem bingo, hos resis, hos masin,* **haia** *na ol arapela pilai bilong winim mani.*	P3	03-07-17-07	1	higher

-a (-ure)

TP word	Corpus Example	Source	Year/Edition	NoO	Etr
dipatsa	*…na makim mak bilong* **dipatsa** *takis;*	P3	00-04-06-04	1	departure
expendisa	*Dispela hap we bai lukluk long en olsem: praivetaisesin, pablik* **expendisa** *riviu,…*	P3	99-08-19-03	1	expenditure

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[121] *Haia* could theoretically also be translated as 'to hire', which does not make sense in this context, however, and is therefore dismissed as an option.

-abel (**-able**)

TP word	Corpus Example	Source	Year/Edition	NoO	Etr
Honerabel	*Praim Minista, Rait **Honerabel** Michael Somare, na meri bilong em Veronika na ol bikman bilong Papua Niugini i bin kisim bikpela ona tru…*	P3	77-02-05-02	1	honourable

agri- / egri- (**agri-**)

TP word	Corpus Example	Source	Year/Edition	NoO	Etr
agrikalsa / egrikalsa	*Ol eria olsem forestri, fiseris na **agrikalsa**.*	P3	98-04-09-01	28	agriculture

-al / -el / -ol (**-al**)

TP word	Corpus Example	Source	Year/Edition	NoO	Etr
Ankondisenel	*Long narapela gren ol i kolim long **Ankondisenel** o dispela we ol i larim long han bilong provinsel gavman i yusim long save bilong em, Mista Momis i tok …*	P3	01-12-20-01	1	unconditional
Botanikel	*… long sas bilong mekim pasin pamuk wantaim wanpela wokman bilong em long NCD **Botanikel** Gaden.*	P3	99-02-11-01	1	botanical
ekumenikal	*Ol i toktok long 5 yia **ekumenikal** plen bilong ol wokmeri bilong sios long PNG na Solomon Ailans.*	P3	94-02-03-03	1	ecumenical
Evanjelikal	*Samting olsem 20 wimens lida bilong lotu Katolik, Engliken, Yunaited, **Evanjelikal** na Gutnius Luteran Sios […] i bin*	P3	94-02-03-03	1	Evangelical

	kamap long dispela bung.				
festival / festivel	*Hiri Moale **festivel** bilong Mosbi long dispela yia bai kamap long mun Septemba.*	P3	91-06-06-01	(+2) 5	festival
fomel	*Ekting Bosman bilong Madang polis Jimmy Namora i tokim Wantok Niuspepa long Madang olsem em i kisim pinis wanpela **fomel** komplen …*	P3	04-04-22-02	1	formal
ilektoral / ilektorel / ilektrol	*Na taim bilong ol pipel long putim nem bilong ol long **ilektoral** rol i bin pinis long 17 Mas 1982.*	P3	82-06-05-01	9 (+6) (+1)	electoral
Indastriel	*Seketeri i tok Komiti i no rejista wantaim Opis bilong **Indastriel** Rejistra.*	P3	92-01-02-03	4	industrial
intanesenel / intenesenel	*Econet i bin winim tenda long baim ol sea long Telikom pas long sampela arapela bikpela **intanesenel** kampani.*	P3	04-07-08-04	14 (+4)	international
Konstitusenel / konstitusinel	*Long wanem **Konstitusenel** Rivyu Komisin, aninit long nesenel gavman, i wokim dispela ol senis hariap tumas.*	P3	95-05-11-01	8 (+1)	constitutional
Koreksenel	*… Egrikalsa na Laipstok (Lang), **Koreksenel** Sevis (Pep) na Leba na Emploimen (Garong).*	P3	92-05-07-04	1	correctional
Kostal	*Wanpela sip bilong **Kostal** Siping, M.V. Glomaris i bin painim Tarus na bringim em i kam long Bialla.*	P3	88-12-15-04	2	coastal
kriminel	*…dispela pilaia i mas bungim **kriminel** sas.… Em i tok Mista Waieng i mekim em i luk olsem wanpela **kriminel** o man bilong brukim lo …*	P3 P3	91-05-09-03 98-12-03-03	6	criminal criminal (culprit)
Minerel	*…gutpela lo bilong Fores, **Minerel** na Petrolium Risosis,…*	P3	97-04-10-01	2	mineral
Nesenal / nesenel / nesenol	*Gavman bai i no inap long salim Telikom inap **Nesenel** Eksekyutiv Kaunsol i givim tok orait bilong em na olgeta samting i klia na stret.*	P3	04-07-29-08-04-03	(+7) 270 (+1)	national
Pesonal	*Komiti tu i bin askim ol nesenel dipatmen olsem Fainens, **Pesonal** Menesmen, Provinsal Afeas …*	P3	88-09-01-03	1	personal
politikal /	*"Sapos yupela i laikim stabiliti, katim ol **politikel** pati," em i*	P3	03-07-17-05	(+4)	political

politikel	*tok.*			16	
proposel	*… na 'Downstream Processing Facility' wantaim bik bris tasol em i tok i gat long projek **proposel**.*	P3	99-03-25-01	1	proposal
regional / *riginel /* *rijenal /* *rijenol /* *rijinal /* *rijinel /* *rijinol /* *Rijonal /* *rijonel*	*Tonga i wanbel long kirapim wanpela Saut Pasifik **Rijonal** Pis Kiping Fos long Bogenvil bilong stretim bek ailan na kamapim gutpela sindaun.*	P3	94-06-09-01	(+1) (+1) (+2) (+2) (+2) (+6) (+3) 8 (+1)	regional
Riferel	*Tasol i mas go aninit long Pemenen Palamentari **Riferel** Komiti.*	P3	95-05-11-01	1	referral
sentral / *Sentrel*	*Insait long dispela ol askim Mista Bia i tokim Palamen olsem **Sentrel** Provins Trenspot Atoriti i wok antap long mani ol i kisim long baset bilong ol.*	P3	00-05-25-01	(+17) 32	central
stetistikal / *Stetistikel*	*… husat em i bos bilong Nesenel **Stetistikel** Opis o NSO.*	P3	00-03-09-02	(+1) 1	statistical
Straktarel	*… taim bilong helpim mani long we bilong **Straktarel** Adjasmen program…*	P3	99-08-19-03	1	structural
traibel	*Em i tok **traibel** pait i no save kamap nating…*	P3	00-06-01-02	4	tribal
Trensisenel	*Planti manmeri bilong Bogenvil i laikim Bogenvil **Trensisenel** Gavman i mas stap yet.*	P3	97-09-04-03	1	transitional
Tropikel	*…olsem dispela bilong Intenesenel **Tropikel** Timba Ogenaisesen (ITTO).*	P3	03-01-02-02	1	tropical
vokesenel / *vokesinel*	*Em i tok provinsal gavman i toktok tu long wokim wanpela **vokesenel** senta long Arop…*	P3	91-06-06-04	2	vocational
Yunivesel	***Yunivesel** Edukesen o Fri Edukesen Polisi bai helpim planti*	P3	94-05-12-03	2	universal

	manmeri				

-al /-el (-ial)

TP word	Corpus Example	Source	Year/Edition	NoO	ETr
fainensel / finensel	*Sir Mekere i tok dispela nupela ekt i soim insait long ol **fainensel** maket olsem ol i ken stapim ol 'pyramid' skim …*	P3	00-04-06-01	6 (+1)	financial
Financial	*Gavman i ken go het na senisim sampela ol lo i stap insait long 'Banks na **Financial** Institution Bill 2000'…*	P3	00-04-06-01	1	financial
opisal / opisel	*Ileksen i pinis na stat long dispela wik Mande, ol ileksen **opisal** i wok long kaunim ol vot.*	P3	99-07-08-03	6 (+1)	officials
preferensel	*… aninit long nupela vot sistem bilong limited **preferensel** voting.*	P3	03-09-04-05	1	preferential
Provinsal / provinsel	*Morobe **Provinsal** Gavman i bin egensim dispela …*	P3	01-08-02-03	142 (+37)	provincial

an- (un-)

TP word	Corpus Example	Source	Year/Edition	NoO	ETr
Ankondisenel	*Long narapela gren ol i kolim long **Ankondisenel**…*	P3	01-12-20-01	1	unconditional

-an / *-en* / *-ien* (**-an** / **-ean** / **-ian**)

TP word	Corpus Example	Source	Year/Edition	NoO	ETr
Ameriken	*Long **Ameriken** futbal, wokas kompensesen i karamapim olgeta pilaia.*	P3	91-05-09-03	1	American
Asian / Esian	*Fes Asisten Seketeri bilong Foren Afeas long **Esian** Divisen, Chris Mariambu …*	P3	94-06-09-05	1	Asian
Australian / Ostrelien	*Faivpela yia bihain Steve i kisim 70,000 **Australian** dola kompensesen mani.*	P3	91-05-09-03	2 (+1)	Australian
Australasien	*Em i tokaut long konfrens bilong **Australasien** na Sautwes Pasifik plis komisina olsem PNG olsem ol arapela kantri stap klostu i painim sampela hatpela taim…*	P3	01-03-29-01	1	Australasian
kristen	*Tasol sapos yumi laikim PNG kamap gutpela **kristen** kantri, yumi no ken larim dispela kranki pasin i stap yet.*	P3	87-03-05-01	32	Christian
Luteran	*Samting olsem 20 wimens lida bilong lotu Katolik, […] na Gutnius **Luteran** Sios…* *Olsem na ol Katolik Sios na ol **Luteran** i traim long kirapim ol liklik pisin skul…*	P3	94-02-03-03 76-02-04-01	2	Lutheran
Melanesian / Melanesien	***Melanesian** Kaunsil bilong ol Sios i bin makim wanpela spesel komiti….*	P3	79-01-20-01	2 (+2)	Melanesian
Papuan	*… bilong olgeta hap bilong **Papuan** Rijen.*	P3	01-03-29-03	1	Papuan
Yuropien	*Em bin tok ol eid dona olsem AusAID, Nu Silan na **Yuropien** Yunien …*	P3	01-12-20-01	1	European

-ari / -eri (-ary)

TP word	Corpus Example	Source	Year/Edition	NoO	ETr
Konstabulari	*Mista Somare i tok, long taim Mista Bouraga i bin kiap, em i bin wanpela memba bilong Fild **Konstabulari**.*	P3	79-04-28-01	1	constabulary
misineri	*… ol **misineri** i save wok …*	P3	76-11-27-05	1	missionary
Palamentari / palamenteri	*Tasol i mas go aninit long Pemenen **Palamentari** Riferel Komiti.*	P3	95-05-11-01	1 (+1)	parliamentary
praimari / praimeri / praimmeri	*Dispela tupela gred nau bai kam aninit long **praimeri** skul.*	P3	96-07-18-03	(+1) 7 (+1)	primary
Revoluseneri / revolusinari	*… na ol Bogenvil **Revoluseneri** Ami.*	P3	96-06-20-02	2 (+1)	revolutionary
saplimentari	*Sir Mekere i tok olsem **saplimentari** baset i soim nambawan step long inapim dispela ol as tingting.*	P3	99-08-19-03	2	supplementary

bai- (bi-)

TP word	Corpus Example	Source	Year/Edition	NoO	ETr
Bai-Patisen / Baipatisen	*Dispela em wanpela las ripot bilong Palamenteri **Bai-Patisen** Komiti.*	P3	95-05-11-04	5	bipartisan
baisikol	*Olgeta pikinini kisim wan wan **baisikol**.*	P3	03-09-04-05	1	bicycle

bai- **(by-)**

TP word	Corpus Example	Source	Year/Edition	NoO	ETr
bai ileksen	*Moa long 245,000 pipel bai vot long Simbu **bai** ileksen.*	P3	99-03-25-03	5	by-election

dis- **(dis-)**

TP word	Corpus Example	Source	Year/Edition	NoO	ETr
diskaun	*Ol lain husat i stap aninit long klab bai kisim **diskaun** long 15 pe sen …*	P3	94-02-03-01	2	discount

-dom **(-dom)**

TP word	Corpus Example	Source	Year/Edition	NoO	ETr
fridom	*Na sapos ol i kirapim gutpela tingting bilong helpim ol yet, ol i gat pawa na **fridom** long mekim.*	P3	78-10-14-01	9	freedom
Kingdom	*… na ol i wanpela bilong ol bikpela kampani tru long Yunaited **Kingdom**.*	P3	93-09-16-01	2	kingdom

-ed **(-ed)**

TP word	Corpus Example	Source	Year/Edition	NoO	ETr
Aplaid	*"Ol draipela skul kain olsem Institiut ov **Aplaid** Sosel en Ekonomik Rises (IASER), Yunivesiti ov PNG,…*	P3	86-08-09-02	1	applied
Eded	*Mista Kore i tok maski 10 pe sen Velu **Eded** Takis (VAT) i*	P3	99-07-08-01	2	added

	kam insait long Julai 1				
limited	*…sampela bai ileksen bai kamap aninit long nupela vot sistem bilong **limited** preferensel voting.*	P3	03-09-04-05	1	limited
ripoted	*Madang i bin gat 3124 **ripoted** kes long 1995 i kam inap long 1999 na ol plis i bin wokim 1551 ares tasol.*	P3	00-05-25-03	5	reported
unaitet / Yunaitet / Yunaited	*Na **Yunaitet** Nesens i bin traim painim wanpela kantri i orait long tupela i ken go sindaun long en.*	P3	79-01-20-01	(+1) (+7) 12	united

eks- (**ex-**)

TP word	Corpus Example	Source	Year/Edition	NoO	ETr
eks sevisman	*Ol **eks**-sevisman ya i gat wari tu …*	P3	95-10-26-02	9	ex-serviceman
eks sevismanmeri	*Ol i no save pulim ol **eks** sevismanmeri i go na stap insait long wanem samting ol i laik kamapim.*	P3	95-10-26-02	2	ex-service-people
eks-soldia	*Na i gat bilip olsem ol **eks**-soldia bai kisim pe bilong ol …*	P3	91-06-06-02	9	ex-soldier

en- (**en-**)

TP word	Corpus Example	Source	Year/Edition	NoO	ETr
enrol	*Em i tok olgeta vota i mas **enrol** wanpela taim tasol na vot wanpela taim tasol long ilektoret tru bilong ol.*	P3	01-08-02-04	7	to enrol
enrolmen	*Ol i kolim dispela wok vota **enrolmen**.*	P3	01-03-29-03	3	enrolment

-en (**-ant / -ent**)

TP word	Corpus Example	Source	Year/Edition	NoO	ETr
akaunten	*… long wok olsem ol loya na **akaunten** bilong kampani.*	P3	93-02-25-01	1	accountant
Asisten	*Tupela level ya em **Asisten** Plis Komisina na Deputi Plis Komisina.*	P3	99-02-11-01	17	assistant
Independen / indipenden	***Independen** kendidet bilong Morobe, Royden Aigal…*	P3	82-06-05-01	4 (+4)	independent
Konsalten	*…em i asosiet Dairekta bilong Noble Loans Supranuesen **Konsalten**.*	P3	89-06-01-02	1	consultant

-ens (**-ance / -ence**)

TP word	Corpus Example	Source	Year/Edition	NoO	ETr
Alaiens	*… husat em memba bilong Nesenel **Alaiens** (NA) pati.*	P3	04-07-29-08-04-01	3	alliance
alauens / alauwens / alawens	*Em bin tok olgeta dokta bai kisim **alauwens** mani bilong ol bipo long pinis bilong mun Mas long dispela yia.*	P3	99-02-11-03	(+2) 10 (+4)	allowance
Asistens	*…Opis bilong Intanesenel Divelopmen **Asistens**…*	P3	93-08-26-04	1	assistance
Independens / indipendens	***Independens** i kamap pinis, tasol ol lain ya i pait yet.*	P3	80-08-16-01	21 (+8)	independence
insurens	*Ol pipel bilong Bogenvil i gat bikpela laik long kisim ol sevis i kam long ol beng na ol **insurens** kampani.*	P3	93-07-22-03	5	insurance

intelijens	*Em i tok Solomon Ailan bai givim **intelijens** ripot …*	P3	94-06-09-03	1	intelligence
Konfrens / konprens	*Pablik Akauns komiti bai bung long **Konfrens** Rum No 2 …*	P3	88-09-01-03	3 (+3)	conference[122]
mentenens	*…aninit long Pablik Invesmen Progrem (PIP) na **mentenens** progrem.*	P3	91-03-28-01	2	maintenance
resistens	*I gat ripot olsem sampela **resistens** grup long hap i wok long pait […].*	P3	96-11-07-01	2	resistance
Sevilens	*…wok bilong PNG AIDS Privensen na Kontrol Progrem bilong Nesenel AIDS **Sevilens** Komiti…*	P3	88-08-04-02	1	surveillance

enti- **(anti-)**

TP word	Corpus Example	Source	Year/Edition	NoO	ETr
Enti Korapsen skwat	*…Nesenel Fraud na **Enti** Korapsen skwat….*	P3	93-02-25-01	1	anti-corruption squad
enti VAT	*Dispela **enti** VAT kot salens…*	P3	01-08-02-03	2	anti value added tax

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[122] *OED* online version: "[a. F. *conférence* (16th c. in Littré), or ad. med.L. *conferentia*, f. *confer-re* to CONFER: see -ENCE. (*Collation* (from the ppl. stem) was in earlier use in most of the senses.)]". <http://dictionary.oed.com>; 01 Oct. 2009)

***-eri* (-ery)**

TP word	Corpus Example	Source	Year/Edition	NoO	ETr
Keneri	*Sab kontrakta, Malahang Lenona Kampani i bin kisim kontrak long Lae Pis **Keneri** long rausim ol pipia na rabis long fektori.*	P3	95-05-11-02	1	cannery

***-es* (-ess)**

TP word	Corpus Example	Source	Year/Edition	NoO	ETr
hostes	*Yunien bilong ol enjinia na ol **hostes** tu i bin joinim NAEA long dispela straik.*	P3	92-09-10-02	2	hostess

***-esen* / *-esin* (-ation)**

TP word	Corpus Example	Source	Year/Edition	NoO	ETr
aplikesen	*…em i salim **aplikesen** i go long Suprim Kot…*	P3	91-06-06-02	4	application
Dekleresen	*Benham **Dekleresen** i kamap…*	P3	97-09-04-03	2	declaration
eksaminesen / ekseminesen	*…wanpela nupela **eksaminesen** sistem i kamap pinis…*	P3	96-07-18-03	1 (+1)	examination
Federesen / fedresen	*… PNG Emplois **Federesen** i makim ol bos bilong Air Niugini.*	P3	92-09-10-02	1 (+1)	federation[123]
infomesin	*-Dr Rabit kala kompetisen na Oral Care **infomesin** long Post-Courier, National na Wantok niuspepa;*	P3	03-10-23-02	2	information

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[123] *OED* online version: "[a. F. *fédération*, ad. L. *fœderātiōn-em*, n. of action f. *fœderāre*: see FEDERATE *v*. and -ATION.]". <http://dictionary.oed.com>; 01 Oct. 2009)

Konsevesen	*Dipatmen bilong Envaironmen na **Konsevesen**…*	P3	92-05-07-01	3	conservation
mobilaisesen	*…stapim praivetaisesen na len **mobilaisesen**.*	P3	01-08-02-05	2	mobilisation
oganaisesen / *oganaisesin /* *oganisesen /* *ogenaisesen*	*Em bin kamap memb [memba] long yia 1984, wanpela yia bihain **ogenaisesen** i kirap.*	P3	03-01-02-02	(3) (+1) (+1) 8	organisation
plantesen / *plantesin /* *plentesen*	*Neks de tupela i redi long go long **plantesin**.*	ST	0863- 91-01-17	(+5) 11 (+1)	plantation
praivetaisesen / *praivetaisesin*	*…long sait bilong **praivetaisesen**…*	P3	04-07-08-04	4	privatisation
rekomendesen / *rekomondesen*	*Ol arapela **rekomendesen** em long stretim wok bilong PNG Harbours Bod.*	P3	04-07-29-08-04-04	7	recommenda-tion
reforestesen	*Na tu long stapim Japan long givim Ovasis Divelopmen Aid bilong **reforestesen**.*	P3	93-08-26-01	1	reforestation, reforestisation, reafforestation
rejistresen	*… foren tred, plis **rejistresen**, pablik sevis.*	P3	89-05-18-02	1	registration
Teksesen	*Na wok bilong **Teksesen**….*	P3	89-05-18-02	2	taxation

-et (**-ate**)

TP word	Corpus Example	Source	Year/Edition	NoO	ETr
ilektoret / *ilektret*	*Em i tok ol pipel bilong Kainantu **ilektoret** bai save husat em memba bilong ol long Ogas 5, 1999.*	P3	99-07-08-03	21 (+2)	electorate

-i (-ee)

TP word	Corpus Example	Source	Year/Edition	NoO	ETr
refuji	*Ol wokman bilong helt dipatmen i mas skulim gut ol* **refuji** *long helt edukesen.*	P3	84-04-21-03	26	refugee
Trusti	*Wanpela Dairekta bilong Bot ov* **Trusti** *bilong NPF,…*	P3	90-06-14-01	1	trustee

-i (-ie)

TP word	Corpus Example	Source	Year/Edition	NoO	ETr
muvi	*Em i tok tu olsem wokim pamuk vidio (blu* **muvi***) i no hat.*	P3	98-08-20-02	5	movie

-i (-y)

TP word	Corpus Example	Source	Year/Edition	NoO	ETr
Asembli	*Ol i bin sasim Bonny Kai long brukim konstitusens bilong Sandaun Provinsal* **Asembli***.*	P3	87-05-14-07	13	assembly
dairektori	*Dispela baibel em nupela telepon* **dairektori***.*	P3	84-04-21-05	8	directory
enkwairi / Enkwari / Inkuairi / inkwairi	*Komisin ov* **Enkwari** *i mas gat inap taim long askim na sekim gut olgeta man we nem bilong ol i kamap long kot.*	P3	97-04-10-03	(+1) 4 (+1) (+1)	enquiry
tresari / Treseri / tresori / tresuri	*Dipatmen bilong* **Treseri** *na Kopret Afeas i lukluk tu long traim mani long divelopmen baset bilong wanwan provins.*	P3	98-04-09-01	(+1) 9 (+1) (+1)	treasury

-i (-y)

TP word	Corpus Example	Source	Year/Edition	NoO	ETr
doti	*...bai kisim bikpela bagarap long graun na **doti** bilong ol skin diwai bai i pulapim ol rif bilong ol.*	P3	95-10-26-01	7	dirt
	*Ol i ting han bilong mipela bai i **doti**.*	P3	74-05-15-03		dirty
gridi	*Em i save **gridi** long kaikai bilong em.*	ST	0950-92-09-17	2	greedy
laki	*Dispela de em i no **laki** olsem ol arapela de.*	ST	1252-98-06-25	14	lucky
	*Sampela i lus long **laki**.*	P3	76-02-04-04		luck
	***Laki** tru na i no gat arapela ka o man i sanap i stap long taim ka i bin ranawe.*	P3	89-01-05-02		luckily

-ia (-eer / -ier)

TP word	Corpus Example	Source	Year/Edition	NoO	ETr
Brigadia / brigedia / brigidia	*Dispela bikpela toktok bilong Sandline i bin kamap stat long tupela wik bihain long **Brigadia** Jenerel bilong Difens Fos, Jerry Singirok…*	P3	97-03-27-01	1 (+1) (+1)	brigadier
skrutinia	*… kaunim bilong ol vot i go isi bikos ol i wok long kisim planti komplen long ol **skrutinia** bilong ol kendidet.*	P3	99-07-08-03	1	scrutineer
volantia	*Mista Apo i tok sampela **volantia** wokman …*	P3	87-05-14-02	1	volunteer

-*ik* (-ic)

TP word	Corpus Example	Source	Year/Edition	NoO	ETr
Apostolik	*Plis ol wantok long **Apostolik** sios long Kandep maski long grisim ol pipel.*	P3	74-06-05-03	2	Apostolic
demokratik / Demokretik	*Marit bilong tripela bikpela grup, Pipels **Demokretik** Muvmen (PDM), Edvens PNG na Oposisen …*	P3	99-07-08-02	(+3) 5	democratic
ekonomik / ikonomik	*… polisi bilong Gavman long kamapim **ekonomik** gro…*	P3	04-07-29-08-04-04	7 (+2)	economic
Olympik	*Helpim ol turis opereta long kantri long maketim ol program bilong ol long winim turis maket long arapela kantri we bai i kamap long **Olympik** pilai long Sydney.*	P3	00-04-06-04	1	Olympic

in- (in-)

TP word	Corpus Example	Source	Year/Edition	NoO	ETr
Independen / indipenden	***Independen** kendidet bilong Morobe, Royden Aigal…*	P3	82-06-05-01	4 (+4)	independent
Independens / indipendens	***Independens** i kamap pinis, tasol ol lain ya i pait yet.*	P3	80-08-16-01	21 (+8)	independence

-ing (-ing)

TP word	Corpus Example	Source	Year/Edition	NoO	ETr
Bilding	*Ranuguri gavman hostel long Mosbi bai i pas aninit long lo bilong **Bilding** Bot Ek.*	P3	88-09-01-01	7	building
edvetaising	*Dispela kain **edvetaising** i helpim mi.* *...WANTOK niuspepa i lusim bikpela mani bikos em i tambu long **edvetaising** long bia na long sigaret.*	P3 P3	77-01-29-03 77-01-29-03	6	advertising, advertisement to advertise
Ekting	*Mista Nelson i wok olsem **Ekting** Manesing Dairekta nau.*	P3	89-06-01-02	18	acting
Enjiniaring	*… long han bilong **Enjiniaring** Betelion…*	P3	04-05-13-01	1	engineering
fanding	*Em i tok **fanding** bilong dispela yia bai kamapim hevi long ol projek…*	P3	01-12-20-01	2	funding
faunding	*PNG em wanpela **faunding** memba bilong ITTO.*	P3	03-01-02-02	1	founding
Geming	*Nesenel **Geming** Bod …*	P3	01-03-29-02	2	gaming
hausing	*… bikos em i daunim mak bilong intres long **hausing** lon o dinau mani …*	P3	03-09-04-01	4	housing
holding	*… ol beng **holding** kampani…*	P4	00-04-06-01	1	holding
kaunseling	*Dispela senta bai ol i yusim long wok **kaunseling** sevis …*	P3	95-09-21-01	2	counselling
kaving	*Tasol dispela **kaving** ya i gat pawa bilong en yet ya …*	ST	0706-88-01-14-01-21	8	carving
Kiping	*Tonga i wanbel long kirapim wanpela Saut Pasifik Rijonal Pis **Kiping** Fos …*	P3	94-06-09-01	2	keeping
Laisensing	*…Peter Atu long Spot, Kalsa na Lika **Laisensing**…*	P3	96-01-04-01	1	licensing
londaring	*Em i tok intanesenel boda bilong PNG wantaim Australia na Indonesia i ken kamapim ol raskol pasin olsem stilim manmeri, bisnis bilong ol drag nogut na mani **londaring**…*	P3	01-03-29-01	1	(money-) laundering
maining	*Sir Michael i tok maski mipela i save kisim bikpela mani long ol planti **maining** na wel projek …*	P3	04-07-08-03	10	mining
mining	*Nating i gut tu yumi mas klia long **mining** bilong kristen*	P3	76-01-21-03	6	meaning,

	kantri. …kosa bilong Balmain i tok sapos wanpela pilaia i **mining** long bagarapim narapela pilaia long fil,...		91-05-09-03		intention to mean, to intend
miting	*Na taim mipela i putim nem long hostim **miting** ansa i save nogat.* *… taim ol memba i stap **miting** insait.*	P3	03-01-02-02 97-03-27-01	22	meeting (assembly) to meet
monitoring	*… impot **monitoring** na strongim wok bilong Intenel Reveniu Komisin.*	P3	04-07-29-08-04-04	3	monitoring
Plening	*… aninit long Dipatmen bilong **Plening** na Monitoring.*	P3	00-04-06-06	21	planning
Rikruting	*Dispela ripot tu i no laikim dispela Leba **Rikruting** sistem.*	P3	89-05-18-02	1	recruiting
Ritening	*Asisten Provinsal **Ritening** Opisa, Frank Gabi i tok, kaunim bilong ol vot i go isi…*	P3	99-07-08-03	1	retaining
riting	*Em i tok ol memba i mas sanap strong na sapotim namba tri **riting** …*	P3	95-05-11-04	4	reading
siting	*… ol memba husat i no stap long miting i no inap long kisim ful **siting** alauwens bilong ol.*	P3	93-08-26-02	5	seating
Stafing	*Ol i katim **Stafing** gren long 6 pe sen mak…*	P3	01-12-20-01	2	staffing
treining / trening	*Sir Julius Chan i bin tokaut olsem dispela praivet ami bai givim gutpela **trening** tru long ol PNG ami.*	P3	97-03-27-02	18	training
voting	*… nupela vot sistem bilong limited preferensel **voting**.*	P3	03-09-04-05	3	voting
witholding	*Bikos sapos ol manmeri i larim mani bilong ol i stap, bai gavman i wok long stilim mani bilong ol bihainim dispela lo bilong 15% **witholding** takis.*	P3	99-08-19-02	3	withholding (tax)
Working	*"Mi bin sanapim dispela **Working** Grup long 2003 long helpim kamapim polisi bilong Gavman long kamapim ekonomik gro […]*	P3	04-07-29-08-04-04	1	working

inta- / *inte-* (**inter-**)

TP word	Corpus Example	Source	Year/Edition	NoO	ETr
Inta	*Minista bilong **Inta** Gavman Rilesens …*	P3	04-07-08-01	1	inter-
intanesenel / intenesenel	*Econet i bin winim tenda long baim ol sea long Telikom pas long sampela arapela bikpela **intanesenel** kampani.*	P3	04-07-08-04	14 (+4)	international

-is (**-ese**)

TP word	Corpus Example	Source	Year/Edition	NoO	ETr
Saiamis, Saimis	*Namba tu **saiamis** twins long Papua Niugini i dai. (**Saimis** twins em tupela bebi mama i karim tasol tupela i pas wantaim).*	P3	03-10-23-01	(+1) 2	Siamese

-is (**-ice**)

TP word	Corpus Example	Source	Year/Edition	NoO	ETr
Jastis	*Sir Charles i laikim tu Sief **Jastis** Sir Arnold Amet long risain long wok bilong em.*	P3	94-05-12-01	28	justice (judge of supreme court)
notis	*Tasol nau long dispela taim tupela **notis** wantaim i go long ol wokman long wankain taim tasol.*	P3	83-01-15-03	13	notice
sevis	*Putim ol sosel **sevis** i go insait long ol rurel eria.*	P3	96-11-07-02	66	service

-is (**-ish**)

TP word	Corpus Example	Source	Year/Edition	NoO	ETr
selpis	*Wanpela man namel long ol i no save skelim kaikai, em i* **selpis** *tumas …*	ST	0098-74-08-21	1	selfish

-is (**-ist**)

TP word	Corpus Example	Source	Year/Edition	NoO	ETr
turis	*Sapos dispela i stap planti* **turis** *bai amamas long kam long kantri.*	P3	00-04-06-05	19	tourist(s)

-isim / -ism (**-ism**)

TP word	Corpus Example	Source	Year/Edition	NoO	ETr
tourism / turisim / turism	*Misis Rooney i tok tu olsem* **turism** *em i gutpela we long mekim yumi tingting long lukautim kalsa bilong yumi.*	P3	86-08-09-02	(+2) (+1) 2	tourism

-iti (**-ity**)

TP word	Corpus Example	Source	Year/Edition	NoO	ETr
atoriti	*Mi nogat pawa o* **atoriti** *long kisim kain kain kampani long karimaut wok iveluesen…*	P3	04-07-29-08-04-03	33	authority
Ikwaliti	*Dispela tripela poin em: • Yumen Fridom na Raits, • Jenda*	P3	97-04-10-01	1	equality

		Source	Year/Edition	NoO	
	Ikwaliti *na • Lend Raits na Nesenel Risosis.*				
sekyurity / sekuriti	*Bai i gat gutpela **sekyuriti** bilong ol pasindia taim ol i laik kalap long bas?*	P3	04-05-13-04	27 (+4)	security
stabiliti	*"Sapos yupela i laikim **stabiliti**, katim ol politikel pati," em i tok.*	P3	03-07-17-05	3	stability

-iv **(-ive)**

TP word	Corpus Example	Source	Year/Edition	NoO	ETr
ditektiv	*…tupela plisman i nogat yunifom o **ditektiv** i go long Hagen…*	P3	98-08-20-01	1	detective
Edministretiv	*Ol i no laik Nesenel Gavman i lukautim ol wok olsem **edministretiv**, ekonomi, fainens na teksesen,...* *… Lokol Level Gavman **Edministretiv** Ekt bilong 1997.*	P3	89-05-18-02 00-06-01-03	4	administration administrative
ekseketiv / eksekyutiv	*Lasaro em olpela sief **eksekyutiv** o bikbos bilong CIC.* *Nesenel **Eksekyutiv** Kaunsil (NEC) sasim pinis ol bikman bilong Difens Fos…*	P3 P3	97-10-02-02 89-02-09-02	(+4) 39	executive, chief executive, managing
Intensiv	*Mista Skate nau i stap long **Intensiv** Kea Yunit…*	P3	01-03-29-02	2	intensive
Investigetiv	*…em i bin askim long kisim fail bilong **Investigetiv** Task Fos long lukim.*	P3	99-02-11-01	3	investigative
korektiv	*Yunivesiti, na tisa koles, na gavman koles, na ol spesel koles bilong helt na plis na **korektiv** na ami na egrikalsa.*	P3	77-01-29-01	1	corrective

-li (**-ly**)

TP word	Corpus Example	Source	Year/Edition	NoO	ETr
odeli	*Mas gat sampela moa Helt Ekstensen Opisa, nes na **odeli** long wok 24 aua stret…*	P3	84-04-21-03	1	orderly

-loji (**-logy**)

TP word	Corpus Example	Source	Year/Edition	NoO	ETr
Entropoloji	*Wanpela dokta bilong stadim pasin na kalsa bilong ol pipel o **Entropoloji** (Anthropology)…*	P3	04-04-22-03	1	anthropology
teknoloji	*Sapos ol wantaim ol kainkain liklik save olsem apropriet **teknoloji**.*	P3	88-08-04-01	2	technology

-man /-men / -ment (**-ment**)

TP word	Corpus Example	Source	Year/Edition	NoO	ETr
Adjasmen	*"Mipela i redi long kisim moa toktok long bihainim long bihain taim bilong helpim mani long we bilong Straktarel **Adjasmen** program…*	P3	99-08-19-03	1	adjustment
advetismen / edvetismen	*ET nau yet i mekim planti milien dola long wanpela televisen **edvetismen**.*	P3	91-05-09-03	3	advertisement
agrimen	*Tasol nau i gat **agrimen**.*	P3	96-06-20-03	36	agreement
amendmen	*Sir Michael Somare i putim dispela pepa (**amendmen**) long bilong sapotim na strongim mosen pepa bilong Gavana bilong NCD…*	P3	97-03-27-02	1	amendment

apoinmen	*Bihain ol nupela **apoinmen** em i makim;…*	P3	96-01-04-01	1	appointment
developmen / Divelopmen	*Na Rural **Divelopmen** Benk bai i go pas long ranim dispela wok, Sir Michael i tok.*	P3	03-10-23-03	(+16) 64	development
dipatmen / dipatment	*Tasol ol kaunsil o edukesen **dipatmen** i no save strongim ol dispela skul.*	P3	76-02-04-01	138 (+2)	department
Emploimen / employmen	*Em i tok Dipatmen bilong Leba na **Emploimen** i harim komplen pinis long ol pipel.*	P3	90-06-14-02	7 (+1)	employment
enrolmen	*Bos bilong ileksen, Mista Kaiulo, i tok olsem vota **enrolmen** bai i go het …*	P3	01-08-02-04	3	enrolment
gavman / gavmen	*Na i kamapim ol bikman pikinini bilong Kambum Komba i stap long palamen na **gavman** bilong Morobe.*	ST	1345-00-04-06	954 (+1)	government
invesmen	*Dispela bot i save lukautim wanpela kain **invesmen** bilong helpim ol pablik sevan…*	P3	83-01-15-01	9	investment
jasmen	*Sir Julius i tok em i lusim ol pipel yet i mekim **jasmen** bilong ol.*	P3	97-03-27-01	1	judgement
menesmen	*Ol bai baim tasol ol arapela fi ol bod ov **menesmen** i sasim long mekim sampela kain wok bilong stretim skul.*	P3	92-12-17-01	20	management
Muvmen	*Em i tok dispela bilip i bin bagarap tru taim pati bilong Wingti, Pipels Demokretik **Muvmen** i holim pawa.*	P3	94-09-15-01	6	movement
peimen / pemen	*… givim ol al[a]uwens **peimen** bilong ol dokta long mun Janueri, 1999.*	P3	99-02-11-03	2 (+2)	payment
ritaimen	*Ol memba i orait tu long givim ol yet **ritaimen** mani em ol bai kisim long pinis bilong yia 1994.*	P3	93-02-25-02	2	retirement
setelmen	*Ol **setelmen** long Madang taun …*	P3	01-12-20-03	36	settlement

mini- (**mini-**)

TP word	Corpus Example	Source	Year/Edition	NoO	ETr
Mini	*Senis insait long **Mini** Baset long dispela …*	P3	94-05-12-03	1	mini-budget

-nes (**-ness**)

TP word	Corpus Example	Source	Year/Edition	NoO	ETr
awarenes / aweanes / awenes	*Em i tok **aweanes** bai go inap long namba 6 de long mun Jenueri, 2002.*	P3	01-12-20-03	(+1) 11 (+4)	awareness

non- (**non-**)

TP word	Corpus Example	Source	Year/Edition	NoO	ETr
Non	*Em i siaman makim ol **Non** Gavman Ogenaisesen (NGO).*	P3	98-09-24-02	3	non-governmental organisation

-okresi (**-ocracy**)

TP word	Corpus Example	Source	Year/Edition	NoO	ETr
demokresi	*… na em i givim bek **demokresi** i go bek long sia bilong Nesenel Palamen.*	P3	97-03-27-01	1	democracy

-ori (-ory)

TP word	Corpus Example	Source	Year/Edition	NoO	ETr
reguletori	*…moa **reguletori** na supavaisa pawa.*	P3	00-04-06-01	1	regulatory

ova- (over-)

TP word	Corpus Example	Source	Year/Edition	NoO	ETr
ova taim	*… pe bilong **ova** taim wok…*	P3	00-03-09-01	2	overtime work
ova sis	*… wanpela **ova** sis kampani…*	P3	98-09-24-01	1	overseas
ova draft	*CMB i bin usim pinis ol mani bilong ol long **ova** draft bilong ol.*	P3	98-09-24-01	1	overdraft

poly- (poly-)

TP word	Corpus Example	Source	Year/Edition	NoO	ETr
polyethylene / polythylene	*… kampani i wok long yusim **polyethylene**…*	P3	99-08-19-01	1 (+1)	polyethylene
polypropylene	*Ol plastik samting we ol i wokim long polythylene (PE) na **polypropylene**…*	P3	99-08-19-01	1	polypropylene
polyvinyl	*…Bisphend A, **polyvinyl** chloride or PVC…*	P3	99-08-19-01	1	polyvinyl

pri- (pre-)

TP word	Corpus Example	Source	Year/Edition	NoO	ETr
prisisen	*Roosters i bin lus egensim Brothers long **prisisen** resis.*	P3	91-05-09-02	1	pre-season race

pro- (pro-)

TP word	Corpus Example	Source	Year/Edition	NoO	ETr
pro – Pangu	*… **pro** – Pangu man, Tevita Leri.*	P3	82-05-22-01	1	pro-Pangu man

re- / *ri-* (re-)

TP word	Corpus Example	Source	Year/Edition	NoO	ETr
reforestesen	*Na tu long stapim Japan long givim Ovasis Divelopmen Aid bilong **reforestesen**.*	P3	93-08-26-01	1	reforestation, reforestisation, reafforestation
Rinumeresen	*… opis bilong Salaris na **Rinumeresen** …*	P3	91-07-11-01	2	renumeration

-ri (-ry)

TP word	Corpus Example	Source	Year/Edition	NoO	ETr
forestri	*Ol eria olsem **forestri**, fiseris na agrikalsa.*	P3	98-04-09-01	8	forestry

-s /-es / -is (-s) plural marker

TP word	Corpus Example	Source	Year/Edition	NoO	ETr
Afeas / afes / affairs	*Tasol Tresori na Kopret **Afeas** dipatmen i ting ol samting bai i go orait long narapela tripela o foapela mun bihain.*	P3	98-04-09-01	47 (+3) (+1)	affairs
Ailans	*Prins Tupouto'a i bin kisim **Ailans** Eviesen balus …*	P3	94-06-09-01	6	islands
Akauns	*Pablik **Akauns** Komiti bai skelim ripot …*	P3	88-09-01-03	3	accounts
Ats	*Mista Simet i bin greduet long Yunivesiti ov PNG wantaim Batsela ov **Ats** Digri.*	P3	86-08-09-02	2	arts
Banks	*… insait long '**Banks** na Financial Institution Bill 2000' …*	P3	00-04-06-01	1	banks
bareks	*Ol i no kisim ripot long ol arapela ami **bareks** …*	P3	89-02-09-02	18	barracks
cents	*Strong bilong Kina i mas go antap olsem long US$50 cents na AUS$60 - 70 **cents** long K1.*	P3	99-07-08-02	2	cents
Dairektas	*… Bot ov **Dairektas** bilong NBC …*	P3	86-08-09-04	1	directors
Doktas	*Ol eksekyutiv bilong **Doktas** Asosiesen i bung …*	P3	99-02-11-03	3	doctors
Ekonomiks	*… Dairekta bilong Leba **Ekonomiks** …*	P3	94-05-12-03	1	economics
ekserts	*… ol foren **ekserts**[124] control…*	P3	04-07-29-08-04-04	1	exertions
Emplois / emploi's / employis	*… PNG **Emplois** Federesen …*	P3	92-09-10-02	1 (+1) (+1)	employees
erias	*… long wanpela fremwok bilong ol rurel **erias** …*	P3	04-07-08-04	1	areas
Fiseris	*…Somare i tokaut olsem gavman bilong em i oraitim pinis kamap bilong **Fiseris** Kredit Fasiliti.*	P3	03-10-23-03	11	fisheries
Gems	*… long Komonwelt **Gems**.*	P3	86-08-09-03	3	games

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[124] This example must be handled with care, as the use of the word in Tok Pisin does not correspond to the process of derivation in English: to my understanding, *ekserts* cannot be translated with 'exerts' (derived from the verb), but rather with 'exertions', since the context suggests nominal use.

grasruts	*… long skulim ol **grasruts** …*	P3	00-03-09-03	1	grassroots
groas / growas	*… ol liklik **groas** bilong kopi …*	P3	86-08-09-01	2 (+1)	growers
Hailans / Hailens	*… long Sauten **Hailans** provins …*	P3	04-05-13-01	104 (+6)	Highlands
Indastris	*… Forestri **Indastris** Asosiesen (FIA) …*	P3	93-08-26-05	1	industries
konstitusens	*… long brukim **konstitusens** …*	P3	87-05-14-07	1	constitutions
Lens	*Olsem na ol i mas go long **Lens** opis …*	P3	01-12-20-03	9	lands
loyas	*… olpela loya bilong Beresford Love Francis & kampani **loyas** i bin stilim mani …*	P3	93-02-25-01	1	lawyers
Mains	*… Minista bilong **Mains** na Petrolium …*	P3	96-06-20-04	1	mines
Minerals	*Nau long dispela taim Minista bilong **Minerals** na Eneji…*	P3	83-01-15-02	2	minerals
Nakotiks	*…, gavman i kirapim **Nakotiks** Biru o bod.*	P3	94-05-12-02	1	narcotics
Nesens	*Na Yunaitet **Nesens** i bin traim painim wanpela kantri …*	P3	79-01-20-01	5	nations
nudels	*… ol bebi i wok long gat tit i save pilai wantaim long ol, ol toi na ol kap **nudels**.*	P3	99-08-19-01	1	noodles
Objektivs	*Dispela tu i stap insait long 5-pela as tingting bilong em o **Objektivs**:*	P3	99-08-19-03	1	objectives
onas	*Ol PMV **onas** …*	P3	04-05-13-04	1	owners
Opisas	*Pablik **Opisas** Supranuesen Bot (POSB) …*	P3	89-06-01-02	5	officers
ovasis	*… pulim **ovasis** mani i kam long kantri.* *… na salim i go long **ovasis**.*	P3 P3	03-01-02-02 93-08-26-01	53	overseas
poins	*Tupela tim wantaim i stap long 16 **poins** long lata.*	P3	88-07-07-01	1	points
Primias	*… Mamose **Primias** Kaunsil konprens …*	P3	95-05-11-01	1	premiers
produsas	*… CMB i tokaut dis wik long ol kopra **produsas** …*	P3	98-09-24-01	1	producers
raits	*… wok bilong yumen **raits** insait long Pasifik.*	P3	04-05-13-02	4	rights
Rilesens	*Ministabilong Inta Gavman **Rilesens** …*	P3	04-07-08-01	1	relations
risorts	*… posta na bras sarts na Colgate san **risorts** …*	P3	03-10-23-02	1	resorts

risoses / risosis	… ol **risosis** long bus na graun o solwara.	P3	97-04-10-01	(+2) 4	resources
Salaris	… opis bilong **Salaris** na Rinumeresen …	P3	04-07-29-08-04-02	2	salaries
sarts	… ol dispela posta na **sarts**.	P3	03-10-23-02	3	charts
Sevises	• Strongim na sapotim ol Ekstensen **Sevises**;	P3	00-05-25-04	3	services
siefs	Em i bin go wantaim ol **siefs** …	P3	96-11-07-01	3	chiefs
Solomons	… long Not **Solomons** provins.	P3	93-07-22-03	18	Solomons
spesels	Colgate toothpaste na tootbrush **spesels** …	P3	03-10-23-02	1	specials
Spots	Dispela klab i kisim planti sapot i kam long ol Sosel, **Spots** na ol Charity ogenaisesen …	P3	94-02-03-01	2	sports
Stadis	"Institiut ov PNG **Stadis** i no ples bilong trenim ol saveman.	P3	86-08-09-02	3	studies
Stetestiks / Stetistiks	Nesenel **Stetestiks** Opis i mekim wok bilong raitim ripot…	P3	00-04-06-06	(+1) 1	statistics
Studens	Nesenel Unien ov **Studens** i sapotim ol toktok …	P3	01-08-02-05	1	students
Tems	… aninit long Seksen 27.1 (c) bilong **Tems** na Kondisen …	P3	98-12-03-02	1	terms
twins	Namba tu saiamis **twins** long Papua Niugini i dai.	P3	03-10-23-01	4	twins
Wejes	… ol wok bilong Minimum **Wejes** Bot …	P3	98-12-03-04	1	wages
wiks	… long tupela o tripela **wiks**.	ST	1345-00-04-06	2	weeks
wokas	Long Ameriken futbal, **wokas** kompensesen i karamapim olgeta pilaia.	P3	91-05-09-03	3	workers / worker's

-s (**-s**) **'*pluralia tantum*'**

TP word	Corpus Example	Source	Year/Edition	NoO	ETr
klos	***Klos*** *bilong tupela em narapela kain spesel klos na em i no inap long bruk.*	ST	1578-04-09-23	7	clothes
news / nius	*Yu laik harim* **nius** *i kam long Papua Niugini na ol arapela kantri.*	P3	75-03-19-03	(+1) 33	news
politiks	*… ol kain kain* **politiks** *i kamap long dispela posisen, ah?*	P3	04-05-13-04	38	politics
samons	*Aninit long namba wan kot pepa (***samons***) …*	P3	91-07-11-03	2	summons
sisis	*Snek nau i kisim* **sisis** *na resa gen na i stat long katim gras bilong Kapul.*	ST	0052-72-09-20	4	scissors
trausis	*Em i mas skulim ol man i harim redio long baim wanpela kain rais o wanpela kain* **trausis** *o wanpela kain mit.*	P3	77-01-29-03	5	trousers

-'s (**-'s**)

TP word	Corpus Example	Source	Year/Edition	NoO	ETr
Pipels	*…* ***Pipels*** *Demokretik Muvmen …*	P3	94-09-15-01	13	people's
wokas	*Long Ameriken futbal,* **wokas** *kompensesen i karamapim olgeta pilaia.*	P3	91-05-09-03	3	workers' / worker's

-*s* (-s) special cases

TP word	Corpus Example	Source	Year/Edition	NoO	ETr
wimens	*Samting olsem 20 **wimens** lida bilong lotu Katolik …*	P3	94-02-03-03	1	women[125]
Woks	*Minista bilong **Woks**, Yauwo Riyong ….*	P3	98-04-09-04	13	works[126]

om *sab-* (sub-)

TP word	Corpus Example	Source	Year/Edition	NoO	ETr
Sab kontrakta	***Sab** kontrakta, Malahang Lenona Kampani …*	P3	95-05-11-02	2	sub-(contractor)
sabmisen	*… aplikesen long "no keis **sabmisen"** …*	P3	01-03-29-02	4	submission
sabseksen	*Long putim nupela **sabseksen** we i glasim astingting bilong ol komyuniti wok oda.*	P3	00-04-06-02	1	subsection

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[125] There is no singular form **wimen* 'woman' in Tok Pisin. Hence, there are two possible translations: either (a) *wimens lida* = female leader(s) or (b) the genitive form, 'women's leaders', is meant here. A third option would be an incorrectly constructed plural form.

[126] "The First Commissioner of Works and Public Buildings was a position within the government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. It took over some of the functions of the First Commissioner of Woods and Forests in 1851 when the portfolio of Crown holdings was divided into the public and the commercial. The position was frequently of cabinet level. The office was renamed Minister of Works and Buildings and First Commissioner of Works in 1940, Minister of Works and Planning in 1942, Minister of Works in 1943 and finally Minister of Public Buildings and Works in 1962. On 15 October 1970 the Ministry was amalgamated in the Department of the Environment" <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/First_Commissioner_of_Works>; 03 Oct. 2009. All other cases are similar in style, i.e. we are dealing with fixed expressions.

self- / selp- (self-)

TP word	Corpus Example	Source	Year/Edition	NoO	ETr
self / selp	… **self** *gavman bilong ol West Papua pipel …*	P3	98-09-24-03	1 (+1)	self-government

semi- (semi-)

TP word	Corpus Example	Source	Year/Edition	NoO	ETr
semi fainal	… *namba wan* **semi** *fainal resis…*	P3	85-12-14-01	2	semi-final

-sen / -sian (-ian)

TP word	Corpus Example	Source	Year/Edition	NoO	ETr
ilektriksian	… *na Allan Kevin 20 yia,* ***ilektriksian***.	P3	74-06-05-02	1	electrician
politisen	*Tasol taim ol* **politisen** *i mekim olsem, ol i no save kisim wanpela hevi.*	P3	98-08-20-03	5	politician
Stetistisen	… *Nesenel* **Stetistisen** *Mista Nick Suvulo …*	P3	00-03-09-02	1	statistician

-sen (-ion)

TP word	Corpus Example	Source	Year/Edition	NoO	ETr
alokesen	*Ol pablik sevan na ol tisa i no kisim wanpela* **alokesen** *long baset bilong dispela yia.*	P3	01-12-20-01	1	allocation
asosiesen /	*Nau em i singautim tu ol narapela* **asosiesen** *bilong ol*	P3	94-02-03-03	25	association

esosiesen	*wokmeri bilong sios ….*			(+1)	
disisen	*… mekim gutpela **disisen** long kamapim gutpela senis …*	P3	04-04-22-01	34	decision
Divisen	*Ol wokman bilong **Divisen** bilong Praimmeri Indastri …*	P3	88-12-15-01	7	division
edministresen / etministresen	*Tasol Mista Molonges i tok **edministresen** i noken mekim dispela kain pasin long stapim pait bilong ol sumatin.*	P3	01-08-02-05	6 (+1)	administration
edukesen / edukesin	*Tasol Mista Sauk i tok provins bilong em i givim provinsal **edukesen** baset tasol Fainens minista i egensim.*	P3	96-07-18-04	44 (+1)	education
eksen	*… ol i no soim wanpela **eksen** yet …*	P3	03-10-23-04	7	action
ekspensen	*Em i tok **ekspensen** bilong gred 7 na 8 prosek …*	P3	96-07-18-03	1	expansion
Ekstensen	*Mas gat sampela moa Helt **Ekstensen** Opisa …*	P3	84-04-21-03	3	extension
Greduesen	*… Air Niugini i bin holim Namba Ten **Greduesen** …*	P3	79-03-10-01	1	graduation
ileksen / eleksen	*Yupela i wok long putim iau long **ileksen** bilong Gavana Jenerel tu o nogat?*	P3	04-05-13-04	109 (+1)	election
Imigresen	*Foren Afeas **Imigresen** divisen i save pinis long dispela.*	P3	90-06-14-02	2	immigration
inflesin	*Strongim gen eksens ret wantaim **inflesin** na kamapim ge [gen] wanbel pasin namel long pren kantri long wok bilong divelopmen.*	P3	99-08-19-03	1	inflation
Inspeksen	*Nesenel Agrikalsa na Kworentin **Inspeksen** Atoriti …*	P3	04-07-29-08-04-04	1	inspection
institusen / institution	*… ol fainensel **institusen** bai stapim ol kain pasin nogut …*	P3	00-04-06-03	7	institution
Investigesen	*… Dairekta bilong Kriminel **Investigesen** Divisen …*	P3	01-03-29-02	1	investigation
iveluesen	*… long karimaut wok **iveluesen** long ol bisnis bilong gavman.*	P3	04-07-29-08-04-03	2	evaluation
komisen / Komisin	*… bai helpim PNG Ilektorel **Komisin** long skulim ol manmeri bilong pablik.*	P3	03-09-04-05	(+7) 63	commission[127]

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[127] *OED* online version: "[a. F. *commission*, ad. L. *commissiōn-em*, n. of action f. *committ-ēre* to COMMIT, entrust, etc.]". (<http://dictionary.oed.com>; 01 Oct. 2009)

kompensesen	*… ol hevi bilong lo na oda, graun na **kompensesen**.*	P3	04-07-29-08-04-04	20	compensation
komyunikesen	*Olpela **komyunikesen** minista …*	P3	88-08-04-01	5	communication
Konstitusen	*… insait long **Konstitusen** bilong PNG.*	P3	77-01-29-01	3	constitution
Konstraksen	***Konstraksen** kampani, Curtain Brothers, i bin …*	P3	98-04-09-04	16	construction
koporesen / Kopresen	*… provinsal gavman bai askim Nesenel Hausing **Kopresen**...*	P3	93-02-25-02	(+7) +7	corporation
Korapsen	*… Nesenel Fraud na Enti **Korapsen** skwat …*	P3	93-02-25-01	2	corruption
maigresen	*… pinisim ol riviu long **maigresen** …*	P3	04-07-29-08-04-04	1	migration
nominesen	*… taim bilong **nominesen** i op …*	P3	97-04-10-01	1	nomination
operesen / opresen	*… bai ino inap kisim taim long dispela **operesen**.*	P3	01-12-20-03	17 (+5)	operation
populesen	*Long rekot bilong 1997 nesenel ileksen, **populesen** long wan wan ilektoret long Simbu husat i bin vot i go olsem:*	P3	99-03-25-03	2	population
Privensen	*"Dispela o samting bai i helpim tru wok bilong PNG AIDS **Privensen** na Kontrol Progrem …*	P3	88-08-04-02	1	prevention
promosen	*Developim wanpela rijinel maketing na **promosen** pasin wokbung …*	P3	00-04-06-04	1	promotion
regulesen	*.. helpim na strongim ol **regulesen** bilong ol beng …*	P3	00-04-06-01	1	regulation
Rilesen	*Plis Pablik **Rilesen** Bos, Maxine Denis …*	P3	84-07-21-01	2	relation(s)
selebresen	*… bikpela **selebresen** bilong makim 75 yia bilong Royal Australia Navy.*	P3	86-10-02-02	1	celebration
seperesen	*Papau Niugini i gat **seperesen** pawa.*	P3	94-05-12-01	1	separation
trenslesen	*…na wok long givim **trenslesen** long ol lain …*	P3	03-01-02-02	1	translation

-*sen* (-ition)

TP word	Corpus Example	Source	Year/Edition	NoO	ETr
kompetisen	*Dr Rabit kala **kompetisen** …*	P3	03-10-23-02	1	competition
oposisen	*… gavman na **oposisen** i wok long painim yet dispela mejik namba …*	P3	04-07-29-08-04-01	73	opposition

-*si* (-cy)

TP word	Corpus Example	Source	Year/Edition	NoO	ETr
ejensi	*Bikpela lukluk bilong NAC wantaim helpim bilong ol dona **ejensi** …*	P3	00-03-09-03	2	agency
Trensperensi	*Ol wasman bilong TI o **Trensperensi** Intanesenel…*	P3	01-11-15-04	1	transparency
Vegrensi	*… ol i toktok tu long strongim **Vegrensi** Ekt.*	P3	97-09-04-01	2	vagrancy

-*sip* (-ship)

TP word	Corpus Example	Source	Year/Edition	NoO	ETr
lidasip	*… em i no inap bringim dispela mosen long **lidasip** lo.*	P3	78-09-02-03	6	leadership
membasip	*… long **membasip** bilong asosiesen.*	P3	93-08-26-05	1	membership
prensip	*… bai strongim tru gutpela **prensip** …*	P3	01-11-15-05	1	friendship
primiasip	*… na winim **primiasip**.*	P3	91-05-09-01	2	premiership

sosio- (**socio-**)

TP word	Corpus Example	Source	Year/Edition	NoO	ETr
sosioekonomik[128]	*Dispela ol hevi i gat rot bilong bagarapim **sosioekonomik** bilong rijon olsem na ol i mas kamapim ol gutpela plen long rausim ol dispela hevi…*	P3	01-03-29-01	1	socio-economics

supa- / *super-* / *supr-*[129] (**super-**)

TP word	Corpus Example	Source	Year/Edition	NoO	ETr
supaintenden / suparintenden / Superintenden / suprintendan / suprintenden	*Bos bilong ol Plis, long Simbu, **Superintenden** Robert Korus, i tok i tru olsem i gat wanpela rot tasol bihainim Suave i go kamap long Keta.*	P3	84-07-21-01	(+1) (+1) 2 (+1) (+1)	superintendent
supamaket / supamarket	*Ol i tok tu long yusim sampela mani bilong bot long kamapim wanpela opis na **supamaket** long Hagen.*	P3	89-06-01-02	4 (+1)	supermarket
supranuesen	*Pablik Opisas **Supranuesen** Bot (POSB) i spenim bikpela mani long Papua Niugini na Ovasis…*	P3	89-06-01-02	2	superannuation

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[128] That the translation of the word in question should in this case be the noun ('socio-economics') rather than the adjective ('socio-economic') can be derived from the context.

[129] It cannot be determined whether *supr-* is a spelling mistake or the result of an incorrectly derived affixation process. As it occurs in three combinations, it is listed separately here.

tele- (tele-)

TP word	Corpus Example	Source	Year/Edition	NoO	ETr
telefon / telepon	*Dispela baibel em nupela **telepon** dairektori.*	P3	84-04-21-05	(+1) 16	telephone
Telekominikesen / telekomyunikesen	*Pos na **Telekominikesen** (PTC) i kamapim pinis nupela 1984 baibel bilong ol long 16 Epril.*	P3	84-04-21-05	1 (+1)	telecommunica-tion
televisen / telivisen	*Tasol Mista Aigilo i tok em i bin harim na tu lukim long EMTV **televisen**.*	P3	99-02-11-01	11 (+1)	television

-(*t*)*en* (-ern)

TP word	Corpus Example	Source	Year/Edition	NoO	ETr
Isten	*Ol pipel bilong **Isten** Hailans …*	P3	99-07-08-03	25	Eastern
Noten	*… Westen, **Noten**, Wes Nu Briten, na Simbu 2.*	P3	92-09-10-01	2	Northern
Saten / Sauten	*… mekim bris long **Sauten** Hailans provins…*	P3	04-05-13-01	(+11) 23	Southern
Westen	*Em wanpela ailan long Torres Stret namel long Australia na **Westen** Provins.*	ST	0706- 88-01-14-01-21	43	Western

-*ti* (-ty)

TP word	Corpus Example	Source	Year/Edition	NoO	ETr
loyolti	*…na ol asples tu i no inap kisim **loyolti** pemen bilong ol*	P3	97-10-02-01	2	loyalty
sefti	*Dispela em long lukautim **sefti** bilong ol…*	P3	99-08-19-01	1	safety

trens- (trans-)

TP word	Corpus Example	Source	Year/Edition	NoO	ETr
trensnesenel	…***trensnesenel*** *o raskol pasin bilong narapela kantri …*	P3	01-03-29-01	1	trans-national

vais- (vice-)

TP word	Corpus Example	Source	Year/Edition	NoO	ETr
Vais Minista	*… **Vais** Minista bilong Fainens …*	P3	97-10-02-03	2	vice-minister
Vais Presiden	*Bihain long dispela, **Vais** Presiden …*	P3	99-03-25-01	2	vice-president

4.1.2   Productivity

Bauer (1983: 62) states that "productivity remains one of the most contested areas in the study of word-formation". If one conceives of productivity as an either-or notion, one is using a qualitative approach to the topic. An affix either can or cannot be used to form a new word. The quantitative concept is to consider productivity as a matter of degree. One affix may be more likely to produce new forms than another (cf. Plag, 1999: 11ff.). Although corpus linguistics focusses primarily on quantitative analyses, "both qualitative and quantitative analyses have something to contribute to corpus study" (McEnery/Wilson, 1996: 63). This is because "a stage of qualitative research is often a precursor for quantitative analysis, since, before linguistic phenomena are classified and counted, the categories for classification must first be identified" (ibid.: 62).

Plag explains that

> unproductive morphological categories will be characterized by a preponderance of words with rather high frequencies and by a small number of words with low frequencies. With regard to productive processes, we expect the opposite, namely large numbers of low-frequency words and small numbers of high-frequency words.
>
> (ibid., 2003: 54).

While Romaine (1992a: 232ff.) considers words that appear only once as nonce-formations and excludes them from her corpus, Smith (2002: 94f.) points out why this is problematic: Items of low frequency (even established ones) will not appear in a small corpus, and relying on external standards or a mere counting of tokens is arbitrary.

Plag (2003: 26) furthermore asserts that the "crucial assumption now is that the number of hapaxes[130] of a given morphological category correlates with the number of neologisms of that category, so that hapaxes can be seen as some kind of indicator of productivity". Consequently, items that appear only once (i.e., hapaxes) are taken into account in the present study, unless they were classified as spelling mistakes. Another issue raised by Smith (2002: 94) is that of repetition. Items may

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[130] Hapaxes (short for *hapax legomena*) are "items with the lowest possible frequency", i.e. "words that occur only once in a corpus" (Plag, 2003: 54).

occasionally need to be repeated by informants for acoustic reasons – and are thus counted twice and included into his corpus. In this respect matters are different for the analysis at hand, as the *Wantok* corpus is a written, not a spoken one.

Based on groundbreaking methods developed by Baayen[131] (and his co-workers), Plag presents

> the three central productivity measures, namely the number of forms with a given affix ('extent of use' *V*), the probability of encountering new formations ('productivity in the narrow sense' *P*), and the number of new formations in a given corpus or period ('global productivity' *P**), which is indicated by the number of hapaxes (n_1).
>
> (Plag, 1999: 111)

These productivity measures were applied to calculate the figures provided in the ensuing table. The types column corresponds to Baayen's first productivity measure, the hapaxes column to his second, and the last column P to his third ('potential productivity') measure.

Affix	Types (V)	Hapaxes (n_1)	Tokens (N)	Productivity P ($P = n_1/N$)
-a (-ar/-er/-or)	61	16	821	0,01948
-a (-er)	1		2	
-a (-er)	1	1	1	
-a (-eer/-ier)	2		6	
-a (-ure)	2	2	2	1
-abel (-able)	1	1	1	1
agri-/egri- (agri-)	1		28	
-al/-el/-ol (-al)	28	12	459	0,02614
-al/-el (-ial)	5	2	195	0,01025

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[131] The three original terms and formulae used by Baayen (2009) are:

1. the 'realised productivity' or 'extent of use': V = V(C,N)
   (one counts the number of word types in a morphological category C in a corpus with N tokens)
2. the 'expanding productivity' or 'hapax-conditioned degree of productivity': P* = V(1,C,N)/V(1,N)
   (the number of hapaxes in a category C divided by the total number of hapaxes)
3. the 'potential productivity' or 'category-conditioned degree of productivity': P = V(1,C,N)/N(C)
   (one divides the number of hapaxes in a category C by the total number of tokens of that category)

an- (un-)	1	1	1	1
-an/-en/-ien (-an/-ean/-ian)	9	5	46	0,10869
-ari/-eri (-ary)	6	2	18	0,11111
bai- (bi-)	2	1	6	0,16666
bai- (by-)	1		5	
dis- (dis-)	1		2	
-dom (-dom)	2		11	
-ed (-ed)	5	2	17	0,11764
eks- (ex-)	3		20	
en- (en-)	2		10	
-en (-ant/-ent)	4	2	27	0,07407
-ens (-ance/-ence)	10	3	66	0,04545
enti- (anti-)	2	1	3	0,33333
-eri (-ery)	1	1	1	1
-es (-ess)	1		2	
-esen/-esin (-ation)	14	2	62	0,03225
-et (-ate)	1		23	
-i (-ee)	3	1	122	0,00819
-i (-ie)	1		5	
-i (-y)	4		40	
-i (-y)	3		23	
-ia (-eer/-ier)	3	2	5	0,4
-ik (-ic)	4	1	20	0,1
in- (in-)	2		37	
-ing (-ing)	28	8	156	0,05128
inta-/inte- (inter-)	2	1	19	0,05263
-is (-ice)	3		107	
-is (-ese)	1		3	
-is (-ish)	2		23	
-is (-ish)	1	1	1	1

-is (-ist)	1		19	
-isim/-ism (-ism)	1		5	
-iti (-ity)	4	1	68	0,01470
-iv (-ive)	6	2	54	0,03703
-li (-ly)	1	1	1	1
-loji (-logy)	2	1	3	0,33333
-man/-men/-ment (-ment)	17	4	1309	0,00305
mini- (mini-)	1	1	1	1
-nes/-nis (-ness)	1		16	
non- (non-)	1		3	
-okresi (-ocracy)	1	1	1	1
-ori (-ory)	1	1	1	1
ova- (over-)	3	2	4	0,5
poly- (poly-)	3	2	4	0,5
pri- (pre-)	1	1	1	1
pro- (pro-)	1	1	1	1
re-/ri- (re-)	2	1	3	0,33333
-ri (-ry)	1		8	
-s/-es/-is (-s)	53	23	367	0,06267
-s (-s)	6		90	
-'s (-'s)	2		16	
-s (-s)	2	1	14	0,07142
sab- (sub-)	3	1	7	0,14285
self-/selp- (self-)	1		2	
semi- (semi-)	1		2	
-sen/-sian (-ian)	3	2	7	0,28571
-sen (-ion)	35	14	420	0,03333
-sen (-ition)	2	1	74	0,01351
-si (-cy)	3	1	5	0,2
-sip (-ship)	4	2	10	0,2
sosio- (socio-)	1	1	1	1

supa-/super-/ supr- (super-)	2		11	
tele- (tele-)	3		31	
-(t)en (-ern)	4		104	
-ti (-ty)	2	1	3	0,33333
trens- (trans-)	1	1	1	1
vais- (vice-)	2		4	

Table 11: Productivity Measures of All Affixes Found in *Wantok*

Needless to say, these figures must be interpreted with care. Firstly because the corpus is comparatively small, and secondly because the figures always need to be put in relation to one another. A potential productivity measure of 1 is hardly significant when one considers the entire set of columns. It is possible that the hapaxes found just happen to be relatively uncommon words in this small corpus. Nevertheless, some tentative comparisons are attempted in the following table, which is an excerpt of the one just given above.

Affix	Types (V)	Hapaxes (n_1)	Tokens (N)	Productivity P $(P = n_1/N)$
-a (-ar/-er/-or)	61	16	821	0,01948
-al/-el/-ol (-al)	28	12	459	0,02614
-ing (-ing)	28	8	156	0,05128
-s/-es/-is (-s)	53	23	367	0,06267
-sen (-ion)	35	14	420	0,03333

Table 12: Productivity Measures of *-a*, *-al/-el/-ol*, *-ing*, *-s/-es/-is* and *-sen*

Of these five suffixes, *-al/-el/-ol* has the second lowest productivity factor. The suffixes *-al/-el/-ol* and *-ing* share the same extent of use *V*, but for *-al/-el/-ol* the number of tokens is significantly higher, while the number of their hapaxes is almost equal. Although *-a* can account for the highest extent of use and the second largest number of hapaxes, the number of tokens is by far the highest as well, which is why it is at the same time the least productive suffix. The medial position in all categories

is occupied by *-sen*. With the second highest extent of use in relation to the highest number of hapaxes and a moderate number of tokens, *-s/-es/-is* is the most productive suffix among these.

Traditionally, plurals in Tok Pisin are marked externally. There are two possibilities to do so: Either the number/quantity of the noun is specified, or the external plural marker *ol* is inserted in front of the noun:

Pluralisation	English Equivalent
pikinini	child/children
ol pikinini	children
sampela pikinini	several children, some children
tupela pikinini	two children
olgeta pikinini	all (of the) children

Table 13: 'Traditional' Pluralisation in Tok Pisin

Both methods of pluralisation, i.e. traditional external *ol* and English *-s*, are sometimes even used side by side in one sentence:

> *Mista Korowaro   i   bin   tok tu olsem **ol**   kopi **groas**   i   no ken tingting strong*
> Mister Korowaro PR PAST say too thus 3pl coffee growers PR not can think   strong
> *long aidia bilong kamapim Kopi Divelopmen Atoriti.*
> PREP idea PREP TR.V   coffee development authority

> 'Mister Korowaro (has) also said that the coffee growers should not think strongly about the idea of launching a Coffee Development Authority.' [P3-86-08-09-01]

Occurrences such as this and also the variability regarding Tok Pisin plural marking in general suggest several potential interpretations.

Nearly all forms with plural *-s* found by Romaine (1992a: 238) were of English origin, but she does list 10 indigenous words to which plural *-s* was attached. Smith (2002: 72) also mentions "cases where well-established Tok Pisin words are used with the *-s* affix", although the observation made by these authors was not confirmed by the *Wantok* corpus. They both consider animacy to play an important role and in Smith's opinion (ibid.) most words "are heard in English often or mainly in the plural form". It is also possible that we are looking at examples of overgeneralisation,

which is a typical feature of first language acquisition in children. "The child overgeneralizes the apparent rule of adding -s to form plurals and will talk about *foots* and *mans*" (Yule, 2006: 155). An example of this for Tok Pisin is *childrens*, given by Romaine (1992a: 228). *Wimens* occurs in the *Wantok* corpus once, which one could interpret as an incorrectly constructed plural form, though one of the two other readings is more likely.[132]

With respect to double plural marking, illustrated by the example from the corpus given above, Romaine (ibid.: 238) raises the issue of what Kuryłowicz (1949) calls the laws of analogy, "whereby a language tends to take a corroborating, i.e. additional, marker of a grammatical category" and gives the following example:

> One of the Unitech girls repeatedly called one of the toy animals a *fok* (< fox) because she had erroneously analysed the final -s of /foks/ as a plural. She segmented it and arrived at *fok* as the singular by a process of back-formation. However, she did not then use *foks* as the plural; instead, she said *tupela fok*. She has borrowed the word and incorporated it into the regular rules of Tok Pisin plural formation. Other back-formations in use now include *ak* from *axe* and *traus* from *trausis*.
>
> (Romaine, 1992a: 238)

However, cases such as these and the co-appearance of *ol* and plural -s are not systematic and are found only occasionally, which is why I would also rule out the possibility that we are dealing with a matter of agreement. There is a good chance, however, that an awareness on part of the speakers of grammatical concepts, morphemes and their functions will develop over time.

By comparison with *-s/-es/-is*, the suffix *-man/-men/-ment* is obviously not used to form many new nouns, which follows from the number of types in relation to the number of hapaxes for a very high number of tokens.

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[132] See p. 144 and footnotes 28 and 29 for details.

Affix	Types (V)	Hapaxes (n_1)	Tokens (N)	Productivity P $(P = n_1/N)$
-man/-men/-ment (-ment)	17	4	1309	0,00305

Table 14: Productivity Measure of *-man/-men/-ment*

With a considerably smaller number of types, the suffixes in the table below all share the same number of hapaxes. The productivity measures for the first two are almost identical, whereas for *-en* it is much lower, as a result of the much higher number of tokens compared to those for *-ari/-eri* and *-ed*, respectively.

Affix	Types (V)	Hapaxes (n_1)	Tokens (N)	Productivity P $(P = n_1/N)$
-ari/-eri (-ary)	6	2	18	0,11111
-ed (-ed)	5	2	17	0,11764
-en (-ant/-ent)	4	2	27	0,07407

Table 15: Productivity Measure of *-ari/-eri*, *-ed* and *-en*

Finally, here are the productivity measures for the 'original' Tok Pisin suffixes *-im* and *-pela*.

Affix	Types (V)	Hapaxes (n_1)	Tokens (N)	Productivity P $(P = n_1/N)$
-im (transitive verb-marker)	75	32	510	0,06274
-pela (multi-functional marker)	4	2	38	0,05263

Table 16: Productivity Measure of *-im/* and *-pela*

Although their potential productivity factors are alike, the other values differ considerably. With only four types, the figure for *-pela* is not particularly significant.

This again accentuates that a high productivity factor alone does not automatically imply that an affix yields many new forms.

It can be concluded from this evaluation that Tok Pisin readily incorporates affixes. Even though the bulk of new words formed by affixation are presumably wholesale borrowings from English, it is probable that a conscious awareness of morphemes and their functions will develop over time.

4.1.3 Compounds (& Phrases)

Compounds (& phrases) will **not** be dealt with in this study, as a comprehensive review of the discussion regarding compounding would necessitate an investigation in its own right.

As Plag put it:

> Although compounding is the most productive type of word-formation process in English, it is perhaps also the most controversial one in terms of its linguistic analysis and […] compounding is a field of study where intricate problems abound, numerous issues remain unresolved, and convincing solutions are generally not so easy to find.
>
> (ibid.: 2003: 132)

A study on word formation cannot simply omit compounds and phrases altogether, however. This section will therefore address the most important issues and show that some of those difficulties that apply to English word formation also hold for Tok Pisin, for instance to define a compound or to distinguish a compound from a phrase. While a compound must not necessarily be formed from two free morphemes, two affixes cannot combine to form a compound. This means that there are some forms that fall into neither category, and they are called bound roots (compare, for instance, English '-ceive', '-mit' or 'hap-'). Some Tok Pisin examples, which Verhaar (1995: 267) calls 'preforms', are #*bik*-, #*har*- and #*hai*-. The corpus, however, shows that these forms are becoming more independent; and while Verhaar (1995: 268) analyses *bikpela man* as a phrase and *bikman* as a compound on the grounds that #*bik* is a preform and "there are (as yet) no such words in Tok Pisin as **biktebol* or **bikgaden*", the corpus reveals #*bik* to be relatively productive:

Affix	Types (V)	Hapaxes (n_1)	Tokens (N)	Productivity P $(P = n_1/N)$
bik- ('big-')	21	8	258	0,03100
bikailan			5	
bikbos			4	
bikbrata/bik brata			22	
bik bris			1	
bikbuk			1	
bik bus			40	
bikhet			11	
bikhetman			1	
bikman			64	
bik manmeri			1	
bikmaus			13	
bik miting			1	
bikmoning/bik moning			26	
biknait/bik nait			21	
biknem			13	
bikples			17	
bikrot			1	
bik seketeri			1	
bikskul			1	
biksolwara/bik solwara			7	
biktaun			7	

Table 17: Productivity Measures of *bik-*

Verhaar (1995: 267) proposes to distinguish between a compound and a phrase based on the theorem that compounds (as they consist of one word only) are part of morphology, whereas phrases (containing more than one word) are part of syntax. Orthography, however, already an unreliable criterion for recognising compounds in

a language as well-established as English, is just as unsuitable for Tok Pisin. This can be seen from the above list of corpus formations with *bik-*.

Even semantics is no decisive factor: Verhaar gives *bikpela taun* (ibid.: 164) 'large town' as its phrase-form and *biktaun* (ibid.: 274) with the same translation as the compound. In Tok Pisin, *bik-* is customarily used "to indicate: something great, important, more common, chief, large" (Mihalic, 1971: 69). So whereas *bikman* denotes a leader, *bikpela man* refers to an adult, a grown-up person. But this semantic distinction is not always observed. *Bikbus*, for instance, generally means 'deep jungle'. Even so, there are nine occurrences of *bikpela bus* with the same meaning in the corpus. *Bikmoning* is a similar example: it habitually designates the very early morning, but is found five times in the form of *bikpela moning* in the corpus.

Stress is also often used to discriminate between compounds and phrases. Mihalic says (1971: 12) that in compounds, the first word explains the second, and the resulting word has only one full stress. In phrases, both words receive equal stress and the second explains the first. But this distinction is, in my opinion, not reliable for Tok Pisin: *haus pepa*, meaning 'office', is analysed as a noun phrase by Mihalic (ibid.) and as a compound by Verhaar (1995: 285) – although at least they agree regarding orthography.

The statement made by Mihalic that the terminology regarding moods "is artificial in the sense that we are classifying our expressions according to European usage" and we are "approaching the subject from the European's angle" (Mihalic, 1971: 30) in my opinion also applies to the distinction between compounds and phrases. I find it incomprehensible why Verhaar (1995: 279) sees *giamanman* 'cheat, hypocrite, impostor, liar' as a compound, but *giaman tok* (ibid.: 173) 'false testimony' as a noun phrase, and likewise differentiates between *bikpela taun* and *biktaun*. There are even linguists who argue against the distinction between a word and a phrase altogether:

> I propose abandoning the traditional binary distinctions of word vs. phrase, free lexical morpheme vs. affix, and compounding vs. derivation. The categories word and phrase, free lexical morpheme and affix, compounding and derivation, do not exclude each other. Rather, they represent poles on various continua: word ↔ phrase; free lexical morpheme ↔ affix; and compound ↔ derivative.
>
> (Fischer, 1998: 21)

However, to include all the compounds and phrases found in the corpus and to provide a lengthy discussion of all issues brought up above would go beyond the scope of this paper. The eight other types of word formations found are focussed on instead.

4.1.4   Adapted Loans

Several subtleties need to be considered in this category. The noun borrowing is sometimes used synonymously with 'loanword',[133] sometimes as the superordinate term. It usually refers to one language incorporating words or phrases from another language (the English word 'croissant', for instance, was borrowed from French), but the process is not as straightforward as it might appear:

> There is a continuum in borrowing, from words that remain relatively alien and unassimilated in pronunciation and spelling (as with *blasé* and *soirée* from French), through those that become more or less acclimatized (as with *elite* rather than *élite*, while retaining a French-like pronunciation, and *garage* with its various pronunciations) to forms that have been assimilated so fully that their exotic origin is entirely obscured (as with *cockroach*, from Spanish *cucaracha*, and *chocolate* through Spanish from Nahuatl *chocolatl*).
>
> (Cannon/McArthur/Gachelin in McArthur, 1992: 142)

The additional extensive distinction between *Gastwort*, *Fremdwort* and *Lehnwort* made by Cannon/McArthur (in McArthur, 1992: 623) would lead too far here, but the three terms indicate that, again, there is an assimilation-continuum. This section, labelled 'adapted loans', is situated between the *Fremdwort* and the *Lehnwort*. The Tok Pisin examples in this category have a (more or less) "stable spelling and pronunciation" (ibid.), are to some degree "indistinguishable from the rest of the lexicon and [are] open to normal rules or word use and word formation" (ibid.). *Kempein/kempen* from 'campaign', *fi* adapted from 'fee' and *egens* (*long*) from 'against' are all cases in point.

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[133] This, in turn, should not be confused with a 'calque' or a 'loan translation', where speakers analyse and replace a compound or complex loan with similar native forms (as is the case in 'skyscraper', which becomes *Wolkenkratzer* in German) (Romaine/McArthur in McArthur, 1992: 623).

The sheer number of adapted loans that was found is impressive: 818 'new' words come up in the corpus.[134] But what is even more striking is the proximity to the English language. Not only does English serve as the model for affixation, but it also becomes evident that the bulk of 'new' simple words is primarily based on English. This is probably because, from grade 3 onwards, the language of education in Papua New Guinea is English. Grammar (if it is taught at all) is taught in English – for English, not Tok Pisin. It is likely that speakers borrow words as a whole and are not conscious of the distinct underlying affixes. Compare the following example from the corpus:

> *Tasol Tresori na Kopret* **Afeas** *dipatmen   i   ting ol samting   bai i go*
> But treasure and corporate affairs department PR think 3pl something FUT PR go
>
> *orait   long narapela tripela o foapela   mun   bihain.*
> all right PREP another   three or four   moon behind
>
> 'But the Treasury and Corporate Affairs department thinks these issues will be sorted out in another three or four months.' [P3-98-04-09-01]

In total, the word in bold (along with its two variants *afes* and *affairs*) occurs 51 times in the corpus, but never without the English plural suffix *-s*. *Cents*, *nudels* and *salaris* are other cases in point.

One could argue that speakers of other languages are not aware of affixes and morpheme-boundaries either. However, the curriculum for English as the first foreign language in the *Gymnasium* (grammar school) in Germany, for example, specifically lists the instruction of word formation – in particular prefixes, suffixes, conversion and compounds – as one of the key points of grade 8.[135] In the subject German, the same content is taught even earlier, namely in grade 6.[136]

However, although the process of affixation is employed to create new derivations, it is interesting to note its lack of regularity and continuity. Here are some examples: The verb 'to suspend' exists both in the transitive form *saspendim* and the intransitive form *saspen* – which is simultaneously used as the noun 'suspension'.

---

[134] The section on synonyms shows which words exist side by side, while here in the adapted loans section the focus is only on those words that do **not** occur either in Mihalic (1971), Schaefer (1992) or Steinbauer (1998).

[135] <http://www.bildung-staerkt-menschen.de/service/downloads/Bildungsstandards/Gym/Gym_E_1f_bs.pdf>; 06 Jan 2010.

[136] <http://www.bildung-staerkt-menschen.de/service/downloads/Bildungsstandards/Gym/Gym_D_bs.pdf>; 06 Jan. 2010.

Despite the many formations on *-sen* ('-ion'), such as *operesen* 'operation' and *edukesen* 'education', **saspensen* does not occur in the corpus. Of course (and this is true of all patterns to follow) this does not mean that the word in question does not exist in Tok Pisin – merely that, in the randomly assembled corpus texts, no such word was used. Some words appear only in the English plural form, such as *afeas* 'affairs' and *twins*, while for others the singular is also found, e.g. *groa* and *groas* 'grower(s)', *sief* and *siefs* 'chief(s)'. There is already *operesen* 'operation', *operetim* 'to operate sth.' and *opereta* 'operator', but not yet **operesenel* 'operational'. We find *gridi* 'greedy', but not **grid* 'greed', *asisten* 'assistant' and *asistens* 'assistance', but so far no instance of **asist* 'assist'. In some cases the transitive verb form is absent, even though a number of other derivations can be found. Compare:

(Non-)occurring Derivations			
kaunsil	*kaunsila*	*kaunseling*	but not **kaunselim*
'council'	'councillor'	'counselling'	'to counsel'
dairekta	*dairektas*	*dairektori*	but not **dairektim*
'director'	'directors'	'directory'	'to direct'
korektiv		*koreksenel*	but not **korektim*
'corrective'		'correctional'	'to correct'
lida		*lidasip*	but not **lidim*
'leader'		'leadership'	'to lead'

Table 18a: (Non-)occurring Derivations

A similar observation can be made for the agentive noun suffix *-a*, English '-ar/-er/-or':

(Non-)occurring Derivations		
promosen	*promotim*	but not **promota*
'promotion'	'to promote'	'promoter'
investigesen	*investigetiv*	but not **investigeta*
'investigation'	'investigative'	'investigator'
ogenaisesen	*ogenaisim*	but not **ogenaisa*
'organisation'	'to organise'	'organiser'

Table 18b: (Non-)occurring Derivations

Although these examples do not disprove wholesale borrowing, the foundation for derivation by means of affixation has been laid, and it does not appear far-fetched to assume that those gaps that currently still exist will sooner or later be bridged.

The lexicon of creoles is said to be comparatively small, and thus to display a high level of transparency and iconicity (see section 2.2.2.3 for details). There is an increasing number of words in the corpus that is no longer motivated but arbitrary, as "borrowing from English is making the structure of Tok Pisin more irregular and complex" (Romaine, 1992a: 156). Here are some cases in point:

'Original' TP Word	Literal Translation	Adapted Loan	ETr
bosman	boss man	*sief*	chief
go het	go ahead	*edvens*	advance
kamap bikpela	come up (become) big	*gro*	to grow (up)
lusim opis	leave (an) office	*risain*	to resign
pinis long wok	finish (to) work	*ritaia*	to retire
taim tambu	time taboo	*kefiu*	curfew
wok painimaut	work (of) find out	*investigesen*	investigation
wokim haus	to work (a) house	*bildim*	to build

Table 19: Abitrariness as a Consequence of Borrowing from English

Circumlocutions, which are frequently found in pidgins, are often replaced by single words in creoles. "Circumlocutions are a strategy available in any language for giving a description of something which does not (yet) have a name in that language" (Sebba, 1997: 116).[137] In the example below, where both the new term and the circumlocution are in bold face, the lexifier is again English:

*Namba tu **saiamis twins** long Papua Niugini i dai. (Saimis twins em **tupela bebi mama i karim tasol tupela i pas wantaim**). […] Bikos ol i pas long bel ol serim ol hap insait long bel. Bel em wanpela bikpela hap bilong bodi we i gat ol rop bilong save kisim kaikai, **liva (wok bilong em long kisim kaikai bilong helpim***

---

[137] Whereas most vernaculars in PNG most likely have lexical items for 'kidney', 'bladder' and so on, Tok Pisin has had no need to be able to express these concepts so far.

bodi, na rausim ol pipia long blut), gol bleda (save brukim ol gris), splin (save rausim ol blut nogut na pait egensim ol binatang nogut), pankrias (wok bilong em long skelim gutpela na nogut kaikai o dring), kidni (klinim blut long poisin), ureters [urethra?] (rop bilong pispis) na bleda (holim na rausim wara long bodi). (P3-03-10-23-01)

'The second Siamese twin in PNG died. (Siamese twins are two babies that are conjoined.) […] Because their lower chests are grown together, they share a digestive system, the liver, gall bladder, spleen, pancreas, kidney, urethra and bladder.'

(My own free translation, focusing on the key terms.)

There are some cases where the introduced English form serves to disambiguate the existing homonymy:

'Original' TP Word	Literal Transl.	Adapted Loan	Homonym	ETr
sol	shoulder	*solda*	salt, soul	shoulder
tang	tank	*tank / tenk*	tongue	tank
winim	to wind[138] / to fan	*blowim / fenim*	to win, to gain, to increase	to blow, to fan

Table 20: Disambiguation as a Consequence of Borrowing from English

But disambiguation is probably the exception rather than the norm. In cases where a single word is introduced to replace the circumlocution, that is the more transparent, albeit longer form, this usually leads to additional homonyms (see section 4.2.3 for details).

Adapted loans from all areas of life are enlarging the Tok Pisin lexicon. Lexical gaps are occasionally filled by circumlocutions, though mostly an English term is 'Tok Pisin-ised': it is modified to conform to Tok Pisin pronunciation and spelling. The result is an ever-growing lexicon of anglicised words.

The tables below provide an excerpt of the adapted loans section given Appendix C1. Instead of an alphabetical list, a categorisation according to semantic fields was chosen.

---

[138] Derived from the noun 'wind'; ~ 'to fan'.

Health	
(hat) atek	(heart) attack
bleda	bladder
disis	disease
embulens	ambulance
helt	health
kensa	cancer
kidni	kidney
lang	lung
liva	liver
numonia	pneumonia
pankrias	pancreas
sifilis	syphilis
sken	scan
splin	spleen
taifoid	typhoid

Table 21: Borrowings from the Semantic Field 'Health'

Abstract Concepts	
benevit	benefit
edvais	advice
ekspiriens	experience
komplen	complain(t)
nid	need
problem	problem

Table 22: Borrowings from the Semantic Field 'Abstract Concepts'

Law	
apil	appeal
ares	arrest
atoni	attorney
beil	bail
fain	fine (penalty)
komplen	complaint
kraim	crime
mejistret	magistrate
pemit	permit
penelti	penalty
petisen	petition
saspen	suspension (adjournment)
sel	cell
suprim	supreme
waren	warrant

Table 23: Borrowings from the Semantic Field 'Law'

4.1.5 Acronyms/Initialisms

When the initial letters of words are used to form 'new' words, we speak of acronyms. The process is not necessarily systematic for acronyms, as sometimes two letters are chosen from one word, as in **so**(und) **na**(vigation) **r**(anging), while others may be skipped entirely, compare **l**(ight) **a**(mplification) by **s**(timulated) **e**(mission) (of) **r**(adiation). In these examples, the letters used are pronounced as a word, whereas in initialisms the letters are pronounced individually (in forms such as VCR 'Video Cassette Recorder' or IPA 'International Phonetic Alphabet') (cf. Brinton, 2000: 99).

The alphabet used for Tok Pisin is the Roman one, from which the letters *c*, *q, x* and *z* were initially missing. Especially *c* is frequently found in the category of acronyms, however, and here the influence of English is obvious, as the following selected examples show:

Incongruity of Sound & Spelling for 'C'		
CAC	*Konsuma Afes Kaunsil*	Consumer Affairs Council
CIC	*Kopi Indastri Kopresen*	Coffee Industry Corporation
ICU	*Intensiv Kea Yunit*	Intensive Care Unit
LRC	*Lo Rifom Komisin*	Law Reform Commission
PNGCC	*PNG Kaunsil bilong ol Sios*	PNG Council for / of the Churches

Table 24: Incongruity of Sound & Spelling for 'C'

This feature is highly noticeable in other cases as well:

General Incongruity of Sound & Spelling		
AHI	*Egrikalsa, Hausing na Indastri*	Agriculture, Housing & Industry
BZW	*Barclays de Zoete Wedd*	Barclays de Zoete Wedd
NAQIA	*Nesenel Agrikalsa na Kworentin Inspeksen Atoriti*	National Agriculture & Quarantine Inspection Authority
NCW	*Nesenel Kaunsil bilong ol Meri*	National Council for/of Women
PMGH	*Pot Mosbi Jenerel Haus sik*	Port Moresby General Hospital
PTC	*Pos na Telekominikesen*	Post & Telecommunication
UK	*Yunaitet Kingdom*	United Kingdom
UPNG	*Yunivesiti bilong Papua Niugini*	University of Papua New Guinea
VAT	*Veliu Eded Takis*	Value Added Tax

Table 25: General Incongruity of Sound & Spelling

4.1.6 Backformations

What happens in this process is often described as a form of simplification, as "words are analogically derived by deleting a suffix (or supposed suffix)" (Plag, 2003: 37). Examples from English are 'babysitter' → 'to babysit' and 'donation' leading to 'to donate'.

The corpus shows that speakers of Tok Pisin are linguistically creative: *opereta/opreta* 'operator' was borrowed first, followed by *operetim* 'to operate sth.', which then led to the backformation *operet* 'to operate'. Of course, it is also possible that the forms in question were borrowed as a whole, and that the examples below are not illustrations of a backformation process. However, only those cases are listed where the 'backformed' word appears later in the corpus.

aplikesen ➜ *aplai*		
YfO	**TP Word**	**ETr**
1986	*aplikesen*	application
1986	*aplaid*	applied
1991	*aplai*	to apply

arestim ➜ *ares*		
YfO	**TP Word**	**ETr**
1987	*arestim*	to arrest
2000	*ares*	an arrest

asosiesen ➜ *asosiet*		
YfO	**TP Word**	**ETr**
1977	*asosiesen*	association
1989	*asosiet*	associate

brukbrukim → bruk bruk		
YfO	**TP Word**	**ETr**
1978	*brukbrukim*	to break (into little pieces)
1980	*bruk bruk*	to be broken (into little pieces)

divelopmen → divelop		
YfO	**TP Word**	**ETr**
1977	*divelopmen*	development
1991	*divelopim*	to develop
1996	*divelopa*	developer
2001	*divelop*	developed

ekonomik → ekonomi		
YfO	**TP Word**	**ETr**
1986	*ekonomik*	economic
1989	*ekonomi*	economy

ekting → ekt (ek)		
YfO	**TP Word**	**ETr**
1977	*ekting*	acting
1988	*ek/ekt*	an act

gavman → gavana		
YfO	**TP Word**	**ETr**
1973	*gavman*	government
1982	*gavana*	governor

greduesen → greduet		
YfO	**TP Word**	**ETr**
1979	*greduesen*	graduation
1986	*greduet*	graduate

gritiman → gridi		
YfO	**TP Word**	**ETr**
1975	*gritiman*	'greedyman'
1992	*gridi*	greedy

indipendens → independen/indipenden		
YfO	**TP Word**	**ETr**
1974	*indipendens*	independence
1982	*independen*	independent

komanda → koman		
YfO	**TP Word**	**ETr**
1984	*komanda*	commander
1993	*koman*	command

operesen → operet		
YfO	**TP Word**	**ETr**
1977	*operesen*	operation
1987	*operetim*	to operate
1987	*opereta*	operator
2003	*operet*	to operate

sapotim ➞ sapot		
YfO	**TP Word**	**ETr**
1975	*sapotim*	to support
1982	*sapota*	supporter
1982	*sapot*	support

traim ➞ trai		
YfO	**TP Word**	**ETr**
1973	*traim*	to try
1983	*trai*	a try

trening ➞ tren		
YfO	**TP Word**	**ETr**
1974	*trening*	training
1978	*trenim*	to train
1978	*tren*	to train

Table 26: Backformations

4.1.7   Clippings

When a lexeme is deliberately shortened, i.e. when a part of the word is dropped either at the beginning or the end without changing the meaning or the word class, the result is a clipping. Both 'ad' from 'advertisement' and 'phone' from 'telephone' illustrate this for English, just as *poro* from *poroman* 'friend' and *yuni*, the clipped form of *yunivesiti* (modelled on English 'university' and 'uni') do for Tok Pisin.

Only five words in the corpus were considered to be proper clippings, namely *dis* (clipping *-pela*), *eksam*/*eksem* (dropping *-inesen*), *nap* (the 'common' word is *inap*), and the two forms already mentioned above, *poro* and *yuni*. The inclusion of *dis*, with only one occurrence, is debatable. Hapaxes are, however, considered to be indicators of potential new forms, and thus it is listed. *Gas/ges* (from 'gasolene',

'gas') and *poto* (compare the English short form 'photo' from 'photography') were not counted, as the expanded forms do not occur in the corpus.

4.1.8   Reduplication

As was already noted in chapter 3, there are several reduplications in Tok Pisin, i.e. cases where (part of) a word is repeated. Although Mühlhäusler *et al*. (2003: 32) come to the conclusion that "reduplication only plays a marginal role in Tok Pisin" and that "it is used to mark stylistic differences but not to extend the core grammar or core vocabulary", many illustrations (61 different constructions altogether) were found in the corpus. Both free and bound forms can be repeated. The following purposes can be distinguished:

- intensification of meaning (*brukbrukim* → 'break into many different pieces')
- recurrence (*traim traim* → 'try repeatedly')
- emphasis (*hariap hariap* → 'hurry extremely'; *planti planti* → 'very many')

For Mühlhäusler *et al*. (ibid.: 31f.) lexicalised reduplications occur due to borrowing (e.g. *purpur*, a grass skirt, from Tolai), are forms of onomatopoeia (*rokrok* 'frog'), are a more simple version of the English model ('onion' became *aniani* in Tok Pisin) and are used as a means of avoiding homophony (compare *sipsip*, 'sheep', and *sip* 'ship'). Morphological or inflectional reduplication, which is rare, unpopular and unproductive, according to the authors, is founded on the process of copying (calquing) and also the intensification of meaning. Tolai, which has *iu* 'wash something' and *iuiu* 'bathe', served as the model for Tok Pisin's *was*(*im*) 'to wash something' and *waswas* 'to bathe, to swim'. *Subsubim*, 'to push with all your might', intensifies *subim*, 'to push' (ibid.). Verhaar's approach (1995: 291ff.) is to distinguish phonetic and morphological reduplication. *Demdem* 'snail' illustrates the former, as there is no underlying form #*dem*, and *brukbruk* 'to fall apart in little pieces' the latter, as *bruk* can also stand on its own. Note that reduplications of bound forms also fall into the group of morphological reduplications. The preform #*har* is found in *harim*, *harharim* expresses 'to listen intently'. Finally, free forms can also be reduplicated, as *isi isi* 'carefully, slowly' and *wanwan* 'each' exemplify.

The influence of English on reduplication cannot be discerned. Cases such as *Ol i go lo stua, em baim **bukbuks** bilong tupela* 'They went to the store and he bought books

for the two of them.', given by Romaine (1992a: 219), did not occur in the corpus. Reduplication is neither used as a means of indicating the plural, nor was the English plural suffix -*s* added to a reduplicated form.

The corpus, especially the *Stori Tumbuna* texts, contains some reduplications that are not Tok Pisin words but originate from other indigenous languages, as in

> *Na em i karim **kirakira [girigiri]** i go na baim tupela pik na i lukautim i stap.*
> 'And he carried the cowry shells, bought two pigs and took care of them.'
> (ST 0270-79-06-09)

'Foreign', i.e. non-Tok Pisin words,[139] are translated by the compiler of the *Stori Tumbuna* texts, Thomas H. Slone, in square brackets. Neither the indigenous word nor his translation was included in the list of reduplications. The word *laulau*, however, although it is denoted as a Malay word by Steinbauer (1998), occurs in all three dictionaries and is therefore counted.

Reduplication is actively used as an internal means of creating new words in the corpus. Apart from the 'standard' purposes and examples, one interesting and highly complex case was found in the *Pes 3* corpus. Here, the author of the *Tok Win* section, a rumours column, coins a new form in connection with a hidden meaning:[140]

> *Ol i go na **pilpilai** wantaim ol <u>paia rais</u> nabaut long hap?*
> 3pl PR go and play with 3pl fire rice about PREP place?
> (P3-04-07-29-08-04-06)

The context here is that the author is commenting on the dubious behaviour and actions of some politicians. Although some of them are religious men, says the writer in the preceding sentence, the names of others appear to have already gone to hell (*bikpela paia*). What are they doing, he asks, are they toying with married women? The form in bold, ***pilpilai***, plays with both the reduplication and the word itself. The underlined words are a form of *tok bokis* and pick up this wordplay again by giving a new meaning to them: *paia rais*, 'burnt rice', refers to women who are no longer virgins but are married. This could even be an insinuation that the politicians are associating with prostitutes.

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[139] *Girigiri* can be found in Mihalic (1971) and Steinbauer (1998), though not in Schaefer (1992); *kirakira* is not contained in either of the three.

[140] See section 2.2.2.3 (stylistic expansion) for further details and examples.

4.2 Further Means of Enlarging the Lexicon

This chapter is concluded with three further methods of lexical expansion, all of which once again underline the impact of English on Tok Pisin. The category of multifunctionality is a special case insofar as it lists those lexical items that can simultaneously belong to two or more word classes. This feature, which is said to be a typical case of simplification and is thus most notably found in pidgins and creoles,[141] is also very common in Tok Pisin – and English. "One of the glories of English simplicity is the possibility of using the same word as a noun and verb" (Sapir, 1925: 114). Sapir gives several examples and goes on to say that "simplicity of English in its formal aspect is, therefore, really a pseudo-simplicity or a masked complexity".

As some examples in the synonymy section show, it is possible that some words which currently exist side by side with borrowed ones will sooner or later be ousted by the anglicised forms found in the adapted loans category. Finally, it must be said that incorporating words from English by simply adapting them to conform to the sound- and spelling-system of Tok Pisin – which has not even been standardised yet – is not exactly helping to reduce the number of homonyms. It is possible that, over time, the orthography of Tok Pisin will be changed towards English to decrease ambiguity. A good case in point is *pen*, where 'pain' could for instance become *pein*, and 'paint' might be spelt *pent* or *peint*.

4.2.1 Multifunctionality

This section could almost have been labelled 'zero derivation' or 'conversion' instead – but not quite. The reason can be found in Mühlhäusler:

> It is noted that the term 'multifunctionality' reflects what Hockett (1954) refers to as the item-and-arrangement approach to grammatical description. This approach focusses on the distribution of analytic units and shuns rules and processes as descriptive devices. By contrast, the terms 'conversion' or 'zero-derivation' imply that a basic category is converted into another category. […] I use the term multifunctionality as a neutral descriptor of an observable phenomenon […].
>
> (ibid., 2008: 76)

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[141] See e.g. Holm (2000: 108; 135) or Roberge (2006: 2405f.).

Thus, multifunctionality is not to be understood in the sense Smith uses it, "where a new item is derived from a different part of speech" (2002: 105). Instead, the examples chosen show the categorical indeterminancy of many words in Tok Pisin.[142]

TP Word	Corpus Example	ETr
antap	*Taim em i grisim diwai pinis na em yet i go sindaun long hul bilong diwai long* **antap** *tru.*	surface, summit, top
	Sampela samting ol prais bilong ol i **antap** *tru.*	high (expensive)
	Inivide i harim olsem na em i go **antap** *long diwai.*	up, on
kalabus	*Maski long sasim man na salim em long* **kalabus**.	prison
	Wok bilong dispela skwat em long painim ples we ol raskol save stap, painim ol **kalabus** *husat i ranawe…*	prisoner
	Na sapos aninit long 6 mun ol i ken i go bek olsem memba nating bihain long ol i pinis **kalabus**.	to serve one's time
	Tupela fridom paitman bilong Wes Irian i **kalabus** *yet long Bomana...*	imprisoned
laki	*Sapos yu win, em* **laki** *bilong yu.*	luck, good fortune; gambling
	Dispela de em i no **laki** *olsem ol arapela de.*	lucky, fortunate
	Laki *tru na i no gat arapela ka o man i sanap i stap long taim ka i bin ranawe.*	luckily, fortunately

Table 27: Multifunctionality

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[142] Recall that this is not a study on syntax; a categorisation into word classes is therefore not attempted.

There are a few multifunctional words whose use might be called unconventional in that they do not behave as one would expect based on their English models:

TP Word	Corpus Example	ETr
mining	*Nating i gut tu yumi mas klia long **mining** bilong kristen kantri.*	meaning, intention
	*…kosa bilong Balmain i tok sapos wanpela pilaia i **mining** long bagarapim narapela pilaia long fil,...*	
miting	*Long dispela **miting**, ol i bin pasim tok long wei bilong glasim na stretim ol hevi bilong 2000 Nesenel Senses.*	meeting, assembly
	*Nesenel Kot Rejistra, Lawrence Newel i tok ol bai **miting** pastaim na makim ol de bilong kot.*	
pilim	*Olsem **pilim** bilong dok em i gut long em.*	to feel
	*Olsem na ol i save **pilim** hangre tru.*	
politik	*Ol bikman bilong **politik** i wok long sutim pinga na poinim narapela memba…*	politic(s)
	*Mista Skate i bilip olsem dispela em i wanpela pasin **politik** bilong bagarapim ol sapota…*	

Table 28: 'Unconventional' Multifunctionality

In the second example sentence for *mining* one would have expected *min* instead ('…if a player is meaning to/means to injure another player on the field…'). To drop *-ing* from *miting* in the second case to form *mit* is problematic, as this means 'meat', and although the number of homonyms is high in Tok Pisin, it is used only in this sense in the corpus so far. The verb *pilim* is used as the noun 'feeling' only once in the corpus. Regarding *politik*, the form with the English plural suffix -s *politiks* is actually more common, but has not replaced the 'singular' form entirely yet. The second usage is probably modelled on *wok politik(s)*. Although *politikal* also exists, with one exception it always co-occurs with *pati* and was thus presumably not chosen here. Besides: 'politic' is also found in English. On the whole, deviations from the English model are not very common.

4.2.2 Synonyms

Synonyms are not normally dealt with in studies on word formation. Synonymy is not about forming (new) words, but is instead concerned with the meanings of words and their equivalence. According to Urdang (in McArthur, 1992: 1014), "[l]inguists and many writers agree that there is 'no such thing as a synonym'". As Brekle (1972: 90) put it: "Die traditionelle Auffassung des Synonymiebegriffs läuft also nicht auf eine restlose Identität der Bedeutungen zweier Wörter hinaus, sondern auf eine – wie auch immer im einzelnen definierte – *Sinnverwandtschaft*". Because of its instability (variable orthography, lack of standardisation), it is even more hazardous to speak of synonyms in Tok Pisin than in English. Despite heavy borrowing from English, which is leading to an ever-growing number of lexical items, there is still lots of room for interpretation in Tok Pisin. One word often has many meanings. A more suitable but more cumbersome heading for this section would have been 'words with similar meanings', and this is how the provided list of words is to be understood.

Additions to the lexicon can be found in the section on adapted loans, but a list of Tok Pisin synonyms is nevertheless included to make a point: While the 'adapted loans' category lists only words that were not given in either of the three dictionaries (Mihalic [1971], Schaefer [1992], or Steinbauer [1998]), a trend to replace firmly rooted indigenous words with anglicised terms already began at an earlier stage. It is the purpose of this segment is to illustrate this.

'Original' TP Word	Origin	Anglicised 'Synonym'	ETr
amamas	Malayan	*hepi*	happy
bombom	Malayan	*tos*	torch
bung	Gazelle peninsula	*miting*	meeting
dinau mani	Gazelle peninsula	*lon*	loan
diwai	Gazelle peninsula	*tri*	tree
liklik	Gazelle peninsula	*smol*	small
pipia	Gazelle peninsula	*rabis*	rubbish
sumatin	Melanesian	*skul manki/skul pikinini*	'school monkey', i.e. pupil

Table 29: 'Early' Anglicisation

Time will tell whether the two words will continue to be used in parallel, or whether the anglicised form will ultimately replace the indigenous one.

4.2.3 Homonyms

Just like synonyms, homonyms are customarily an area within semantics. But again, in order to expound the influence of English on the lexicon of Tok Pisin, some findings from the corpus are provided here.

The definition given by Allen/McArthur (in McArthur, 1992: 483) for a homonym is "[o]ne of two or more words that are identical in sound or spelling but different in meaning". Further, "lexicographers generally take the view that homonymy relates to different words whose forms have converged while polysemy relates to one word whose meanings have diverged or radiated" (ibid.: 795). Homophones (identical sound, different meaning) and homographs (identical orthography but dissimilar pronunciation) are not considered here, but polysemous words are included. Because of the more limited phoneme inventory of Tok Pisin, meaning there are few consonant clusters word-finally and basically no diphthongs, the incorporation of English lexical items into Tok Pisin invariably results in homonyms:

TP Word	ETr 1	ETr 2	ETr 3
gol	goal	gold	gall
hat	hot	hard	heart
kos	coast	cost	course
pen	pen	pain	paint
pilim	to feel	to fill (in/out)	
sip	ship	shift	

Table 30: Homonymy as a Consequence of Borrowing from English

In these cases, the reader is dependent on the context to be able to assign the correct meaning to the word in question.

Overall, with the exception of reduplication, the influence of English on the lexis of Tok Pisin becomes evident in all sections.

CONCLUSION

In the course of their history Papua New Guinea, and consequently Tok Pisin, have come under the influence of various countries and their respective languages. Words such as *save* from Portuguese *sabe* 'to know, knowledge', *kalabus* meaning 'prison' from Spanish *calabozo* and *blut* from German *Blut* 'blood' are still part of the lexis of Tok Pisin. The present study has demonstrated that no other language has been as influential as English, however; its impact on the lexicon of Tok Pisin is immense, and even firmly established indigenous words are being replaced with anglicised terms.

It has been shown that the history of Papua New Guinea is linked to the country's language policy – or rather its absence. The successive governments have had little interest in the development of Tok Pisin, and a language planning institute is still not in sight. Tok Pisin is currently one of the three official languages and is used in a variety of domains such as political debates and journalism. In a country with over 850 indigenous languages Tok Pisin is a common means of communication, and yet the main language of education is English.

Whether or not a (post-)creole continuum exists in Papua New Guinea has led to discussions among linguists. A summary of the arguments on both sides was given and critically assessed. Although the present study did not examine the syntax of Tok Pisin and therefore does not supply acrolectal and basilectal characteristics in detail, structural features from several linguistic domains were compiled. Examples from the literature as well as from the *Wantok* corpus show that Tok Pisin is changing in all categories, and many of these changes are caused by English. On the phonological level, for instance, there are now sometimes consonant clusters such as *dipatmen* → *dipatment* 'department' and diphthongs, as in *freit* 'freight'. Regarding semantics, adapted loans are displacing transparent constructions: *wokim haus* 'to work (a) house' is giving way to *bildim* from 'to build', and instead of *kamap bikpela* 'come up big' we may now find *gro* 'grow'.

CONCLUSION

The main aim of the present study was to investigate the extent of borrowing from English into the lexicon of Tok Pisin by analysing the *Wantok* corpus from 1972 to 2004.

The corpus was divided into the *Stori Tumbuna* and the *Pes 3* texts. The assumption that the *Stori Tumbuna* texts would provide a more rural variety and the *Pes 3* texts a more urban variety proved to be correct.

As with any other corpus, problems related to size, representativeness, balance, etc. also applied. The *Wantok* corpus is small when compared to other corpora of established languages, such as English; but then, a "huge corpus does not necessarily 'represent' a language or a variety of a language any better than a smaller corpus" (Kennedy, 1998: 68). Its 250,482 tokens make it far bigger than any other known written Tok Pisin corpus so far, and it extends over a period of 30 years. Problems with respect to analysing phonological transcriptions such as self-corrections, slips of the tongue and filler words, encountered by Romaine (1992a) and Smith (2002) in their spoken corpora, were of no concern. But of course some forms in the *Wantok* corpus were ambiguous too, and my interpretations might be debatable. Spelling mistakes and variants had to be dealt with as well, and decisions such as leaving out headlines might also not meet with general approval. With so many different lects that exist in parallel and no 'standard' variety, the *Wantok* corpus cannot purport to represent written Tok Pisin. Because it is not a general but a specialised corpus and focuses on only one type of text, generalising findings is a delicate matter. However, the exceptional status of *Wantok* outweighs at least some of these shortcomings. Being the only newspaper that is available in Tok Pisin, it influences both the spoken and the written forms of the language and is significantly involved in informal standardisation.

The corpus analysis confirmed my hypothesis that the proliferation of English would be visible at the lexical level.
Verhaar (1995: 11) states that in Tok Pisin "all affixes are suffixes", and even though the studies of Romaine (1992a) and Smith (2002) contain a section on morphology, the authors did not identify any prefixes. A total of 25 prefixes were found in the

Wantok corpus, however. We are, in all likelihood, dealing mostly with wholesale borrowing from English as opposed to a conscious awareness of morphemes and their functions, but the foundation for morphology becoming a rule-governed and systematic process seems to have been laid. Prefixes such as *eks-* 'ex-' and *ova-* 'over-' may be intentionally used in Tok Pisin word formation soon. Suffixes, by comparison, occur not only more frequently but also with more regularity. For instance *-ing* and *-sen* '-ion' were shown to be rather productive – even though productivity measures must be interpreted with care, as the size and composition of the corpus do not warrant definitive statements. Plural *-s*, borrowed from English, could be regarded as a trailblazer. Smith (ibid.: 71) remarks that it was noted as early as 1966 by Hall, and that "the use of the *-s* plural suffix is by now common in the speech of first language speakers, even if not yet consistently used" (ibid.: 75f.). With 53 tokens it is the second most frequent affix in the corpus after the agentive noun suffix *-a* '-ar/-er/-or' with 61 tokens.

Backformations of the type **traus ← trausis*, stemming from a speaker's misinterpretation of English 'trousers' (Romaine, 1992a: 238) were not found, but others such as *ares ← arestim* and *divelop ← divelopmen* were identified. Most affixes were not clipped but added, and the salient feature they share is the proximity to their English models. This was why the morpheme boundaries were drawn based on English, not Tok Pisin. We find *dipatmen* 'department' and *dipatsa* 'departure', and *-a* was considered to be the suffix here, not **-sa*. Correspondingly, *akaunten* 'accountant' was divided according to 'account + -ant', not *akaun + *-ten*. Hapaxes, indicative of productivity, were included and occurred frequently; this again suggests large-scale transfer of affixes from English to Tok Pisin. On the whole, the number of affixes found in the *Wantok* corpus speaks for itself and I would venture to suggest that Verhaar's label 'package loans' (1995: 25) will soon be outdated.

The ease with which English terms are taken over is the reason why the adapted loans category was the most prolific in the present study. The small number of circumlocutions, although they can still be found, could be taken as a sign that a term, once it has been defined, becomes part of the vocabulary. A term may not always have been adequately introduced, however, leading to confusion amongst those who do not speak English:

> *Ol pipel i no ken paul na ting olsem Nesenel Senses em i wankain olsem Nesenel Ileksen. […] Mista Kalamoroh i tok em i wari bikos planti pipel i ting nesenel senses em i nesenel ileksen.* (P3-00-04-06-06)
> The people must not be confused and think that the National Census is the same as the National Election. […] Mister Kalamoroh said he is worried because many people think the national census is the national election.

Adapted loans are replacing terms that were once common and transparent. *Haus mani* 'house money', for instance, does not even occur in the *Wantok* corpus anymore. It has been completely supplanted by *bank/beng/benk* 'bank', which was found 89 times.

Acronyms are also causing a disruption. Tok Pisin did not originally have the letters *c*, *q, x* and *z*. The 'Consumer Affairs Council' is spelled out as **Konsuma Afes Kaunsil** but is abbreviated to *CAC*; another case in point is the 'National Agriculture and Quarantine Inspection Authority', the *Nesenel Agrikalsa na Kworentin Inspeksen Atoriti* or *NAQIA*.

It was pointed out that the examples given for backformation must be taken with a pinch of salt, but the 16 cases listed were identified systematically: None of them were found in the word lists of Mihalic (1971), Schaefer (1992), or Steinbauer (1998), and the 'backformed' word had to appear later in the corpus than any of the other forms. *Aplai* from 'apply', recorded for 1991, was only included because *aplikesen* 'application' had already occurred in 1986; *draiv* 'drive', on the other hand, was left out, since it is listed in all three dictionaries.

Only five clippings were found in the *Wantok* corpus, so this is not (yet) a productive process in Tok Pisin.

Contrary to the claim made by Mühlhäusler *et al.* (2002: 32) that "reduplication only plays a marginal role in Tok Pisin" and that it is rare, unpopular and unproductive, the corpus yielded 61 different constructions. It is interesting to note that reduplication in the *Wantok* corpus does not appear to be influenced by English, but that it is an active internal process. Both free and bound forms are reduplicated: *ol […] i save **kros kros** na pait oltaim* (P3-80-06-28-01) 'they quarrel permanently and are always fighting' expresses recurrence, and *Ol i go na **pilpilai** wantaim...* (P3-04-07-29-08-04-06) 'they are toying with…' exemplifies the creativity of the process.

Multifunctionality, synonymy and homonymy were identified as further means of enlarging the lexicon. Since the present study did not investigate the syntax of Tok Pisin, the approach taken in the category multifunctionality is controversial, but my aim was to show the categorical indeterminancy of many Tok Pisin words. The juxtaposition of terms given in the list of synonyms again highlights the fact that borrowing from English is threatening to replace established and transparent words. Finally, it was shown that incorporating words from English by simply adapting them to conform to the sound- and spelling-system of Tok Pisin is creating a large number of homonyms. *Hat* can mean 'hard, difficult', 'hot', or 'heart', for instance, and *pes* may translate as 'face', 'first', or 'page'. The correct meaning can only be inferred from the context.

The omnipresence of English has been repeatedly stressed. Even when "there are equivalent pidgin [Tok Pisin] words, English is borrowed simply because English has more prestige" (Romaine, 1990: 198). It is stated on the *Wantok* website that its aim is "to try and standardize tok pisin and to reach as wide an audience as possible" (<http://www.wantokpng.org/>; 18 Oct. 2009). If *Wantok* really has the status of a sort of role model and sets the standard for Tok Pisin writing, the vocabulary used should be chosen with care. The attitude of children toward their own languages is tarnished by situations such as the one described by Romaine (1992a: 20), where a notice reveals quite plainly the hierarchy of language use. Pupils must by force think other languages are inferior to English. The rural variety I learned and spoke as a child growing up in Papua New Guinea was very colourful and charming, which is unfortunately less true of the variety found in the *Wantok* corpus. Until Tok Pisin is standardised and unless its uniqueness is acknowledged, it will become "more and more recognizably 'English'" (Wardhaugh, 2010: 83).

If this seems a little like an appeal to preserve Tok Pisin, then I am guilty as charged.

Em tasol.

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The Increasing Anglicisation of Tok Pisin:

An Analysis of the *Wantok* Corpus

Appendix

zur

Inaugural-Dissertation
zur Erlangung der Doktorwürde
der Philosophischen Fakultät III (Sprach- und Literaturwissenschaften)
der Universität Regensburg

vorgelegt von

Janna Lisa Zimmermann
aus Heidelberg

2010

Appendix A: Maps & Images

Map 1: Oceania (<http://go.hrw.com/atlas/norm_htm/oceania.htm>; 14. Aug. 2005)

Map 2: Papua New Guinea (<http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/australia/papuanewguinea_rel85.jpg>;

04 Sept. 2005)

Map 3: Colonial New Guinea (Romaine, 1992a: 13)

ENGLISH-BASED

- E1 *Bahamian CE*
- E2 *Caymanian E★*
- E3 Jamaican CE
- E4 Belizean CE
- E5 Bay Islands E★
- E6 Miskito Coast CE
- E7 Providencia and San Andrés CE
- E8 Costa Rican CE
- E9 Panamanian CE
- E10 Samaná E★
- E11 Virgin Islands CE
- E12 Dutch Windward Islands CE
- E13 Leeward Islands CE
- E14 Barbadian CE
- E15 Commonwealth Windward Islands CE
- E16 Trinidad and Tobago CE
- E17 *Guyanese CE*
- E18 *Sranan CE*
- E19 *Saramaccan CE*
- E20 *Ndjuka CE*
- E21 Gullah CE
- E22 Gambian Krio CE
- E23 *Sierra Leone Krio CE*
- E24 *Liberian CE*
- E25 *Nigerian PE*
- E26 *Fernandino CE*
- E27 *Cameroonian PE*
- E28 *Chinese PE* †
- E29 *Tok Pisin PE*
- E30 *Torres Strait PE*
- E31 *Australian CE*
- E32 Solomon Islands PE
- E33 Vanuatu PE

ENGLISH-BASED cont.

- E34 Norfolk Islands CE
- E35 Hawaiian CE

PORTUGUESE-BASED

- P1 *Popular Brazilian P★*
- P2 Cape Verdean CP
- P3 Guiné-Bissau CP
- P4 Gulf of Guinea CP
  (São Tomé Angolar
  Príncipe, Annobón CP)
- P5 *Indo-Portuguese*
- P6 Sri Lanka CP
- P7 Papia Kristang CP
- P8 Macanese CP
- P9 *Malayo-Portuguese* †

SPANISH-BASED

- S1 Palanquero CS
- S2 Papiamentu CS
- S3 Philippine CS

DUTCH-BASED

- D1 Negerhollands CD †
- D2 Berbice, Skepi CD
- D3 *Afrikaans★*

FRENCH-BASED

- F1 Louisiana CF
- F2 Haitian CF
- F3 Lesser Antillean CF
- F4 Grenada CF
- F5 Trinidadian CF
- F6 Guyanais CF

FRENCH-BASED cont.

- F7 West African PF
- F8 *Réunionnais★*
- F9 Mauritian CF
- F10 Rodrigues CF
- F11 Seychellois CF
- F12 Diego Garcia CF (Chagos Arch.)
- F13 Vietnamese PF†
- F14 New Caledonian PF†
- F15 Tayo CF

AFRICAN-, ASIAN-, AUSTRONESIAN- AND AMERINDIAN-BASED

- A1 *Eskimo Trade Jargon* †
- A2 *Chinook Jargon* †
- A3 *Mobilian Jargon* (†)
- A4 *Delaware Jargon* †
- A5 *Lingua Geral*
- A6 *Sango P/C*
- A7 Juba Pidgin Arabic
- A8 Nubi Creole Arabic
- A9 *Lingala*
- A10 *Kituba*
- A11 *Swahili P/C*
- A12 *Fanakalo*
- A13 Naga Pidgin
- A14 Baba Malay
- A15 Pidgin Japanese †
- A16 Hiri Motu
- A17 Pidgin Fijian
- A18 Pidgin Hindustani

BASED ON OTHER LANGUAGES

- O1 Pidgin Basque †
- O2 *Russenorsk* †
- O3 *Lingua Franca* †
- O4 Eritrean Pidgin Italian
- O5 Chinese Pidgin Russian †
- O6 Unserdeutsch

† Extinct
★ Semi-creole
Italics Spoken over a wider area
♦ Shown on map 2

Map 4: Pidgins & Creoles (Holm, 2000: xviii-xix)

Map 5: Caribbean Creoles (Holm, 2000: xx-xxi)

ENGLISH-BASED
E1 Bahamian CE
E2 Caymanian E★
E3 Jamaican CE
E4 Belizean CE
E5 Bay Islands E★
E6 Miskito Coast CE
E7 Providencia and San Andrés CE
E8 Costa Rican CE
E9 Panamanian CE
E10 Samaná E★
E11 Virgin Islands CE
E12 Dutch Windward Islands CE
E13 Leeward Islands CE
E14 Barbadian CE
E15 Commonwealth Windward Islands CE
E16 Trinidad and Tobago CE

ENGLISH-BASED cont.
E17 Guyanese CE
E18 Sranan CE
E19 Saramaccan CE
E20 Ndyuka CE

SPANISH-BASED
S1 Palenquero CS
S2 Papiamentu CS

DUTCH-BASED
D1 Negerhollands CD (†)
D2 Berbice, Skepi CD

FRENCH-BASED
F2 Haitian CF
F3 Lesser Antillean CF
F4 Grenada CF
F5 Trinidadian CF
F6 Guyanais CF

† Extinct
★ Semi-creole
Italics Spoken over a wider area

Image 1: Kinship System in Papua New Guinea (Browne, 1991: 15)

Appendix B: Terminology

To select the 'best' definitions from the plethora of possibilities is a difficult undertaking, and the choice probably largely depends on personal preferences. This compilation therefore simply mirrors what I found to be the most comprehensible terminological explanations. Occasionally, definitions are combined or, for the sake of clarification, additional information is added. The list is given in alphabetical order.

Term	Definition
acrolect	"The variety of language in a post-creole continuum closest to the standard or superstrate language" (Romaine in McArthur, 1992: 11).
adstrate	This is a language that is neither superstrate nor substrate, but in between (Holm, 2000: 12). When "two languages of roughly equal prestige are in contact, they are referred to as *adstrate* languages" (Arends *et al.*, 1995: 99).
attrition/ language death	We speak of attrition or language death when a language in its original location "gradually loses speakers to an encroaching language and is finally spoken only by bilinguals who lack native-speaker competence in the dying language" (Holm, 2000: 11).
basilect	"The variety of language in a post-creole continuum most different from the standard or superstrate language" is called the basilect (Romaine in McArthur, 1992: 109).
creole	Creoles are former pidgins (or jargons) whose functional and grammatical limitations and simplification have been eliminated and which now serve as fully-fledged languages that are usually standardised. Creoles are characterised by a considerably expanded and altered grammar and vocabulary (Bußmann, 1990: 427f.).
creolisation	We speak of creolisation when "a pidgin acquires native speakers" (Holm, 2000: 7). Creolisation may be seen as the opposite process of pidginisation, since what happens is not reduction but expansion (ibid.). A pidgin usually develops into a creole through nativisation. "However, many linguists would argue that **nativisation** of a pidgin is not the only route to creolehood" (Sebba, 1997: 108). They think the decisive factors are stabilisation and expansion.
decreolisation	Decreolisation "is a further development in which a creole gradually converges with its superstrate or lexifier language" (Romaine in McArthur, 1992: 271). It occurs in a linguistic environment in which the creole is heavily influenced by the superstrate. If the superstrate is associated with prestige and the creole is not supported officially, the creole continually incorporates all sorts of features from the superstrate, resulting in a (post-)creole continuum.

Term	Definition
dialect	A dialect can be defined as a regional or social variety of a language that differs from the standard language.
expanded pidgin	When, in a contact situation, "the simpler structure of the earlier pidgin is elaborated to meet more demanding communicative needs" (Holm, 2000: 5), an expanded pidgin results.
hybridisation	The blurring of boundaries between two languages is called hybridisation; it is similar to language mixing.
jargon	When "individuals simplify and reduce their language on an *ad hoc* basis" the result is "a *jargon* with no fixed norms" (Holm, 2000: 5). "Jargons are unstable both linguistically and socially. Moreover, they are not transmitted in any consistent way from speaker to speaker or generation to generation […]" (Mühlhäusler, 1986: 147).
koine	"When people speaking different geographical dialects of a language are relocated and thrown together in a new community, what is known as a **koine** often develops" (Lynch, 1998: 221). A koine is "a less drastically reduced variety than a pidgin" and it "shares mutual intelligibility with the superordinate language" (Romaine, 1988: 26).
koineisation	Koineisation is the process that forms a new mixed dialect out of two or more related dialects, whereby many shared features are kept while non-shared ones are removed. "[S]ome scholars call the initial stage in forming a standard language *koineization*" (McArthur/Romaine in McArthur, 1992: 563).
lexifier	This is the language from which pidgins and creoles draw their lexicon.
to lexify	When we connect a word from a natural language with a concept, then the concept is lexified.
lingua franca	This term refers to "any additional (often compromise) language adopted by speakers of different languages, as a common medium of communication for any purposes and at any level. A lingua franca may be either a fully-fledged language […] or a pidgin or creole […]" (Romaine/McArthur in McArthur, 1992: 606).
markedness	Markedness refers to the opposition between marked and unmarked elements of language. "A marked form is a non-basic or less natural form. An unmarked form is a basic, default form" (<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Markedness>; 01 July 2007).
mesolect	In a (post-)creole continuum, the mesolect is the "variety of language […] intermediate between *basilect* and *acrolect*" […] (Romaine in McArthur, 1992: 652).
nativisation	"The process by which a pidgin language becomes a creole" or - "The process by which a transplanted language becomes native to a people or place" (Kachru/McArthur in McArthur, 1992: 682).

Term	Definition
pidgin	A pidgin is an 'auxiliary' language used by speakers in additionto their vernacular to fill a communicative need (cf. Sebba, 1997: 14). "A pidgin is more stable [than a jargon for example] and has certain norms of meaning, pronunciation and grammar, although there is still variation resulting from the transfer of features from speakers' first languages" (Holm, 2000: 5). He names the following conditions that are required to distinguish a pidgin from other contact languages (ibid: 6): - social distance must be maintained between the speakers, otherwise the substrate speakers would eventually be able to speak the standard language - the languages are not closely related, otherwise the result would be koineisation
pidginisation	"Pidginization is that complex process of sociolinguistic change comprising reduction in inner form, with convergence, in the context of restriction in use" (Hymes, 1971: 84). Pidginisation refers to a simplification process that takes place "whenever and wherever people of linguistically different backgrounds are brought suddenly into contact" and have "elementary communication needs" (Todd, 1974: 10).
(post-)creole continuum	It is the result of decreolisation. A (post-)creole continuum describes "a chain of language varieties which arises linking a creole […] to its superstrate language […] via intermediate varieties […]" (Romaine in McArthur, 1992: 798). It "may develop when, after a period of relatively independent linguistic development, a post-pidgin or post-creole variety comes under a period of renewed influence from the lexifier language" (ibid.: 271).
(post-)creole variety	A (post-)creole variety is one that has lost most of its originally indigenous creole features, replacing them with traits of the superstrate (Holm, 2000: 10).
recreolisation	Recreolisation denotes "a movement by speakers towards the more 'creole' [basilectal] end of the linguistic spectrum" (Sebba, 1997: 225). It is the route "whereby a creole becomes further removed from its superstrate" (Romaine, 1988: 175).
relexification	When a language substitutes almost its entire vocabulary with new words, the process is called relexification (Sebba, 1997: 73).
substrate/ substratum	The substrate is a native language whose speakers have less power and accommodate more; the substrate language borrows words from the superstrate, "although the meaning, form and use of these words may be influenced by the substrate languages" (Holm, 2000: 5). Substratum refers to the native language of an indigenous people influenced by the language of a dominant people, as well as to its influence upon the dominating language (Bußmann, 1990: 754).

Term	Definition
superstrate/ superstratum	In a contact situation, the superstrate is the language whose speakers have more power (Holm, 2000: 5). This is because it is usually associated by the indigenous population with prestige and is often used in education (McMahon, 1995: 287). Superstrate can refer to the dominant language as well as its influence on the native language of the indigenous people (Bußmann, 1990: 756).
tertiary hybridisation	It occurs "when two or more groups of substrate speakers adopt the pidgin for communicating with each other" (Holm, 2000: 5); some scholars feel it is required for stabilisation.
variety	"We can use 'variety' to mean a language, a dialect, an idiolect or an accent; it is a term which encompasses all of these. The term 'variety' is an academic term used for any kind of language production, whether we are viewing it as being determined by region, by gender, by social class, by age or by our own inimitable individual characteristics" (Bauer, 2002: 4).
vernaculari- sation	Vernacularisation entails "the acceptance and use of a language in many different contexts and types of interactions" (Hudson/Eigsti, 2003: 4).

Appendix C: Word Formation Processes

1: Adapted Loans

2: Acronyms/Initialisms

3: Backformations

4: Clippings

5: Reduplication

6: Multifunctionality

7: Synonyms

8: Homonyms

Appendix C1: Adapted Loans

TP Word	Corpus Example	S	Y/Ed.	O	ETr	YfO	YIO
adjasmen	*see affix tables*						
administreta/ edministreta	*see affix tables*						
advetismen/ edvetismen	*see affix tables*						
Afeas/afes/affairs	*see affix tables*						
agrikalsa/ egrikalsa	*Ol eria olsem forestri, fiseris na **agrikalsa**.*	P3	98-04-09-01	28	agriculture	1977	2004
agrimen	*see affix tables*						
Ailans	*see affix tables*						
akaun	*Long dispela tripela sek, K120,000 i stap long tupela praivet beng **akaun** em...*	P3	92-05-07-02	5	account	1990	1998
Akauns	*see affix tables*						
akaunten	*see affix tables*						
Alaiens	*see affix tables*						
alauens/ alauwens/ alawens	*see affix tables*						
alokesen	*see affix tables*						
amendmen	*see affix tables*						

TP Word	Corpus Example	S	Y/Ed.	O	ETr	YfO	YIO
Ameriken	*see affix tables*						
anaunsa	*see affix tables*						
Ankondisenel	*see affix tables*						
apa	*see affix tables*						
apil	*...Kerry King i tok taim ol i statim dispela **apil** bilong ol, ol i kisim gutpela sapot tru...*	P3	95-09-21-01	12	appeal	1984	1995
apil	*...Mista Hanai Popon bai **apil** long dispela mekim save kot i givim long en.*	P3	84-06-16-01	12	to appeal	1984	1995
aplai	*Ol liklik grup olsem ol meri na ol yut i ken **aplai** long kisim dispela mani...*	P3	94-02-03-03	3	to apply	1991	1999
aplaid	*see affix tables*						
aplikesen	*see affix tables*						
apoinmen	*see affix tables*						
Apostolik	*see affix tables*						
apropriet	*Sapos ol wantaim ol kainkain liklik save olsem **apropriet** teknoloji.*	P3	88-08-04-01	1	appropriate	1988	1988
ares	*...long 1995 i kam inap long 1999 na ol plis i bin wokim 1551 **ares** tasol.*	P3	00-05-25-03	2	arrest	2000	2000
arestim	*see affix tables*						
Asisten	*see affix tables*						
Asistens	*see affix tables*						

TP Word	Corpus Example	S	Y/Ed.	O	ETr	YfO	YIO
asosiesen/ esosiesen	*see affix tables*						
asosiet	*...em i mausman bilong bot long invesmen na em i* **asosiet** *Dairekta bilong Noble Loans…*	P3	89-06-01-02	1	associate	1989	1989
atek	*Na long Fonde Mas 22, em bin kisim hat* **atek** *na ol i kisim em hariap i go long ICU...*	P3	01-03-29-02	2	attack	2001	2001
Atoni	*...dispela kot i mas go pas, na i NO stet solisita o loya bilong* **Atoni** *Jenerel.*	P3	97-10-02-03	1	attorney	1997	1997
atoriti	*see affix tables*						
Ats	*see affix tables*						
audita/odita/ oudita	*see affix tables*						
auns	*Dispela projek i save kamapim samting olsem 50,000* **auns** *gol long wan wan yia.*	P3	93-09-16-01	1	ounce	1993	1993
ausi	*Long Melben em wanpela* **ausi** *rul pilaia, Lee Mathews i baim 1,000 Australian dola fan.*	P3	91-05-09-03	1	'Aussie'	1991	1991
Australasien	*see affix tables*						
Australian/ Ostrelien	*see affix tables*						
autonomi	*… Sir Julius i tok em i no toktok long givim* **autonomi**.	P3	96-07-18-01	6	autonomy	1996	1996
awarenes/ aweanes/awenes	*see affix tables*						
awodim	*see affix tables*						
baga	*see affix tables*						

TP Word	Corpus Example	S	Y/Ed.	O	ETr	YfO	YlO
bai ileksen	*see affix tables*						
Baipatisen	*see affix tables*						
baisikol	*see affix tables*						
balens	*...sasim 15% takis long olgeta arapela pasbuk we* **balens** *bilong ol i aninit long K10,000 mak.*	P3	99-08-19-02	3	balance	1999	1999
balot	*Planti* **balot** *bokis i bin stap yet na dispela ol vot bilong ol kendiet [kendidet] bai senis.*	P3	99-07-08-03	2	ballot	1997	1999
Banks	*see affix tables*						
bareks	*see affix tables*						
bata	*see affix tables*						
batalion/betelion	*Em i stap wantaim 2IPIR* **batalion** *long Moem Bareks, Wewak long Is Sepik provins.*	P3	96-11-07-01	2	batallion	1996	2004
baundri	*...wok gut long lukautim ol* **baundri** *bilong wanwan kantri long raskol pasin.*	P3	01-03-29-01	1	boundary	2001	2001
beil	*Em i no stap ausait long* **beil** *we ol manmeri i ken lukim em na harim kot bilong em.*	P3	98-08-20-03	3	bail (law)	1996	2001
beis	*...gavman i givim bikpela wok kontrak i go long wanpela kampani i* **beis** *long Milen Be…*	P3	93-07-22-05	2	based	1993	2004
bekbensa	*see affix tables*						
ben	*Na bikpela* **ben** *bilong ol soldia bilong Indonesia i pilaim nesenel song bilong Papua Niugini…*	P3	77-02-05-02	1	band		
benevit	*...wanpela disisen long apim ritaimen* **benevit** *bilong ol memba long wan handet pesen...*	P3	93-02-25-02	1	benefit	1993	1993

TP Word	Corpus Example	S	Y/Ed.	O	ETr	YfO	YlO
bet	*Long ol dispela taim ol man i save laik* **bet** *wantaim ol poro bilong ol,...*	P3	04-05-13-04	24	to bet, to gamble	1973	2004
bil	*Long sem taim tu, telepon* **bil** *bilong haus sik em K22,393.99.*	P3	92-09-10-04	15	bill	1992	2000
bildim	*see affix tables*						
Bilding	*see affix tables*						
Biru	*...hevi bilong spakbrus na marasin nogut, gavman i kirapim Nakotiks* **Biru** *o bod.*	P3	94-05-12-02	1	bureau	1994	1994
biruaim	*see affix tables*						
bisnis	*see affix tables*						
bleda	*... na* **bleda** *(holim na rausim wara long bodi).*	P3	03-10-23-01	1	bladder	2003	2003
blowim	*see affix tables*						
bon	*Olsem tasol i go na 4-pela i dai na las* **bon** *tasol i stap.*	ST	1271-98-11-05	4	born (first-born)	1997	1998
Botanikel	*see affix tables*						
brans/brens	*Gavman bilong Somare bai traim long kirapim liklik* **brens** *bilong Divelopmen Beng ol i kolim AHI Beng.*	P3	82-08-14-02	3	branch	1979	1987
Brigadia/brigedia/ brigidia	*see affix tables*						
Britis	*see affix tables*						
bukim	*see affix tables*						
buldosa	*see affix tables*						
cents	*see affix tables*						

TP Word	Corpus Example	S	Y/Ed.	O	ETr	YfO	YIO
daiosis	*Ripot bilong ol sios woka insait long ol wan wan **daiosis** long kantri i soim...*	P3	94-05-12-02	2	diocese	1994	1998
Dairektas	*see affix tables*						
dairektori	*see affix tables*						
dam	*Ol i mas wokim bikpela raun wara tru (**dam**) long stapim ol posin i kam long faktori em bai ol i wokim gol long en.*	P3	83-01-15-02	1	dam	1983	1983
defisit	*Mista Vernon i tok, dispela **defisit** bai apim mani em BCL i mas bekim long Beng.*	P3	84-04-21-02	2	deficit	1984	1984
deit	*Opis bilong Mista Momis i tok ol i no putim yet wanpela **deit** long wokabaut bilong em...*	P3	96-11-07-01	2	date	1996	2001
Dekleresen	*see affix tables*						
demokratik/ Demokretik	*see affix tables*						
demokresi	*see affix tables*						
depo	*Pe bilong kopra long olgeta **depo** bai i go antap long K30 stat long 1 Janueri, 1992.*	P3	92-01-02-02	4	depot	1984	1992
developim/ divelopim	*see affix tables*						
developmen/ Divelopmen	*see affix tables*						
Difens	*Wokim wanpela Sitisen **Difens** Fos.*	P3	78-03-25-02	56	defence	1977	2004
digim/dikim	*see affix tables*						

TP Word	Corpus Example	S	Y/Ed.	O	ETr	YfO	YIO
Digri	*Mista Simet i bin greduet long Yunivesiti ov PNG wantaim Batsela ov Ats **Digri**.*	P3	86-08-09-02	1	degree	1986	1986
dil	*...Papua Niugini i no kisim gutpela kaikai long ol dispela kain **dil**.*	P3	04-07-29-08-04-03	1	deal	2004	2004
diman	*Em i tok gavman i no bin givim wanpela ansa long **diman** bilong ol...*	P3	01-08-02-05	1	demand	2001	2001
dip	*Em i go tasol wara i **dip** [daun] olsem na em i kalap i go daun na swim long painim huk.*	ST	1103-95-08-17	1	deep	1995	1995
dipatmen/ dipatment	*see affix tables*						
dipatsa	*see affix tables*						
diploma	*Weni Moka i wanpela nius ripota i stap wok wantaim NBC taim em pinisim **diploma** kos…*	P3	86-08-09-04	1	diploma	1986	1986
disain	*...piksa laplap bilong Papua Niugini na hangamapim long soim piksa na ol **disain** bilong PNG.*	P3	03-10-23-04	1	design	2003	2003
disaipel	*Na Holi Spirit i pulap long olgeta **disaipel**.*	P3	74-06-05-04	4	disciple	1974	1975
Disasta	*Mista Paulias i siaman bilong **Disasta** Komiti long Is Nu Briten.*	P3	89-01-05-01	3	disaster	1989	1998
disel	*Ol prais bilong bensin nau i stap olsem: petrol 1.7, **disel** 1.4, kerosin 2.8 na ges 1.5.*	P3	89-05-18-04	2	diesel	1989	1989
Disis	*Asisten seketeri bilong **Disis** Kontrol long PNG, Dokta Timothy Pyakalia i tokaut long dispela.*	P3	88-08-04-03	1	disease	1988	1988
disisen	*see affix tables*						
diskaun	*see affix tables*						

TP Word	Corpus Example	S	Y/Ed.	O	ETr	YfO	YlO
Disten	*Ol studen husat i stadi long Koles ov **Disten** Edukesen bai kisim K40 sabsidi fi…*	P3	92-12-17-01	2	distant	1992	1992
ditektiv	*see affix tables*						
divelop	*...ol inap skelim save na mani bilong ol wantaim yumi na yumi ken **divelop**.*	P3	01-11-15-02	4	develop	2001	2001
divelopa	*see affix tables*						
Divisen	*see affix tables*						
Doktas	*see affix tables*						
domestik	*...kisim indastriek [indastriel] eksen sapos Helt Dipatmen i no peim **domestik** maket alauwens...*	P3	99-02-11-03	2	domestic	1999	1999
dona	*see affix tables*						
doti	*see affix tables*						
drag	*...bisnis bilong ol **drag** nogut na mani londaring...*	P3	01-03-29-01	1	drug	2001	2001
draim	*see affix tables*						
dres	*Em i ran i go na het **dres** bilong em pundaun na bruk bruk na kundu tasol, em i holim.*	ST	0310-80-04-12	4	(head) dress	1980	1980
Eded	*see affix tables*						
Edita	*see affix tables*						
edministresen/ etministresen	*see affix tables*						
Edministretiv	*see affix tables*						
Eduketa	*see affix tables*						

TP Word	Corpus Example	S	Y/Ed.	O	ETr	YfO	YIO
edvais	*Em i tok olsem oposisen i kisim pinis sampela **edvais** long ol loya bilong ol...*	P3	99-02-11-02	3	advice	1998	1999
edvaisa	*see affix tables*						
edvaisim	*see affix tables*						
edvens	*...i bin kisim K20,000 insait long baset bilong ol pe olsem **edvens** long alauens bilong ka...*	P3	00-05-25-01	5	advance	1999	2000
edvetaising	*see affix tables*						
egens/ egens long	*Brukim marit i no wanpela rong **egens long** gavman.*	P3	77-08-20-02	12	against	1977	1997
egensim	*see affix tables*						
eid	*Em bin tok ol **eid** dona olsem AusAID, Nu Silan na Yuropien Yunien…*	P3	01-12-20-01	1	aid	2001	2001
ejensi	*see affix tables*						
ek/ekt	*...sapos dispela **ekt** i kamap lo insait long kantri, ol papa graun bai lus tru...*	P3	93-07-22-02	21	act	1988	2000
ekonomi/ikonomi	*Olsem bai **ekonomi** bilong PNG i ken kamap gut gen.*	P3	94-09-15-01	10	economy	1989	2001
ekonomik/ ikonomik	*see affix tables*						
Ekonomiks	*see affix tables*						
eks sevisman	*see affix tables*						
eks sevismanmeri	*see affix tables*						
eksam/eksem	*Ol dispela studen bai wokim ol **eksem** long ol yunivesiti senta long kantri bilong ol yet.*	P3	91-07-11-02	4	examination	1979	1996

TP Word	Corpus Example	S	Y/Ed.	O	ETr	YfO	YIO
eksaminesen/ ekseminesen	*see affix tables*						
ekselereta	*see affix tables*						
eksen	*see affix tables*						
Eksens	*Tasol ol arapela wok em ol i laik stap yet long Nesenel Gavman em Difens, Mani na Foren **Eksens** na Foren Polisi.*	P3	89-05-18-02	3	exchange	1989	1999
ekserts	*see affix tables*						
eksesaisim	*see affix tables*						
ekskus	*Wanpela **ekskus** bilong Minista Baing em nogut CIC i tromoi bikpela mani long kot gen...*	P3	97-10-02-02	1	excuse	1997	1997
ekspensen	*see affix tables*						
eksperiens/ ekspiriens	*Needham i gat moa long 40 yia **ekspiriens** long maining indastri long Papua Niugini...*	P3	92-09-10-03	3	experience	1992	2003
ekspot/expot	*Em i isi isi tru long givim **expot** kwota i go long Kumul Kopi kampani.*	P3	86-08-09-01	3	export	1986	1992
eks-soldia	*see affix tables*						
Ekstensen	*see affix tables*						
Ekting	*see affix tables*						
ekumenikal	*see affix tables*						
Embulens	*Sen Jon **Embulens**, YMCA, YWCA, YC, Skaut, Gaid.*	P3	78-03-25-02	1	ambulance	1978	1978

TP Word	Corpus Example	S	Y/Ed.	O	ETr	YfO	YIO
emegensi/ Emejensi/ imejensi	*Dairekta bilong Nesenel Disasta na **Emejensi** Komiti…*	P3	98-09-24-02	5	emergency	1989	1998
Emploimen/ employmen	*see affix tables*						
Emplois/emploi's/ employis	*see affix tables*						
Eneji	*Nau long dispela taim Minista bilong Minerals na **Eneji**, Mista Francis Pusal i stap long...*	P3	83-01-15-02	2	energy	1983	1986
enemi	*...bilong wanem na yupela i save kilim mipela ol snek olsem mipela i **enemi** bilong yupela?*	ST	0321-80-06-28	1	enemy	1980	1980
Enjiniaring	*see affix tables*						
enkwairi/Enkwari/ inkuairi/inkwari	*see affix tables*						
enrol	*see affix tables*						
enrolim	*see affix tables*						
enrolmen	*see affix tables*						
Enti Korapsen skwat	*see affix tables*						
enti VAT kot salens	*see affix tables*						
entropoloji	*see affix tables*						
eria	*Ol **eria** olsem forestri, fiseris na agrikalsa.*	P3	98-04-09-01	76	eria	1984	2004

TP Word	Corpus Example	S	Y/Ed.	O	ETr	YfO	YIO
erias	*see affix tables*						
Esian	*see affix tables*						
Evanjelikal	*see affix tables*						
evidens	*Olsem na em i laikim kot yet i stretim dispela samting nau, we ol i gat inap pepa wok o **evidens** pinis.*	P3	97-10-02-03	7	evidence	1997	2001
Eviesen	*Prins Tupouto'a i bin kisim Ailans **Eviesen** balus …*	P3	94-06-09-01	3	aviation	1986	2004
expendisa	*see affix tables*						
expot	*see affix tables*						
fail	*Em i tok bihain long em i kisim dispela **fail**, em go givim long Komisina Aigilo...*	P3	99-02-11-01	9	file, record, dossier	1999	1999
fain	*...bai ol i sanap long kot na kisim 12 mun kalabus o baim K400 **fain**.*	P3	84-06-16-02	1	fine, penalty (in money)	1984	1984
fainal/fainel	*Long nau yet i gat 4-pela gem i stap yet bipo long ol bikpela pilai bilong **fainel** bai kamap.*	P3	88-07-07-01	10	a/the final, end game	1985	1996
fainal/fainel	*Tasol ol i no inap long mekim ol **fainal** disisen.*	P3	96-01-04-01	10	final, ultimate, conclusive	1985	1996
fainans/Fainens	*Em i tok tu olsem long wankain taim, **Fainens** Dipatmen bai glasim …*	P3	94-09-15-01	25	finance	1985	1998
fainensel/finensel/ financial	*see affix tables*						
fam	*Planti **fam** i stap gut.*	P3	01-03-29-04	7	farm	1978	2003
fama	*see affix tables*						
fan	*Narapela samting, ol i toktok strong em, ol rurel divelopmen **fan** we gavman i wok long pasim.*	P3	99-02-11-02	19	fund	1983	1999

TP Word	Corpus Example	S	Y/Ed.	O	ETr	YfO	YlO
fandim	*see affix tables*						
fanding	*see affix tables*						
fasi wasi	*...husat i makim ken [gen?] wokabaut bilong ol tumbuna o **fasi wasi** angelo...*	P3	04-07-29-08-04-06	1	fuzzy-wuzzy	2004	2004
Fasiliti	*… kamap bilong Fiseris Kredit **Fasiliti**.*	P3	03-10-23-03	1	facility	2003	2003
faunding	*see affix tables*						
Federel	*Na ol i tok Nesenel Gavman i mas senis na kamap olsem kain gavman bilong Australia ol i kolim **Federel** Gavman.*	P3	89-05-18-02	1	federal	1989	1989
Feks	*Feks namba em long 9828620.*	P3	99-07-08-01	5	fax	1999	1999
fel	*...husat i **fel** long wok na traim long painimaut as bilong ol hevi i stap we.*	P3	92-01-02-05	1	to fail	1992	1992
fenim	*see affix tables*						
festival/festivel	*see affix tables*						
feveret	*Liklik brata kirap wokabaut i go kamap long dispela **feveret** nambis na putim ai go i kam.*	ST	1420-01-09-13	2	favourite	2001	2001
fi	*Yu pinisim skul **fi** bilong ol pikinini pinis o nogat?*	P3	03-07-17-07	17	fee	1977	2003
fil/fild	*Spot **fil** em i ples bilong pilai na amamas.*	P3	91-05-09-03	15	field	1979	2003
Filosofi	*Na nau em i wok long stadi long kisim Dokta ov **Filosofi** (PHD) long Australia Nesenel Yunivesiti long Kanbera.*	P3	86-08-09-02	1	philosophy	1986	1986
Fiseris	*see affix tables*						
Fiskel	*…Nesenel Gavman aninit long Nesenel **Fiskel** Komisin i daunim mani mak…*	P3	01-12-20-01	1	fiscal	2001	2001

TP Word	Corpus Example	S	Y/Ed.	O	ETr	YfO	YlO
fiul	*Mista Vele i tokaut olsem ol prais bilong **fiul** nau ui [i] stap olsem: petrol 42.7 toea...*	P3	89-05-18-04	1	fuel	1989	1989
flep	*...we fektori i stretim pinis na i no save kisim ol mit stret olsem ol lem **flep** na pok.*	P3	01-03-29-04	1	(lamb) flap	2001	2001
flet	*Misis Koroti na man bilong em bai i baim kompensesen long papa bilong **flet** 19...*	P3	89-01-05-02	3	flat, appartment	1980	1989
fok	*...plastik kontena we i gat ol dispela kemikol long ol em ol sip plastik plet, kap, spun, **fok**,...*	P3	99-08-19-01	1	fork	1999	1999
fomel	*see affix tables*						
fomim	*see affix tables*						
Food	*...ripot bilong **Food** na Agrikalsa Ogenaisesen (FAO) i soim...*	P3	00-05-25-04	1	food	2000	2000
foren	*Dispela **foren** risev pasbuk bilong kantri i bin sot olgeta.*	P3	98-04-09-01	36	foreign	1977	2004
Fores/forest	*Olsem na gavman i mas senisim dispela lo bilong **Fores** na kirapim ol liklik smol skel loging.*	P3	97-04-10-01	19	forest	1992	1999
forestri	*see affix tables*						
Fos	*Minista bilong Difens **Fos** long Papua Niugini, Peter Waieng i rausim Seketeri…*	P3	98-12-03-02	78	force	1978	2004
fowat	*Ol **fowat** bilong Panthers Phillip Lokombo […]*	P3	88-07-07-02	10	a forward	1988	1991
fowat	*Wests i mas kamap wantaim ol sampela bikpela pawa long **fowat** lain bilong ol…*	P3	88-07-07-01	10	forward	1988	1991
fowat	*Kepten Nathan Para yet bai i go pas long **fowat**.*	P3	91-05-09-02	10	forward	1988	1991
Fraud	*Plis **Fraud** Skwat na Nesenel Kapitel Distrik Komisen (NCDC) i kisim tok salens...*	P3	00-03-09-01	6	fraud	1993	2001

TP Word	Corpus Example	S	Y/Ed.	O	ETr	YfO	YIO
freit	*Tasol **freit** bilong ol ovasis sip i go daun long 22.3 pesen.*	P3	89-05-18-04	1	freight	1989	1989
fridom	*see affix tables*						
gad	*Taim gem i wok long ron, ol sekyuriti **gad** i wokabaut wantaim ol bikpela sotgan...*	P3	03-10-23-04	2	guard	2001	2003
Gaid	*Sen Jon Embulens, YMCA, YWCA, YC, Skaut, **Gaid**.*	P3	78-03-25-02	1	guide	1978	1978
gas/ges	*Ol prais bilong bensin nau i stap olsem: petrol 1.7, disel 1.4, kerosin 2.8 na **ges** 1.5.*	P3	89-05-18-04	5	gas	1978	1999
gaset/Geset	*NCDIC i tokaut long dispela nupela takis insait long Nesenel **Geset** bilong 7 Jun.*	P3	90-06-14-03	2	gazette	1989	1990
Gavana	*see affix tables*						
geit/get	*Mipela i go daun na sanap wantaim ol plisman bilong ami klostu long bikpela **get**.*	P3	89-02-09-01	3	gate	1989	1997
Geming	*see affix tables*						
Gems	*see affix tables*						
general/jeneral/ Jenerel	*...komanda bilong ami Brigedia **Jenerel** Jerry Singirok.*	P3	99-03-25-02	36	(brigadier)-general	1982	2004
general/jeneral/ Jenerel	*Jenerel menesa bilong Coca Cola, Chris Cameron i bin tokaut long dispela…*	P3	91-06-06-01	36	general (manager)	1982	2004
Giologi	*... long wanem kain hevi bai kamap long ol kain kos olsem **Giologi** na Edukesen.*	P3	91-07-11-02	1	geology	1991	1991
go hetim	*see affix tables*						
grasopa	*see affix tables*						

TP Word	Corpus Example	S	Y/Ed.	O	ETr	YfO	YIO
grasruts	*see affix tables*						
Greduesen	*see affix tables*						
greduet	*Mista Simet i bin greduet long Yunivesiti ov PNG wantaim Batsela ov Ats Digri.*	P3	86-08-09-02	1	to graduate	1986	1986
gren	*Mista Momis i tok gavman bilong em i bin redim rikaren gren baset inap long K2,565,000 milien.*	P3	01-12-20-01	17	grant	1988	2004
gren	*Las yia ol i go insait long gren fainal, na i lus long Tarangau.*	P3	91-05-09-01	17	grand, major	1988	2004
gridi	*see affix tables*						
gro	*… long helpim kamapim polisi bilong Gavman long kamapim ekonomik gro…*	P3	04-07-29-08-04-04	11	growth	1977	2004
gro	*Na nupela gras bai gro, bihain long ol sua i pinis.*	P3	87-05-14-01	11	to grow, to increase	1977	2004
groa	*see affix tables*						
groas/growas	*see affix tables*						
grup	*Long dispela grup, wanpela man namel long ol lapun em i gat 76 krismas olgeta.*	P3	86-10-02-04	82	group	1977	2004
haia	*see affix tables*						
Hau	*Hau bai yumi save?*	P3	03-09-04-05	3	how	1998	2003
hausing	*see affix tables*						
hekta	*Longpela bilong dispela hap graun em inap long 340 hekta.*	P3	86-06-21-01	2	hectar	1986	1992
Helt	*Wok painimaut bilong Helt dipatmen i luksave olsem dispela man i mas…*	P3	87-11-12-05	45	health	1974	2003

TP Word	Corpus Example	S	Y/Ed.	O	ETr	YfO	YIO
histori	*Misis Bandaranaike, namba wan praim minista meri long **histori** bilong graun...*	P3	77-08-20-01	2	history	1977	1997
Hol	*...na tripela i kaunim ol vot long Goroka YC Komyuniti **Hol**.*	P3	99-07-08-03	3	hall	1979	2000
holda	*see affix tables*						
holding	*see affix tables*						
holimpasim	*see affix tables*						
Hom	*...Dipatmen bilong Yut na **Hom** Afeas na planti arapela provinsal grup na oganisesen.*	P3	87-03-05-01	4	home	1987	1994
Honerabel	*see affix tables*						
hostes	*see affix tables*						
hostim	*see affix tables*						
huka	*see affix tables*						
humen/yumen	*Dokta Schurmann em i gat moa save long wok bilong **yumen** raits insait long Pasifik.*	P3	04-05-13-02	3	human	1997	2004
Ikwaliti	*see affix tables*						
ilektoral/ilektorel/ ilektrol	*see affix tables*						
ilektoret/ilektret	*see affix tables*						
ilektriksian	*see affix tables*						
Imigresen	*Imigresen opis i no inap painim wanpela asua long paspot na ol tok orait pepa bilong ol long stap insait long kantri.*	P3	90-06-14-02	2	immigration	1990	1990

TP Word	Corpus Example	S	Y/Ed.	O	ETr	YfO	YIO
impot	*…gavman i no tingim long daunim tu ol kain takis olsem* **impot** *takis, tarif na ol arapela takis moa.*	P3	97-10-02-01	2	import	1997	2004
Indastri	*Mista Brown Bai em i olpela Seketeri bilong dipatmen bilong Praimeri* **Indastri***.*	P3	85-12-14-04	19	industry	1978	2004
Indastriel	*see affix tables*						
Indastris	*see affix tables*						
Independen/ indipenden	*see affix tables*						
infilda	*see affix tables*						
inflesin	*see affix tables*						
infomesin	*see affix tables*						
insentiv	*...bihain long ol i karimaut ol maining sekta* **insentiv** *o malolo long takis we i wok stret pinis.*	P3	04-07-08-03	1	incentive	2004	2004
in-servis	*see affix tables*						
Inspeksen	*see affix tables*						
Inspekta	*see affix tables*						
institusen/ institution	*see affix tables*						
insurens	*see affix tables*						
Inta	*see affix tables*						
intanesenel/ intenesenel	*see affix tables*						

TP Word	Corpus Example	S	Y/Ed.	O	ETr	YfO	YIO
intarim/interim	*Em i tok dispela **interim** ripot bilong LRC i laikim palamen i strongim o senisim aslo...*	P3	87-03-05-01	4	interim	1987	1996
intaviua	*see affix tables*						
intelijens	*see affix tables*						
intenel	*Taim ol i kamapim **Intenel** Sekyuriti Ekt (lo), ol i toktok tu long strongim Vegrensi Ekt.*	P3	97-09-04-01	11	internal	1994	2004
intensiv	*see affix tables*						
invesmen	*see affix tables*						
Investigesen	*see affix tables*						
Investigetiv	*see affix tables*						
Isten	*see affix tables*						
iveluesen	*see affix tables*						
jasmen	*see affix tables*						
jastis	*see affix tables*						
jeles	*Bikpela brata tok olsem na em **jeles** long tingting bilong em yet i stap.*	ST	1254-98-07-09	9	jealous	1984	1998
Jenda	*...• Yumen Fridom na Raits, • **Jenda** Ikwaliti na • Lend Raits na Nesenel Risosis.*	P3	97-04-10-01	1	gender	1997	1997
junia	*Em i tok spes namel long ol bikpela sinia na **junia** pablik sevan i wok long go bikpela hariap tru.*	P3	91-07-11-01	3	junior	1991	2003
kabinet/kebinet	*Long Me 30, 1990 **kabinet** i putim tambu long tingting bilong katim timba long hap.*	P3	92-05-07-03	13	cabinet	1977	2003
kadet/kedet	*Ol **kadet** i aninit long 17 yia yet.*	P3	78-03-25-02	3	cadet	1978	2003

TP Word	Corpus Example	S	Y/Ed.	O	ETr	YfO	YIO
kalsa	*Piksa em long sait bilong **kalsa**.*	P3	04-07-29-08-04-06	19	culture	1976	2004
kasen	*Na tupela i gat wanpela **kasen** brata tu i stap na nem bilong em Wana.*	ST	0439-82-10-16	1	cousin	1982	1982
kastoma	*see affix tables*						
kaunseling	*see affix tables*						
Kaunsila	*see affix tables*						
kea	*Long nau tu, mak bilong ol pipel long ol **kea** senta i go antap gen.*	P3	94-06-09-02	13	care	1987	2001
kefiu	*Tasol **kefiu** i no wanpela nupela samting long ol raskolman.*	P3	98-11-07-02	17	curfew	1991	1996
keis	*Mista Eluh i tok loya bilong Mista Lasaro i bin putim aplikesen long "no **keis** sabmisen"...*	P3	01-03-29-02	2	case	2001	2003
kemikol	*...ol i yusim long karamapim ol kaikai long en i gat ol posin **kemikol** we i ken kamapim kensa…*	P3	99-08-19-01	6	chemical	1999	1999
kempein/kempen	*Dispela **kempein** bai i kisim olsem 1600 skul olgeta long kantri.*	P3	03-10-23-02	19	campaign	1982	2003
kempen/kempein	*Tasol em i lusim wok na i go **kempen** long eria bilong em.*	P3	84-07-21-02	19	to campaign	1982	2003
Keneri	*see affix tables*						
kensa	*...ol i save kamapim sik **kensa** bilong susu, lang, liva na blut (liukemia) long en.*	P3	99-08-19-01	2	cancer	1999	1999
kes	*Ripot i tok totol ripot bilong ol ripoted **kes** long NCDC stat long 1995 inap long 1999 em i 22242.*	P3	00-05-25-03	8	case	1992	2000
kes	*Namaliu i tok pe bilong sampela ol bikpela **kes** krop nau i go daun tru...*	P3	92-01-02-04	8	cash	1992	2000

TP Word	Corpus Example	S	Y/Ed.	O	ETr	YfO	YIO
kesim	*see affix tables*						
ketel/ketol	*Ol ples we ol **ketel** projek i stap long en em nau ol birua i long bagarapim ol hos...*	P3	03-09-04-03	2	cattle	2003	2003
ketsa	*see affix tables*						
ketsim	*see affix tables*						
kidni	*...**kidni** (klinim blut long poisin), ureters [urethra] (rop bilong pispis) na bleda (holim na rausim wara…*	P3	03-10-23-01	1	kidney	2003	2003
kipim	*see affix tables*						
kipim	*see affix tables*						
Kiping	*see affix tables*						
klen	*Tupela **klen** ya i save stap gut na amamas tu.*	ST	1210-97-09-04	15	clan	1995	2004
klos	*see affix tables*						
kodineita	*see affix tables*						
kol	*Mi save long sampela bek bensa husat i wok long kisim telepon **kol** long traipela nait...*	P3	03-07-17-06	14	(telephone) call	1974	2003
koles	*...na ol spesel **koles** bilong helt na plis na korektiv na ami na egrikalsa.*	P3	77-01-29-01	10	college	1977	1999
koltaim	*see affix tables*						
koman	*...Dipatmen bilong Not Solomon, Difens na Plis **koman** Fos long Buka…*	P3	93-07-22-04	1	command	1993	1993
Komanda	*see affix tables*						
Komes	*Mista Gerard Sinato, Minista bilong DPI na **Komes** insait long provins i bin opim dispela kibung.*	P3	86-06-21-01	5	commerce	1986	1996

TP Word	Corpus Example	S	Y/Ed.	O	ETr	YfO	YIO
komisen/ komisin	*see affix tables*						
Komisina	*see affix tables*						
Komon	*Komon Rol em i buk wantaim nem bilong olgeta manmeri husat i ken vot long ileksen.*	P3	01-03-29-03	14	common	2001	2001
kompaun	*Bihain em larim ol wokman i rausim, Moskito **kompaun**, 9 Mail setelmen na Asiawe setelmen.*	P3	95-05-11-03	1	compound	1995	1995
kompensesen	*see affix tables*						
kompetisen	*see affix tables*						
komplen	*Taim wok i kamap yet, i bin gat bikpela **komplen** long dispela.*	P3	98-04-09-03	22	complaint	1985	2004
komplen	*Sampela pipel i **komplen** pinis long dispela.*	P3	90-06-14-02	22	to complain	1985	2004
komputa/ kompyuta	*see affix tables*						
Komuniti/ komyuniti	*Em i asua bilong **komyuniti**.*	P3	77-02-05-01	44	community	1977	2004
komyunikesen	*see affix tables*						
kondisen	*…dispela nau em wanpela **kondisen** o laikim we ol BRA i laikim i kamap pastaim...*	P3	96-11-07-01	2	condition	1996	1998
kondom	*Husat ol lain i mas yusim **kondom**;…*	P3	00-03-09-03	9	condom	2000	2000
Konsevesen	*see affix tables*						
Konstabulari	*see affix tables*						
konstituensi	*Tasol i kam inap nau, olgeta **konstituensi** long Bogenvil…*	P3	96-11-07-03	5	constituency	1986	1996

TP Word	Corpus Example	S	Y/Ed.	O	ETr	YfO	YIO
Konstitusen	*see affix tables*						
Konstitusenel/ konstitusinel	*see affix tables*						
konstitusens	*see affix tables*						
Konstraksen	*see affix tables*						
Konsuma	*see affix tables*						
Kontek	*...nek bilong dispela meri i save kamap long **Kontek** progrem bilong NB...*	P3	86-08-09-04	1	contact	1986	1986
kontena	*see affix tables*						
kontrakta	*see affix tables*						
kontrola	*see affix tables*						
kontrolim	*see affix tables*						
Konvensen	*Konvensen Senta bilong Islander Travelodge i mekim wanpela nupela senis...*	P3	94-02-03-01	1	convention	1994	1994
koporesen/ kopresen	*see affix tables*						
Korapsen	*see affix tables*						
Koreksenel	*see affix tables*						
korektiv	*see affix tables*						
kosa	*see affix tables*						
Kostal	*see affix tables*						

TP Word	Corpus Example	S	Y/Ed.	O	ETr	YfO	YIO
krai aut	Nau ol lain bisnis i **krai aut**, bai bisnis bilong ol i dai...	P3	78-10-14-01	1	to cry out	1978	1978
Kraim	Insait long Nesenel Siries **Kraim** Samari ripot Plis Minista na memba bilong Lufa...	P3	00-05-25-03	1	crime	2000	2000
kredit	...ol papa bilong ol stoa na bisnis bai i kisim 10 pe sen **kredit** long ol...	P3	99-07-08-01	3	credit	1999	2004
krik	Yu mas slip na mi go raun liklik na bihainim dispela **krik** [liklik wara].'	ST	0379-81-08-15	1	creek	1981	1981
kriminel	see affix tables						
krop	Namaliu i tok pe bilong sampela ol bikpela kes **krop** nau i go daun tru...	P3	92-01-02-04	2	(cash) crop	1992	1995
kubik	...SFR i bilip i gutpela bilong katim timba long ol na i no olsem ripot i tok 2 milion **kubik** mita.	P3	99-03-25-01	2	cubic (metre)	1999	1999
kwaliti	…500 arapela wokmanmeri bai i wok olsem **kwaliti** kontrola long glasim gut wok…	P3	00-06-01-07	2	quality	2000	2000
kwarenten	Nupela **kwarenten** Kem i mas stap ausait long Vanimo haus sik.	P3	84-04-21-03	1	quarantine	1984	1984
kwata	...na long dispela ol i yusim pinis K101,500,95 insait long namba wan **kwata** tasol.	P3	00-05-25-01	1	quarter	2000	2000
kwestenim	see affix tables						
kwikpela	see affix tables						
kwota	Em i isi isi tru long givim expot **kwota** i go long Kumul Kopi kampani.	P3	86-08-09-01	1	quota	1986	1986
Laisensing	see affix tables						
laki	see affix tables						

TP Word	Corpus Example	S	Y/Ed.	O	ETr	YfO	YlO
lang	*…bikos ol i save kamapim sik kensa bilong susu,* **lang**, *liva na blut (liukemia) long en.*	P3	99-08-19-01	3	lung	1987	1999
laspela	*see affix tables*						
Leba	*Dipatmen bilong* **Leba** *na Emploimen i givim tok orait long ol i kam wok insait long kantri.*	P3	90-06-14-02	11	labour	1983	1994
lebol	*...ol dispela kemikol na ol dispela nem i stap long* **lebol** *bilong ol.*	P3	99-08-19-01	1	label	1999	1999
Ledi	*...ol Oposisen memba olsem* **Ledi** *Carol Kidu, Andrew Baing,*	P3	99-07-08-04	1	Lady	1999	1999
legislesen	*Na tu i no stret i stap insait long bil o* **legislesen** *we i toktok long kamapim senis long sistem bilong provinsal gavman insait long kantri.*	P3	95-05-11-04	2	legislation	1995	1995
lem	*...we fektori i stretim pinis na i no save kisim ol mit stret olsem ol* **lem** *flep na pok.*	P3	01-03-29-04	1	lamb	2001	2001
len/lend	*...gavman i mas stapim praivetaisesen na* **len** *mobilaisesen.*	P3	01-08-02-05	8	land	1986	2003
Lens	*see affix tables*						
lepova	*Orait bai ol i yusim* **lepova** *mani long mekim ol narapela wok bihain long wok bilong kaunim ol pipel i pinis.*	P3	00-04-06-06	1	left-over	2000	2000
lida	*see affix tables*						
lidasip	*see affix tables*						
Lig	*Em i orait, PNG Ragbi* **Lig** *resis i stap.*	P3	04-07-08-05	22	league	1985	2004
ligal	*Morobe provinsal* **ligal** *opisa bai makim provinsal gavman na ol loya long opis bilong pablik solisita bai makim Stet.*	P3	91-07-11-03	2	legal	1983	1991

TP Word	Corpus Example	S	Y/Ed.	O	ETr	YfO	YIO
lika	*...Mista Zeming long Spot, Kalsa na **lika**, Mista Avini long Fiseris...*	P3	96-01-04-01	2	liquor	1996	1996
Limited	*see affix tables*						
lis	*... long taim **lis** bilong gavman i bin pinis long 20 Julai, 1981.*	P3	86-06-21-01	3	lease	1986	1986
liukemia	*...ol i save kamapim sik kensa bilong susu, lang, liva na blut (**liukemia**) long en.*	P3	99-08-19-01	1	leukaemia	1999	1999
liva	*…bikos ol i save kamapim sik kensa bilong susu, lang, **liva** na blut (liukemia) long en.*	P3	99-08-19-01	2	liver	1999	2003
lodim	*see affix tables*						
lon	*Dispela em long opim dua long ol pipel i ken kisim ol isi **lon** o dinau mani long mekim wok...*	P3	03-10-23-03	2	loan	2003	2003
loya	*see affix tables*						
loyas	*see affix tables*						
loyolti	*see affix tables*						
maigresen	*see affix tables*						
main	*Na ol pipel i wok insait long dispela **main**, i kam long Australia, Amerika, Filipin na...*	P3	83-01-15-02	13	mine	1983	2000
maining	*see affix tables*						
Mains	*see affix tables*						
maketim	*see affix tables*						
Marin	*...bikpela tok pait bai kirap namel long Minista bilong Fiseris na **Marin** Risoses, Mista Neville Bourne…*	P3	87-05-14-02	2	marine	1987	1997

TP Word	Corpus Example	S	Y/Ed.	O	ETr	YfO	YIO
Mask	*...olsem wanpela wanwok i bin lukim long ai bilong em long **Mask** Festivel long Rabaul...*	P3	04-07-29-08-04-06	1	mask	2004	2004
maskot	*...em wanpela **maskot** ol i kolim Dr Rabbit i save mekim wokabaut raun bilong em na tokaut.*	P3	03-10-23-02	1	mascot	2003	2003
matmatim	*see affix tables*						
Medikal	*Medikal Suprintendan bilong dispela haus sik, Dokta Thomas Kubu i tok dispela sua long skin bilong ol i "nogut tru".*	P3	87-05-14-01	1	medical	1987	1987
mejik	*Em i kisim bilum bilong em na mekim ol **mejik** [posin] singsing na wanpela bikpela palai i kamap.*	ST	1222-97-11-27	3	magic	1997	2004
mejistret	*Dispela kot i kamap aninit long **mejistret** Rakatania Matayo...*	P3	98-08-20-03	14	magistrate	1977	2003
Melanesian/ Melanesien	*see affix tables*						
membasip	*see affix tables*						
Menesa/menija	*see affix tables*						
menesim	*see affix tables*						
menesmen	*see affix tables*						
mentenens	*see affix tables*						
Mes	*...dispela bosman i ken putim long het tebol long Opisas **Mes** na sindaun long em...*	P3	03-01-02-01	2	mass, service	2003	2003
metol	*...prais i bin pundaun long maket bilong ol **metol**, oil, timba na ol agrikalsa kaikai na saplai.*	P3	98-04-09-01	1	metal	1998	1998
midia	*Ol i save tromoi ol kain kain toktok na yusim **midia** long salim ol dispela paol toktok...*	P3	04-07-08-05	3	media	2004	2004

TP Word	Corpus Example	S	Y/Ed.	O	ETr	YfO	YIO
Midieta	*see affix tables*						
milien/milion	*Nesenel Gavman bai givim K5 **milien**.*	P3	01-12-20-01	78	million	1979	2004
Militari/militeri	*...Sief ov Staf bilong Difens na Komanda bilong **Militari** Plis.*	P3	89-02-09-02	2	military	1989	2004
Minerals	*see affix tables*						
Minerel	*see affix tables*						
Mini	*see affix tables*						
minimam/ Minimum	*...ol i makim komiti pinis long glasim gen ol wok bilong **Minimum** Wejes Bot...*	P3	98-12-03-04	2	minimum	1984	1998
Mis	*Mis Lavu na Mis Drapuluvik i tupela savemeri long wok bilong senses.*	P3	00-06-01-07	20	Miss	1977	2000
misim	*see affix tables*						
Mobail	*...taim plis **Mobail** Skwat bilong Hagen i go long hap long painim meri ya.*	P3	93-02-25-03	1	mobile	1993	1993
mobilaisesen	*see affix tables*						
monitaim	*see affix tables*						
monitoring	*see affix tables*						
muvi	*see affix tables*						
muvim	*see affix tables*						
Muvmen	*see affix tables*						
Nakotiks	*see affix tables*						

TP Word	Corpus Example	S	Y/Ed.	O	ETr	YfO	YIO
nat	*...baim rais, wit, kon, sorgam, ol kumu, mit, pis, gris, wel, bia, frut na **nat** long arapela kantri.*	P3	00-05-25-04	1	nut	2000	2000
Nesenal/nesenel/ nesenol	*see affix tables*						
Nesens	*see affix tables*						
news/nius	*see affix tables*						
nid	*...kantri i no gat **nid** long moa mani i no stret.*	P3	99-02-11-02	2	need	1996	1999
nidim	*see affix tables*						
nominesen	*see affix tables*						
non-	*see affix tables*						
Noten	*see affix tables*						
notis	*see affix tables*						
nudels	*see affix tables*						
numonia	*...Mista Genia i bin kisim tu sik **numonia** na lewa bilong em i no wok gut.*	P3	93-07-22-01	1	pneumonia	1993	1993
Objektivs	*see affix tables*						
odeli	*see affix tables*						
of/ov	*Tasol em bai i no inap long baim fi bilong lukautim ol klasrum o bod **ov** menesmen fi.*	P3	92-12-17-01	36	of	1985	2004
Ofens	*… aninit long seksen 7 (b) bilong Samari **Ofens** lo.*	P3	96-01-04-02	1	offence/offense	1996	1996
ofisa/opisa	*see affix tables*						

TP Word	Corpus Example	S	Y/Ed.	O	ETr	YfO	YIO
oganaisesen/ oganaisesin/ oganisesen/ ogenaisesen	*see affix tables*						
ogenaisim	*see affix tables*						
ogenik	*… aninit long **ogenik** lo bilong dispela kantri.*	P3	01-08-02-02	3	organic (law)	2000	2001
okid	*Nau yumi lukim **okid** plawa, wanem kain samting dispela plawa i makim em yumi i no klia yet…*	P3	84-04-21-05	2	orchid	1984	1984
Olympik	*see affix tables*						
on	*"Kam **on** Dokta Pok, yu mas klia gut pastaim bihain long yu mekim giaman toktok...*	P3	99-03-25-02	4	on	1986	2003
on	*Mista Kaputin i bin putim **on** swis bilong kirapim masin bilong brukim kopa long belo taim…*	P3	86-09-11-01	4	on	1986	2003
onas	*see affix tables*						
opening	*...Chris Haiveta, i bin stap tu long **opening** wantaim bos bilong Curtain Brothers kampani...*	P3	98-04-09-04	2	opening	1998	1998
operesen/ opresen	*see affix tables*						
opereta/opreta	*see affix tables*						
operetim	*see affix tables*						
opisal/opisel	*see affix tables*						
Opisas	*see affix tables*						
oposisen	*see affix tables*						

TP Word	Corpus Example	S	Y/Ed.	O	ETr	YfO	YlO
ova draft	*see affix tables*						
ova sis	*see affix tables*						
ova taim	*see affix tables*						
ovasis	*see affix tables*						
pablik	*Tasol em i no samting bilong rait i go long Wantok Niuspepa na putim long **pablik**, nogat.*	P3	74-07-17-03	121	the public	1974	2004
pablik	*Ol **pablik** sevan na ol tisa i no kisim wanpela alokesen long baset bilong dispela yia.*	P3	01-12-20-01	121	public	1974	2004
paket/peket	*...na insurens we ol i ken bungim wantaim na baim long wanpela **peket** tasol.*	P3	03-09-04-01	1	packet	1990	2003
Palamentari/ palamenteri	*see affix tables*						
pankrias	*...**pankrias** (wok bilong em long skelim gutpela na nogut kaikai o dring),...*	P3	03-10-23-01	1	pancreas	2003	2003
Papuan	*see affix tables*						
pasindia	*see affix tables*						
patrolim	*see affix tables*						
peimen/pemen	*see affix tables*						
Pemenen	*Tasol i mas go aninit long **Pemenen** Palamentari Riferel Komiti.*	P3	95-05-11-01	1	permanent	1995	1995
Pemit	*...na givim aut ol Wok **Pemit** bai i redi long kamap lo long narapela sindaun bilong palamen...*	P3	04-07-29-08-04-04	1	permit	2004	2004
penelti	*...aninit long dispela nupela "Minimam **Penelti** lo" em gavman i bin sanapim las yia.*	P3	84-06-16-01	1	penalty	1984	1984

TP Word	Corpus Example	S	Y/Ed.	O	ETr	YfO	YIO
peris	*Tasol, nau mitupela i ken klia, **peris** i mas baim katekis…*	P3	76-11-27-05	3	parish	1976	1976
Pesonal	*see affix tables*						
petisen	*...sanap ausait long palamen long bringim ol **petisen** i go long gavman.*	P3	97-03-27-01	1	petition	1997	1997
pilaia	*see affix tables*						
pilaim	*see affix tables*						
pinim	*see affix tables*						
Pipels	*see affix tables*						
piramid/pyramid	*...na helpim ol long stapim ol lain i gat laik long statim ol '**pyramid**' skim.*	P3	00-04-06-03	4	pyramid	2000	2000
pistol	*Na ol i sasim ol tu long holim **pistol** we i no gat tok orait na laisens long en.*	P3	93-09-16-02	2	pistol	1988	1993
Pits	*Pits bilong Gasel, Maggie Vanalu i gat biknem long Mendi.*	P3	85-12-14-01	1	pitcher	1985	1985
pitsa	*see affix tables*						
pitsim	*see affix tables*						
platpela	*see affix tables*						
plena	*see affix tables*						
plenim	*see affix tables*						
Plening	*see affix tables*						
poins	*see affix tables*						

TP Word	Corpus Example	S	Y/Ed.	O	ETr	YfO	YlO
polisi	*Dispela **polisi** buk tu bai helpim wok bilong ICRAFT yet long strongim ol wok na progrem bilong ol.*	P3	97-04-10-01	41	policy	1977	2004
politik	*Ol bikman bilong **politik** i wok long sutim pinga na poinim narapela memba…*	P3	78-09-02-01	3	politics	1978	1995
politik	*Mista Skate i bilip olsem dispela em i wanpela pasin **politik** bilong bagarapim ol sapota*	P3	00-03-09-01	2	political	1986	2000
politikal/ politikel	*see affix tables*						
politiks	*see affix tables*						
politisen	*see affix tables*						
polyethylene/ polythylene	*see affix tables*						
polypropylene	*see affix tables*						
polyvinyl	*see affix tables*						
populesen	*see affix tables*						
posen	*...Gavman Stua, DCA **posen** 908, Bilia Maus Rot seksen 116, 117 na posen 1011...*	P3	01-12-20-03	6	portion, allotment	2001	2001
posisen	*Dispela **posisen** em i no posisen we mipela yet i kamapim.*	P3	04-05-13-04	16	position	1991	2004
posta	*see affix tables*						
praimari/praimeri/ praimmeri	*see affix tables*						
praivet	*Tasol planti **praivet** kampani i sapotim em long mani.*	P3	91-05-09-04	20	private	1985	2004

TP Word	Corpus Example	S	Y/Ed.	O	ETr	YfO	YIO
praivetaisesen/ praivetaisesin	*see affix tables*						
preferensel	*see affix tables*						
prensip	*see affix tables*						
presa	*…taim ol hevi na **presa** i kam long nesenel gavman,…*	P3	96-11-07-03	1	pressure	1996	1996
primia	*Dispela em ol kain strongpela sanap we leit **primia** i bin mekim we i no bin pundaun.*	P3	96-11-07-03	57	premier	1982	2000
Primias	*see affix tables*						
primiasip	*see affix tables*						
Prins	*Prins bilong Tonga, **Prins** Tupouto'a i bin go long Bogenvil aste bilong glasim ol samting...*	P3	94-06-09-01	4	Prince	1986	1994
prisisen	*see affix tables*						
Privensen	*see affix tables*						
problem	*...ol i noken kesim ol sek bilong ol bikos CMB i gat **problem** wantem [wantaim] mani.*	P3	98-09-24-01	1	problem	1998	1998
prodak	*Kaunsil i askim ol bisnis haus long salim tasol ol **prodak** we i gutpela...*	P3	99-08-19-01	6	product	1995	1999
produsa	*see affix tables*						
produsas	*see affix tables*						
Profesa	*see affix tables*						
projek/prosek	*Selvesen Ami i wok long **projek** o helpim long ol dispela kantri long helpim ol pipel long hap.*	P3	95-09-21-01	80	project	1978	2004

TP Word	Corpus Example	S	Y/Ed.	O	ETr	YfO	YIO
promosen	*see affix tables*						
promotim	*see affix tables*						
propa	*Roosters i bin pilaim tripela gem pinis long sisen **propa** resis.*	P3	91-05-09-02	3	proper	1991	1991
pro-Pangu	*see affix tables*						
proposel	*see affix tables*						
prosekuta/ prosekyuta	*see affix tables*						
protes	*Em bai inap long bikpela **protes** i kamap long Vanimo taun.*	P3	86-10-02-01	11	protest	1982	2001
protes	*...long harim olsem ol Difens Fos i **protes** long Mosbi…*	P3	89-02-09-04	11	to protest	1982	2001
Provinsal/ provinsel	*see affix tables*						
pusim	*see affix tables*						
raba	*see affix tables*						
rabit	*Long wanem Santa Klaus i sambai long kamautim mausgras na givim long **rabit**.*	P3	85-12-14-02	5	rabbit	1985	2003
raits	*see affix tables*						
referandum/ referendum	*...wanpela kain sistem olsem **referendum** o rot bilong kisim tingting bilong ol pipel...*	P3	04-07-08-04	2	referendum	1998	2004
reforestesen	*see affix tables*						
refuji	*see affix tables*						

TP Word	Corpus Example	S	Y/Ed.	O	ETr	YfO	YIO
regional/riginel/ rijenal/rijenol/ rijinal/rijinel/ rijinol/rijonal/ rijonel	*see affix tables*						
registra/rejistra	*see affix tables*						
regulesen	*see affix tables*						
reguletori	*see affix tables*						
rejista	*Seketeri i tok Komiti i no **rejista** wantaim Opis bilong Indastriel Rejistra.*	P3	92-01-02-03	3	to register	1992	1994
rejistresen	*see affix tables*						
rekod/rekot	*...Dipatmen bilong Fainens na Plening i sekap nau long ol ripot na **rekot** bilong ol.*	P3	93-02-25-01	19	record, file	1987	2004
rekomendesen/ rekomondesen	*see affix tables*						
resistens	*see affix tables*						
restron	*...na salim ol hos mit long K600 i go long ol **restron** ol Esia lain insait long siti i papa long en.*	P3	03-09-04-03	1	restaurant	2003	2003
ret	*...prais bilong petrol i 9.0 pesen na ges 4.7 pesen Eksens **ret** tu i go antap…*	P3	89-05-18-04	9	rate	1982	1999
Reveniu/revenyu	*Na opis bilong kisim takis (Intenel **Reveniu** Komisin) tu i mekim pablik tok save…*	P3	99-08-19-02	4	revenue	1999	2004
Revoluseneri/ revolusinari	*see affix tables*						

TP Word	Corpus Example	S	Y/Ed.	O	ETr	YfO	YIO
Revren	*...na ol i bungim pinis wantok na Unaitet Pasta **Revren** Amini na meri bilong ol.*	P3	86-10-02-04	1	reverend	1986	1986
rida	*see affix tables*						
Riferel	*see affix tables*						
rifom	*Em i tok ekspensen bilong gred 7 na 8 prosek, aninit long **rifom** sistem, i kam aninit long wanwan provins.*	P3	96-07-18-03	14	reform	1987	2003
rijektim	*see affix tables*						
rijen/rijin/rijon	*Planti kantri insait long rijon i no save helpim narapela kantri long **rijon** yet...*	P3	01-03-29-01	20	region	1982	2003
Rikruting	*see affix tables*						
Rilesen	*see affix tables*						
Rilesens	*see affix tables*						
ringim	*see affix tables*						
Rinumeresen	*see affix tables*						
Ripablik	*...na kamapim kantri blong ol yet ol i kolim '**Ripablik** bilong West Papua'.*	P3	98-09-24-03	1	Republic	1998	1998
ripita	*see affix tables*						
ripota	*see affix tables*						
ripoted	*see affix tables*						
ris	*Ol pipel i save nau olsem ol minista na memba i **ris** man.*	P3	82-05-22-01	1	rich		
risain	*… Mista Jones na Mista Kemaken i **risain** pinis.*	P3	88-12-15-02	16	resign	1988	1998

TP Word	Corpus Example	S	Y/Ed.	O	ETr	YfO	YlO
Rises	*Dairekta bilong Nesenel **Rises** Institut (NRI), Dokta Wari lamo, i bin tokaut long dispela wik…*	P3	94-09-15-01	4	research	1986	2000
risev	*Dispela foren **risev** pasbuk bilong kantri i bin sot olgeta.*	P3	98-04-09-01	7	reserve	1998	1999
risorts	*see affix tables*						
risos	*… wok bilong **risos** projek.*	P3	92-09-10-03	6	resource	1992	1999
risoses/risosis	*Ol meri tu i mas stap insait long pasin bilong toktok long ol **risosis** long bus na graun o solwara.*	P3	97-04-10-01	6	resources	1987	1997
rispek/rispekt	*Planti bilong ol pipel i no gat **rispek** long ol memba bilong ol.*	P3	82-05-22-01	7	respect	1982	2001
rispektim	*see affix tables*						
ritaia	*... "Long taim mi **ritaia** bai mi go bek long ples …*	P3	86-06-21-01	3	retire	1983	2003
ritaimen	*see affix tables*						
Ritening	*see affix tables*						
riting	*see affix tables*						
rives	*Long taim em i tanim ki, ka ya i **rives** i go autsait na i go bamim flet namba 19...*	P3	89-01-05-02	2	reverse	1989	1989
rives	*Ka i mas stap long **rives** gia long taim man bilong em i pasim aninit long haus.*	P3	89-01-05-02	2	reverse	1989	1989
riviu/rivyu	*Long wanem Konstitusenel **Rivyu** Komisin, aninit long nesenel gavman, i wokim dispela ol senis hariap tumas.*	P3	95-05-11-01	10	review	1995	2004
Riwod	*Riwod o prais long K1000 bai i go long man husat i givim ripot long husat lain i wok long kilim ol hos…*	P3	03-09-04-03	1	reward	2003	2003
Rol	*Komon **Rol** em i buk wantaim nem bilong olgeta manmeri husat i ken vot...*	P3	01-08-02-04	18	roll	1982	2001

TP Word	Corpus Example	S	Y/Ed.	O	ETr	YfO	YIO
rolim	*see affix tables*						
rul	*Hia em sampela **rul** ol pipel i mas bihainim insait long dispela luksave:*	P3	96-06-20-01	2	rule	1991	1996
Sab kontrakta	*see affix tables*						
sabmisen/ submisen	*… aplikesen long "no keis **sabmisen**" …*	P3	01-03-29-02	5	submission	2001	2004
sabseksen	*see affix tables*						
sabsidi	*Ol studen long ol vokesinel skul tu bai kisim K150 **sabsidi** fi i kam long gavman.*	P3	92-12-17-01	9	subsidy	1992	1996
Saimis	*see affix tables*						
sain	*Lapun meri i givim **sain** pinis na ol meri i laitim paia.*	ST	0569-85-05-04	9	sign	1977	2003
sainim	*see affix tables*						
Salaris	*see affix tables*						
salens	*Nau mipela i bungim **salens** bilong sevim autsait sapot long kamapim baset.*	P3	99-08-19-03	14	challenge	1991	2001
salensim	*see affix tables*						
salvesen/ selvesen	*Mista Nalau i mekim dispela toktok long opim Red Sil Apil bilong ol lain **Selvesen** Ami long Lae long las wik.*	P3	95-09-21-01	7	salvation	1994	1995
samons	*see affix tables*						
sans	*Ol pipel bai nogat **sans** long autim tingting bilong ol.*	P3	95-05-11-01	22	chance	1982	2004
saplai	*Mista Ward i tok wara **saplai** bilong siti i gutpela wara.*	P3	87-11-12-05	16	supply	1981	1998
saplaim	*see affix tables*						

TP Word	Corpus Example	S	Y/Ed.	O	ETr	YfO	YIO
saplimentari	*see affix tables*						
sapot	*Em i givim **sapot** bilong em na pati bilong em long dispela lo.*	P3	03-07-17-03	38	support	1982	2004
sapota	*see affix tables*						
sapotim	*see affix tables*						
sarts	*see affix tables*						
sas	*Em i tok ol papa bilong PMV husat i holim kain laisens olsem bai kisim bikpela **sas** tru.*	P3	87-11-12-02	32	charge, fine	1975	2001
sasim	*see affix tables*						
saspen	*Mista Ezekiel Brown i kisim **saspen** na lusim wok Menesing Dairekta bilong NPF...*	P3	85-12-14-04	4	suspension	1985	1993
saspen	*Long wanem sapos provinsal gavman i **saspen**, bai i gat wok painimaut i kamap...*	P3	93-02-25-02	4	to suspend	1985	1993
saspendim/ saspenim	*see affix tables*						
sataim	*see affix tables*						
satalait/setelait	*Long wankain taim tu PTC bai putim **satalait** telipon i go long Konga...*	P3	93-08-26-03	2	satellite	1993	2004
Saten/Sauten	*see affix tables*						
sea	*Ol i bin baim 300,000 **sea** long wanpela wel kampani...*	P3	89-06-01-02	8	share	1982	2004
sedisen	*...ol bai kisim bikpela sas bilong **sedisen** long dispela...*	P3	89-12-03-01	4	sedition	1998	1999
sefti	*see affix tables*						

TP Word	Corpus Example	S	Y/Ed.	O	ETr	YfO	YIO
seif	*Wantok i bin askim tu long ol Tupperware […] sapos ol dispela samting tu i **seif** o nogat.*	P3	99-08-19-01	1	safe	1999	1999
sek	*...ol i noken kesim ol **sek** bilong ol bikos CMB i gat problem wantem [wantaim] mani.*	P3	98-09-24-01	13	cheque	1980	1998
seketeriat/ seketeriet/ sekreteriat	*Dispela apil, Manus Provinsal Gavman yet i askim rijinal **seketeriet** loya bilong ol insait long dispela 2-pela wik.*	P3	84-06-16-01	9	secretariat	1977	2003
sekim	*see affix tables*						
seksen	*Ol senis bai kamap aninit long **seksen** 1 na 14 long ripot bilong SRC.*	P3	91-07-11-01	17	section	1987	2004
sekta	*Sir Michael i tok praivet **sekta** i makim pinis dispela hevi olsem namba wan samting...*	P3	04-07-29-08-04-04	10	sector	1996	2004
sekyurity/sekuriti	*see affix tables*						
sel	*...i bin sasim na lokim em long Badili plis **sel** na ol bin autim em bihain long 20 minit..*	P3	01-03-29-02	32	cell	1982	2001
Selek/selekt	*Ol mausman bilong wan wan komyuniti i bin kamapim dispela **Selek** Komiti.*	P3	89-05-18-02	3	select, chosen, special	1989	1989
selektim	*see affix tables*						
self/selp	*see affix tables*						
selpis	*see affix tables*						
semi	*see affix tables*						
semim	*see affix tables*						
sempel	*Kaunsil i salim ol **sempel** long ol samting i go pinis long Konsuma Intenesenel Rijinel opis...*	P3	99-08-19-01	1	sample	1999	1999

TP Word	Corpus Example	S	Y/Ed.	O	ETr	YfO	YlO
Sen	*Tok bilong **Sen** Pol long 1 Korin 2,9 tu i no helpim mipela.*	P3	78-03-25-01	8	Saint	1978	2001
senia/sinia	*Ol **sinia** opisa long opis bilong praim minista i belhat tru…*	P3	03-09-04-02	20	senior	1977	2003
senses	*Em i tok aste olsem **senses** em i gutpela samting bilong helpim kantri...*	P3	00-05-25-05	76	census	2000	2000
senta	*Ol dispela studen bai wokim ol eksem long ol yunivesiti **senta** long kantri bilong ol yet.*	P3	91-07-11-02	30	center	1974	2000
sentipit	*Em dispela **sentipit** i wok long kaikaim bel bilong em.*	ST	0517-84-04-28	11	centipede	1984	1985
sentral/sentrel	*see affix tables*						
seperesen	*see affix tables*						
seremoni	*Insait long wanpela liklik marit **seremoni** long Mosbi 6 Me, wanpela yangpela aipas man i bin marit.*	P3	89-06-01-01	2	ceremony	1989	1998
serim	*see affix tables*						
setelmen	*see affix tables*						
sevan	*Moa long 35,000 pablik **sevan** i save putim mani bilong ol long wanpela fan...*	P3	89-06-01-02	33	servant	1982	2001
Sevilens	*see affix tables*						
sevis	*see affix tables*						
Sevises	*see affix tables*						
Sief/sif	*Tasol **Sief** ov Staf long Difens Fos hetkota long Murray Bareks...*	P3	96-11-07-01	26	chief	1980	2003
siefs	*see affix tables*						

TP Word	Corpus Example	S	Y/Ed.	O	ETr	YfO	YIO
sifilis	*...husat i gat HIV o sik AIDS na tu wantaim ol arapela sik nogut olsem gonoria na* **sifilis**.	P3	00-03-09-03	1	syphilis	2000	2000
sift	*Em i tokim ol dokta olsem ol bai wok* **sift** *yet long haus sik.*	P3	92-01-02-03	1	shift	1992	1992
signesa	*...em i no inap tok orait long wanem ripot bilong Mista Bia i nogat adres na i nogat* **signesa**.	P3	00-05-25-01	1	signature	2000	2000
Sil	*Bikos wok bilong Red* **Sil** *em hap wok bilong gavman long mekim, olsem na ol i mas sapotim.*	P3	95-09-21-01	7	seal	1995	1995
Sir	*Na ol i save olsem* **Sir** *Julius, em i wanpela bisnis man.*	P3	82-05-22-01	172	Sir	1977	2004
Siries	*Insait long Nesenel* **Siries** *Kraim Samari ripot Plis Minista na memba bilong Lufa...*	P3	00-05-25-03	1	serious	2000	2000
sisen	*Roosters na Brothers bai i traim bun long bikpela* **sisen** *propa gem bilong Wau Bulolo Lig...*	P3	91-05-09-02	6	season	1988	1991
sisis	*see affix tables*						
sistem	*Sapos em i pilai wantok* **sistem** *na politiks yet bai em i wokabaut, em i tok.*	P3	99-07-08-02	42	system	1989	2004
sit	*...pasin long mekim opis bilong Gavana Jenerel olsem wanpela* **sit** *long nesenel gavman.*	P3	04-05-13-04	16	seat	1973	2004
siti	*Nupela haiwe long Mosbi* **siti** *em ol i kolim long Poreporena Haiwe...*	P3	98-04-09-04	47	city	1982	2004
siting	*see affix tables*						
sitisen	*Ol i no* **sitisen** *bilong dispela kantri...*	P3	87-11-12-01	6	citizen	1978	2001
siut	*Em i painim painim na em i painim sampela* **siut** *bilong mipela wan wan.*	P3	77-02-05-02	3	suit	1977	1977
Sivil	*Minista bilong* **Sivil** *Eviesen, Kalsa na Turisim...*	P3	86-08-09-02	2	civil	1986	2004

TP Word	Corpus Example	S	Y/Ed.	O	ETr	YfO	YIO
Skaut	*Sen Jon Embulens, YMCA, YWCA, YC, **Skaut**, Gaid.*	P3	78-03-25-02	1	scout(s)	1978	1978
sken	*...Pasifik Intanesenel haus sik i wokim ol **sken** o kisim piksa long insait na ausait long bodi...*	P3	03-10-23-01	1	scan	2003	2003
skim	*Sapos gavman i no tok orait long dispela **skim** bai mipela kisim bek hap graun bilong mipela...*	P3	86-06-21-01	8	scheme	1986	2004
Skoa	*Skoa i bin stap 46-14 na 5 minit tasol i bin stap long pilai.*	P3	88-07-07-02	2	score	1988	1991
skoa	*Bikos ol fowat pilaia bilong Raiders i gat nem long supim het i go insait long trai lain na **skoa**.*	P3	91-05-09-02	2	to score	1988	1991
skoim	*see affix tables*						
skram	*Olgeta taim em i go insait long **skram**, em i mas save olsem bal i mas kam aninit long lek...*	P3	91-05-09-01	1	scrum	1991	1991
skrutinia	*see affix tables*						
skwat	*Wok bilong dispela **skwat** em long painim ples we ol raskol save stap...*	P3	88-12-15-02	11	squad	1984	2001
skwata	*see affix tables*						
smail	*...lukim tupela kum katim o naispela meri stret i sindaun antap long kanu na **smail** long em.*	ST	1117-95-11-23	1	to smile	1995	1995
smatpela	*see affix tables*						
So	*So em tasol wari bilong mi.*	P3	76-06-26-03	6	so, well	1974	2000
soka	*...bai yu lukim ol yangpela stail meri bilong Australia anda 19 **soka** tim i kam long Mosbi...*	P3	04-04-22-04	3	soccer	1976	2004
solisita	*see affix tables*						
Solomons	*see affix tables*						

TP Word	Corpus Example	S	Y/Ed.	O	ETr	YfO	YIO
sosal/sosel	*Putim ol* **sosel** *sevis i go insait long ol rurel eria.*	P3	96-11-07-02	12	social	1986	2000
sosioekonomik	*see affix tables*						
sotim	*see affix tables*						
spea	*Ol* **spea** *pat bilong ka i antap moa moa yet.*	P3	79-12-01-02	4	spare	1977	1979
spendim/spenim	*see affix tables*						
spesel	*Long Janueri 1986 John i bin go long* **spesel** *skul long Australia….*	P3	89-06-01-01	16	special	1977	2004
spesels	*see affix tables*						
splin	*...***splin** *(save rausim ol blut nogut na pait egensim ol binatang nogut)…*	P3	03-10-23-01	1	spleen	2003	2003
sponsa	*Na Hiri Moale Festival komiti i amamas tru olsem Coca Cola kampani i tokaut long givim* **sponsa** *long ol inap long tripela yia olgeta.*	P3	91-06-06-01	2	sponsor	1991	1991
sponsarim/ sponsorim	*see affix tables*						
spot	*Insait long dispela progrem ol i toktok long pasin bilong pait insait long* **spot***.*	P3	91-05-09-03	9	sport(s)	1986	2003
Spots	*see affix tables*						
stabiliti	*see affix tables*						
stadi	*Na tu em i bihainim wanpela* **stadi** *ol i bin mekim...*	P3	83-01-15-01	8	study	1983	1999
stadi	*Ol studen husat i* **stadi** *long Koles ov Disten Edukesen bai kisim K40 sabsidi fi...*	P3	92-12-17-01	8	to study	1983	1999
stadim	*see affix tables*						

TP Word	Corpus Example	S	Y/Ed.	O	ETr	YfO	YIO
Stadis	*see affix tables*						
Staf	*Mista Kanin em i olpela Sief of **Staf** (Bosman bilong wokmanmeri)...*	P3	86-09-11-03	5	staff	1986	1996
stafing	*see affix tables*						
stail	*Tasol ol yangpela pilaia i gat moa **stail** bilong pilai.*	P3	91-05-09-01	13	style	1985	2004
stail	*Olsem na meri ya i bilas **stail** moa na go.*	ST	1223-97-12-04	13	stylishly	1985	2004
stailim	*see affix tables*						
stem	*Nupela 35t **stem** i kam long Nu Hanova.*	P3	79-02-20-02	6	stamp	1979	1979
step	*...saplimentari baset i soim nambawan **step** long inapim dispela ol as tingting.*	P3	99-08-19-03	4	step	1981	2004
Stet	*Senis bai givim pawa long ol kot long tok orait sapos **Stet** i ken kilim man...*	P3	91-06-06-05	22	state	1989	2004
Stetestiks/ Stetistiks	*see affix tables*						
stetistikal/ Stetistikel	*see affix tables*						
Stetistisen	*see affix tables*						
stok	*...dispela ol samting we ol i salim long ol stoa long dispela taim em ol olpela **stok** ya.*	P3	99-07-08-01	1	stock	1999	1999
straik	*Na i no sanap strong long astingting bilong **straik** bilong ol.*	P3	98-12-03-01	11	strike	1989	2004
straik	*...tokwin i bin raun insait long Mosbi siti long Tunde olsem ol PMV bas draiva bai **straik**...*	P3	04-05-13-04	11	to (go on) strike	1989	2004

TP Word	Corpus Example	S	Y/Ed.	O	ETr	YfO	YIO
straksa	*Dispela i min olsem, aninit long nupela **straksa** o sistem, ol sumatin husat i stap long gred 8…*	P3	96-07-18-03	5	structure	1989	2003
Straktarel	*see affix tables*						
strit	*Mi no save lukim ol kalap long PMV na raun long **strit** olsem ol wantok bilong ol.*	P3	04-07-08-05	3	street	2003	2004
Studens	*see affix tables*						
supa anuesen/ supranuesen	*Mani ol i kisim long pinis bilong ol em 2.5 taim moa long mani ol i bin putim pinis long **supa** anuesen fan.*	P3	83-01-15-01	7	superannuation	1983	1989
supaintenden/ suparintenden/ Superintenden/ suprintendan/ suprintenden	*see affix tables*						
supamaket/ supamarket	*see affix tables*						
supavaisa	*see affix tables*						
supavisen	*… ol fainensel sekta **supavisen** …*	P3	00-04-06-01	1	supervision	2000	2000
Suprim	*Suprim Kot i sindaun long 30 Me...*	P3	91-06-06-02	26	supreme	1980	2001
swingim	*see affix tables*						
swip	*...ol i laik pilai sampela kain gem long kat olsem pilai **swip**, foka, las kat, seven lip na kwin.*	P3	75-05-14-01	1	sweep	1975	1975
swipim	*see affix tables*						
switim	*see affix tables*						

TP Word	Corpus Example	S	Y/Ed.	O	ETr	YfO	YlO
taifoid	*Long mun Me i bin gat tupela ripot bilong sik **taifoid** i bin kamap long Mosbi na Sentral provins...*	P3	87-11-12-05	2	typhoid	1987	1987
taip	*John i bin go long spesel skul long Australia na em i kisim save long **taip**, lukautim swisbot...*	P3	89-06-06-01	1	to type	1989	1989
taitel	*"Ol pipel i mas kisim bek **taitel** bilong graun."*	P3	97-04-10-01	2	title	1997	2003
takol	*...wanpela yangpela Brisben pilaia i bin dai, bikos long wanpela strongpela **takol** long fil.*	P3	91-05-09-03	2	tackle	1991	1991
takol	*Pilaia husat i **takol** i sanap nau long kot.*	P3	91-05-09-03	2	to tackle	1991	1991
tali	*...bikos ol i bin kamap long sentrel **tali** rum long patrol bokis.*	P3	99-03-25-03	1	tally	1999	1999
tanel	*...bipo long go insait long **tanel**, ausait long Stop n Shop supamaket long Waigani.*	P3	98-04-09-03	1	tunnel	1998	1998
tarif	*...gavman i no tingim long daunim tu ol kain takis olsem impot takis, **tarif** na ol arapela takis moa.*	P3	97-10-02-01	1	tariff	1997	1997
tasim	*see affix tables*						
Task	*...em i bin askim long kisim fail bilong Investigetiv **Task** Fos long lukim.*	P3	99-02-11-01	7	task	1993	1999
teblim	*see affix tables*						
teknoloji	*see affix tables*						
Teksesen	*see affix tables*						
Telekominikesen/ telekomyunikesen	*see affix tables*						
televisen/telivisen	*see affix tables*						

TP Word	Corpus Example	S	Y/Ed.	O	ETr	YfO	YIO
Tems	*see affix tables*						
toi	*...ol bebi i wok long gat tit i save pilai wantaim long ol, ol **toi** na ol kap nudels.*	P3	99-08-19-01	3	toy	1999	1999
tokautim	*see affix tables*						
top	*Bikpela brata Muyen em **top** man bilong painim abus long bus.*	ST	0819-90-03-15	4	top, qualified	1985	1998
totol	*Ripot i tok **totol** ripot bilong ol ripoted kes long NCDC stat long 1995 inap long 1999 em i 22242.*	P3	00-05-25-03	1	total	2000	2000
trai	*Magani i skoim wanpela **trai** na wanpela gol tasol.*	P3	88-07-07-02	5	try	1983	1991
traibel	*see affix tables*						
traibunal/traibunel	*Na Jas Salika i pasim **traibunel** long asde.*	P3	92-05-07-04	5	tribunal	1992	2001
transfe	*...olgeta man, nem bilong ol i stap long lista bilong **transfe** long nupela wok, bai inap long painim wok.*	P3	83-01-15-03	2	transfer	1983	1983
transfe	*...notis bilong painim nupela wok bilong ol man husat bai **transfe** i go long narapela dipatmen i kamap.*	P3	83-01-15-03	2	transfer	1983	1983
tras	*Bringim bek **tras** long arapela bodi.*	P3	99-08-19-03	1	trust	1999	1999
trausis	*see affix tables*						
trefik	*Opis bilong plis i lukautim **trefik** long siti i gat rekot bilong hamas birua o indai…*	P3	98-04-09-03	2	traffic	1989	1998
trela	*see affix tables*						
tren	*Em i wanpela lain yangpela man i **tren** long sampela wok bilong ol soldia...*	P3	78-03-25-02	4	to train	1978	1978
Trena	*see affix tables*						

TP Word	Corpus Example	S	Y/Ed.	O	ETr	YfO	YIO
trenim	*see affix tables*						
trensferim	*see affix tables*						
Trensisenel	*see affix tables*						
trenslesen	*see affix tables*						
trensnesenel	*see affix tables*						
Trensperensi	*Ol wasman bilong TI o **Trensperensi** Intanesenel i no laikim olpela wei bilong vot.*	P3	01-11-15-04	1	transparency	2001	2001
tritim	*see affix tables*						
tropikel	*see affix tables*						
trus	*Dispela 15 de **trus** i kamap pinis tasol pait i wok long go het.*	P3	89-06-01-04	1	truce	1989	1989
Trusti	*see affix tables*						
tu	*Na long tiket ol i save tok, 'Welkam **tu** paradais'.*	P3	04-05-13-04	973	to	1972	2004
turis	*see affix tables*						
turism	*see affix tables*						
twins	*see affix tables*						
unaitet/Yunaited	*see affix tables*						
unien/yunien/ yunion	*Dispela **yunion** i bin kamap i no long taim i go pinis.*	P3	83-01-15-02	33	union	1982	2001
Vegrensi	*see affix tables*						

TP Word	Corpus Example	S	Y/Ed.	O	ETr	YfO	YlO
Veli	*Mista Embel i givim tok lukaut tu long het bilong Lai* **Veli***...*	P3	00-06-01-03	1	valley	2000	2000
Veliu/velu	*Suprim Kot i makim mun Oktoba long harim kot bilong enti VAT (**Veliu** Eded Takis)*	P3	01-08-02-03	2	value	1999	2001
video/vidio	*Regina Pera i gat 22 krismas nau na i em i bin wokim dispela **vidio** taim em i gat 15 krismas.*	P3	98-08-20-03	29	video	1988	1999
vokesenel/ vokesinel	*see affix tables*						
volantia	*see affix tables*						
vota	*see affix tables*						
voting	*see affix tables*						
waren	*...na askim gavman long tokaut stret sapos ol **waren** o kes fan setifiket (CFC) bilong skul…*	P3	96-07-18-04	1	warrant	1996	1996
weim/werim	*see affix tables*						
Wejes	*see affix tables*						
welfe/welfea	*Ol tu i ken skul moa long wok bilong ol ofis na helt na **welfe**.*	P3	78-03-25-02	2	welfare	1978	1995
welkamim	*see affix tables*						
Westen	*see affix tables*						
wiks	*see affix tables*						
wimens	*see affix tables*						
wit	*...Gavman i save baim rais, **wit**, kon, sorgam, ol kumu, mit, pis...*	P3	00-05-25-04	1	wheat	2000	2000

TP Word	Corpus Example	S	Y/Ed.	O	ETr	YfO	YIO
witholding	*see affix tables*						
witnes	*Na ol bai givim nem bilong olgeta* **witnes** *long dispela taim.*	P3	92-09-10-01	8	witness	1988	2001
wod	*...ol* **wod** *memba 353, Nu Ailan 628, Wes Nu Briten 613,...*	P3	97-10-02-04	1	ward	1997	1997
Woda	*Ol plisman na* **Woda** *Plisman tu i gat wankain hevi.*	P3	89-02-09-04	2	warder	1989	1989
woka	*see affix tables*						
wokas	*see affix tables*						
Woks	*see affix tables*						
wol	*Nau ol i gat ol opis bilong ol long 70 kantri insait long* **wol**.	P3	93-09-16-01	51	world	1978	2004
wol	*Planti* **wol**, *windoa, dua na ol kain samting olsem bilong hostel i bruk nabaut.*	P3	88-09-01-01	51	wall	1978	2004
Working	*see affix tables*						
yuni	*Het man bilong* **yuni** *Dokta Thomas Wagner i tok dispela ol sas...*	P3	01-08-02-05	2	uni (university)	2001	2001
yunien/Yunion	*PNG Tred* **Yunion** *Kongres...*	P3	98-12-03-04	32	union	1982	2001
yunifom	*Bai ol bas kru bai i mas werim* **yunifom** *na waswas tu?*	P3	04-05-13-04	4	uniform	1988	2004
yunit	*Dispela* **yunit** *i yusim pinis dispela K50,000 na kirapim sampela hap bilong Menyamya-Hakwange Rot.*	P3	87-05-14-02	8	unit	1987	2003
Yuniti	*Mista Parua i tok tu olsem pati bilong David Unagi, Pipels* **Yuniti** *Pati bai sanap strong...*	P3	95-05-11-04	1	unity	1995	1995
yuniversiti/ Yunivesiti	*Wankain long raun abaut long* **Yunivesiti**, *we yu ting ka bai ron go stret.*	P3	98-04-09-03	20	university	1976	2001

TP Word	Corpus Example	S	Y/Ed.	O	ETr	YfO	YlO
Yunivesel	*see affix tables*						
Yuropien	*see affix tables*						
yut	*Ol liklik grup olsem ol meri na ol **yut** i ken aplai...*	P3	94-02-03-03	23	youth	1977	1997

Appendix C2: Acronyms / Initialisms

TP Word	Corpus Example	S	Y/Ed.	O	ETr	YfO	YIO
ABC	*Long Sarere, bai ol **ABC** man i salensim Kumuls na ol meri Luther Lig bai pilai egensim Wantoks.*	P3	85-12-14-01	3	Athletic Boys Club?	1985	1985
AHI	*AHI BENG (EGRIKALSA, HAUSING NA INDASTRI)*	P3	82-08-14-01	2	Agriculture, Housing and Industry	1982	1982
aidi	*Ol samting olsem, ol manmeri i mas kisim **aidi** kat na soim taim ol i laik lusim ples…*	P3	97-09-04-01	1	ID	1997	1997
AIDS	*...dispela sik nogut **AIDS**.*	P3	88-08-04-02	42	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome	1988	2004
ANZ/A.N.Z.	*Mak bilong dinau mani antap long sek em K17,752 53 i go long **ANZ** Beng long 16/6/'92.*	P3	93-02-25-01	2	Australia and New Zealand Banking Group Limited	1984	1993
ARC	*Las wik BHP Lysagth kampani i sponsarim **ARC** Titan West klab bilong Morobe Kantri Lig…*	P3	91-05-09-04	1	[no information available]	1991	1991
BCL	*Bougainvil Kopa (**BCL**) i bin kamapim olsem K54.6 milion winmani long 1983.*	P3	84-04-21-01	17	Bougainville Copper Limited	1984	1989
BFIA	*...'Banks na Financial Institution Bill 2000' (**BFIA**)...*	P3	00-04-06-01	2	Banks and Financial Institution Bill	2000	2000
BHP	*Las wik **BHP** Lysagth kampani i sponsarim ARC Titan West klab bilong Morobe Kantri Lig…*	P3	91-05-09-04	1	Broken Hill Proprietary	1991	1991
BIG	*...BTG, **BIG** na BRA i gat gutpela pasin poroman na bung...*	P3	97-09-04-03	2	[no information available]	1997	1997
BMS	*Em i wok kuskus wantaim **BMS** opis long Wabag bipo.*	P3	84-07-21-02	2	Bristol-Myers Squibb (GesmbH)	1987	1992
BPNG	*...Beng bilong Papua Niugini (**BPNG**)...*	P3	00-04-06-01	1	Bank of Papua New Guinea	2000	2000
BRA	*...Bogenvil Revoluseneri Ami (**BRA**)...*	P3	96-11-07-01	37	Bougainville Revolutionary Army	1994	1999

TP Word	Corpus Example	S	Y/Ed.	O	ETr	YfO	YIO
BSP	Beng ov Saut Pasifik (**BSP**)…	P3	92-12-17-02	12	Bank of South Pacific	1992	2003
BTG	...long kisim ol **BTG** memba i go long Buka.	P3	96-11-07-03	5	Bougainville Transitional Government	1996	1997
BZW	Barclays de Zoete Wedd (**BZW**)...	P3	93-09-16-01	4	Barclays de Zoete Wedd	1993	1993
CAC	Pablik i mas putim ripot i go long Konsuma Afeas Kaunsil (**CAC**)...	P3	99-07-08-01	8	Consumer Affairs Council	1999	1999
CASA	Sandlain kontrak i kos US$36 milien na PNG gavman i kisim ol helikopta na **CASA** balus.	P3	99-03-25-02	1	Civil Aviation Safety Authority	1999	1999
CDC	...Konstitusenel Divelopmen Komisin (**CDC**)...	P3	98-04-09-02	7	Constitutional Development Commission	1998	1998
CFC	...kes fan setifiket (**CFC**)...	P3	96-07-18-04	1	Case Fund Certificate	1996	1996
CIB	Jockay em i wanpela **CIB** plisman...	P3	88-12-15-02	2	Corrective Institutions Bureau	1988	1993
CIC	...Kopi Indastri Kopresen (**CIC**)...	P3	97-10-02-03	22	Coffee Industry Corporation	1997	1997
CID	...em i rausim **CID** plismeri...	P3	99-02-11-01	1	Criminal Investigation Department	1999	1999
CMB	...**CMB** (kopra maketing bot)...	P3	84-07-21-03	20	Copra Marketing Board	1984	1998
CPL	…Coconut Products Limited o **CPL**...	P3	98-09-24-01	5	Coconut Products Limited	1998	1998
CRA	Wok painimaut bilong **CRA** i soim olsem i gat kopa long Wafi eria...	P3	92-01-02-01	9	Charles River Associates	1992	1992
CRC	...Konstitusenel Riviu Komisin (**CRC**)…	P3	98-04-09-02	10	Constitutional Review Commission	1995	1998
CTF	..."Conservation Trust Fund' (**CTF**)...	P3	99-03-25-01	3	Conservation Trust Fund	1999	1999
DCA	Long ol arapela pilai long wiken **DCA** i autim Hawks...	P3	88-07-07-02	2	[no information available]	1988	2001

TP Word	Corpus Example	S	Y/Ed.	O	ETr	YfO	YIO
DEA	*...wanpela oda i go long ol pipel bilong Gav Sta Setelmen, **DEA**, Biliau na…*	P3	84-06-16-02	2	[no information available]	1984	1988
DEHP	*...ol dispela i gat ol nem olsem styrene, **DEHP** na Bisphend A…*	P3	99-08-19-01		Di**e**thyl**h**exyl**p**hthalate	1999	1999
diditi (DDT)	*Mi ting em **diditi** tasol.*	P3	76-06-26-02	2	dichloro**d**iphenyl**t**richloroethane	1976	1976
DND	*...tenkyu long dispela stori na piksa long Mark Raper na Morgan Chua na FEER na **DND** 17.*	P3	77-01-29-04	1	Department of National Defence	1977	1977
DPI	*Ol wokman bilong **DPI** i mekim dispela...*	P3	88-12-15-01	6	Department of Primary Industry	1986	1988
EMTV	*EMTV tu i no soim gut long TV bai mipela i lukim na sapot longlong.*	P3	03-07-17-07	3	EM TV (television station)	1999	2003
ET	*ET nau yet i mekim planti milien dola long wanpela televisen edvetismen.*	P3	91-05-09-03	1	Entertainment Tonight	1991	1991
FAO	*Food na Agrikalsa Ogenaisesen (**FAO**)*	P3	00-05-25-04	1	Food and Agriculture Organisation	2000	2000
FEER	*...tenkyu long dispela stori na piksa long Mark Raper na Morgan Chua na **FEER** na DND 17.*	P3	77-01-29-04	1	Far Eastern Economic Review	1977	1977
FIA	*...Forestri Indastris Asosiesen (**FIA**)...*	P3	93-08-26-05	3	Forestry Industries Association	1993	1993
GEF	*…Global Environment Facility (**GEF**)*	P3	99-03-25-01	1	Global Environment Facility	1999	1999
H.E.O.	*...Helt Ekstensen Opisa, Arnold Ake i stap insait long dispela komiti. Ol arapela **H.E.O.** em*	P3	84-04-21-03	1	Health Extension Officer	1984	1984
HIV	*Ol piksa i soim ol lain wantaim sik **HIV**/AIDS...*	P3	04-04-22-03	26	Human Immunodeficiency Virus	2000	2004
IASER	*Institiut ov Aplaid Sosel en Ekonomik Rises (**IASER**)*	P3	86-08-09-02	1	Institute of Applied Social and Economic Research	1986	1986
ICU	*Intensiv Kea Yunit (**ICU**)*	P3	87-05-14-01	4	Intensive Care Unit	1987	2001

TP Word	Corpus Example	S	Y/Ed.	O	ETr	YfO	YIO
ILC	*Incorporated Land Groups' **ILC** [sic]*	P3	99-03-25-01	1	Incorporated Land Groups	1999	1999
IMF	*Mipela i bin i gat gutpela toktok wantaim **IMF** long sampela wiks i go pinis...*	P3	99-08-19-03	1	International Monetary Fund	1999	1999
IPBC	*Indipenden Pablik Bisnis Koporesen (**IPBC**)*	P3	04-07-08-04	2	Independent Public Business Corporation	2004	2004
IRC	*Intenel Reveniu Komisin (**IRC**)*	P3	01-08-02-03	3	Internal Revenue Commission	2001	2001
ISO	*International Scientific Organisation' (**ISO**)*	P3	99-03-25-01	3	International Scientific Organisation	1999	1999
ITTO	*Intenesenel Tropikel Timba Ogenaisesen (**ITTO**)*	P3	03-01-02-02	1	International Tropical Timber Organisation	2003	2003
JFMA	*Josepstal Fores Menesmen Eria (**JFMA**)*	P3	99-03-25-01	5	Josepstal Forest Management Area	1999	1999
JOF	*Japanese Offspring Fan, (**JOF**)...*	P3	99-08-19-01	1	Japanese Offspring Fund	1999	1999
KBF	*...menesing dairekta na bikpela seaholda bilong **KBF**, Donald Aiseapo...*	P3	93-02-25-01	3	Kerema Bay Fishery	1993	1993
LLG	*Mista Embel i rausim presiden bilong Woitape Rurel **LLG**...*	P3	00-06-01-04	8	Local Level Government	2000	2004
LRC	*Lo Rifom Komisin (**LRC**)*	P3	87-03-05-01	6	Law Reform Commission	1987	1987
MA	*...tripela lida bilong ol bikpela pati long Wes Nu Briten gavman, Pangu, **MA** na Pipel Muvmen…*	P3	88-09-01-02	1	Melanesian Alliance	1988	1988
MKI	*Olgeta i wokman bilong Bechtel **MKI**, kampani i gat bikpela kontrak tru...*	P3	83-01-15-02	3	Morrison Knudsen International	1983	1983
MP/MPs	*Ol i kamap long ples mipela i sanap na askim ol **MP** long opim ol get…*	P3	89-02-09-01	3	Member(s) of Parliament	1989	1993

TP Word	Corpus Example	S	Y/Ed.	O	ETr	YfO	YIO
MRDC	*Minerel Risoses Divelopmen Kampani (**MRDC**)*	P3	92-09-10-03	3	Mineral Resources Development Company	1992	1992
MV/M.V.	*Madang provinsal gavman i bukim pinis **MV** Umboi bilong Lutheran Shipping...*	P3	84-06-16-02	4	Maritime Vessel	1984	1988
NA	*Nesenel Alaiens (**NA**)*	P3	04-07-29-08-04-01	1	National Alliance	2004	2004
NAC	*...Nesenel AIDS Kaunsel (**NAC**)…*	P3	00-03-09-03	7	National AIDS Council	2000	2000
NAEA	*Yunien bilong ol enjinia na ol hostes tu i bin joinim **NAEA** long dispela straik.*	P3	92-09-10-02	3	National Association of Estate Agents	1992	1992
NANGO-PNG	*Nesenel Alaens Bilong ol non Gavman Oganaisesen long Papua Niugini (**NANGO-PNG**)...*	P3	93-08-26-05	1	National Alliance of Non Government Organisations of PNG	1993	1993
NAQIA	*Nesenel Agrikalsa na Kworentin Inspeksen Atoriti (**NAQIA**)*	P3	04-07-29-08-04-04	1	National Agriculture and Quarantine Inspection Authority	2004	2004
NBC	*Inap sampela mun nau **NBC** i ting long statim nupela kain brotkas na program.*	P3	77-01-29-03	9	National Broadcasting Company	1977	1986
NCD	*Nesenel Kapitel Distrik (**NCD**)*	P3	01-11-15-01	12	National Capital District	1997	2001
NCDC	*Nesenel Kapitol Distrik Komisin (**NCDC**)*	P3	04-05-13-04	41	National Capital District Commission	1991	2004
NCDIC	*Nesenel Kapital [Distrik] Interim Komisin (**NCDIC**)*	P3	87-11-12-03	9	National Capital District Interim Commission	1987	1990
NCW	*Nesenel Kaunsil bilong ol Meri (**NCW**)*	P3	94-02-03-03	4	National Council for/of Women	1994	1994
NDA	*Nesenel Doktas Asosiesen (**NDA**)*	P3	99-02-11-03	2	National Doctor's Association	1999	1999
NEC	*Nesenel Eksekyutiv Kaunsil (**NEC**)*	P3	89-02-09-02	20	National Executive Council	1989	2004

TP Word	Corpus Example	S	Y/Ed.	O	ETr	YfO	YIO
NFA	*Nesenel Fiseris Atoriti (**NFA**)*	P3	03-10-23-03	3	National Fishery Authority	2003	2003
NFS	*Nesenel Forest Sevises (**NFS**)*	P3	99-03-25-01	2	National Forest Services	1999	1999
NGI	*...ol provinsal gavman opisa bai go long wan wan **NGI** provins na tok klia long ol pipel...*	P3	93-09-16-04	1	Non Government Institutions	1993	1993
NGO	*Non Gavman Ogenaisesen (**NGO**)*	P3	98-09-24-02	7	Non Government Organisations	1997	2001
NL	*...wanpela wel kampani bilong Papua Niugini ol i kolim Parcare Niugini **NL**.*	P3	89-06-01-02	1	[no information available]	1989	1989
NM	*...taim em i bin stap aninit long han bilong Dome Resources **NM** long mun Julai.*	P3	93-09-16-01	1	New Mexico	1993	1993
NPF	*Nesenel Providen Fan (**NPF**)*	P3	90-06-14-01	20	National Privident Fund	1985	1990
NRI	*Nesenel Rises Institut (**NRI**)*	P3	94-09-15-01	1	National Resources Institute	1994	1994
NRL	*...wanpela ileksen long makim namba wan rabgi [ragbi] lig pilaia long **NRL** resis.*	P3	03-09-04-05	1	National Rugby League	2003	2003
NSO	*Nesenel Stetistikel Opis o **NSO***	P3	00-03-09-02	7	National Statistical Office	2000	2000
NSPG	*Not Solomons provinsal gavman. (**NSPG**)*	P3	93-07-22-05	2	North Solomons Provincial Government	1993	1993
NSPNMC	*Not Solomons Peace, Monitoring and Negotiating Committee (**NSPMNC**)*	P3	93-07-22-05	1	North Solomons Peace, Monitoring and Negotiating Committee	1993	1993
NSR	*Bihain long dispela, Vais Presiden bilong **NSR** bai kam bek long Mosbi...*	P3	99-03-25-01	1	NSR Resources Inc.	1999	1999
NTN	*Niugini Televisen Netwok (**NTN**)*	P3	86-10-02-05	2	New Guinea Television Network	1986	1986
OIDA	*Opis bilong Intanesenel Divelopmen Asistens (**OIDA**)*	P3	93-08-26-04	2	Office of International Development Assistance	1993	1993

TP Word	Corpus Example	S	Y/Ed.	O	ETr	YfO	YIO
PAC	Pablik Akauns Komiti (**PAC**)	P3	90-06-14-01	3	Public Accounts Committee	1990	1990
PAI	...Nesenel Gavman wantaim papagraun kampani bilong ol, **PAI**…	P3	95-10-26-01	1	[no information available]	1995	1995
PDM	Pipels Demokretik Muvmen (**PDM**)	P3	99-07-08-02	5	People's Democratic Movement	1994	2001
PE	...polythylene (**PE**)…[sic]	P3	99-08-19-01	1	polytheylene	1999	1999
PEA	Pablik Employis Asosiesen (**PEA**)	P3	83-01-15-01	10	Public Employee's Association	1983	1987
PEC	Provinsal Eksekyutiv Kaunsil (**PEC**)	P3	96-01-04-01	8	Provincial Executive Council	1992	2000
PFMC	Madang Provinsel Forest Management Committee' (**PFMC**)	P3	99-03-25-01	4	Provincial Forest Management Committee	1999	1999
PHD	Dokta ov Filosofi (**PHD**)	P3	86-08-09-02	1	Philosophiae Doctor (doctor of philosophy)	1986	1986
PI	PI Logging	P3	92-05-07-01	1	[no information available]	1992	1992
PIP	Pablik Invesmen Progrem (**PIP**)	P3	91-03-28-01	4	Public Investment Program	1991	1999
PMGH	Pot Mosbi Jenerel Haus sik (**PMGH**)	P3	03-10-23-01	2	Port Moresby General Hospital	2003	2003
PMV	Ol **PMV** onas i mas givim ol sevis pablik bai amamas long en.	P3	04-05-13-04	16	Public Motor Vehicle	1976	2004
PNG	Ol liklik kantri i lukluk long **PNG** olsem long wanpela bikbrata.	P3	77-01-29-01	276	Papua New Guinea	1975	2004
PNGBC	...Joseph Bae i tok olsem dispela i bikos **PNGBC** is [i] stopim ol long kesim ol sek...	P3	98-09-24-01	2	PNG Banking Corporation	1984	1998
PNGBD	...dinau mani em ol i bin kisim long tupela beng, **PNGBD** na Wespek.	P3	84-07-21-03	1	Papua New Guinea Business Directory	1984	1984
PNGCC	Papua Niuguni [Niugini] Kaunsil bilong ol Sios (**PNGCC**)	P3	94-02-03-03	1	PNG Council for/of the Churches	1994	1994

TP Word	Corpus Example	S	Y/Ed.	O	ETr	YfO	YIO
PNGDF	*Papua Niugini Difens Fos (**PNGDF**)*	P3	91-06-06-02	1	PNG Defence Force	1991	1991
PNGFM	*Wanpela mausman bilong Setelmen Komiti i tokim **PNGFM** nius olsem dispela operesen i stat tude…*	P3	01-12-20-03	1	PNG Frequency Modulation	2001	2001
PNGFRA	*...Papua Niugini Fores Risos Asosiesen (**PNGFRA**)...*	P3	93-08-26-05	1	PNG Forest Resource Association	1993	1993
PNGRA	*Papua Niugini Risos Asosiesen (**PNGRA**)*	P3	93-07-22-02	1	PNG Resource Association	1993	1993
PNGTUC	*PNG Tred Yunion Kongres (**PNGTUC**)*	P3	98-12-03-04	7	PNG Trade Union Congress	1998	1999
POSB/P.O.S.B.	*Pablik Opisas Supranuesen Bot (**POSB**)*	P3	89-06-01-02	12	Public Officers Superannuation Board	1983	1989
PP	*...polypropylene (**PP**)…*	P3	99-08-19-01	1	polypropylene	1999	1999
PPP	*Pipels Progres Pati (**PPP**)*	P3	82-05-22-01	11	People's Progress Party	1978	1986
PS	*...supa anuesen bod bai mas givim mani i go long ol **PS** husat bai pinis wok.*	P3	83-01-15-01	1	Public Servants	1983	1983
PSC	*Pablik Sevis Komisin (**PSC**)*	P3	83-01-15-01	11	Public Service Commission	1983	1992
PTB	*Na ol i kisim em i go long wanpela **PTB** ka ol i bin stilim long en.*	P3	93-02-25-03	1	PTB race car	1993	1993
PTC	*Pos na Telekominikesen (**PTC**)*	P3	84-04-21-05	10	Post and Telecommunication	1984	1993
PVC	*...polyvinyl chloride or **PVC**…*	P3	99-08-19-01	1	Polyvinyl Chloride	1999	1999
PVDC	*...Vinylidene chloride resin or **PVDC**...*	P3	99-08-19-01	1	(Polyvinyl) Vinylidene Chloride Resin	1999	1999
S.T.C.	*...tupela A.N.Z. sek buk K40 na wanpela sek em ol i sainim bilong salim i go long **S.T.C.**…..*	P3	84-04-21-06	1	Southwood Timber Corp.	1984	1984

TP Word	Corpus Example	S	Y/Ed.	O	ETr	YfO	YIO
SDA	*Long Enga, ol lain bilong **SDA** lotu i tok olsem senses em i wok bilong satan...*	P3	00-05-25-05	2	Seven Day Adventists	2000	2000
SDP	*Olpela minista i tok rurel divelopmen em namba [wan] tingting bilong **SDP**.*	P3	88-08-04-01	2	Social Democratic Party	1988	1988
SFR	*Sustainable Forests Resources Papua Niugini Limited (**SFR**)'*	P3	99-03-25-01	1	Sustainable Forests Resources (Papua Niugini Limited)	1999	1999
SFS	*Sustainable Forest Systems (**SFS**)*	P3	99-03-25-01	1	Sustainable Forest Systems	1999	1999
SP	*Dispela em long taim bilong ol **SP** Gems.*	P3	91-06-06-01	2	South Pacific	1991	1995
SRC	*Salaris na Rinumeresen Komisin (**SRC**)*	P3	91-07-11-01	3	Salaries and Remuneration Commission	1991	1991
TB	*Dispela man husat i gat 19 krismas i bin kisim sik **TB** na ol dokta i bin givim em marasin.*	P3	88-08-04-03	1	tuberculosis	1988	1988
TI	*Ol wasman bilong **TI** o Trensperensi Intanesenel...*	P3	01-11-15-04	3	Transparency International	2001	2001
TPA	*Tourism Promotion Atoriti (**TPA**)*	P3	00-04-06-04	4	Tourism Promotion Authority	2000	2000
TRP	*...K25,000 i go long ol papa graun bilong Gogol-Nauru **TRP** eria...*	P3	93-09-16-03	1	Timber Rights Purchase	1993	1993
TRR	*Em i tok planti komplen i kam long Blok 6 **TRR**...*	P3	87-11-12-01	1	[no information available]	1987	1987
TV/T.V.	*EMTV tu i no soim gut long **TV** bai mipela i lukim na sapot longlong.*	P3	03-07-17-07	3	television	2003	2004
TW	*...Chemcare Pharmacies, **TW**, Transport, SP Brewery na Poons Lae.*	P3	95-09-21-01	1	[no information available]	1995	1995
UK	*Yunaitet Kingdom (**UK**)*	P3	01-03-29-04	11	United Kingdom	2001	2001
UPNG	*Yunivesiti bilong Papua Niugini (**UPNG**)*	P3	91-07-11-02	6	University of Papua New Guinea	1991	2001

TP Word	Corpus Example	S	Y/Ed.	O	ETr	YfO	YIO
US	*Sandlain kontrak i kos **US**$36 milien na PNG gavman i kisim ol helikopta na CASA balus.*	P3	99-03-25-02	4	United States	1997	1999
VAT	*VAT (Veliu Eded Takis)*	P3	01-08-02-03	4	Value Added Tax	1997	2001
WHO	*Wol Helt Oganaisesin (**WHO**)*	P3	03-10-23-02	1	World Health Organisation	2003	2003
W.S.P.	*Bipo tru long Fatima long **W.S.P.** [Wes Sepik Provins], wanpela man na meri bilong em…*	ST	0310-80-04-12	1	West Sepik Province	1980	1980
YC	*Tru **YC** em i no ples bilong dring na spak nabaut.*	P3	75-05-14-03	4	Youth Center	1975	1999
YMCA	*Sen Jon Embulens, **YMCA**, YWCA, YC, Skaut, Gaid.*	P3	78-03-25-02	1	Young Men's Christian Association	1978	1978
YTL	*POSB i oraitim wanpela kampani bilong Malaysia, **YTL** Kopresen Berhad…*	P3	89-06-01-02	1	Yeoh Tiong Lay Corporation	1989	1989
YWCA	*Sen Jon Embulens, YMCA, **YWCA**, YC, Skaut, Gaid.*	P3	78-03-25-02	1	Young Women's Christian Association	1978	1978

Appendix C3: Backformations

TP Word	Corpus Example	S	Y/Ed.	O	Expansion	ETr	YfO	YIO
aplai	*Ol liklik grup olsem ol meri na ol yut i ken **aplai** long kisim dispela mani...*	P3	*94-02-03-03*	3	*aplikesen, aplaid*	to apply	1991	1999
ares	*...long 1995 i kam inap long 1999 na ol plis i bin wokim 1551 **ares** tasol.*	P3	*00-05-25-03*	2	*arestim*	arrest	2000	2000
asosiet	*...em i mausman bilong bot long invesmen na em i **asosiet** Dairekta bilong Noble Loans…*	P3	*89-06-01-02*	1	*assosiesen*	associate	1989	1989
bruk bruk	*Long dispela pasin, kantri i save **bruk bruk**.*	P3	*74-05-15-03*	5	*brukbrukim*	to be broken (into little pieces), to come apart	1974	1986
divelop	*...ol inap skelim save na mani bilong ol wantaim yumi na yumi ken **divelop**.*	P3	*01-11-15-02*	4	*divelopa, developim, divelopmen*	to develop	2001	2001
ekonomi/ ikonomi	*Olsem bai **ekonomi** bilong PNG i ken kamap gut gen.*	P3	*94-09-15-01*	10	*ekonomik*	economy	1989	2001
ekt	*...sapos dispela **ekt** i kamap lo insait long kantri, ol papa graun bai lus tru...*	P3	*93-07-22-02*	20	*ekting*	act	1991	2000
gavana	*As bilong pait i kirap long Deputi **Gavana** bilong Madang na Siaman bilong Amenob LLG Bunag Kuip …*	P3	*04-04-22-02*	5	*gavman*	governor	1982	2004
greduet	*Mista Simet i bin **greduet** long Yunivesiti ov PNG wantaim Batsela ov Ats Digri.*	P3	*86-08-09-02*	1	*greduesen*	to graduate	1986	1986
gridi	*Em i save **gridi** long kaikai bilong em.*	ST	*0950-92-09-17*	2	*gritiman*	greedy	1992	1997
independen/ indipenden	*Mipela i mas gat wanpela **indipenden** na gutpela kot.*	P3	*94-05-12-01*	8	*indipendens*	independent	1982	2004

TP Word	Corpus Example	S	Y/Ed.	O	Expansion	ETr	YfO	YIO
koman	*...Dipatmen bilong Not Solomon, Difens na Plis* **koman** *Fos long Buka…*	P3	*93-07-22-04*	1	*komanda*	command	1993	1993
operet	*Olsem na em i gat olgeta rait long dispela hap graun we kampani i* **operet** *long en.*	P3	*03-01-02-03*	1	*opereta, operesen, operetim*	to operate, to act	2003	2003
sapot	*Em i givim* **sapot** *bilong em na pati bilong em long dispela lo.*	P3	*03-07-17-03*	38	*sapotim*	support	1982	2004
trai	*Megani i skoim wanpela* **trai** *na wanpela gol tasol.*	P3	*88-07-07-02*	5	*traim*	a try	1983	1991
tren	*Em i wanpela lain yangpela man i* **tren** *long sampela wok bilong ol soldia...*	P3	*78-03-25-02*	4	*trening, trena*	to train	1978	1978

Appendix C4: Clippings

TP Word	Corpus Example	S	Y/Ed.	O	Expansion	ETr	YfO	YIO
dis	*Copra Marketing Board o CMB i tokaut* **dis** *wik long ol kopra produsas...*	P3	98-09-24-01	1	*dispela*	this	1998	1998
eksam/eksem	*Na tu ol* **eksam** *bilong ol skul insait long Provins bilong ol.*	P3	79-12-01-01	4	*eksaminesen/ ekseminesen*	examination	1979	1996
nap	*Yu i no* **nap** *enrol tu sapos kot i tok olsem yu i bin brukim wanpela lo...*	P3	01-08-02-04	13	*inap*	able	1986	2001
Poro	***Poro*** *bilong ol tu i kirap singaut na ran bihain long ol, wantaim kuka husat i...*	ST	0965-92-12-30	9	*poroman*	friend	1989	2004
yuni	*Het man bilong* **yuni** *Dokta Thomas Wagner i tok dispela ol sas...*	P3	01-08-02-05	2	*yunivesiti*	university	2001	2001

Appendix C5: Reduplication

TP Word	Corpus Example	S	Y/Ed.	O	ETr	YfO	YlO
bikpela bikpela	*...ol toktok nau i flai raun olsem win we itoktok long ol* **bikpela bikpela** *milien Kina na igo antap…*	P3	00-03-09-04	4	in large quantities, large, many, major	1978	2000
bombom	*Neum i harim wisil na laitim* **bombom** *na ran i go long hap dispela muruk i slip long en.*	ST	0729-88-06-23-06-29	6	torch, flare	1976	1997
bruk bruk	*Long dispela pasin, kantri i save* **bruk bruk***.*	P3	74-05-15-03	5	to be broken (into little pieces), to come apart	1974	1986
brukbrukim	*Ol planti pati ya i save* **brukbrukim** *ol lain pipel, na i no pasim ol wantaim long kamap wanpela kantri.*	P3	78-09-02-01	1	to break (into little pieces), to mash	1978	1978
draipela draipela	*Sapos ol i wokim bris ol* **draipela draipela** *sip i save karim wel bai i kam kapsaitim wel long bikpela tang.*	P3	79-04-28-03	1	huge [and many]	1979	1979
gutpela gutpela	*Ol i mas kisim save long ol* **gutpela gutpela** *lo na pasin bilong yumi yet.*	P3	78-04-15-01	5	excellent	1978	2001
isi isi	*Na em yet i wokabaut* **isi isi** *i go long ples.*	ST	1369-00-09-21	31	slowly, gently, carefully, quietly	1973	2001
kaikai	*Em i* **kaikai** *bilong yupela.*	ST	1564-04-06-17	840	food, meat	1972	2004
kaikai	*Mitupela i toktok na em i* **kaikai** *buai wantaim mi.*	ST	0072-73-07-18	840	to eat, to chew, to feed on	1972	2004
kainkain/ kain kain	*Tasol boi ya i gat* **kain kain** *trik.*	ST	0963-92-12-17	128	various, all sorts, different kinds	1972	2004
kaskas	*Man bel bilong em i* **kaskas** *olgeta.*	ST	0863-91-01-17	22	angry, furious	1988	1999
kaukau	*Ol* **kaukau** *tu i no pilai pilai.*	ST	0891-91-08-01	66	sweet potato	1973	2000
klostu klostu	*...na lukim planti samting we i luk olsem ol bai i bruk* **klostu klostu***.*	P3	03-07-17-07	4	very soon	1996	2003

TP Word	Corpus Example	S	Y/Ed.	O	ETr	YfO	YlO
krai krai	*Nau brata em i* **krai krai** *planti.*	ST	0189-77-09-24	9	to cry loudly, to keep crying	1976	1989
kros kros	*Tasol ol tumbuna bilong Frans na Englan i save* **kros kros** *na pait oltaim.*	P3	80-06-28-01	1	to (be) quarrelling permanently	1980	1980
kuskus	*Mista Bourne i askim long sampela gavman* **kuskus** *i sekap long helpim mani…*	P3	87-05-14-02	5	clerk, secretary, office worker	1976	1987
laplap	*Meri i kisim ol* **laplap***, taul, blanket na lip bilong kapiak.*	ST	0342-80-11-22	5	cloth, sheet	1980	2003
laulau	*`Bai mi pulim olgeta kokonas, buai, kapiak na* **laulau** *bilong yu i kam na bai mi go daun long ol.'*	ST	0694-87-10-15	1	bell fruit	1987	1987
liklik	*Em i singaut* **liklik** *tasol olsem, 'Mi no gat lek na han bilong kam long yu.'*	ST	0887-91-07-04	688	a bit, a little	1972	2004
liklik	*Ol i pait i go na* **liklik** *brata bilong Mumuro i kamap.*	ST	0433-82-09-04	688	little, small, young	1972	2004
longlong/ long long	*Yu wanpela* **longlong** *meri.*	ST	0759-89-01-19-01-25	19	crazy, insane, mentally ill	1975	2004
lukluk	*Ol piksa i soim ol lain wantaim sik HIV/AIDS na* **lukluk** *bilong skin na bodi...*	P3	96-11-07-03	248	looks, appearance	1973	2004
lukluk	*Yangpela meri i hait na* **lukluk** *long snek na em i pret na krai.*	ST	1206-97-08-07	248	to look, to see, to watch	1973	2004
malumalu/ malumalum	*Snek ya i skin indai olgeta na skin bilong em i* **malumalu** *tru.*	ST	0546-84-11-17	13	soft	1974	1997
marimari	*...i gat wanpela rot i kamap long Heven, i gat wanpela pasin bilong winim* **marimari** *bilong God.*	P3	74-05-15-04	3	pity, mercy	1974	2004
marimari	*Mi man bilong yu stret,* **marimari** *na lusim rop long mi.'*	ST	0723-88-05-12-05-18	3	to have pity, to have mercy	1974	2004
matmat	*Ol i planim em long* **matmat***.*	ST	0092-74-05-15	7	cemetery, graveyard	1974	1997

TP Word	Corpus Example	S	Y/Ed.	O	ETr	YfO	YIO
moa moa	*Ol spea pat bilong ka i antap* **moa moa** *yet.*	P3	79-12-01-02	8	very much indeed, even more	1975	1995
mumu	*Orait ol i katim na wokim bikpela* **mumu** *na ol i kaikai.*	ST	0759-89-01-19-01-25	34	cooking pit, ground oven	1978	1997
narapela narapela	*Em surukim tok moa wantaim* **narapela narapela** *singaut go long gavman…*	P3	03-01-02-04	2	totally different	1997	2003
nating nating	*Tru sampela ol manki ya i save bikhet na sasim ol manmeri* **nating nating**, *tasol sapos ol i gat I.D…*	P3	04-07-08-05	1	for nothing (no reason) at all	2004	2004
oltaim oltaim	*Bai ol i stap laip* **oltaim oltaim**.	P3	75-03-19-05	3	eternally, always, again and again	1974	1984
painim painim	*Em i* **painim painim** *na em i painim sampela siut bilong mipela wan wan.*	P3	77-02-05-02	2	to keep looking for, to search repeatedly	1977	1982
pait pait	*Long wanem, planti man husat i save* **pait pait** *wantaim i pren bilong Frans.*	P3	80-06-28-01	1	to fight permanently	1980	1980
palpal	*Ol i kwila o ol i* **palpal**?	P3	77-08-20-01	1	coral tree	1977	1977
pamim, pamim, pamim	*Lukim, bipo yet yupela i wok long* **pamim, pamim, pamim** *na ol moskito i no dai.*	P3	76-06-26-02	1	to pump repeatedly	1976	1976
paspas	*Em i stap tasol long haus na wokim* **paspas**, *purpur, bilum na lukautim pik bilong tupela tu.*	ST	0339-80-11-01	3	bracelet, woven armband	1980	1989
pekpek	*Tewel man ya i holim* **pekpek** *ya na pundaun antap na kam daun.*	ST	1222-97-11-27	44	faeces, dung, shit	1974	1998
pekpek	*Em bikpela man tasol em* **pekpek** *na pispis long dispela taim.*	ST	0823-90-04-12	44	to defecate	1974	1998
pilai pilai/pilpilai	*Ol kaukau tu i no* **pilai pilai**.	ST	0891-91-08-01	3	not negligible, not insignificant	1975	2004

TP Word	Corpus Example	S	Y/Ed.	O	ETr	YfO	YIO
pispis	*Bihain ol masalai i tokim em olsem em i bin dringim **pispis** long wara long wanpela taim...*	ST	0568-85-04-27	10	urine	1974	2003
pispis	*Em bikpela man tasol em pekpek na **pispis** long dispela taim.*	ST	0823-90-04-12	10	to urinate	1974	2003
pitpit	*Em kamap klostu na putim paia long sampela **pitpit** arere long wara.*	ST	1117-95-11-23	9	edible grass variety	1978	2001
planti planti	*Taim ol meri i go daun long wara, ol i kisim **planti planti** liklik maleo na kindam na pis.*	ST	0072-73-07-18	2	very many, lots	1972	2001
popo	*Orait blakbokis ya i lusim bebi na flai i go long gaden bilong ol man na stilim **popo** na banana...*	ST	0456-83-02-19	2	pawpaw, papaya tree and fruit	1983	1983
pukpuk	*Na oltaim **pukpuk** i lukim ol pis bai ol i raunim na kilim ol.*	ST	0660-87-02-19	16	crocodile	1977	1995
pulpul/purpur	*Mi painim **purpur** bilong mi ya.'*	ST	0422-82-06-19	17	grass skirt, ornamental shrubs	1980	1997
rokrok	*Na em i tok i gat wanpela **rokrok** i stap long gaden olsem na tupela i no ken kisim.*	ST	1217-97-10-23	42	frog	1976	1997
saksak	*Nau tupela i kamautim **saksak**.*	ST	1254-98-07-09	76	sago	1975	1999
seksek	*Ol paiawut i **seksek** wantaim na pundaun nabaut.*	ST	0429-82-08-07	7	to shake, to tremble	1978	1997
singsing	*Mi amamas long yu i kam harim **singsing** bilong mi.*	ST	0863-91-01-17	210	dance, festival, song, ritual	1972	2004
singsing	*Nau papa bilong mun ya i **singsing** i stap na i lukim mun i lait long klaut.*	ST	0326-80-08-02	210	to dance, to sing	1972	2004
sipsip	*...kilim 500,000 animel we i makim olsem wan pesen bilong ol kau, **sipsip** na pik insait long UK.*	P3	01-03-29-04	1	sheep	2001	2001
supsup	*Pik i kamap klostu na em i kisim mambu **supsup** na planim stret long sait bilong pik.*	ST	0819-90-03-15	4	spear, arrow	1978	1990

TP Word	Corpus Example	S	Y/Ed.	O	ETr	YfO	YlO
susu	*Em i go daun, kisim naip bilong em na katim tupela **susu** bilong meri.*	ST	0310-80-04-12	45	breast	1974	2004
susu	*Het ya i go pas olsem pikinini save dring **susu** bilong mama.*	ST	0569-85-05-04	45	milk	1974	2004
tanim tanim	*Dispela samting bai **tanim tanim** long graun na wisil.*	ST	0858-90-12-13	4	twist, turn around repeatedly, roll	1982	1990
tantanim	*Na em tu i krai na **tantanim** long graun.*	ST	0384-81-09-19	2	to roll around	1974	1981
tete	*Tete bai mi kisim yu na mi wantaim pren bilong mi bai kaikai.*	ST	0936-92-06-11	1	today	1992	1992
Tingting	*Tingting bilong yupela em gutpela tru.*	ST	1326-99-11-25	475	thought, memory, idea, opinion, intellect, mind	1972	2004
tingting	*Tasol mi **tingting** long ol lapun manmeri na mi tok.*	P3	72-12-20-01	475	to think, to remember, to keep in mind	1972	2004
traim traim	*Dispela kain pasin bilong kam bek na **traim traim** gen, em ol i laikim, i laik lukim.*	P3	76-06-26-04	2	to try repeatedly	1976	1976
tru tru	*Tasol taim ples i laik go tudak, lapun papa i tanim kam man **tru tru** na wokabaut i kam...*	ST	1314-99-09-02	8	absolutely true, very true, genuine	1972	2004
Tultul	*Dipatmen bilong ol Provins bai lukluk long stretim pe bilong ol **Tultul** na Luluai long wok ol i mekim bipo...*	P3	79-12-01-03	1	village official	1979	1979
tupela tupela	*Na yu mas kisim **tupela tupela** long olgeta kain animal, wanpela man na wanpela meri.*	P3	75-02-05-05	3	pairs, 2 of each kind	1975	1985
wan kina, wan kina	*Wan wan i bin kontrak pinis long **wan kina, wan kina**.*	P3	76-01-21-04	1	one kina each	1976	1976
wan wan/ wanwan	*Em i min olsem **wan wan** Provinsal Gavman i wok mak.*	P3	79-12-01-04	116	each, every single one	1973	2004

TP Word	Corpus Example	S	Y/Ed.	O	ETr	YfO	YlO
waswas	*Em i **waswas** pinis na go bek long haus.*	ST	0757-89-01-05-01-12	42	to wash, to bathe	1975	2004
wilwilim	*Na bai **wilwilim** long han na tromoi long graun.*	ST	0858-90-12-13	1	to twist, to spin	1990	1990
i wet i wet	*Na mipela niusman na ripota, mipela i **wet i wet** i stap.*	P3	77-02-05-02	1	to hold out, to wait and wait	1977	1977

Appendix C6: Multifunctionality

TP Word	Corpus Example	S	Y/Ed.	O	ETr	YfO	YlO
amamas	*Ol ami tu i amamas na i tokim ol pipel long noken mekim trabel tasol soim tasol **amamas** bilong ol.*	P3	93-03-27-01	261	happiness, delight, celebration	1973	2004
amamas	*Taim em i **amamas** olsem olgeta manmeri i dai pinis, orait em i larim wara i ron gen.*	ST	1216-97-10-16	261	to celebrate, to rejoice	1973	2004
amamas	*Paiyali i harim dispela tok na em i **amamas**.*	ST	0104-74-11-20	261	happy, content, proud	1973	2004
amamas	*Rose wantaim John Patrick i stap **amamas** tasol tupela wantaim i tok marit laip em i no isi.*	P3	89-06-01-01	261	happily, joyfully	1973	2004
antap	*Taim em i grisim diwai pinis na em yet i go sindaun long hul bilong diwai long **antap** tru.*	ST	0439-82-10-16	437	surface, summit	1972	2004
antap	*Sampela samting ol prais bilong ol i **antap** tru.*	P3	03-07-17-07	437	high (expensive)	1972	2004
antap	*Em i flai i go **antap** long wanpela bikpela diwai talis.*	ST	1168-96-11-14	437	upwards, up, above	1972	2004
antap	*Inivide i harim olsem na em i go **antap** long diwai.*	ST	0761-89-02-02	437	on, up	1972	2004
apil	*...Kerry King i tok taim ol i statim dispela **apil** bilong ol, ol i kisim gutpela sapot tru...*	P3	95-09-21-01	12	appeal	1984	1995
apil	*...Mista Hanai Popon bai **apil** long dispela mekim save kot i givim long en.*	P3	84-06-16-01	12	to appeal	1984	1995
arasait	*Yu bringim mi long ples i stap long **arasait** long wara.*	ST	0080-73-11-21	7	the outside, the other side	1973	1999
arasait	*…gavman i no mekim gutpela pasin long givim kontrak ya i go long wanpela **arasait** kampani.*	P3	93-07-22-05	7	outside, foreign	1973	1999
arasait	*Gavman bilong Skate i mas putim **arasait** politiks na traim long luksave long ol bikpela hevi ...*	P3	99-02-11-02	7	aside	1973	1999

TP Word	Corpus Example	S	Y/Ed.	O	ETr	YfO	YIO
arasait	*Insait long ol minit ol dispela pipel i stap **arasait** long dispela laip, ol i pilim hepi tu,...*	P3	78-03-25-01	7	outside	1973	1999
askim	*Mista Warena i no bekim dispela **askim** bilong Mista Bourne.*	P3	87-05-14-02	428	a question, enquiry	1972	2004
askim	*Na em i **askim** ol manmeri na ol i soim em haus na em i go.*	ST	1226-97-12-25	428	to ask, to enquire	1972	2004
asua	*Lady Kidu i tok olsem **asua** em i stap wantaim ol lida husat i save laikim tumas pawa.*	P3	03-07-17-06	65	blame, fault	1974	2004
asua	*Olsem na kot i painim yu i **asua** olsem na kot i pulim yu long 6-pela mun probesen.*	P3	95-01-04-02	65	blamable, to be at fault	1974	2004
bagarap	*Na i no gat **bagarap** i kamap.*	P3	93-08-26-05	83	damage	1973	2004
bagarap	*`Yupela olgeta i mas kam, ples i **bagarap** pinis nau ya.'*	ST	0573-85-06-01	83	damaged, broken	1973	2004
bekim	*Sapos pikinini i gat sampela **bekim**, orait, rait tasol.*	P3	75-03-19-03	171	an answer, a reply	1972	2004
bekim	*Olsem na mi **bekim** dispela dinau.*	ST	0936-92-06-11	171	to answer, to return, to repay	1972	2004
belhat	*Ol i laik autim dispela **belhat** long ol bikman bilong ol na long gavman.*	P3	89-02-09-01	65	anger	1972	2004
belhat	*Mi **belhat** long yu.*	ST	0936-92-06-11	65	angry, upset	1972	2004
bel hevi/ belhevi	*Sem taim i gat sampela **belhevi** olsem haiwe em bikpela kontrakta, Curtain Brothers, i no wokim gut.*	P3	98-04-09-03	10	a trouble, a worry	1974	1998
bel hevi/ belhevi	*Nesenel Pati i **belhevi** long Mista Wingti...*	P3	86-08-09-03	10	troubled, worried	1974	1998
bilip	*Tasol i gat **bilip** olsem kefiu bai stap yet…*	P3	96-06-20-01	104	belief	1974	2004
bilip	*Em nau mama i lukim na em i **bilip**.*	ST	0761-89-02-02	104	to believe (in)	1974	2004

TP Word	Corpus Example	S	Y/Ed.	O	ETr	YfO	YIO
bruk daun	*Ol i bilip bai dispela tok pait i bringim kamap **bruk daun** namel long dispela 5-pati gavman bilong Mista Wingti.*	P3	86-08-09-03	4	breakdown	1986	2004
bruk daun	*Taim haus bilong tupela bagarap o **bruk daun** tupela yet i save katim ol nupela diwai...*	ST	0648-86-11-20	4	to break down	1986	2004
bung	*Ol i tok dispela **bung** long Cairns em i bin taim we ol dispela kain askim i mas kamap.*	P3	03-09-04-02	148	meeting, gathering	1972	2004
bung	*Olgeta i **bung** na stat long raunim kunai.*	ST	0785-89-07-20-07-26	148	to meet, to get together	1972	2004
dai	*Ol i stap na pasim tok long bekim **dai** bilong mama bilong tupela.*	ST	0310-80-04-12	279	death	1972	2004
dai	*Papa na mama bilong tupela i bin **dai** taim tupela i liklik yet.*	ST	0981-93-04-22	279	to die, to faint, to end	1974	2004
dai	*Long taim ol i lukluk i go insait long limbum ol i lukim pis i **dai** i stap insait.*	ST	700-87-11-26-12-03	279	unconscious, dead	1974	2004
danis	*Bihain long kaikai long nait, ol sumatin i holim wanpela **danis**.*	P3	94-09-15-04	15	a dance	1975	2004
danis	*…na mipela kisim liklik tokwin olsem sampela long ol i bin **danis** wantaim ol lain…*	P3	04-04-22-04	15	to dance	1975	2004
dinau	*Madang Jenerel Haus sik i gat **dinau** abrusim K31,000.*	P3	92-09-10-04	61	debt	1975	2003
dinau	*Em i tok long 1987, Panga i **dinau** K12 milien long CIC.*	P3	97-10-02-03	61	to owe	1975	2003
doti	*...bai kisim bikpela bagarap long graun na **doti** bilong ol skin diwai bai i pulapim ol rif bilong ol.*	P3	95-10-26-01	7	dirt	1973	1996
doti	*Wara ya i **doti** ya.*	ST	0422-82-06-19	7	dirty	1973	1996
drai	*...dispela hevi i bin kamap bikos long taim bilong bikpela san na **drai** long kantri...*	P3	98-04-09-01	52	drought	1973	1998

TP Word	Corpus Example	S	Y/Ed.	O	ETr	YfO	YIO
drai	*Na olgeta wara long bus i **drai**.*	ST	0757-89-01-05-01-12	52	dried up, dry	1973	1998
dring	*...long dring bia na ol strongpela **dring** bilong ol arapela kantri*	P3	04-07-29-08-04-04	82	a drink	1974	2004
dring	*`Mi laik **dring** wara ya.'*	ST	0573-85-06-01	82	to drink	1974	2004
edministretiv	*Ol i no laik Nesenel Gavman i lukautim ol wok olsem **edministretiv**, ekonomi, fainens na teksesen,...*	P3	89-05-18-02	4	administration	1989	2003
edministretiv	*...bikpela hevi we em i lukim aninit long dispela rifom sistem em long sait bilong **edministretiv** straksa.*	P3	02-01-02-04	4	administrative	1989	2003
edvetaising	*Dispela kain **edvetaising** i helpim mi.*	P3	77-01-29-03	6	advertising, advertisement	1977	1977
edvetaising	*...WANTOK niuspepa i lusim bikpela mani bikos em i tambu long **edvetaising** long bia na long sigaret.*	P3	77-01-29-03	6	to advertise	1977	1977
ekseketiv/ eksekyutiv	*Lasaro em olpela sief **eksekyutiv** o bikbos bilong CIC.*	P3	97-10-02-02	43	executive, chief,	1979	2004
ekseketiv/ eksekyutiv	*Nesenel **Eksekyutiv** Kaunsil (NEC) sasim pinis ol bikman bilong Difens Fos...*	P3	89-02-09-02	43	executive, managing	1979	2004
fainal/fainel	*Long nau yet i gat 4-pela gem i stap yet bipo long ol bikpela pilai bilong **fainel** bai kamap.*	P3	88-07-07-01	10	a/the final, end game	1985	1996
fainal/fainel	*Tasol ol i no inap long mekim ol **fainal** disisen.*	P3	96-01-04-01	10	final, ultimate, conclusive	1985	1996
fowat	*Ol **fowat** bilong Panthers Phillip Lokombo, Robert Jakis, Bernard Waketsi na Tara Korae...*	P3	88-07-07-02	10	a forward (player in rugby)	1988	1991
fowat	*Wests i mas kamap wantaim ol sampela bikpela pawa long **fowat** lain bilong ol…*	P3	88-07-07-01	10	forward	1988	1991
fowat	*Kepten Nathan Para yet bai i go pas long **fowat**.*	P3	91-05-09-02	10	forward	1988	1991

TP Word	Corpus Example	S	Y/Ed.	O	ETr	YfO	YIO
general/ jeneral/ Jenerel	*...komanda bilong ami Brigedia **Jenerel** Jerry Singirok.*	P3	99-03-25-02	36	(brigadier)-general	1982	2004
general/ jeneral/ Jenerel	*Jenerel menesa bilong Coca Cola, Chris Cameron i bin tokaut long dispela…*	P3	91-06-06-01	36	general (manager)	1982	2004
giaman	*Tasol **giaman** bilong Magani i mekim na tupela i birua tude.*	ST	0936-92-06-11	69	lie, nonsense	1974	2004
giaman	*...em i mekim planti taim tumas nau na ol i save olsem, em i wok long **giaman**.*	ST	0310-80-04-12	69	to lie, to pretend, to deceive	1974	2004
giaman	*Masalai meri i tokim **giaman** tambu long stori bilong em.*	ST	0880-91-05-16	69	false, fake, deceitful	1974	2004
go het/gohet	*Ol deliget i amamas tru long **go het** bilong Papua Niugini.*	P3	77-01-29-01	90	progess, development	1973	2004
go het/gohet	*Em i tok hevi ya i wok long **go het** long longpela taim nau.*	P3	96-0-18-01	90	to go ahead, to develop	1973	2004
gris	*Sandaun pipel i mas was gut na noken pundaun na harim **gris** bilong sampela lain...*	P3	00-03-09-04	31	flattery	1975	2003
gris	*Ol i **gris** i go na tupela i givim kaikai na Bokol i kaikai.*	ST	0979-93-04-08	31	to flatter, to flirt, to bribe	1975	2003
gro	*…long helpim kamapim polisi bilong Gavman long kamapim ekonomik **gro**…*	P3	04-07-29-08-04-04	11	growth	1977	2004
gro	*Na nupela gras bai **gro**, bihain long ol sua i pinis.*	P3	87-05-14-01	11	to grow, to increase	1977	2004
guria	*Draipela **guria** i sekim ailan.*	ST	0429-82-08-07	31	earthquake, tremor, trembling	1974	2004
guria	*Man, em i **guria** nogut tru.*	ST	0333-80-09-20	31	to tremble, to shiver	1974	2004

TP Word	Corpus Example	S	Y/Ed.	O	ETr	YfO	YIO
gutpela	*...skelim ol lo bilong kantri na mekim wanem kain senis ol i ken mekim long **gutpela** bilong kantri.*	P3	98-04-09-02	524	good, benefit	1972	2004
gutpela	*Long bipo tru i gat tupela **gutpela** pren tru i stap.*	ST	1198-97-06-12	524	good, nice, fine	1972	2004
Hangre/ hangare/ hangere	*Hangre i bagarapim em nogut tru…*	ST	0950-92-09-17	49	hunger	1973	2004
hangre/ hangare/ hangere	*Bikos ol i **hangre** nogut tru na i no inap long wet.*	ST	0791-89-09-06	49	hungry	1973	2004
hariap	*...ol i laik bai gavman i noken **hariap** long kamapim praivetaisesen na len mobilaisesen.*	P3	01-08-02-05	133	to hurry, to hasten	1973	2004
hariap	*...Fainens Divisen bilong Difens Fos i no stretim **hariap** pe bilong ol soldia.*	P3	89-02-09-02	133	quickly, fast	1973	2004
hat	*Na i go longtaim nau, **hat** bilong paia i kisim papa bilong em na em i kirap gen.*	ST	0314-80-05-10	99	heat	1973	2004
hat	*Man i kisim dispela sik bai pilim skin i **hat**, het i pen na bel i pen.*	P3	87-11-12-05	99	hot	1973	2004
helpim	*Dispela **helpim** bilong Australia i kam aninit long wanpela tingting bilong Wol helt Ogenaisesen...*	P3	88-08-04-02	333	help, aid, support	1972	2004
helpim	*Tenkyu tru long **helpim** mi.*	ST	0891-91-08-01	333	to help, to support	1972	2004
hevi	*Na bai i no inap putim **hevi** long em.*	ST	0779-89-06-08	275	problem, load, blame, weight, responsibility, burden	1974	2004
hevi	*Gavana Kas i tok lo na oda em i no **hevi** long kantri.*	P3	00-04-06-05		problematic, heavy, tired, sad, sleepy	1974	2004

TP Word	Corpus Example	S	Y/Ed.	O	ETr	YfO	YIO
holide	*Long Zaire gavman i tambuim Krismas, namba wan* **holide** *bilong ol Kristen.*	P3	75-06-11-01	7	a holiday, a break, a vacation	1974	1992
holide	*Long Sande yumi* **holide***.*	P3	76-01-21-03	7	to holiday, to take/go on a vacation	1974	1992
indai	*Tasol ol lain masalai i kam bek na askim tupela long stretim* **indai** *bilong bos bilong ol.*	ST	0674-87-05-28	100	death	1973	2004
indai	*Sapos yu kam daun bai yu* **indai***,' tewel man singaut strong tru i go antap long boi ya olsem.*	ST	0963-92-12-17	100	to die, to faint, to end	1973	2004
indai	*Papamama bilong tupela* **indai** *pinis.*	ST	0648-86-11-20	100	unconscious, dead	1973	2004
kaikai	*Em i* **kaikai** *bilong yupela.*	ST	1564-04-06-17	840	food, meat	1972	2004
kaikai	*Mitupela i toktok na em i* **kaikai** *buai wantaim mi.*	ST	0072-73-07-18	840	to eat, to chew, to feed on	1972	2004
kalabus	*Maski long sasim man na salim em long* **kalabus***.*	P3	87-03-05-01	25	prison	1975	1998
kalabus	*Wok bilong dispela skwat em long painim ples we ol raskol save stap, painim ol* **kalabus** *husat i ranawe…*	P3	88-12-15-02	25	prisoner	1975	1998
kalabus	*Na sapos aninit long 6 mun ol i ken i go bek olsem memba nating bihain long ol i pinis* **kalabus***.*	P3	84-06-16-01	25	to serve one's time	1975	1998
kalabus	*Tupela fridom paitman bilong Wes Irian i* **kalabus** *yet long Bomana...*	P3	79-01-20-01	25	imprisoned	1975	1998
kam bek	*Mipela olgeta i was na wetim* **kam bek** *bilong gutpela taim.*	P3	97-03-27-03	184	come back, return	1974	2004
kam bek	*Em ting liklik brata tasol bai* **kam bek***.*	ST	1117-95-11-23	184	to come back, to return	1974	2004
Kaunim/ kauntim	*Kaunim bilong ol vot i go het yet aste apinun na nau gen long morning.*	P3	99-07-08-03	17	count, counting	1982	2000

TP Word	Corpus Example	S	Y/Ed.	O	ETr	YfO	YIO
kaunim/ kauntim	*Na tu sampela ol vot ol i no bin **kaunim** long 1997...*	P3	99-03-25-03	17	to count	1982	2000
kem	*Em i tok olsem: Ol i no stap gut nau; ol i stap long ol **kem** na ol i no hepi; ol i pret.*	P3	79-01-20-01	19	camp	1979	1999
kem	*Na em ting ol wel abus i save **kem** long dispela hap.*	ST	1226-97-12-25	19	to camp	1979	1999
kempen/ kempein	*Dispela **kempein** bai i kisim olsem 1600 skul olgeta long kantri.*	P3	03-10-23-02	19	campaign	1982	2003
kempen/ kempein	*Tasol em i lusim wok na i go **kempen** long eria bilong em.*	P3	84-07-21-02	19	to campaign	1982	2003
kibung	*Na em i skruim taim bilong dispela **kibung** i kam gen long dispela Fonde, 2 Oktoba.*	P3	86-10-02-06	55	meeting, gathering	1972	2004
kibung	*...dispela bikpela singsing long wanpela wik bihain long dispela de ol i **kibung** long en.*	ST	0596-85-11-16	55	to meet, to get together	1972	2004
kirap	*Na bihain ol i ken tokaut long **kirap** bilong dispela bikrot.*	P3	86-09-11-02	452	resurrection, development	1972	2004
kirap	*Mutura i **kirap** na putim ai i go long ol man.*	ST	1345-00-04-06	452	arise, awake, start, begin, get up	1972	2004
kol	*Ol i go insait na pilim gutpela **kol** tru na ol i traim long testim [traim] na i swit gut tru...*	ST	1210-97-09-04	14	cold, coolness, chill	1974	2003
kol	*Tupela i waswas gut tru na skin bilong tupela i **kol** gut.*	ST	0546-84-11-17	14	cold, cool	1974	2003
komplen	*Taim wok i kamap yet, i bin gat bikpela **komplen** long dispela.*	P3	98-04-09-03	22	complaint	1985	2004
komplen	*Sampela pipel i **komplen** pinis long dispela.*	P3	90-06-14-02	22	to complain	1985	2004
kontrak/ kontrekt	*Sandlain **kontrak** i kos US$36 milien na PNG gavman i kisim ol helikopta na CASA balus.*	P3	99-03-25-02	37	contract	1975	2003

TP Word	Corpus Example	S	Y/Ed.	O	ETr	YfO	YIO
kontrak/ kontrekt	*Pater Walter Lini i flai i kam long Mosbi na em i **kontrak** wantaim Praim Minista, Sir Julius Chan...*	P3	80-08-16-01	37	to (close a) contract	1975	2003
kos	*Mista Kanawi i tok **kos** bilong kirapim dispela projek long Josepstal na Ramu eria...*	P3	99-03-25-01	43	cost, costs	1976	2003
kos	*Em i tok rausim rijinel sit bikos em **kos** bikpela mani tru long kempen na kamapim planti open sit.*	P3	01-08-02-01	43	to cost	1976	2003
kot	*Pilaia husat i takol i sanap nau long **kot**.*	P3	91-05-09-03	285	court, trial, accusation	1973	2004
kot	*Em bel kaskas na singautim liklik brata i kam, na ol i **kot**.*	ST	1117-95-11-23	285	to bring to trial, to accuse, to argue	1973	2004
krai	*Dispela em i **krai** bilong ol pipel yet.*	P3	78-10-14-01	236	cry, shout, call	1972	2004
krai	*Em wari na **krai** nogut tru.*	ST	1252-98-06-25	236	to cry, to shout, to call	1972	2004
kriminel	*Em i tok Mista Waieng i mekim em i luk olsem wanpela **kriminel** o man bilong brukim lo...*	P3	98-12-03-03	6	criminal, culprit	1991	2001
kriminel	*...dispela pilaia i mas bungim **kriminel** sas.*	P3	91-05-09-03	6	criminal, illegal	1991	2001
kros	*Jenerel Seketeri bilong PNGTUC i tok em i nogat wanpela **kros** o bel nogut long ol beng…*	P3	99-08-19-02	87	anger, grudge	1972	2004
kros	*Mi **kros** wantaim bikpela brata bilong mi.*	ST	1117-95-11-23	87	angry, upset	1972	2004
laik	*Em i **laik** bilong Provinsal Gavman tasol.*	P3	79-12-01-01	769	desire, wish, love, will	1972	2004
laik	*Mi **laik** autim wari bilong mi.*	P3	72-12-20-01	769	to want to, to like to, to wish	1972	2004
laikim	*...ol tingting bilong politiks na kisium biknem i mas raus na dispela **laikim** bilong ol manmeri i mas…*	P3	97-09-04-03	164	wish, will	1974	2004
laikim	*Sapos yu **laikim** mi long helpim yu bai mi helpim yu ya.*	ST	0757-89-01-05-01-12	164	to wish, to want	1974	2004

TP Word	Corpus Example	S	Y/Ed.	O	ETr	YfO	YIO
lain	*Na braunpela pisin tu i go sanap long **lain**.*	ST	1024-94-02-10	471	line, clan, family, group, rope, plantation	1973	2004
lain	*Ol i resis, i pait, i **lain**, na i raitim nem long pepa.*	P3	75-05-14-02	471	to line up, to learn	1973	2004
laip	*Long **laip** bilong yu bai yu stap olsem pik.*	ST	0618-86-05-03	73	life	1974	2004
laip	*Tasol planti long ol i stap **laip** yet.*	ST	1204-97-07-24	73	alive	1974	2004
lait	*Na bikpela **lait** i kamap na ol kain kain piksa i kamap wantaim ol singsing…*	ST	1216-97-10-16	80	light	1972	2004
lait	*Lait bilong tos i **lait** yet.*	ST	0342-80-11-22	80	to burn, to shine	1972	2004
lait	*Nau yumi lukim i go antap long skai long nait taim, yu bai lukim foapela star i **lait** moa i stap long Saut.*	ST	0214-78-04-15	80	bright, shiny, illuminated	1972	2004
laki	*Sapos yu win, em **laki** bilong yu.*	P3	03-07-17-07	15	luck, good fortune; gambling	1975	2001
laki	*Dispela de em i no **laki** olsem ol arapela de.*	ST	1252-98-06-25	15	lucky, fortunate	1975	2001
Laki	*Laki tru na i no gat arapela ka o man i sanap i stap long taim ka i bin ranawe.*	P3	89-0-05-02	15	luckily, fortunately	1975	2001
lapun	*Orait **lapun** i go kisim pikinini meri long em kam givim long Ganeme.*	ST	0759-89-01-19-01-25	498	old man, old woman, old person	1972	2004
lapun	*Em yet i **lapun** tru.*	ST	0596-85-11-16	498	old, elderly	1972	2004
liklik	*Ol i pait i go na **liklik** brata bilong Mumuro i kamap.*	ST	0433-82-09-04	688	little, small, young	1972	2004
liklik	*Em i singaut **liklik** tasol olsem, 'Mi no gat lek na han bilong kam long yu.'*	ST	0887-91-07-04	688	a bit, a little	1972	2004
lok	*Kiyo i save pilai long **lok** posisen.*	P3	91-05-09-01	2	lock	1991	1997
lok	*Tasol nogat, bikpela ston long dua bilong dispela hul i pas na olgeta brata i **lok** insait.*	ST	1220-97-11-13	2	locked up, closeted	1991	1997

TP Word	Corpus Example	S	Y/Ed.	O	ETr	YfO	YlO
longpela	*Ol i wokabaut long **longpela** retpela kapet o tepik, longpela bilong em inap 150 mita.*	P3	77-02-05-02	108	length, size	1973	2004
longpela	*Em i wokim olsem na i stap **longpela** taim tru long bus.*	ST	0604-86-01-18	108	long, tall, high	1973	2004
lotu	*Tasol mi lukim ol i no save i go long **lotu**.*	P3	76-06-26-03	38	worship, service, church	1972	2004
lotu	*Sampela i tingting long mekim bikpela pati na planti moa i laik go **lotu**.*	P3	85-12-14-02	38	to worship	1972	2004
lukaut	*Olgeta operesen long Bogenvil bai i kam aninit long **lukaut** na kontrol bilong PNG Difens fos...*	P3	99-03-25-02	34	watch, supervision, care	1972	2004
lukaut	*Yu mas **lukaut**.*	ST	0339-80-11-01	34	to watch (over), to watch (out), to care	1972	2004
lukluk	*Ol piksa i soim ol lain wantaim sik HIV/AIDS na **lukluk** bilong skin na bodi...*	P3	96-11-07-03	248	looks, appearance	1973	2004
lukluk	*Yangpela meri i hait na **lukluk** long snek na em i pret na krai.*	ST	1206-97-08-07	248	to look, to see, to watch	1973	2004
Luksave	*Luksave i mas i go long Leit Sir Anthony Siaguru...*	P3	04-04-22-04	79	recognition, investigation, acknowledgement	1981	2004
luksave	*Tasol ol pipel long bikples i no **luksave** long man na meri ya.*	ST	0504-84-01-28	79	to recognize, to investigate, to acknowledge	1981	2004
lus	*Sapos tim bilong yu i **lus**, noken brukim ol plet o kap o paitim meri o pikinini o arapela.*	P3	04-07-08-05	96	to lose	1973	2004
lus	*Ol i wokabaut de na nait planti mun tru i **lus** long rot.*	ST	0647-86-11-13	96	lost, gone, missing	1973	2004
lus	*Em i lukluk i go na i kamap long wanpela hap rot we ol rop i **lus** na wanpela i bruk.*	ST	0314-80-05-10	96	loose, untied	1973	2004
Luteran	*Olsem na ol Katolik Sios na ol **Luteran** i traim long kirapim ol liklik pisin skul…*	P3	76-02-04-01	2	Lutherans	1976	1994

TP Word	Corpus Example	S	Y/Ed.	O	ETr	YfO	YIO
Luteran	*Samting olsem 20 wimens lida bilong lotu Katolik, […] na Gutnius **Luteran** Sios…*	P3	94-02-03-03	2	Lutheran	1976	1994
malolo	*Planti pipel long taun bai go bek long ples na ol wokman bai i kisim **malolo**.*	P3	85-12-14-02	18	rest, break	1973	2004
malolo	*Na tupela i **malolo**.*	ST	0422-82-06-19	18	to rest, to take a break	1973	2004
marimari	*...i gat wanpela rot i kamap long Heven, i gat wanpela pasin bilong winim **marimari** bilong God.*	P3	74-05-15-04	96	pity, mercy	1974	2004
marimari	*Mi man bilong yu stret, **marimari** na lusim rop long mi.'*	ST	0723-88-05-12-05-18	3	to have pity, to have mercy	1974	2004
marit	*Bai i gat ol hevi i kamap long laip tasol tupela i tok bai ol i strong na mekim **marit** bilong ol i kamap gut.*	P3	89-06-01-01	123	marriage	1974	2004
marit	*I stap tasol long em na tupela i **marit**.*	ST	0333-80-09-20	123	to get married	1974	2004
marit	*Dispela tupela man i no **marit**.*	ST	0972-93-02-18	123	married	1974	2004
mas	*Long Sarere sampela lain long Mosbi i belhat na mekim bikpela protes **mas** long Mosbi…*	P3	88-12-15-02	668	march	1972	2004
mas	*Tasol ol i sakim tok na **mas** i go long Palamen Haus.*	P3	89-02-09-02	668	to march	1972	2004
meknais	*Na em i pilim **meknais** i kamap long buk olsem na em i askim poroman bilong em...*	ST	0546-84-11-17	6	movement, sound	1982	1996
meknais	*Tasol taim em i kamap klostu long bilum na lukluk i go insait, liklik Nema i no **meknais** o pulim win.*	ST	0834-90-06-28	6	to move, to make a sound, to shake	1982	1996
mining	*Nating i gut tu yumi mas klia long **mining** bilong kristen kantri.*	P3	76-01-21-03	6	meaning, intention	1976	2000
mining	*…kosa bilong Balmain i tok sapos wanpela pilaia i **mining** long bagarapim narapela pilaia long fil,...*	P3	91-05-09-03	6	to mean, to intend	1976	2000

TP Word	Corpus Example	S	Y/Ed.	O	ETr	YfO	YIO
miting	*Long dispela **miting**, ol i bin pasim tok long wei bilong glasim na stretim ol hevi bilong 2000 Nesenel Senses.*	P3	00-03-09-02	22	meeting, assembly, gathering	1972	2003
miting	*Nesenel Kot Rejistra, Lawrence Newel i tok ol bai **miting** pastaim na makim ol de bilong kot.*	P3	92-09-10-01	22	to meet, to get together	1972	2003
mosen	*Olsem nau em i tekewe dispela **mosen** long palamen.*	ST	78-09-02-03	11	motion	1977	2004
mosen	*Kebinet bilong Praim Minista i bin **mosen** long wanpela 5 yia plen bilong edukesen long yia i go pinis.*	P3	77-02-05-01	11	to put forward a motion	1977	2004
muv	*Ol liklik groa i sapotim dispela **muv** bilong CIC.*	P3	97-10-02-02	18	move, step, motion	1974	1999
muv	*Man ya i no pilim olsem huk bilong em i **muv**.*	ST	1103-95-08-17	18	to move	1974	1999
nogut	*...i no bin tokaut stret long gutpela na **nogut** bilong dispela ol senis bai kamap…*	P3	95-05-11-01	494	badness, evil, misfortune	1972	2004
nogut	*Tasol dispela ol manmeri ol i no gutpela manmeri ol i save mekim kain kain pasin **nogut**.*	ST	0250-79-01-20	494	bad, terrible, evil	1972	2004
nogut	*Man em sore na krai **nogut** tru.*	ST	1254-98-07-09	494	badly, terribly, extremely, very	1972	2004
nogut	*Olgeta pipel i harim tok bilong em; i no gat wanpela i sakim - **nogut** em i bagarap o i lus.*	P3	78-09-02-01	494	lest	1972	2004
ofa	*Yu mas taitim bun; yu mas mekim **ofa**.*	P3	76-02-04-04	4	offer, sacrifice	1973	1976
ofa	*Em i wet. Em i **ofa**.*	P3	75-06-11-06	4	to offer, to sacrifice	1973	1976
on	*Mista Kaputin i bin putim **on** swis bilong kirapim masin bilong brukim kopa long belo taim…*	P3	86-09-11-01	4	on	1986	2003
on	*"Kam **on** Dokta Pok, yu mas klia gut pastaim bihain long yu mekim giaman toktok...*	P3	99-03-25-02	4	on	1986	2003
ovasis	*Mista Kari i tok sapos PNG i hostim ol kain bung olsem, em inap long pulim **ovasis** mani i kam long kantri.*	P3	03-01-02-02	53	overseas	1982	2004

TP Word	Corpus Example	S	Y/Ed.	O	ETr	YfO	YIO
ovasis	*...stapim ol timba kampani long katim diwai long Papua Niugini na Solomon Ailan na salim i go long **ovasis**.*	P3	93-08-26-01	53	overseas	1982	2004
pablik	*Tasol em i no samting bilong rait i go long Wantok Niuspepa na putim long **pablik**, nogat.*	P3	74-07-17-03	121	the public	1974	2004
pablik	*Ol **pablik** sevan na ol tisa i no kisim wanpela alokesen long baset bilong dispela yia.*	P3	01-12-20-01	121	public	1974	2004
paia	*Tasol i nogat **paia** bilong kukim pik.*	ST	1072-95-01-12		fire	1973	2004
paia	*...Leith Anderson i tok olsem i tru maunten i **paia** tasol em i no bikpela samting tumas.*	P3	89-01-05-01		to erupt, to get started, to kick off	1973	2004
paia	*Noak i tromoi sayor wantaim mit bilong pikinini i **paia** tru na olsem ol i kamap blak olgeta.*	ST	0070-73-06-20	247	well cooked, burnt	1973	2004
pairap	*Na long taim kanu i ron namel long wara, dispela **pairap** bilong petrol dram i kamap.*	P3	87-05-14-01	42	explosion, grumbling, crash	1973	2004
pairap	*Olsem tasol taim mipela i harim klaut i **pairap** mipela i save em tupela brata i pait gen.*	ST	0064-73-03-21	42	to explode, to grumble, to crash	1973	2004
pait	*Pasin bilong kros na **pait** na bel hat i stap.*	ST	0146-76-08-21	188	fight, quarrel, war	1972	2004
pait	*Ol tripela i **pait** wantaim poket naip na dispela hevi i kamapim bikpela moa.*	P3	96-01-04-03	188	to fight, to quarrel	1972	2004
pait	*...ol i stap nogut long ai bilong God, na pasin nogut na pasin **pait** em i go pulap pinis long olgeta hap.*	P3	75-02-05-05	188	quarrelsome	1972	2004
pekpek	*Tewel man ya i holim **pekpek** ya na pundaun antap na kam daun.*	ST	1222-97-11-27	44	faeces, dung, shit	1974	1998
pekpek	*Em bikpela man tasol em **pekpek** na pispis long dispela taim.*	ST	0823-90-04-12	44	to defecate	1974	1998
pen	*Tasol em pilim **pen** na i no singaut bikpela.*	ST	0887-91-07-04	37	pain	1973	2003

TP Word	Corpus Example	S	Y/Ed.	O	ETr	YfO	YIO
pen	*Bel bilong dispela meri i* **pen** *nogut tru.*	ST	0135-76-03-20	37	to hurt	1973	2003
plen	*Gavman i redim pinis* **plen** *bilong autim ol pipel.*	P3	89-01-05-01	52	plan, intention, scheme	1977	2004
plen	*Tupela i pren longpela taim pinis na boi ya i plen olsem bai em i kisim meri ya i go long ol lain bilong em.*	ST	0979-93-04-08	52	to plan, to intend	1977	2004
pilai	*Dispela* **pilai** *bai kamap long 2.45pm.*	P3	85-12-14-01	123	game, play	1972	2004
pilai	*Kiyo i save* **pilai** *long lok posisen.*	P3	91-05-09-01	123	to play	1972	2004
pilim	*Olsem* **pilim** *bilong dok em i gut long em.*	ST	0189-77-09-24	109	feeling	1974	2004
pilim	*Olsem na ol i save* **pilim** *hangre tru.*	ST	0439-82-10-16	109	to feel	1974	2004
pinis	*Mani ol i kisim long* **pinis** *bilong ol em 2.5 taim moa long mani ol i bin putim pinis long supa anuesen fan.*	P3	83-01-15-01	1111	end, finish	1972	2004
pinis	*Stori i* **pinis** *tasol long hia.*	ST	0757-89-01-05-01-12	1111	to end, to finish, to stop	1972	2004
pinis	*Tasol lukaut, rot kolta i* **pinis** *nau.*	P3	78-09-02-01	1111	over, ready, done, gone, complete	1972	2004
pinis	*Na wanpela lida bilong dispela lain i dai* **pinis**.	P3	80-06-28-01	1111	already	1972	2004
pipia	*"Mipela i bungim tripela ton* **pipia** *long ka na go tromoi.*	P3	95-05-11-02	29	rubbish, dirt, leavings	1980	2004
pipia	*Em nau, papa i rausim olgeta gutpela bilas bilong em na putim* **pipia** *klos nabaut.*	ST	0360-81-04-04	29	dirty, ragged	1980	2004
pispis	*Bihain ol masalai i tokim em olsem em i bin dringim* **pispis** *long wara long wanpela taim...*	ST	0568-85-04-27	10	urine	1974	2003
pispis	*Em bikpela man tasol em pekpek na* **pispis** *long dispela taim.*	ST	0823-90-04-12	10	to urinate	1974	2003

TP Word	Corpus Example	S	Y/Ed.	O	ETr	YfO	YIO
politik	*Ol bikman bilong **politik** i wok long sutim pinga na poinim narapela memba…*	P3	78-09-02-01	3	politics	1978	1995
politik	*Mista Skate i bilip olsem dispela em i wanpela pasin **politik** bilong bagarapim ol sapota…*	P3	00-03-09-01	2	political	1986	2000
posin	*Ol i mas wokim bikpela raun wara tru (dam) long stapim ol **posin** i kam long faktori...*	P3	83-01-15-02	7	poison	1983	1999
posin	*Ol **posin** kemikol we ol i yusim long wokim ol plastik kontena…*	P3	99-08-19-01	7	poisonous	1983	1999
prea	*Mi olsem wanpela Kristen meri bai mi go long **prea** Nait long Asembli of God Sios long Gordon.*	P3	85-12-14-02	2	prayer	1974	1985
prea	*Sapos yumi laik bihainim ol mandato, yumi ken; sapos yumi laik **prea**, yumi ken;*	P3	74-07-17-05	2	to pray	1974	1985
pret	*Tasol Sir Julius Chan i bekim olsem em i no inap long go daun nating olsem long **pret** bilong sotgan.*	P3	97-03-27-02	118	fear	1973	2004
pret	*...em i wok long **pret** long brata bilong em i painimaut olsem em tasol i bin putim ol dispela bilas …*	ST	0601-85-12-21	118	to fear	1973	2004
pret	*Pastaim meri ya i save **pret**.*	ST	0568-85-04-27	118	afraid	1973	2004
promis	*Jisas i holim tru **promis** bilong em; em i ankaim tru bilip bilong yumi.*	P3	75-03-19-05	31	promise	1975	2001
promis	*"NPF i **promis** long wok gut nau"*	P3	85-12-14-04	31	to promise	1975	2001
protes	*Em bai inap long bikpela **protes** i kamap long Vanimo taun.*	P3	86-10-02-01	11	protest	1982	2001
protes	*...long harim olsem ol Difens Fos i **protes** long Mosbi…*	P3	89-02-09-04	11	to protest	1982	2001
pul	*...taim bikpela brata bilong Bokol i kamap long haus long kisim **pul**, man, em i kirap nogut tru...*	ST	0979-93-04-08	28	paddle, oar	1974	1997

TP Word	Corpus Example	S	Y/Ed.	O	ETr	YfO	YIO
pul	*Ol i **pul** i go ausait long si na Palai i tok...*	ST	0661-87-02-26	28	to paddle, to row	1974	1997
rabis	*Nau **rabis** i pulap.*	P3	04-07-08-05	20	rubbish, dirt, leavings	1972	2004
rabis	*"Mi no gutpela meri. Mi wanpela **rabis** meri.*	ST	0577-85-06-29	20	poor, worthless, bad, useless	1972	2004
raun	*Nau yet tim i winim olgeta gem bilong **raun**.*	P3	91-05-09-01		round, season	1973	2004
raun	*Ol i **raun** i go na go long bikbus tru.*	ST	0972-93-02-18		to go around, to circle		
raun	*...em kisim wanpela bikpela rop na pasim long nek bilong Kawo na pulim em **raun** long haus.*	ST	0723-88-05-12-05-18		around		
resis	*I gat namba tu **resis** bilong ol meri bai kamap namel long Stimsips na Gasel.*	P3	85-12-14-01	60	race, competition	1973	2004
resis	*Palai ya Wawuyonk na pren bilong em Kewul i harim na tupela wantaim i laik **resis** tu.*	ST	0660-87-02-19	60	to race, to compete	1973	2004
rait	*Olsem na em i gat olgeta **rait** long dispela hap graun we kampani i operet long en.*	P3	03-01-02-03	54	right, authorisation	1972	2004
rait	*Welman i wok long traim kain kain trik, tasol man tru ya i wok long givim ol **rait** ansa [bekim tok]…*	ST	0360-81-04-04	54	right, correct, legitimate	1972	2004
ran/ron	*Dispela em i wanpela spesel **ran** em ol Lutheran Shiping i no makim long en.*	P3	84-06-16-02	131	operation, management, trip	1974	2004
ran/ron	*Na ol 5-pela brata i **ron** i go na hait insait long bikpela ston.*	ST	1271-98-11-05	131	run, operate, drive	1974	2004
raun	*Olgeta i laikim tru **raun** bilong ol.*	P3	86-10-02-04	180	travels, trip	1973	2004
raun	*...Magani [Kapul] wantaim Dok i save stap, kaikai, **raun** na slip gut wantaim.*	ST	0936-92-06-11	180	to travel, to go around	1973	2004
raun	*…na em i kisim ol galip i kam na putim **raun** long bodi bilong meri.*	ST	0517-84-04-28	180	around	1973	2004

TP Word	Corpus Example	S	Y/Ed.	O	ETr	YfO	YIO
ripot	*Manova i askim pinis ol olpela eksekyutiv long bringim aut ol dispela **ripot**.*	P3	91-05-09-04	201	report	1978	2004
ripot	*Ombudsmen i **ripot** olsem Namaliu na Pora i no mekim stretpela pasin...*	P3	92-05-07-02	201	to report	1978	2004
ritaia	*...o long taim man o meri i kamap long mak bilong **ritaia** o pinis long wok.*	P3	03-09-04-01	3	retirement	1983	2003
ritaia	*Long taim mi **ritaia** bai mi go bek long ples na wok gaden long graun bilong mi.*	P3	86-06-21-01	3	to retire	1983	2003
rives	*Long taim em i tanim ki, ka ya i **rives** i go autsait na i go bamim flet namba 19...*	P3	89-01-05-02	2	to reverse	1989	1989
rives	*Ka i mas stap long **rives** gia long taim man bilong em i pasim aninit long haus.*	P3	89-01-05-02	2	reverse	1989	1989
rong	*Mama bilong ol tasol i as bilong dispela **rong**.*	ST	0314-80-05-10	47	mistake, fault, offence, trouble	1974	2003
rong	*Olsem na wanem samting ol i mekim i **rong**.*	P3	92-01-02-03	47	mistaken, wrong, amiss	1974	2003
salens	*Na tu em i laik stretim olgeta nem na **salens** we i bin kamap long em pastaim...*	P3	01-11-15-01	14	challenge (also in law)	1991	2001
salens	*Bikos dispela i soim olsem wok bilong CRC o CDC bai **salens** wantaim wok bilong Lo Rifom Komisin...*	P3	98-04-09-02	14	to challenge sth (also in law)	1991	2001
sanap	*...Oposisen i no pasim tingting yet long **sanap** bilong ol na ol wok ol bai mekim...*	P3	99-07-08-02	182	stand, line-up, orientation	1973	2004
sanap	*Na em i **sanap** was long pik i stap.*	ST	0238-78-09-30	182	to stand (up), to run for office	1973	2004
saspen	*Mista Ezekiel Brown i kisim **saspen** na lusim wok Menesing Dairekta bilong NPF...*	P3	85.12.11.04	4	suspension	1985	1993
saspen	*Long wanem sapos provinsal gavman i **saspen**, bai i gat wok painimaut i kamap...*	P3	93-02-25-02	4	to suspend	1985	1993

TP Word	Corpus Example	S	Y/Ed.	O	ETr	YfO	YIO
save	*Bikpela brata bilong em i no gat dispela kain **save** bilong em.*	ST	0601-85-12-21	1712	knowledge, skill, wisdom, understanding	1972	2004
save	*Yumi **save**, olgeta manki i ken draivim trak long rot kolta.*	P3	78-09-02-01	1712	to know, to understand	1972	2004
save	*Planti man mi lukim ol i **save** baim dispela pepa na ol i save ritim.*	P3	75-06-11-03	1712	to do habitually, often	1972	2004
sekap	*Dispela **sekap** i mas painimaut long ol mani em Nesenel Gavman i bin tilim i go long Morobe Gavman...*	P3	87-05-14-02	40	checkup, inspection	1980	2001
sekap	*Gavman bai **sekap** long Niugini Nius long lukim sapos ol kain kain ripot i kamap em i tru o nogat.*	P3	86-06-21-03	40	to check up (on), to inspect	1980	2001
sem	*Sampela ol piksa i soim ol **sem** bilong man na meri husat i gat sik HIV/AIDS.*	P3	04-04-22-03	56	the genitals, shame, embarrassment	1972	2004
sem	*Nehemaiiah i lukim olsem na em tu i **sem** nogut tru.*	ST	0834-90-06-28	56	to be ashamed, embarrassed	1972	2004
sem	*Nau, tupela i toksave bai tupela i bungim boi ya gen long **sem** hap long tumora moning.*	ST	1345-00-04-06	56	(the) same	1972	2004
senis	*Sapos em i gutpela nius, orait gutpela **senis** bai kamap...*	P3	04-04-22-01	122	change	1978	2004
senis	*Taim ples i tudak, em i **senis** na kamap yangpela man.*	ST	0669-87-04-23	122	to change, to turn into	1978	2004
sik	*Dispela **sik** i wok long kamapim bikpela bagarap long kantri.*	P3	04-07-08-01	184	illness, disease	1974	2004
sik	*Ol i stap amamas i go na wanpela taim bihain lapun tumbuna bilong tupela i **sik** nogut tru.*	ST	0414-82-05-01	184	ill	1974	2004
sindaun	*Ol manki i mas skul long stretim **sindaun** bilong ol pipel insait long viles.*	P3	78-04-15-01	331	conduct, way of life, social development	1974	2004
sindaun	*Em nau tupela i go **sindaun** na kisim win na malolo.*	ST	1198-97-06-12	331	to sit (down), to live, to stay	1974	2004

TP Word	Corpus Example	S	Y/Ed.	O	ETr	YfO	YlO
Singaut	*Singaut bilong ol pipel i karim kaikai.*	P3	97-03-27-03	164	call, cry, demand, yell, sound, invitation	1973	2004
singaut	*Tasol lapun meri i **singaut** gen.*	ST	0891-91-08-01	164	to call (for, out to), to demand, to make a noise, to invite	1973	2004
singsing	*Mi amamas long yu i kam harim **singsing** bilong mi.*	ST	0863-91-01-17	210	dance, festival, song, ritual	1972	2004
singsing	*Nau papa bilong mun ya i **singsing** i stap na i lukim mun i lait long klaut.*	ST	0326-80-08-02	210	to dance, to sing	1972	2004
skelim	*…na dispela mak go antap long K843,500 i no bikpela **skelim** wantaim dispela bilong 2001 baset.*	P3	01-12-20-01	82	share, portion, ration	1973	2004
skelim	*Tasol taim ol i **skelim** pik pinis, Paiyabe i kisim tupela dok i go long rot...*	ST	0270-79-06-09	82	to share sth, to judge, to weigh	1973	2004
Skoa	*Skoa i bin stap 46-14 na 5 minit tasol i bin stap long pilai.*	P3	88-07-07-02	2	score	1988	1991
skoa	*Bikos ol fowat pilaia bilong Raiders i gat nem long supim het i go insait long trai lain na **skoa**.*	P3	91-05-09-02	2	to score	1988	1991
skul	*Ol pikinini i no go long **skul**.*	P3	97-03-27-03	198	school, lesson, advice, instruction	1974	2003
skul	*Ol manki i mas **skul** long stretim sindaun bilong ol pipel insait long viles.*	P3	78-04-15-01	198	to learn, to teach, to instruct, to attend school	1974	2003
smel	*...na diwai i gat gutpela na naispela **smel** na tu i gat plaua bilong ol tu.*	ST	0093-74-06-05	27	smell, odour	1973	2004
smel	*Na tu ol diditi marasin bilong nau i **smel** nogut olsem toilet.*	P3	76-06-26-02	27	to smell	1973	2004
smok	*Maunten Ulawun i wok long autim ol hatpela ston na **smok** tasol.*	P3	89-01-05-01	46	smoke, steam, mist, haze	1975	1998
smok	*Bihain em i kisim basket na tanim i **smok**.*	ST	0757-89-01-05-01-12	46	to smoke	1975	1998

TP Word	Corpus Example	S	Y/Ed.	O	ETr	YfO	YIO
sori	Bikpela **sori** tru i kamap nau.	ST	0648-86-11-20	77	mourning, sorrow	1973	2004
sori	Taim em i **sori** yet, maleo i lukim em na i bringim em long ples bilong em.	ST	0072-73-07-18	77	to mourn	1973	2004
sori	Olgeta manmeri i bin **sori** na ol i krai nogut tru.	ST	0508-84-02-25	77	to be sorry, mournful	1973	2004
spak	...em i luksave olsem ol hevi bilong **spak** long rot, ol stil ka i ron long rot, ol bikhet man i pretim ol meri…	P3	99-02-11-01	22	drink-driving	1974	2004
spak	Tru YC em i no ples bilong dring na **spak** nabaut.	P3	75-05-14-03	22	to drink, to get drunk	1974	2004
spak	Em nau bai man i pul **spak** na i kam slip long haus na i go long wok.	P3	76-06-26-01	22	drunk, intoxicated	1974	2004
spit	Panthers i gat gutpela **spit** long beklain.	P3	88-07-07-01	5	speed	1974	1991
spit	Bihain liklik dispela diwai hia i **spit** nogut tru na i kisim meri i go sua gen long dispela ailan.	ST	0117-75-05-28	5	to sprint	1974	1991
stadi	Na tu em i bihainim wanpela **stadi** ol i bin mekim, bihain long Woks na Saplai Diptmen [Dipatmen] i...	P3	83-01-15-01	8	study	1983	1999
stadi	Ol studen husat i **stadi** long Koles ov Disten Edukesen bai kisim K40 sabsidi fi bilong wanwan kos…	P3	92-12-17-01	8	to study	1983	1999
stail	Tasol ol yangpela pilaia i gat moa **stail** bilong pilai.	P3	91-05-09-01	13	style	1985	2004
stail	Olsem na meri ya i bilas **stail** moa na go.	ST	1223-97-12-04	13	stylishly	1985	2004
Stap	"**Stap** blong mi long hia bin gutpela tru na mi amamas na mi sore tu long go", em tok.	P3	03-01-02-01	2251	stay, visit, stopover	1972	2004
stap	Mama i kukim kaikai bilong pikinini pinis na tokim em long **stap** tasol long haus.	ST	0887-91-07-04	2251	to stay, to be, to live, to be present	1972	2004
stap	Ol i **stap** amamas na nogat wanpela samting rong long famili bilong ol.	ST	1271-98-11-05	2251	to be (happy)	1972	204

TP Word	Corpus Example	S	Y/Ed.	O	ETr	YfO	YIO
stap	*Yangpela susa i wok long kuk i **stap** na i no tingim taim.*	ST	1217-97-10-23	2251	to be x-ing (here: cooking)	1972	2004
stat	*Long ol toktok bilong em long ekonomi bilong PNG long **stat** bilong dispela mun, Deputi Praim Minista…*	P3	94-09-15-01	237	start, beginning	1972	2004
stat	*Olsem na tupela i **stat** long wokabaut i go long hap.*	ST	1072-94-02-10	237	to start, to begin	1972	2004
stil	*...na ol i bung na raun long grup na kamapim ol tingting nogut bilong **stil**.*	P3	97-09-04-01	18	theft, robbery, stealing	1974	2003
stil	*Na taim yu go **stil** long gaden bilong ol man yu no ken i go i kam long wanpela tasol.*	ST	0618-86-05-03	18	to steal	1974	2003
stil	*...em i luksave olsem ol hevi bilong spak long rot, ol **stil** ka i ron long rot,...*	P3	99-02-11-01	18	stolen	1974	2003
sting	*…na liklik hap wara long **sting** bilong Mawo we i kapsait long graun i wok long go bikpela.*	ST	1206-97-08-07	24	decayed flesh, stench, rottenness	1975	1997
sting	*Ples i **sting** ya.'*	ST	0674-87-05-28	24	to stink, to smell, to decay	1975	1997
sting	*...wasim em wantaim ol purpur na arapela smel gras na lip long rausim dispela **sting** smel.*	ST	0577-85-06-29	24	rotting, rotten, decayed, spoiled	1975	1997
stori	*Em tasol **stori** bilong mi.*	ST	1254-98-07-09	174	story, parable	1973	2004
stori	*Dia Edita - Mi laik **stori** long yu long sampela wari bilong mi insait long Papua Niugini.*	P3	76-11-27-02	174	to tell, to explain, to recount	197	2004
straik	*Na i no sanap strong long astingting bilong **straik** bilong ol.*	P3	98-12-03-01	11	strike	1989	2004
straik	*Bikpela tokwin i bin raun insait long Mosbi siti long Tunde olsem ol PMV bas draiva bai **straik**...*	P3	04-05-13-04	11	to (go on) strike	1989	2004
strong	*Gavman i bin kamapim dispela samting long daunim **strong** bilong kina…*	P3	94-09-15-01	219	strength, power, influence	1972	2004

TP Word	Corpus Example	S	Y/Ed.	O	ETr	YfO	YIO
strong	*Lapun i wok long **strong** yet na tokim man ya long go bek long ples na marit.*	ST	0511-84-03-17	219	to persuade	1972	2004
strong	*Tasol tambu meri i **strong** long sait bilong em.*	ST	1117-95-1-23	219	strong, loud, tight, persistent	1972	2004
strong	*Tasol em i no tingting **strong** long tupela na flai i go long ples bilong em.*	ST	0916-92-01-23	219	strongly, loudly, tightly, persistently, hard	1972	2004
sua	*Isi tasol boi ya pul i go arere long wara na **sua** klostu long haus.*	ST	1117-95-11-3	21	shore	1973	2004
sua	*Bihain liklik dispela diwai hia i spit nogut tru na i kisim meri i go **sua** gen long dispela ailan.*	ST	0093-74-06-05	21	ashore	1973	2004
swit	*Ol man na meri i dringim na pilim **swit** long en.*	ST	1578-04-09-23	28	sweetness	1973	2004
swit	*Ol dispela prut i **swit** moa yet.*	ST	0429-82-08-07	28	sweet	1973	2004
tait	*Bambai mi mekim bikpela **tait** i kamap long graun, bilong bagarapim olgeta samting i gat laip.*	P3	75-02-05-05	28	flood, current	1973	2004
tait	*Tasol taim em i kamap long wara, wara i **tait** pinis.*	ST	0965-92-12-30	28	flooded, overflowing	1973	2004
takol	*...wanpela yangpela Brisben pilaia i bin dai, bikos long wanpela strongpela **takol** long fil.*	P3	91-05-09-03	2	tackle	1991	1991
takol	*Pilaia husat i **takol** i sanap nau long kot.*	P3	91-05-09-03	2	to tackle	1991	1991
tambu	*Taim em i kamap long haus na bungim **tambu** bilong em, em senisim skin na tanim kamap man...*	ST	1226-97-12-25	85	the various 'in-laws'; taboo	1972	2004
tambu	*Bai i gat lo i **tambu** long kaikai buai na smuk insait long ol bas?*	P3	04-05-13-04	85	to forbid, to prohibit, to abstain from	1972	2004
tambu	*Olsem na em i **tambu** long ol manmeri na pikinini i raun long dispela hap.*	ST	0596-85-11-16	85	forbidden, prohibited	1972	2004

TP Word	Corpus Example	S	Y/Ed.	O	ETr	YfO	YIO
tarangu	*...i no ken putim bikpela mani long redio, na kisim nating mani bilong mipela ol **tarangu**.*	P3	76-01-21-02	102	the poor	1974	1990
tarangu	*Olsem na **tarangu** Buam i kisim skin pik tasol na em i go long bus.*	ST	0618-86-05-03	102	poor, pitiable, miserable, unfortunate	1974	1990
Tarangu	*Tarangu, susa bilong em i stap long ples na i no save olsem brata bilong em indai pinis.*	ST	0384-81-09-19	102	alas, unfortunately, oh my, too bad	1974	1990
tenkyu	*Long autim **tenkyu** bilong em wantaim ol soldia long Igam em i givim presen long tupela...*	P3	03-01-02-01	19	thanks, gratitude	1972	2004
tenkyu	*Mipela i **tenkyu** long dispela stori na piksa long Mark Raper na Morgan Chua na FEER na DND 17.*	P3	77-01-29-04	19	to thank	1972	2004
ting	*Tasol wanem **ting** gavman i gat, laik bilong ol pipel i mas go pas.*	P3	8-10-14-01	198	thought, memory, idea, opinion, intellect, mind	1972	2004
ting	*Na ol i **ting**, dok o pik kaikai pinis.*	ST	0321-80-06-28	198	to think, to remember, to keep in mind	1972	2004
Tingting	*Tingting bilong yupela em gutpela tru.*	ST	1326-99-11-25	476	thought, memory, idea, opinion, intellect, mind	1972	2004
tingting	*Tasol mi **tingting** long ol lapun manmeri na mi tok.*	P3	72-12-20-01	476	to think, to remember, to keep in mind	1972	2004
tok	*Trausel i tok, mi no harim **tok** bilong tupela man.*	ST	1326-99-11-25	2166	talk, word, speech, message	1972	2004
tok	*Tasol Mista Paska i **tok** dispela lo ino wok olsem.*	P3	99-08-19-02	2166	to talk, to speak, to say	1972	2004
trai	*Magani i skoim wanpela **trai** na wanpela gol tasol.*	P3	88-07-07-02	5	try	1983	1991
trai	*...dispela kampani tu i **trai** hat tru nau long stretim dispela stap wok bilong ol wokman…*	P3	83-01-15-02	5	to try	1983	1991

TP Word	Corpus Example	S	Y/Ed.	O	ETr	YfO	YIO
traim	*Gavman bilong Francis Malaisa bai i gat bikpela* **traim** *bihain long mausman bilong Oposisen i tokaut…*	P3	86-06-21-05	160	trial, temptation, attempt	1973	2004
traim	*Gutpela poroman bilong mi, yu kam na* **traim***.'*	ST	0936-92-06-11	160	to try, to practise, to taste, to test	1973	2004
transfe	*...olgeta man, nem bilong ol i stap long lista bilong* **transfe** *long nupela wok, bai inap long painim wok.*	P3	83-01-15-03	2	transfer	1983	1983
transfe	*...notis bilong painim nupela wok bilong ol man husat bai* **transfe** *i go long narapela dipatmen i kamap.*	P3	83-01-15-03	2	to transfer	1983	1983
tudak	*Em go long bus na painim kapul i go na* **tudak** *i bungim em.*	ST	1252-98-06-25	62	darkness, night	1973	2003
tudak	*Em i tok em i bin pret tru long taim em i opim ai na ples i* **tudak***.*	P3	89-06-01-01	62	dark, shady	1973	2003
vot	*Kaunim bilong ol* **vot** *i go het yet aste apinun na nau gen long morning.*	P3	99-07-09-03	109	vote, voting	1977	2004
vot	*Tasol planti pipel i laik* **vot** *long ol bikpela pait.*	P3	82-06-05-01	199	to vote	1977	2004
wari	*Nau mi laik autim wanpela* **wari** *bilong mi.*	P3	74-07-17-04	226	worry, problem, trouble	1972	2004
wari	*Longpela nek i* **wari** *planti.*	ST	1326-99-11-25	226	to worry	1972	2004
wari	*Em i* **wari** *nogut tru.*	ST	0415-82-05-01	226	worried, troubled	1972	2004
was	*Ating mas i gat sampela kain pepa wok i putim* **was** *long ol dispela agrimen...*	P3	96-06-20-03	84	a watch, guard, look-out	1973	2004
was	*Em i* **was** *long susa bilong em.*	ST	0339-80-11-01	84	to watch (over), to watch (out)	1973	2004
wel	*...tasol diwai i gris tumas na em i* **wel** *kam daun bek.*	ST	0439-82-10-16	53	to slip, to slide	1977	2004
wel	*...maski rot i* **wel***, em i save go daun insait long wara wantaim trak na kamap arasait.*	P3	78-09-02-01	53	slippery	1977	2004

TP Word	Corpus Example	S	Y/Ed.	O	ETr	YfO	YlO
win	*Dispela em namba wan **win** bilong Panthers long dispela sisen.*	P3	91-05-09-02	84	win, victory	1974	2004
win	*Ol i save olsem bai ol i **win** long dispela pait.*	ST	0708-88-01-28-02-04	84	to win	1974	2004
wisil	*Mipela i no bihainim **wisil** bilong yu.*	ST	0858-90-12-13	9	whistle	1988	1990
wisil	*Taim mi pasim rop pinis, bai mi **wisil** long yu.*	ST	0729-88-06-23-06-29	9	to whistle	1988	1990
wok	*Tupela i save skelim **wok** bilong tupela.*	ST	0104-74-11-20	1717	work, job, task, occupation	1972	2004
wok	*Em i gutpela tingting bilong ol man i **wok** long redio i save mekim.*	P3	75-03-19-03	1717	to work, to produce, to grow	1972	2004
wokabaut	*Ol i lukim pinis sindaun na **wokabaut** bilong ol pipel bilong Tableland long Cairns...*	P3	86-10-02-04	331	trip, travels	1973	2004
wokabaut	*Tupela i **wokabaut** i go i go kamap long bus.*	ST	1352-00-05-25	331	to take a walk / trip, to travel	1973	2004

Appendix C7: Synonyms

TP "mng 1"	TP "mng 2"	TP "mng 3"	Corpus Example	S	Y/Ed.	O	ETr	YfO	YIO
aidia	*tingting*		*Gutpela **aidia** ya, yu ting wanem?*	P3	03-10-23-04	25	thought, memory, idea, opinion, intellect, mind	1976	2003
amamas	*hepi*		*Paiyali i harim dispela tok na em i **amamas**.*	ST	0104-74-11-20	261	happy, content, proud	1973	2004
ansa	*tok bek/tokbek*	bekim	*Em i tok gavman i no bin givim wanpela **ansa** long diman bilong ol...*	P3	01-08-02-05	9	an answer, a reply	1981	2003
as nating	*pui*		*Man i guria pinis long meri ya bikos yu save bipo nogat laplap na **as nating** ol i stap.*	ST	1182-97-02-20	1	naked	1997	1997
askim	*kwesten*		*Mista Warena i no bekim dispela **askim** bilong Mista Bourne.*	P3	87-05-14-02	428	a question, enquiry	1972	2004
askim	*kwestenim*		*Na em i **askim** ol manmeri na ol i soim em haus na em i go.*	ST	1226-97-12-25	428	to ask, to enquire	1972	2004
awodim	*givim taitel*		*Rudolph Kagimat i bin **awodim** o givim taitel bilong graun long long [sic] Duma Aki klen…*	P3	03-01-02-03	1	to award s.o. sth	2003	2003
bekim	*tok bek/tokbek*	ansa	*Sapos pikinini i gat sampela **bekim**, orait, rait tasol.*	P3	75-03-19-03	171	an answer, a reply	1972	2004
belhat	*kros*		*Ol i laik autim dispela **belhat** long ol bikman bilong ol na long gavman.*	P3	89-02-09-01	65	anger	1972	2004
belhat	*kros*		*Mi **belhat** long yu.*	ST	0936-92-06-11	65	angry, upset	1972	2004

TP "mng 1"	TP "mng 2"	TP "mng 3"	Corpus Example	S	Y/Ed.	O	ETr	YfO	YIO
bel hevi/belhevi	*wari*		*Sem taim i gat sampela **belhevi** olsem haiwe em bikpela kontrakta, Curtain Brothers, i no wokim gut.*	P3	98-04-09-03	10	a trouble, a worry	1974	1998
bel hevi/belhevi	*wari*		*Nesenel Pati i **belhevi** long Mista Wingti...*	P3	86-08-09-03	10	troubled, worried	1974	1998
bensin	*petrol*		*Planim planti kaikai na kamapim **bensin** o petrol long PNG.*	P3	82-08-14-01	6	benzine, gas, petrol, fuel	1982	1989
bikos	*bilong wanem*	long wanem	*Bikos tupela i no save lukim dispela samting long bipo.*	ST	1198-97-06-12	360	because, as	1974	2004
bildim	*wokim haus*		*...dispela em i tingting nogut bikos Gavman bai plenim divelopmen na **bildim** ol projek tasol long ol ples we ol senses wokmanmeri i bin kisim senses toktok bilong ol pipel.*	P3	00-05-25-05	4	to build	2000	2000
bilong wanem	*long wanem*	bikos	*Ol bin wokim dispela nupela bris **bilong wanem** wok bilong didiman i bikpela long dispela hap…*	P3	87-03-05-05	12	because, as	1975	2000
bilong wanem	*watpo*		*Bilong wanem yu kam hia?*	ST	0135-76-03-20	43	why?	1973	2004
bombom	*tos*	sutlam	*Neum i harim wisil na laitim **bombom** na ran i go long hap dispela muruk i slip long en.*	ST	0729-88-06-23-06-29	6	torch	1976	1997
bosboi	*supavaisa*		*...ol intaviua bai i gat 11 000 ol wokmanmeri husat bai i wok olsem ol **bosboi** o supavaisa.*	P3	00-06-01-07	1	supervisor, overseer	2000	2000
bosman	*sief/sif*		*Olsem na **bosman** i no mekim rong long ol.*	P3	76-01-21-04	6	boss, chief	1976	2004

TP "mng 1"	TP "mng 2"	TP "mng 3"	Corpus Example	S	Y/Ed.	O	ETr	YfO	YIO
bung	*miting*	kibung	*Ol i tok dispela* **bung** *long Cairns em i bin taim we ol dispela kain askim i mas kamap.*	P3	03-09-04-02	148	meeting, gathering	1972	2004
bung	*miting*	kibung	*Olgeta i* **bung** *na stat long raunim kunai.*	ST	0785-89-07-20-07-26	148	to meet, to get together	1972	2004
diman	*singaut*		*Em i tok gavman i no bin givim wanpela ansa long* **diman** *bilong ol...*	P3	01-08-02-05	1	demand	2001	2001
dinau (mani)	*lon*		*Mi laikim yu mas bekim* **dinau***.*	ST	0513-84-03-31	61	debt, loan	1975	2003
ditektiv	*plisman i nogat yunifom*		*...ol plisman blong em i wok long dispela stori inap tupela plisman i nogat yunifom o* **ditektiv** *i go long Hagen na holim pas wanpela meri...*	P3	98-08-20-01	1	detective	1998	1998
diwai	*tri*		*Ol i kirap na kolim dispela* **diwai** *long suga ken.*	ST	1201-97-07-03	384	tree	1973	2004
edvens	*go het/gohet*		*...i bin kisim K20,000 insait long baset bilong ol pe olsem* **edvens** *long alauens bilong ka...*	P3	00-05-25-01	5	advance	1999	2000
enrol	*rejista*		*Yu ken vot sapos yu* **enrol** *na putim nem bilong yu long Komon Rol.*	P3	01-08-02-04	7	to enrol, to register	2001	2001
Entropoloji	*stadim pasin na kalsa bilong ol pipel*		*Wanpela dokta bilong stadim pasin na kalsa bilong ol pipel o* **Entropoloji** *(Anthropology) Profesa Scarlett Epstein i tok…*	P3	04-04-22-03	1	anthropology	2004	2004
givim taitel	*awodim*		*Rudolph Kagimat i bin awodim o* **givim taitel** *bilong graun long long [sic] Duma Aki klen…*	P3	03-01-02-03	1	to award s.o. sth	2003	2003

TP "mng 1"	TP "mng 2"	TP "mng 3"	Corpus Example	S	Y/Ed.	O	ETr	YfO	YIO
go het/gohet	edvens		Ol deliget i amamas tru long **go het** bilong Papua Niugini.	P3	77-01-29-01	90	progess, development	1973	2004
gro	kamap bikpela		Na nupela gras bai **gro**, bihain long ol sua i pinis.	P3	87-05-14-01	11	to grow (up)	1977	2004
halivim	helpim		Bai yu **halivim** mi long painim kaikai bilong Naisu.	ST	1330-99-12-23	1	to help, to support	1999	1999
helpim	sapot		Dispela **helpim** bilong Australia i kam aninit long wanpela tingting bilong Wol helt Ogenaisesen...	P3	88-08-04-02	333	help, aid, support	1972	2004
helpim	halivim		Tenkyu tru long **helpim** mi.	ST	0891-91-08-01	333	to help, to support	1972	2004
hepi	amamas		I gat wanpela samting insait long yumi i save pulim yumi; yumi laik stap **hepi** na sindaun gut.	P3	76-02-04-04	8	happy, content, proud	1974	1979
hia	ya		Dispela meri **hia** i stap wantaim ol pinis na i gat bel na i karim wanpela pikinini man.	ST	0093-74-06-05	144	y'know, who	1973	2004
holi	santu		Orait, dispela **Holi** Spirit i stap we?	P3	74-06-05-04	9	Holy, Sanctus	1974	1976
investigesen	wok painimaut		...Plis Prosekyuta na Dairekta bilong Kriminel **Investigesen** Divisen Thomas Eluh...	P3	01-03-29-02	1	investigation	2001	2001
kamap bikpela	gro		Em ilukautim boi ya i go na boi ya **kamap bikpela**.	ST	1271-98-11-05	59	to grow (up)	1974	2001
kapet	tepik		Ol i wokabaut long longpela retpela **kapet** o tepik, longpela bilong em inap 150 mita.	P3	77-02-05-02	1	carpet	1977	1977

TP "mng 1"	TP "mng 2"	TP "mng 3"	Corpus Example	S	Y/Ed.	O	ETr	YfO	YIO
kefiu	*taim tambu*		*Kefiu o taim tambu kamap nau long sampela hap bilong bikailan Bogenvil...*	P3	96-06-20-01	7	curfew	1993	1996
kibung	*miting*	bung	*Na em i skruim taim bilong dispela* **kibung** *i kam gen long dispela Fonde, 2 Oktoba.*	P3	86-10-02-06	55	meeting, gathering	1972	2004
kibung	*miting*	bung	*...dispela bikpela singsing long wanpela wik bihain long dispela de ol i* **kibung** *long en.*	ST	0596-85-11-16	55	to meet, to get together	1972	2004
konstitusen	*mama lo*		*Ol deliget i laikim tru olgeta aidia na as tingting na gol i stap insait long* **Konstitusen** *bilong PNG.*	P3	77-01-29-01	3	constitution	1976	1991
krismas	*yia*		*Planti bilong ol* **krismas** *bilong ol stap namel long 20 na 39.*	P3	00-05-25-02	59	Christmas, year	1973	2004
kros	*belhat*		*Jenerel Seketeri bilong PNGTUC i tok em i nogat wanpela* **kros** *o bel nogut long ol beng…*	P3	99-08-19-02	87	anger	1972	2004
kros	*belhat*		*Mi* **kros** *wantaim bikpela brata bilong mi.*	ST	1117-95-11-23	87	angry, upset	1972	2004
kwesten	*askim*		*Yes mi bin askum yu planti* **kwesten** *na yu no bekim.*	ST	0104-74-11-20	5	a question, enquiry	1974	1999
kwestenim	*askim*		*Mista Kore i tok pablik i gat rait long* **kwestenim** *ol stoa lain sapos ol i lukim olsem…*	P3	99-07-08-01	1	to ask, to enquire	1999	1999
lain pipel	*manmeri*	pipel	*Na yu save stiaim ol* **lain pipel** *long gutpela rot.*	P3	73-11-21-03	11	people	1973	1995
leta	*pas*		*Dispela* **leta** *i no go yet long opis bilong em.*	P3	88-09-01-01	2	letter	1988	1988

TP "mng 1"	TP "mng 2"	TP "mng 3"	Corpus Example	S	Y/Ed.	O	ETr	YfO	YIO
liklik	smol/smolpela		Ol i pait i go na **liklik** brata bilong Mumuro i kamap.	ST	0433-82-09-04	688	little, small	1972	2004
lon	dinau (mani)		Dispela em long opim dua long ol pipel i ken kisim ol isi **lon** o dinau mani long mekim wok...	P3	03-10-23-03	2	loan	2003	2003
long wanem	bikos	bilong wanem	Long wanem ol i laik lukim wanem samting em bai mekim.	ST	1046-94-07-14	132	because, as	1972	2004
lusim opis	risain		...askim tripela lida ya long risain o **lusim opis** na stap ausait.	P3	97-03-27-02	2	to resign	1997	1998
mama lo	konstitusen		Ol polisi olsem: karimaut gut wok bilong **mama lo**, gutpela Edukesen, rausim intenel Sekyuriti Ekt,...	ST	97-04-10-01	16	constitution	1988	2003
manmeri	lain pipel	pipel	Ol i salim stori i go bek, na olgeta **manmeri** i stat long kam bek.	ST	1214-97-10-02	387	people	1972	2004
mejik	posin		Orait meri ya i mekim **mejik** singsing gen na bihainim wara i go antap...	ST	1222-97-11-27	3	magic	1997	2004
miting	bung	kibung	Long dispela **miting**, ol i bin pasim tok long wei bilong glasim na stretim ol hevi bilong 2000 Nesenel Senses.	P3	00-03-09-02	22	meeting, gathering	1972	2003
miting	bung	kibung	Nesenel Kot Rejistra, Lawrence Newel i tok ol bai **miting** pastaim na makim ol de bilong kot.	P3	92-09-10-01	22	to meet, to get together	1972	2003
muv	surik		Ol liklik groa i sapotim dispela **muv** bilong CIC.	P3	97-10-02-02	18	move, step, motion	1974	1999
pas	leta		Insait long dispela **pas**, Mista Howard i tok olsem Australia i laikim bai PNG i mas…	P3	03-09-04-02	223	letter	1972	2004

TP "mng 1"	TP "mng 2"	TP "mng 3"	Corpus Example	S	Y/Ed.	O	ETr	YfO	YIO
pasin nogut	rong		Mitupela i no ken mekim wanem **pasin nogut** long yu.	ST	0117-75-05-28	24	mistake, fault, offence, trouble	1974	2000
pekato	sin		...na autim sin o **pekato** bilong yumi long Jisas na em i ken rausim sin bilong yumi…	P3	76-06-26-03	1	sin	1976	1976
petrol	bensin		Planim planti kaikai na kamapim bensin o **petrol** long PNG.	P3	82-08-14-01	6	benzine, gas, petrol, fuel	1982	1989
pinis long wok	ritaia		...invesmen bilong helpim ol pablik sevan long taim ol i **pinis long wok** bilong ol…	P3	83-01-15-01	6	to retire	1983	2003
pipel	lain pipel	manmeri	Na ating sampela **pipel** i bin lap long lukum mipela.	P3	77-02-05-02	621	people	1972	2004
pipia	rabis		"Mipela i bungim tripela ton **pipia** long ka na go tromoi.	P3	95-05-11-02	29	rubbish, dirt, leavings	1980	2004
plisman i nogat yunifom	ditektiv		...ol plisman blong em i wok long dispela stori inap tupela **plisman i nogat yunifom** o ditektiv i go long Hagen na holim pas wanpela meri...	P3	98-08-20-01	1	detective	1998	1998
posin	mejik		Dewel meri i kirap na mekim **posin** bilong em.	ST	0785-98-07-20-07-26	7	magic	1983	1999
pre	prea		Moabeta yumi **pre** bai God Papa i lukautim yumi.	P3	74-05-15-04	8	to pray	1972	1974
prea	pre		Sapos yumi laik bihainim ol mandato, yumi ken; sapos yumi laik **prea**, yumi ken;	P3	74-07-17-05	2	to pray	1974	1985
pui	as nating		Na long ples Sigu tupela man na meri i wokabaut **pui** long olgeta man na meri.	P3	74-05-15-02	2	naked	1974	1974

TP "mng 1"	TP "mng 2"	TP "mng 3"	Corpus Example	S	Y/Ed.	O	ETr	YfO	YIO
putim nem	sainim		…taim em i sainim o **putim nem** long nupela agrimen bilong Kutubu petrolium projek.	P3	96-06-20-04	11	to sign	1982	2003
rabis	pipia		Nau **rabis** i pulap.	P3	04-07-08-05	20	rubbish, dirt, leavings	1972	2004
raun	wokabaut		...Magani [Kapul] wantaim Dok i save stap, kaikai, **raun** na slip gut wantaim.	ST	0936-92-06-11	180	to go around, to travel	1972	2004
referandum/ referendum	rot bilong kisim tingting bilong ol pipel		I gat toktok long kamapim wanpela kain sistem olsem **referendum** o rot bilong kisim tingting bilong ol pipel pastaim long gavman o palamen i mekim wanpela samting?	P3	04-07-08-05	2	referendum	1998	2004
rejista	enrol		...na ol ogenaisesen na ol klab husat i **rejista** pinis bai no nap lusim nating mani.	P3	94-02-03-01	3	to enrol, to register	1992	1994
risain	lusim opis		...askim tripela lida ya long **risain** o lusim opis na stap ausait.	P3	97-03-27-02	16	to resign	1988	1998
ritaia	pinis long wok		Long taim mi **ritaia** bai mi go bek long ples na wok gaden long graun bilong mi.	P3	86-06-21-01	3	to retire	1983	2003
rong	pasin nogut		Mama bilong ol tasol i as bilong dispela **rong**.	ST	0314-80-05-10	47	mistake, fault, offence, trouble	1974	2003
rot bilong kisim tingting bilong ol pipel	referandum/ referendum		I gat toktok long kamapim wanpela kain sistem olsem referendum o **rot bilong kisim tingting bilong ol pipel** pastaim long gavman o palamen i mekim wanpela samting?	P3	04-07-08-05	3	referendum	1989	2004

TP "mng 1"	TP "mng 2"	TP "mng 3"	Corpus Example	S	Y/Ed.	O	ETr	YfO	YIO
sainim	*putim nem*		…taim em i **sainim** o putim nem long nupela agrimen bilong Kutubu petrolium projek.	P3	96-06-20-04	16	to sign	198	2001
santu	*holi*		Bel bilong yupela em i haus santu bilong God Spiritu **Santu**.	P3	76-02-04-03	3	Holy, Sanctus	1975	1976
sapot	*helpim*		Em i givim **sapot** bilong em na pati bilong em long dispela lo.	P3	03-07-17-03	38	support	1982	2004
sief/sif	*bosman*		Ol i bin kam tu wantaim ol **sief** bilong ples Skou long dispela kibung.	P3	94-06-09-05	26	boss, chief	1980	2003
sin	*pekato*		...na autim **sin** o pekato bilong yumi long Jisas na em i ken rausim sin bilong yumi…	P3	76-06-26-03	3	sin	1972	1976
singaut	*diman*		Olpela edministreta bilong Morobe, Aniea Sengero, i wokim wanpela **singaut** go long nesenel gavman	P3	03-01-02-04	164	appeal, demand	1976	2004
siti	*taun*		Mista Ward i tok wara saplai bilong **siti** i gutpela wara.	P3	87-11-12-05	47	city, town	1982	2004
skul manki/ skul meri/ skul pikinini	*sumatin*		Planti ol yangpela pipel olsem ol **skul manki** na ol famili na ol wokman tu i laik pilai kat. Mi save lukim ol tisa i save grisim ol **skulmeri** long marit, em yia o krismas bilong ol inap long 14 tasol. Ol dispela amamas de o skul pati i makim lasde bilong skul yia bilong ol **skul pikinini** na ol tisa.	P3 P3 P3	75-05-14-01 73-11-21-04 85-12-14-02	4 1 3	'schoolchild'	1975 1973 1985	1979 1973 1985
smol/smolpela	*liklik*		Dispela kaupl i **smolpela** tru na i no gat strong na i no save pait.	P3	77-01-29-04	11	little, small	1977	1997

TP "mng 1"	TP "mng 2"	TP "mng 3"	Corpus Example	S	Y/Ed.	O	ETr	YfO	YIO
sol	solda		...em i kirap kisim mambu bilong em i go tasol na sutim meri stret long **sol** bilong em.	ST	0517-84-04-28	1	shoulder	1984	1984
solda	sol		Maski yu karim mi i stap long **solda** bilong yu na yu mekim paia.	ST	0153-76-11-27	3	shoulder	1976	1988
stadim pasin na kalsa bilong ol pipel	Entropoloji		Wanpela dokta bilong **stadim pasin na kalsa bilong ol pipel** o Entropoloji (Anthropology) Profesa Scarlett Epstein i tok…	P3	04-04-22-03	1	anthropology	2004	2004
sumatin	skul manki/ skul meri/ skul pikinini		Yumi mas skulim ol **sumatin** long kamap gutpela memba bilong komyuniti bilong em.	P3	77-02-05-01	28	schoolchild	1976	2001
supavaisa	bosboi		...ol intaviua bai i gat 11 000 ol wokmanmeri husat bai i wok olsem ol bosboi o **supavaisa**.	P3	00-06-01-07	5	supervisor, overseer	2000	2000
surik	muv		Pangu i wok long **surik** i go insait nau long Namatanai.	P3	82-05-22-01	8	move, step, motion	1977	1999
surikim/surukim	muvim		Em i tok olsem bai em i no inap **surukim** taim bilong ileksen olsem ol sampela provins i askim em long mekim.	P3	97-10-02-04	17	to move	1993	2004
sutlam	tos	bombom	Man ya i save yusim mun olsem **sutlam** long nait.	ST	0326-80-08-02	4	torch	1980	1981
taim bilong pait	wo/woa		`Yupela mas ting long mi na askim mi long helpim yupela long **taim bilong pait**.'	ST	0054-72-10-18	4	war	1972	1997
taim tambu	kefiu		Kefiu o **taim tambu** kamap nau long sampela hap bilong bikailan Bogenvil...	P3	96-06-20-01	17	curfew	1991	1996

TP "mng 1"	TP "mng 2"	TP "mng 3"	Corpus Example	S	Y/Ed.	O	ETr	YfO	YIO
taun	*siti*		*Olsem na ol trabel i save kamap bikpela moa long ol **taun** na ples.*	P3	79-03-10-01	42	city, town	1974	2001
tepik	*kapet*		*Ol i wokabaut long longpela retpela kapet o **tepik**, longpela bilong em inap 150 mita.*	P3	77-02-05-02	1	carpet	1977	1977
tingting	*aidia*		*Tingting bilong yupela em gutpela tru.*	ST	1326-99-11-25	476	thought, memory, idea, opinion, intellect, mind	1972	2004
tok bek/tokbek	*ansa*	bekim	*So brata, em liklik hap **tokbek** bilong dispela belhevi bilong yu.*	P3	74-07-17-03	2	an answer, a reply	1974	1978
tos	*sutlam*	bombom	*Lapun i traim long tokim **tos** long stapim lait bilong em.*	ST	0342-80-11-22	27	torch	1980	1980
tri	*diwai*		*Lip i mas helpim **tri**.*	P3	75-05-14-04	30	tree	1974	2004
wari	*belhevi*		*Nau mi laik autim wanpela **wari** bilong mi.*	P3	74-07-17-04	226	a trouble, a worry	1972	2004
wari	*belhevi*		*Em i **wari** nogut tru.*	ST	0415-82-05-01	226	troubled, worried	1972	2004
watpo	*bilong wanem*		*Lapun i askim manki **watpo** tru na em i kam kamap long dispela hap.*	ST	0558-85-02-16	32	why?	1974	1998
wo/woa	*taim bilong pait*		*Mi no klia long taim bilong **woa**.*	P3	75-02-05-02	11	war	1975	2004
wokabaut	*raun*		*Tupela i **wokabaut** i go i go kamap long bus.*	ST	1352-00-05-25	331	to go around, to travel	1973	2004
wokim haus	*bildim*		*Ol i save **wokim haus** antap long han bilong diwai, gras na ston.*	ST	0869-91-02-28	14	to build	1977	2004

TP "mng 1"	TP "mng 2"	TP "mng 3"	Corpus Example	S	Y/Ed.	O	ETr	YfO	YIO
wok painimaut	*investigesen*		*Wok painimaut bilong CRA i soim olsem i gat kopa long Wafi eria bilong Morobe provins.*	P3	92-01-02-01	30	investigation	1984	2004
ya	*hia*		*Tasol boi **ya** i hangre olsem na em i pinisim kaikai.*	ST	1352-00-05-25	1955	y'know, who	1973	2004
yia	*krismas*		*Dispela tok orait em bilong 5-pela **yia** tasol.*	P3	86-09-11-04	242	Christmas, year	1973	2004

Appendix C8: Homonymy

TP Word	Corpus Example	S	Y/Ed.	O	ETr	YfO	YlO
asples	*Orait bai mi kisim wanpela boi bilong* **asples** *na tokim em bai yutupela i go wantaim na painim abus.*	ST	0379-81-08-15	21	birthplace, home village, native country	1981	2003
asples	*Dispela i mekim na ol* **asples** *tu i no inap kisim loyolti pemen bilong ol na planti manmeri bai nogat wok moa.*	P3	97-10-02-01	21	local tribesman or woman, native inhabitant, indigenous person	1981	2003
bai	*Long Kainantu* **bai** *ileksen, Ilektorel Komisina, Reuben Kaiulo i tok aste olsem bai i gat wan de vot…*	P3	99-07-08-03	1958	by-(election)	1972	2004
bai	*Sapos ol i kilim wanpela man* **bai** *ol i kaikaim wantaim wel taro.*	ST	1330-99-12-23	1958	will (future tense marker)	1972	2004
bet	*Long moning em i kirap na i lukim ol i no slip long* **bet** *bilong ol.*	ST	0162-77-03-19	24	bed	1973	2004
bet	*Long ol dispela taim ol man i save laik* **bet** *wantaim ol poro bilong ol,...*	P3	04-05-13-04	24	to bet, to gamble	1973	2004
Bis	*...siaman bilong festivel komiti, Adira Gumasa na ol arapela komiti memba bilong em long Ela* **Bis**.	P3	91-06-06-01	5	beach	1982	1996
bis	*...na ol i givim em planti samting olsem* **bis**, *purpur, kina sel, taro, kaukau, banana,...*	ST	0439-82-10-16	4	beads	1982	1996
Bot/bod	*Wanpela Dairekta bilong* **Bot** *ov Trusti bilong NPF, Mista Dunbar Reid i tok ol i traim olgeta rot…*	P3	90-06-14-01	48	board = council	1976	2003
bot	*Boroko kot notis* **bot** *i putim nem bilong meri ya olsem Regina Pera Gibolo…*	P3	98-08-20-03	48	board = blackboard, noticeboard, signboard	1976	2003
bot	*Provinsal gavman i laik sataim sampela* **bot** *bilong Lutheran Shiping…*	P3	84-06-16-02	48	boat	1976	2003

TP Word	Corpus Example	S	Y/Ed.	O	ETr	YfO	YlO
dis	Copra Marketing Board o CMB i tokaut **dis** wik long ol kopra produsas...	P3	98-09-24-01	2	dish	1998	1999
dis	...ol plastik prodak olsem ol baket, **dis**, ol kap, glas, botol na ol kontena.	P3	99-08-19-01	2	this	1998	1999
drip	Em i tromoim wanpela **drip** bilong traim wara.	ST	0072-73-07-18	9	green coconut	1973	1995
drip	Wanpela pikinini kombi i **drip** long wara i kam.	ST	0786-89-07-27-08-02	9	to drift	1973	1995
fit	...na katim hap diwai ya samting olsem 5 **fit** [1.5 mita] samting.	ST	0675-87-06-04	5	feet	1987	2004
fit	...na ol tambu bilong em i no save, em wanpela **fit** man stret.	P3	03-09-04-05	5	fit, healthy, in good shape	1987	2004
fit	Ol dispela lain i no **fit** long karim nem olsem lida bilong PNG.	P3	04-07-29-08-04-06	5	competent, qualified, able	1987	2004
Frans	Lain ya i laik stap pas wantaim **Frans** yet.	P3	80-08-16-01	82	France	1980	1980
Frans	Na sampela manmeri bilong Nu Hebridis i laikim Englan, na sampela i laikim ol **Frans**.	P3	80-06-28-01	10	the French	1980	1980
gat	...na ol plis **gat** i mas stap klostu long ol.	P3	78-10-14-02	1193	guard	1972	2004
gat	Tasol i **gat** tupela yangpela man na tupela yangpela meri tasol i stap laip.	ST	1314-99-09-02	1193	to have, to own, there is/are	1972	2004
gol	Magani i skoim wanpela trai na wanpela **gol** tasol.	P3	88-07-07-02	32	goal	1975	2003
gol	Em i tok, long 1983 BCL i salim planti **gol**, silva na kopa i go long Saina...	P3	84-04-21-01	32	gold	1975	2003
gol	...**gol** bleda (save brukim ol gris),...	P3	03-10-23-01	32	gall	1975	2003
gren	Mista Momis i tok gavman bilong em i bin redim rikaren **gren** baset inap long K2,565,000 milien.	P3	01-12-20-01	17	grant	1988	2004

TP Word	Corpus Example	S	Y/Ed.	O	ETr	YfO	YlO
gren	*Las yia ol i go insait long **gren** fainal, na i lus long Tarangau.*	P3	91-05-09-01	17	grand	1988	2004
gris	*Lip i hangamap long lait na i bungim wara na **gris** bilong graun...*	P3	75-05-14-04	31	fertilizer	1975	2003
gris	*Em i traim gen i go na olgeta **gris** i drai na em i go antap long diwai...*	ST	0439-82-10-16	31	grease, fat, salve, ointment	1975	2003
gris	*Sandaun pipel i mas was gut na noken pundaun na harim **gris** bilong sampela lain...*	P3	00-03-09-04	31	flattery	1975	2003
gris	*Ol i **gris** i go na tupela i givim kaikai na Bokol i kaikai.*	ST	0979-93-04-08	31	to flatter, to flirt, to bribe	1975	2003
hat	*Dispela em namba tu taim Mista Skate i kisim **hat** atek na go stap long ICU.*	P3	01-03-29-02	99	heart	1973	2004
hat	*Klostu belo nau na san i **hat** tru.*	ST	0546-84-11-17	99	hot	1973	2004
hat	*Dime i painim **hat** tru long painim pisin bikos ol rop i gat nil i pasim rot bilong em.*	ST	0981-93-04-22	99	hard, difficult	1973	2004
hol	*I gat tripela **hol** long en, na kala bilong en blu.*	P3	79-01-20-02	3	hole	1979	2000
Hol	*...na tripela i kaunim ol vot long Goroka YC Komyuniti **Hol**.*	P3	99-07-08-03	3	hall	1979	2000
kes	*Ripot i tok totol ripot bilong ol ripoted **kes** long NCDC stat long 1995 inap long 1999 em i 22242.*	P3	00-05-25-03	8	case	1992	2000
kes	*Namaliu i tok pe bilong sampela ol bikpela **kes** krop nau i go daun tru...*	P3	92-01-02-04	8	cash	1992	2000
kiau	*Em i taitim rot i go na bungim tupela **kiau** bilong muruk i stap.*	ST	0729-88-06-23-06-29	12	egg	1976	1990
kiau	*Yu lukim **kiau** bilong lektrik lait.*	P3	76-06-26-04	12	bulb	1976	1990

TP Word	Corpus Example	S	Y/Ed.	O	ETr	YfO	YlO
kol	*Ol i go insait na pilim gutpela **kol** tru na ol i traim long testim [traim] na i swit gut tru...*	ST	1210-97-09-04	14	cold, coolness, chill	1974	2003
kol	*Mi save long sampela bek bensa husat i wok long kisim telepon **kol** long traipela nait...*	P3	03-07-17-06	14	(telephone) call	1974	2003
Kos	*Ol pipel bilong Arop long Aitape Wes **Kos** long Sandaun provins i wet yet long samting olsem K1,500…*	P3	91-06-06-04	43	coast	1976	2003
kos	*Mista Kanawi i tok **kos** bilong kirapim dispela projek long Josepstal na Ramu eria...*	P3	99-03-25-01	43	cost	1976	2003
kos	*Em i tok long dispela kain taim bilong yia, ol studen bilong dispela tupela **kos** i stap long trening...*	P3	91-07-11-02	43	course	1976	2003
kos	*Em i tok rausim rijinel sit bikos em **kos** bikpela mani tru long kempen na kamapim planti open sit.*	P3	01-08-02-01	43	to cost	1976	2003
kos	*Em i tok dispela pasin bilong **kos** pait na man i paitim na bagarapim meri i abrus long aslo.*	P3	87-03-05-01	43	to cause	1976	2003
kros	*Jenerel Seketeri bilong PNGTUC i tok em i nogat wanpela **kros** o bel nogut long ol beng…*	P3	99-08-19-02	87	anger, grudge	1972	2004
kros	*Mi **kros** wantaim bikpela brata bilong mi.*	ST	1117-95-11-23	87	angry, upset	1972	2004
Kros	*... nau olgeta nait yumi lukim na kolim [Saten] **Kros**.*	ST	0214-87-04-15	87	cross (e.g. Southern Cross)	1972	2004
lain	*Na braunpela pisin tu i go sanap long **lain**.*	ST	1024-94-02-10	471	line, clan, family, group, rope, plantation	1973	2004
lain	*Ol i resis, i pait, i **lain**, na i raitim nem long pepa.*	P3	75-05-14-02	471	to line up, to learn	1973	2004
lain	*Yumi save long pasin bilong sande long ol man i wok long **lain** o faktori.*	P3	75-06-11-06	471	coconut plantation	1973	2004

TP Word	Corpus Example	S	Y/Ed.	O	ETr	YfO	YlO
lang	*...bikos ol i save kamapim sik kensa bilong susu, **lang**, liva na blut (liukemia) long en.*	P3	99-08-19-01	3	lung	1987	1999
lang	*Sapos ol i pekpek nabaut, ol **lang** i ken karim dispela sik i go long ol pipel.*	P3	87-11-12-05	3	fly	1987	1999
lip	*Na karamapim em long **lip** bilong banana.*	ST	0238-78-09-30	75	leaf	1973	1997
lip	*...kampani i no bin givim ol ovataim na **lip** pe bilong ol taim ol i wok long hap.*	P3	93-02-25-04	75	leave	1973	1997
lus	*Sapos tim bilong yu i **lus**, noken brukim ol plet o kap o paitim meri o pikinini o arapela.*	P3	04-07-08-05	96	to lose	1973	2004
lus	*Ol lain long ples i wetim em i stap i go na tupela wik i **lus** nating tasol em i no go bek long ples.*	ST	0558-85-02-16	96	to go by, to pass	1973	2004
mas	*Long Sarere sampela lain long Mosbi i belhat na mekim bikpela protes **mas** long Mosbi,,,*	P3	88-12-15-02	668	march	1972	2004
mas	*Ating yu **mas** givim long narapela man.*	ST	0785-89-07-20-07-26	668	must	1972	2004
nais	*Bikpela brata i no mekim wanpela **nais**.*	ST	0953-92-10-08	22	noise, sound	1972	1999
nais	*Ples ya i luk **nais** tru.*	ST	0328-80-08-16	22	nice, pretty, pleasant	1972	1999
nek	*Olsem na **nek** bilong em i gat wanpela retpela rop i pas long en.*	ST	0823-90-04-12	82	throat, neck	1974	2004
nek	*Haus i muv na smel bilong purpur wantaim bilas bilong danis na **nek** bilong ol meri tasol i pulap...*	ST	1117-95-11-23	82	voice, cry, call, tune	1974	2004
pas	*Insait long dispela **pas**, Mista Howard i tok olsem Australia i laikim bai PNG i mas lukluk long…*	P3	03-09-04-02	223	letter, report, permit	1972	2004
pas	*Em i lukim wanpela blakpela samting i **pas** i stap antap long dispela diwai.*	ST	0746-88-10-20-10-26	223	tied (to), closed, blocked, stuck, locked, trapped, rigid	1972	2004

TP Word	Corpus Example	S	Y/Ed.	O	ETr	YfO	YlO
pas	Long apinun mama bilong em i kamap long ples na i singaut i go **pas** long pikinini meri bilong em.	ST	0887-91-07-04	223	ahead	1972	2004
pas	Yasa i save pinis na moning em i kirap **pas**.	ST	0863-91-01-17	223	first	1972	2004
pas	Boroko Mejistret i surukim kot bilong meri ya i go long hap **pas** 9 (9.30 am) Fraide, tumoro moning.	P3	98-08-20-02	223	past	1972	2004
pat	Ol spea **pat** bilong ka i antap moa moa yet.	P3	79-12-01-02	5	part	1977	1984
pat	Dispela masalai snek i sot na **pat**.	ST	0504-84-01-28	5	fat	1977	1984
pen	Mipela sampela wokman bilong Bougainville Kopa Kampani i laikim sampela **pen** pren insait long Papua Nu Gini.	P3	74-06-05-02	37	pen	1973	2003
pen	Tasol em pilim **pen** na i no singaut bikpela.	ST	0887-91-07-04	37	pain	1973	2003
pen	Ol kontrak lain long Mosbi i wok lokng [long] putim ol **pen** long haitim ol kainkain nem nogut na piksa nogut.	P3	03-10-23-04	37	paint	1973	2003
pes	Dispela nupela 1984 baibel i gat 652 **pes** olgeta.	P3	84-04-21-05	86	page	1986	2004
pes	Tupela i no soim **pes**.	ST	0429-82-08-07	86	face	1986	2004
Pes	Pes pati em laik mekim long brata lek.	ST	0375-81-07-18	86	the first	1986	2004
pilim	Olsem na ol i save **pilim** hangre tru.	ST	0439-82-10-16	109	to feel	1974	2004
pilim	Na ol eks sevisman i bin **pilim** sampela pepa o fom.	P3	95-10-20-02	109	to fill (in/out)	1974	2004
Pis	Na tu ol nupela projek we i kam aninit long Bogenvil **Pis** Agrimen we ol bin sainim i no long taim i go pinis.	P3	01-12-20-01	171	peace	1973	2004
pis	Em i laik traim stapim ol **pis**, tasol em i no inap tru.	ST	0179-77-07-16	171	fish	1973	2004
plis	Em nau ol **plis** i belhat na paitim em na pusim em i go daun long wanpela baret.	P3	01-11-15-03	209	police	1972	2004

TP Word	Corpus Example	S	Y/Ed.	O	ETr	YfO	YlO
Plis	*Plis yu mas kam bek.*	ST	0104-74-11-20	209	please	1972	2004
Pos	*Pos na Telekominikesen (PTC) i kamapim pinis nupela 1984 baibel bilong ol long 16 Epril.*	P3	84-04-21-05	9	post = mail	1975	1995
pos	*Sapos yu swim i go insait, bai yu lukim ol **pos** bilong haus i stap long aninit.*	ST	1103-95-08-17	9	post, pole, stake, pillar	1975	1995
pos	*Na em i mas lukluk long ol man i stap long bikpela haus sik na et **pos** na mekim skul bilong ol pikinini i go het gut.*	P3	82-08-14-01	9	post, station (first-aid post)	1975	1995
posin	*Na em i save long ol singsing na **posin** tu.*	ST	0511-84-03-17	7	sorcery	1983	1999
posin	*Ol i mas wokim bikpela raun wara tru (dam) long stapim ol **posin** i kam long faktori...*	P3	83-01-15-02	7	poison	1983	1999
pul	*...taim bikpela brata bilong Bokol i kamap long haus long kisim **pul**, man, em i kirap nogut tru...*	ST	0979-93-04-08	28	paddle, oar	1974	1997
pul	*Em nau bai man i **pul** spak na i kam slip long haus na i go long wok.*	P3	76-06-26-01	28	full, completely	1974	1997
rait	*Olsem na em i gat olgeta **rait** long dispela hap graun we kampani i operet long en.*	P3	03-01-02-03	54	right, authorization	1972	2004
rait	*Sapos yu laik rait, yu ken **rait** tasol.*	P3	72-12-20-02	54	to write	1972	2004
ret	*Ol dispela samting ya em long prais bilong petrol i 9.0 pesen na ges 4.7 pesen Eksens **ret** tu i go antap…*	P3	89-05-18-04	9	rate	1982	1999
ret	*As bilong en i **ret**.*	ST	1201-97-07-03	9	red	1982	1999
rot	*Sori tru long yu, mi gat planti **rot** bilong go long ples.'*	ST	0963-92-12-17	350	road, way, path	1973	2004
rot	*Planti handet i baim **rot** bilong ol yet na i go pinis.*	P3	84-06-16-02	350	fare	1975	2000
Sande	*Long **Sande** yumi holide.*	P3	75-06-11-06	30	Sunday	1975	2000

TP Word	Corpus Example	S	Y/Ed.	O	ETr	YfO	YlO
sande	*Em i mas **sande** long narapela man long lain sande bilong em.*	P3	75-06-11-06	30	to pool wages	1975	2000
sek	*Ol i tokim ol long kesim ol **sek** bilong ol long Fraide Septemba 25.*	P3	98-09-24-01	13	cheque	1980	1998
sek	*Ol manmeri ya i **sek** nogut tru.*	ST	0328-80-08-16	13	to shake, to tremble	1980	1998
sekim	*Draipela guria i **sekim** ailan.*	ST	0429-82-08-07	50	to shake, to rock	1980	2004
sekim	*Baim Wantok na **sekim** olgeta wik long painimaut moa.*	P3	03-09-04-05	50	to check	1980	2004
sel	*Em bungim ol kina **sel** long rot i go na kamap bungim wanpela lapun man.*	ST	0953-92-10-08	32	shell	1982	2001
sel	*...i bin sasim na lokim em long Badili plis **sel** na ol bin autim em bihain long 20 minit…*	P3	01-03-29-02	32	(police) cell	1982	2001
sel	*...na lip bilong kapiak i wok long **sel** long antap i kam daun.*	ST	1198-97-0-12	32	to sail	1982	2001
sem	*Sampela ol piksa i soim ol **sem** bilong man na meri husat i gat sik HIV/AIDS.*	P3	04-04-22-03	56	the genitals, shame, embarrassment	1972	2004
sem	*Nau, tupela i toksave bai tupela i bungim boi ya gen long **sem** hap long tumora moning.*	ST	0979-93-04-08	56	same	1972	2004
Sen	*Tok bilong **Sen** Pol long 1 Korin 2,9 tu i no helpim mipela.*	P3	78-03-25-01	8	Saint	1978	2001
sen	*Dispela K5 milien i makim tasol 12 pe **sen** long olgeta Divelopmen gren mani long en.*	P3	01-12-20-01	8	(per) cent	1978	2001
seven	*Ol pablik **seven** long Madang i tokaut pinis olsem ol bai askim Ombudsmen Komisin long sekim...*	P3	04-04-22-02	9	servant	1975	2004
seven	*...ol i laik pilai sampela kain gem long kat olsem pilai swip, foka, las kat, **seven** lip na kwin.*	P3	75-05-14-01	9	seven	1975	2004

TP Word	Corpus Example	S	Y/Ed.	O	ETr	YfO	YlO
sit	...pasin long mekim opis bilong Gavana Jenerel olsem wanpela **sit** long nesenel gavman.	P3	04-05-13-04	16	seat	1973	2004
sit	Na ol i kisim **sit** bilong paia i kukim meri ya na pasim long limbum.	ST	0161-77-03-12	16	remnants (lit.: shit, metaphorically: ashes)	1973	2004
slip	Na em i save giaman **slip** i stap.	ST	0669-87-04-23	338	sleep	1972	2004
slip	Planti blut bilong snek i kapsait pinis na em **slip** i go daun long graun na indai olgeta.	ST	0504-84-01-28	338	to slide, to slip	1972	2004
sip	Na yu mas bringim ol i go insait long **sip** wantaim yupela, bai ol i no ken i dai.	P3	75-02-05-05	16	ship	1975	1999
sip	...ol i tambuim ol samting olsem danis, kwaia grup, spot, [...] wok **sip** na raun nating long nait.	P3	93-07-22-04	16	shift	1975	1999
sip	Kaunsil i tok ol plastik kontena we i gat ol dispela kemikol long ol em ol **sip** plastik plet, kap, spun...	P3	99-08-19-01	16	cheap	1975	1999
smok	Maunten Ulawun i wok long autim ol hatpela ston na **smok** tasol.	P3	89-01-05-01	46	smoke, steam, mist, haze	1975	1998
smok	Takis i stap long ol **smok** nau em 2 pesen.	P3	90-06-14-03	46	cigarettes	1975	1998
sol	Mama bilong Mawo i yusim dispela olsem **sol** long switim [mekim swit] kaikai taim em i kuk.	ST	1206-97-08-07	9	salt	1974	1994
sol	Yu mas ting long **sol** bilong yu.	P3	74-05-15-05	9	soul	1974	1994
sol	...em i kirap kisim mambu bilong em i go tasol na sutim meri stret long **sol** bilong em.	ST	0517-84-04-28	9	shoulder	1974	1994
sot	Sapos Kuka i **sot** long kaikai, Spaida bai helpim em.	ST	0869-91-02-28	36	to run out of	1973	2004
sot	Dispela masalai snek i **sot** na pat.	ST	0504-84-01-28	36	short, small	1973	2004
sua	Yu lukim ol mak bilong **sua** long skin bilong mi.	ST	0761-89-02-02	21	a sore	1973	2004

TP Word	Corpus Example	S	Y/Ed.	O	ETr	YfO	YlO
sua	*Isi tasol boi ya pul i go arere long wara na **sua** klostu long haus.*	ST	1117-95-11-3	21	shore	1973	2004
susu	*Em i go daun, kisim naip bilong em na katim tupela **susu** bilong meri.*	ST	0310-80-04-12	45	breast	1974	2004
susu	*Het ya i go pas olsem pikinini save dring **susu** bilong mama.*	ST	0569-85-05-04	45	milk	1974	2004
sut	*Olgeta refuji i mas kisim **sut** bilong stapim sik Kolora (bikpela sik pekpek wara)...*	P3	84-04-21-03	47	injection	1973	2004
sut	*Ol i **sut** i go na ol birua bilong ol i wok long pundaun...*	ST	0708-88-01-28-02-04	47	to shoot, to throw	1973	2004
sut	*Em i **sut** stret i go long bus bilong traim samting ya.*	ST	0326-80-08-02	47	to move towards, to speed off	1973	2004
sut	*Profesa Epstein i salensim PNG na ol manmeri husat wok bilong ol i **sut** long daunim HIV...*	P3	04-04-22-03	47	to aim, to intend	1973	2004
tait	*Bambai mi mekim bikpela **tait** i kamap long graun, bilong bagarapim olgeta samting i gat laip.*	P3	75-02-05-05	28	flood, current	1973	2004
tait	*I go i go na han bilong tupela tu i **tait**.*	ST	1168-96-11-14	28	tired, tight, stiff, taut	1973	2004
tait	*Em kaikai pinis na bel bilong em i **tait** olgeta.*	ST	0823-90-04-12	28	bloated	1973	2004
tambu	*Taim em i kamap long haus na bungim **tambu** bilong em, em senisim skin na tanim kamap man...*	ST	1226-97-12-25	85	the various 'in-laws'	1972	2004
tambu	*Long wanem samting bilong tumbuna Misin yet putim **tambu** na mi sem tru long lusim pasin bilong tumbuna.*	P3	72-12-20-01	85	taboo	1972	2004
tan	*Dispela ol masin bai brukim 8,000 **tan** kopa long pinis bilong dispela yia.*	P3	86-09-11-01	22	ton	1973	1997
tan	*Abus bilong tupela i **tan** pinis nau na tupela i kaikaim.*	ST	0604-86-01-18	22	done (cooked)	1973	1997

TP Word	Corpus Example	S	Y/Ed.	O	ETr	YfO	YlO
tang	*...ol draipela draipela sip i save karim wel bai i kam kapsaitim wel long bikpela **tang**.*	P3	79-04-28-03	6	tank	1979	1997
tang	*Mawo i amamas na soim **tang** bilong em.*	ST	1206-97-08-07	6	tongue	1979	1997
testim	*...bai i kisim helpim wantaim sapos bilong Australia long **testim** blut long painim sik AIDS.*	P3	88-08-04-02	6	to test, to check	1988	2001
testim	*...na karim sampela frut em kisim sampela na **testim** em swit...*	ST	1420-01-09-13	6	to taste	1988	2001
tri	*Lip i mas helpim **tri**.*	P3	75-05-14-04	30	tree	1974	2004
tri	*Tupela bihainim wanpela wara i go i go inap **tri** klok apinun.*	ST	0379-81-08-15	30	three	1974	2004
tu	*Ol man i studen o i wok, i mas mekim wankain trening inap **tu** yia.*	P3	78-03-25-02	973	two	1972	2004
tu	*Na yangpela meri **tu** ya em i lus tingting long go long ples.*	ST	1369-00-09-21	973	too	1972	2004
tu	*Na long tiket ol i save tok, 'Welkam **tu** paradais'.*	P3	04-05-13-04	973	to	1972	2004
was	*Ating mas i gat sampela kain pepa wok i putim **was** long ol dispela agrimen...*	P3	96-06-20-03	84	a watch, guard, look-out	1973	2004
was	*Em i **was** long susa bilong em.*	ST	0339-80-11-01	84	to watch (over), to watch (out)	1973	2004
was	*...katim ol pangal bilong saksak na i karim i go na wokim bet bilong **was** saksak.*	ST	0393-81-11-21	84	to wash, to rinse	1973	2004
wasim	*Em i **wasim** gut bebi ya na lukim kaikai na kaikai.*	ST	1214-97-10-02	19	to watch (over), to watch (out)	1980	1999
wasim	*Tambu meri **wasim** saksak i go...*	ST	1117-95-11-23	19	to wash, to rinse	1980	1999

TP Word	Corpus Example	S	Y/Ed.	O	ETr	YfO	YlO
we	*Long wanem kain tingting olsem bai brukim daun **we** bilong wok bung wantaim insait long PNG.*	P3	79-12-01-04	607	way, method	1973	2004
we	*Ples **we** ol i stap long en i bus tru.*	ST	1516-03-07-17	607	where	1973	2004
wel	*Ol i pret bai wanpela taim sip i bruk na **wel** i kapsait na bagarapim nambis na pis bilong ol.*	P3	79-04-28-03	53	oil	1977	2004
wel	*...tasol diwai i gris tumas na em i **wel** kam daun bek.*	ST	0439-82-10-16	53	to slip, to slide	1977	2004
wel	*Tewel man i tokim meri olsem **wel** pik i stap daunbilo long maunten.*	ST	0728-88-06-16-06-22	53	wild	1977	2004
wes	*...satalait telipon i go long Konga long hap bilong Siwai insait long saut **wes** Bogenvil.*	P3	93-08-26-03	80	West	1973	2001
wes	*...olgeta gutpela samting em i mekim i **wes** nating.*	P3	97-03-27-03	80	(to go) to waste	1973	2001
wet	*Ol i **wet** i stap long lukim yangpela man ya.*	ST	0669-87-04-23		to wait		
win	*Strongpela **win** i kirap.*	ST	0429-82-08-07	84	wind, air	1974	2004
win	*Na ol i go sindaun antap long wesan long kisim **win**.*	ST	0439-82-10-16	84	breath	1974	2004
win	*...i putim mani i go insait wantaim tingting bilong kisim 100 o 200 pesen **win** mani.*	P3	00-04-06-03	84	profit, excess, surpluss	1974	2004
win	*Dispela em namba wan **win** bilong Panthers long dispela sisen.*	P3	91-05-09-02	84	win, victory	1974	2004
winim	*Sikau kwiktaim i go na **winim** yau bilong em.*	ST	0647-86-11-13	96	to fan, to blow	1973	2004
winim	*Long olgeta de, em i save **winim** samting olsem 10 pesen.*	P3	93-09-16-01	96	to win, to increase, to gain, to exceed	1973	2004
wol	*Nau ol i gat ol opis bilong ol long 70 kantri insait long **wol**.*	P3	93-09-16-01	51	world	1978	2004

TP Word	Corpus Example	S	Y/Ed.	O	ETr	YfO	YlO
wol	*Planti **wol**, windoa, dua na ol kain samting olsem bilong hostel i bruk nabaut.*	P3	88-09-01-01	51	wall	1978	2004