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Circumlocution in Tok Pisin

Peryfrazja w języku tok pisin

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Mi laik tok tenkyu tru!

Introduction

Papua New Guinea is a linguistically diverse country. Nearly 700 different languages, sometimes closely related to each other, are concentrated in Papua New Guinea (Mühlhäusler 2019: 158). Moreover, European languages (e.g. English) also appeared here during colonial times, which not only influenced the languages of the natives, but also their culture and values. A direct result of the contact between different languages and cultures in Papua New Guinea is Tok Pisin, whose lexical and grammatical features bear the traces of European and indigenous languages. Thus, Tok Pisin may be perceived as “a real living entity functioning among people [...] helping them to create their reality” which “cannot be ignored by linguists” (Walczyński 2012: 285). This dissertation presents an analysis of circumlocutions showing the results of continuous contact between different languages and cultures, but also highlighting the independence and uniqueness of Melanesian culture as well as Tok Pisin itself.

To this end, circumlocutions have been analyzed in a handful of pidgin and creole languages, for instance, Hawai’i Creole English (Radomyski 2020, 2022a, 2022b), Cameroon Pidgin English (Sala 2014) and Tok Pisin (Mühlhäusler 1985f). Unlike other pidgins and creoles, Tok Pisin is one of the contact languages whose grammar and lexis has been investigated to the greatest extent. However, the description of circumlocutions has been narrowed down to a simple enumeration of circumlocutions and their grammatical structures.

It is claimed that Tok Pisin relies too much on circumlocutions. However, it is not always true since the lexicon of Tok Pisin may be expanded by “the adoption of new words” and coinage of multi-word expressions which “show a great sense of economy”, for instance, *simok balus* ‘Boeing 727’, lit. smoke plane. On top of that, the Tok Pisin lexicon might be expanded by using *tok bokis*, *tok hait* also known as *tok baksait*, that is, figurative language, for instance, *han bilong diwai*, ‘branch’, lit. hand bilong tree (Brash 1971: 15-16). What is more, the presence of figurative mechanisms in Tok Pisin is evidence of cultural values pertaining to Melanesia (Franklin 2007).

This opens the possibility of investigating circumlocutions from a few perspectives. Firstly, it is important to stress that Tok Pisin is used in the media (e.g. Australian Broadcasting Company, <<https://www.abc.net.au/news/tok-pisin>>; *Wantok Niuspepa*, <<https://wantokniuspepa.com/>>). The availability of media texts allows one to compile a corpus of these texts. As a result, frequency tables of the most common circumlocutions and words (i.e. lexical replacements, the origin of words and orthographic variations) may be compiled (Leech, Rayson and Wilson 2001). Secondly, a corpus analysis enables one to

identify the dominant grammatical patterns. Thirdly, since Tok Pisin users borrow and adapt English words, lexical replacements might be registered in the corpus. Fourthly, lexemes containing values of Melanesian world might be analyzed. Fifthly, as noticed by Bańko (2002a), circumlocutions might be governed by metaphorical patterns. Hence, figurative processes (metonymy and metaphor) underlying circumlocutions may be investigated.

Detailed hypotheses are given below:

1. Due to the multicultural origins of the language, one may presume that lexemes from different local languages may be found in circumlocutions.
2. One of the characteristic features of circumlocutions is their varying orthographic spelling (Machnicka 2005, 2011). It is expected that also in Tok Pisin, circumlocutions vary in the spelling used. The spelling of circumlocutions may reflect the spelling of compounds in English, i.e. writing the words in a compound separately, writing with a hyphen or writing the words together.
3. Adaptations of English lexemes substitute Tok Pisin circumlocutions, which may be due to the fact that English is one of the official languages of Papua New Guinea. Tok Pisin speakers borrow English words and change their spelling so to meet Tok Pisin standards.
4. Being in contact with English has contributed to the reduction of circumlocutions to more conventionalized phrases. As a result of this influence, it is hypothesized that most of the circumlocutions used in Tok Pisin will mostly have compound-like structures.
5. Circumlocutions are characterized by a complex structure consisting of more than one content word. Due to this peculiarity, circumlocutions may form categories similar to those of compounds and some of the circumlocutions in Tok Pisin are expected to contain words that reflect cultural values specific to the Melanesian world (Franklin 2007).
6. Tok Pisin circumlocutions may contain elements of figurative language, such as metonymies and metaphors. The creation of circumlocutions in this language is done by replacing direct expressions with descriptive terms that often use the mechanisms of figurative language. Investigating this phenomenon will provide a better understanding of how Tok Pisin uses metonymy and metaphor in the process of formulating circumlocutions. Furthermore, the hypothesis suggests that circumlocutions, like other metaphorical expressions, are not only limited to linguistic aspects, but also reflect conceptual, sociocultural, neural and bodily phenomena.

The present PhD project is guided by the following research questions:

- (1) What is the frequency of circumlocutions in the Tok Pisin press, represented by texts compiled in corpus?
- (2) What is the origin of words used in circumlocutions?
- (3) What is the orthographic variation of circumlocutions?
- (4) What lexical replacements of circumlocutions are found in the corpus?
- (5) What is the structure (i.e. the degree of complexity, headedness and grammatical patterns) of circumlocutions?
- (6) What semantic categories are represented by circumlocutions?
- (7) Which Melanesian values distinguished by Franklin (2007) transpire in circumlocutions?
- (8) What metonymies and metaphors are used in circumlocutions?

This dissertation is divided into eight chapters. After the Introduction, Chapter 1 presents basic features of pidgins and creoles. Then, attention is drawn to Tok Pisin: its history and development, as well as its selected linguistic features. Chapter 2 presents the use of circumlocutions by first language users, second/foreign language users, pidgin and creole users and patients suffering from anomic aphasia. Chapter 3 discusses different features of circumlocutions investigated by linguists: the degree of complexity, parts of speech, structures, semantic categories, the values of Melanesian world as well as metonymies and metaphors. Chapter 4 outlines the key corpus and statistical tools which are later employed in the analysis of circumlocutions in Tok Pisin. What is more, the sources of data used in this study is presented, including the *Wantok* corpus and dictionaries. Chapter 5 presents corpus findings. The chapter focuses on frequencies of circumlocutions, their lexical substitutions, orthographic variations and origins of words used in circumlocutions. Chapter 6 provides an analysis of the structures of circumlocutions. Their degrees of complexity, headedness and grammatical patterns are discussed. Chapter 7 focuses on the semantic categories of circumlocutions and the identified figurative processes underlying them, namely, metonymy and metaphor. Chapter 8 includes an analysis of the values of Melanesian world identified in the extracted circumlocutions. Finally, Chapter 8 is followed by conclusions.

1. Tok Pisin as a pidgincreole

This dissertation deals with circumlocutions in Tok Pisin, so it is necessary to present the sociohistorical background of this language as well as its selected morphological, syntactic and lexical features. As Tok Pisin belongs to pidgin and creole languages, their unique characteristics should be outlined as well.

1.1. Pidgins and creoles

According to many definitions, *pidgin* is a variety of a language which is used in limited number of domains, they do not have native speakers and their grammars and lexicons are simplified. These languages develop through constant but limited contact with different peoples who do not share one common mode of communication. Pidgins are claimed to derive from a source language via *pidginization*, that is, a process of admixture, reduction and simplification. These mechanisms are associated with imperfect adult second language acquisition (Matthews 2005: 281, Polański 1999: 432, Trudgill 1992: 58-59).

Creoles historically develop from pidgins. They stand in contrast to pidgins as they have acquired native speakers through the process of expansion and *creolization*. Additionally, creoles are used in a greater number of domains and are learnt as mother tongues (Matthews 2005: 81, Trudgill 1992: 21).

Pidgins or stable pidgins are claimed to have emerged from unstable *prepidgin* varieties, i.e. *jargons*. Jargon is understood as an unstable variety of a *lingua franca* used in impromptu communication between speakers of different languages. Pidgins are, to some extent, normative language systems which have not yet been acquired as mother tongues. *Creoles* are, on the other hand, pidgins which have become mother tongues to some speakers. Lastly, pidgins and *expanded pidgins* might be lexicalized, and thus become varieties of the dominant language (Bakker 2008: 131). Figure 1.1 shows the evolutionary states of pidgins and creoles.

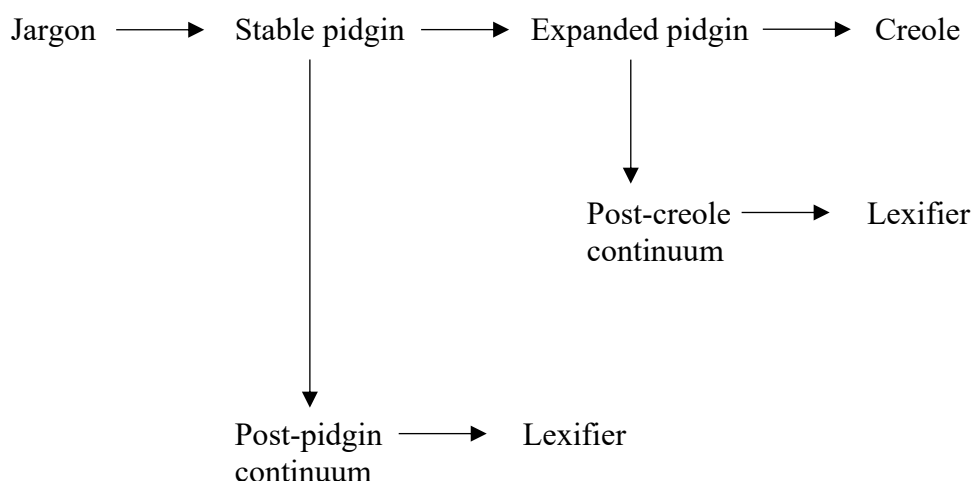


Figure 1.1. The lifecycle of pidgin and creole languages (Bakker 2008: 131)

Researchers suggest different origins of the term pidgin. *The Online Etymological Dictionary* (<<https://www.etymonline.com/>>) states that the word *pidgin* derives from the English word *business* mispronounced by the Chinese. There are other hypotheses of the origin of the word *pidgin*; however, they have been refuted, for instance, the mispronunciation of the word *beach* (Mühlhäusler 1997: 1), the borrowing of the word *pidian* ‘people’ from the Oyapock basin languages (Kleinecke 1959: 271) or the borrowing of the word *pidjom* ‘exchange, trade, redemption’ from Hebrew (Holm 1988: 8).

Many definitions of the term have also been proposed. For a long time, pidgin languages were stigmatized. They were referred to as “bad talk”, “bastard Portuguese”, “broken English”, *isikula* ‘coolie language’, *kombuistaaltje* ‘cookhouse lingo’, “nigger French” (Holm 2000: 1, Christie 2008: 136). Nowadays, pidgins are seen as *ad hoc* solutions which facilitate communication among speakers of different languages. A pidgin is a type of a language which emerges in dire need of communication and different social situations between speakers of two or more languages who do not share a common language (Hlibowicka-Węglarz 2017: 26, Knapik 2019: 41, Mufwene 2015: 133-134, Romaine 1988: 151). Pidgins are used in a limited number of domains, yet they are a powerful communicative tool, even though they lack “expressive power” (Winford 2006: 283).

Interestingly enough, one of the most significant features of pidgins is that they may originate from several languages. These languages may be referred to as *superstrate* and *substrate*. The superstrate (or lexifier language) is the language from which a contact language inherits the greatest amount of vocabulary. The substrate is a mother tongue (or L1) of an individual which may considerably impact the pidgin. L1 gives a new pidgin its grammatical

patterns (Knapik and Chruszczewski 2023: 65, Siegel 1999: 1-2, Velupillai 2015: 6, Walczyński 2008: 150)

It is necessary to note that pidgins may go through many changes, resulting in pidgin varieties. Some pidgin languages might pick up more “expressive power” as stated by Winford (2012) and, as a result, they might become pidgincreoles and/or creoles. Some might become official languages (Parkvall and Bakker 2013: 30). Notably, if pidgins are used in more contexts and by more people, they may acquire the status of expanded pidgins (Mufwene 2015: 133).

A creole is the next evolutionary stage of an expanded pidgin. According to Holm (2000: 9), the meaning of the term *creole* can be traced back to the Latin word *creāre* ‘create’ which was later used in Portuguese as *criar* ‘raise, e.g. a child’. The past participle of the word *criar*, *criado*, meant ‘(a person) raised, a servant born into one’s household’. Then, the diminutive form *crioulo* was used with reference to enslaved Africans born in the New World. Later, the word was used with reference to Europeans born in the New World. Finally, the meaning of the word shifted and it began to be used with reference to the way enslaved Africans and Europeans spoke.

Creoles, like pidgins, might have different evolutionary paths which are shaped by sociohistorical events (Hlibowicka-Węglarz 2013, 2016). According to Mühlhäusler (1985a: 479) and Holm (2000: 6), all pidgins emerge from a jargon stage. The process is presented in Figure 1.2.

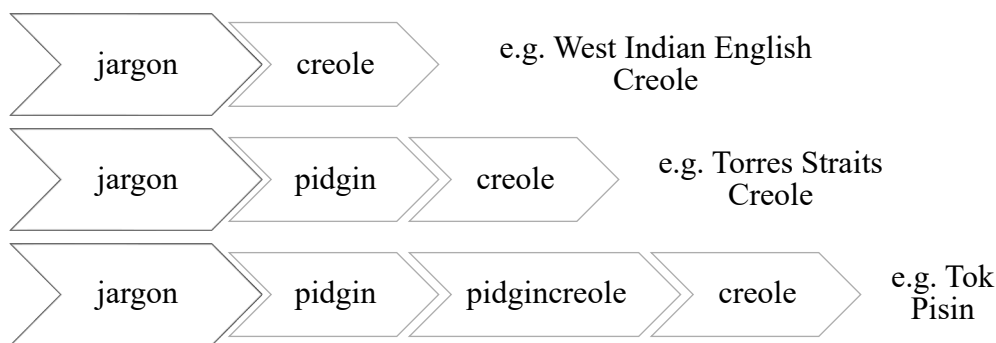


Figure 1.2. “Life cycles” by Mühlhäusler (1985a: 479)

As may be seen in Figure 1.2, the “life cycles” proposed by Mühlhäusler suggest that creoles might emerge in three different ways: (1) jargons might become creoles without any intermediate stages, (2) the emergence of a creole can be preceded by a pidgin state and, finally, (3) a creole may emerge from a jargon through a process with two intermediate stages, that is, a pidgin and a pidgincreole (or an expanded pidgin).

Features characteristic of the ancestral pidgin, or – as suggested by Mühlhäusler – a jargon, are transferred to the creole. However, since the creole must serve more communicative functions, its syntactic structures and lexicon must expand as well (Todd 1990: 2). Unlike pidgins or pidgincreoles, creoles are used natively by entire speech communities. Usually, these languages emerge in situations when groups of people are displaced from their original area of residence. The sociohistorical background is reflected in the typology of pidgins and creoles.

1.1.1. Types of pidgins and creoles

There are many interethnic contact situations in which pidgins and creoles may emerge. Referring to Velupillai's (2015: 24-29) views, it is impossible to list all possible types of pidgins. However, she manages to present the four most essential types of pidgin languages.

The first group are nautical and trade pidgins which encompass contact languages used in purchasing and selling products, between multilingual ship crews or by fishermen (Bakker 2008: 136). It is said that one of the pidgins used in seafaring was Sabir (or Mediterranean Lingua Franca). The language was used as an auxiliary language by the Crusaders and Mediterranean merchants. According to Dillard (1971: 115), Sabir – along with pidgin varieties of Portuguese and English – was used by Dutch, English and other Germanic traders in the Mediterranean Basin. Interestingly, the structure of the language remained unchanged among various multilingual speakers (Todd 1990: 35). There are also certain pidgin varieties which may be regarded as trade pidgins; namely, Macau Pidgin Portuguese, Chinese Pidgin English and Chinese Pidgin Russian (Li 2016: 2).

Another group of pidgins are workforce pidgins. These types of languages transpire in contexts where a labour force is involved, for instance, in domestic purposes, mines or plantations. Work force pidgins encompass such languages as Pidgin Madam (or *le pidgin madam*) (Bizir 2009, Næss 2008), Butler English (Hosali 2005), Tok Pisin (Velupillai 2015: 27), Fanakalo (Adendorff 2002) and Pidgin Ngarluma (Velupillai 2015: 28).

The third type of pidgins includes military pidgins. Walczyński (2012: 83) claims that military pidgins transpire during military operations when soldiers of various language backgrounds are brought together. An example of such a pidgin is Juba Arabic (or *arabi juba*).

Urban pidgins are the fourth type of pidgins. These pidgins emerge in large municipal regions. Hawai'i Pidgin English is a language generally used in Honolulu and other large agglomerations with high populations of English speakers. The language has exceeded the traditional use on plantations (Velupillai 2015: 29).

In a similar way, creoles emerge in various environments and situations; thus these kinds of creoles can be generally grouped into exogenous creoles with a few sub-types and endogenous creoles (Velupillai 2015: 47).

Exogenous creoles are languages which are spoken by people who are displaced from their home countries and brought to new ones. This language contact situation involves various peoples who are supposed to inhabit a new land (Glaudert 2009: 253, after Chaudenson 2003: 204). In Velupillai's (2015: 48) view, this situation includes the importation of labourers from various language backgrounds. Intriguingly, people speaking different vernaculars were sometimes brought together to impair their communicative skills. Nonetheless, the action brought a contrary effect, as this situation gave rise to *ad hoc* vernaculars used on plantations, farms or forts, which, in turn, had transformed jargons into full-fledged natural languages, namely, creoles (Bickerton 1988, Naro 2000: 37, Velupillai 2015: 47-50).

Plantation creoles are believed to have emerged chiefly among enslaved African workers who used various unintelligible vernaculars on plantations founded by Europeans (Ladhams 2003: 9). Muysken (2013: 742) states that plantation creoles must have emerged in heterogenous environments involving the interaction of more than two languages. This process of intentional relocation of enslaved people gave rise to many plantation creoles, for instance, Berbice Dutch, Dominican, Haitian, Krio or Negerhollands (Bakker et al. 2011: 22).

Maroon creoles emerged in environments in which nobody, neither the slaves, nor the European enslavers, is native to the land. Maroon creoles are languages spoken by enslaved communities who shared the same origin and/or language and fled from the areas exploited by Europeans (Bakker et al. 2011: 10, Bartens 2013: 67). Maroon creoles may be found in French Guiana, for example, Aluku, Ndyuka or Pamaka (Migge and Léglise 2015: 16-17).

Endogenous creoles are, according to Velupillai (2015: 51), fort creoles, also sometimes referred to as gradual creoles (Bell 2020: 311). Unlike plantation creoles, fort creoles are claimed to have evident substrate influence (Muysken 2014: 742). These types of creoles emerged in small towns, forts, trading posts or settlements in West Africa established by Europeans (Bakker et al. 2011: 11). There are several creoles which might be referred to as fort creoles, e.g. Guinea Coast Creole English, Guinea Bissau, Korlai or varieties of Indo-Portuguese spoken in Asia (Ladhams 2003: 9, Bakker et al. 2011: 22, Walczyński 2012: 84).

1.1.2. Origins of pidgins and creoles

As has already been pointed out, pidgins and creoles may transpire in various interethnic contexts. There are many theories which explain the origin of pidgins and creoles, considering

the similarities that may be observed. Scholars have proposed several theories discussing their strong as well as weak points (see among others, de Besten et al. 1995, Drechsel and Makuakāne 1982, Bolton 2000: 2, Holm 2000: 44, Mufwene 2008, Velupillai 2015: 133-150).

The Monogenetic and Relexification theories as well as the Nautical Jargon theory presuppose the existence of a precursor language which came in contact with different languages and gave rise to new pidgins. The theories fail to account for the existence of pidgins whose lexifiers are not of European origin (de Besten et al. 1995: 88-89, Perl 1990: 126, Thompson 1961: 113).

The Polygenetic theories state that pidgins may have many origins. Any similarities shared by them stem from parallel circumstances of their emergence (Efendi 2017: 31). What is more, these theories assume that adult non-native speakers acquired the target language imperfectly, thus the pidgin that emerged diverged from the target variety. For instance, the Common Core theory explains similarities among various pidgin languages. The theory stipulates that a combination of any European language with an African language from the Caribbean might give a similar result as a combination of another European language with an Austronesian language provided that the European languages, as well as the African language and the Austronesian language, are alike. Additionally, the presence of certain intermediate linguistic features of a new pidgin is the consequence of *universals* of human language (Sebba 1997: 77-78). Furthermore, the Interlanguage (IL) theory is commonly known in Second Language Acquisition (SLA) (see among others, Corder 1967, Huebner 1985, Selinker et al. 1975, Selinker and Lamendella 1981, Tarone 2014 or Young 1988). Interlanguage is also called *idiosyncratic dialect* or *approximative system* (Young 1988: 282). SLA researchers focus their studies on deviations in learners' language from the target language (TL). Tyson (1994: 53) claims that “[an] SL learner goes through a series of approximative stages in the process of acquiring a TL, and errors often cannot be explained solely by transfer from the NL (native language)”. Unlike the previous theory, the Foreign Talk (FT) theory, also referred to as the Baby Talk theory (see Ferguson 1968, Grey 2016, Sebba 1997, Walczyński 2012), assumes that the native speakers of the dominant language use their mother tongue in a simplified way, which is easier to understand. This theory is thought to explain the first developmental stages of pidgins. According to the FT theory, pidgin users are like children and they produce many utterances rich in content words, but few or hardly any function words (Grey 2016: 103). According to the FT theory, pidgins are simplified in their grammars and lexicons because of the poor input that was given to the people acquiring the dominant language.

Similarly to the theories of the origin of pidgins, there is no single theory accounting for the origin of creole languages. Numerous sources describe the theories of the origin of creoles which, in fact, take into account many aspects that might have influenced the emergence of different creoles.

The Language Bioprogram by Bickerton (1984) and the Creole Prototype by McWhorter (1998) assume the existence of pidgins in the emergence of creoles. The Language Bioprogram theory states that children are involved in stabilizing the inadequate input in a pidgin which then evolves into a creole. The Creole Prototype theory presupposes that a creole is a nativized variety of a pidgin. Creoles will act as any other language and will, at some point, diverge from the prototype form (Bickerton 1984: 177, Bickerton 2016: 41-122, McWhorter 2011: 111, Velupillai 2015: 175). Both theories have been criticized and several issues could be enumerated: (1) the Language Bioprogram assumes no interaction between emerging pidgins and creoles in contact situations, and that all pidgins and creoles emerged separately, (2) the Creole Prototype features are not limited only to creoles, as the features proposed by McWhorter may be found in different natural languages and (3) both theories neglect bilingualism and multilingualism which are an evident and apparent consequence of any language contact situation.

The Relexification Theory revolves around the concept of an imperfect second language acquisition by adults. At the core of this hypothesis lies the concept that speakers abruptly replace vocabulary in their L1 with lexemes from L2. The theory abandons the importance of children in the creation of creoles and diminishes the impact of both lexifiers and substrates on the linguistic structure of a creole (Velupillai 2015: 178-179).

The Founder Principle (Chaudeson 1992) depicts language change via a genetic metaphor of language. It claims that certain language patterns might be inherited from different groups of people and propagated into different ones. However, the theory has several flaws. It is believed that the theory needs to give more consideration to the importance of substrate languages. Furthermore, the theory assumes that the dominating language was imperfectly learnt by labourers. This, in Velupillai's (2015: 182) view, suggests that the dominating language was a kind of standard variety. Another problem is that the theory does not account for the existence of a "pre-creole", that is, a jargon or a pidgin, and neglects the possibility of pidgin or creole acquisition by children. Lastly, the theory does not take into account that certain linguistic patterns or strategies might stem from individual innovations made by speakers of a creole, as is suggested in the definition of the term *phenotypic* (Pierce 2017: 89).

The evolutionary account presupposes that: (1) adults and children are essential in the creole formation, (2) substrate languages are the source of linguistic mutations, (3) changes in a language are a natural selection of its users and they are bound to the properties of a given language and (4) creoles are similar but not identical. However, both the evolutionary account and the Founder Principle do not explain why some characteristics from the feature pool are not evident in the emerging variety (Mühlhäusler 2002a: 2, Velupillai 2015: 183).

The Gradualism Model theory relies solely on sociohistorical data. It presupposes the existence of a pidgin state which, in turn, gives rise to an extended pidgin and then a creole. In addition, the theory postulates that *transcreolization* takes place, that is, the process is gradual and slow, as a result, it takes a few generations for a creole to transpire. Nonetheless, a few criticisms might be voiced. The theory holds that historical data ought to be the primary source of information which, in the case of linguistic research, should not replace linguistic data. The theory assumes that there is always a pidgin state; however, it does not always have to be the case (see, among others, Arends 1993, 1995, 2008, Arends and Bruny 1994, Cardoso 2009, Singler 2008).

The Afrogenesis theory holds that creoles, especially in the Caribbean region, emerged from African pidgins. This assumption, however, is not stripped away from any flaws. First, the theory, like the Gradualist Model, relies heavily on historical data. It must be stressed that historical data must not replace linguistic investigation in the historical development of any language (Velupillai 2015: 185).

Mufwene (2008) postulates that considering pidgins and creoles as an “ancestor-to-descendant connection” is unclear. One should take into consideration the geographical distribution of pidgins and creoles to notice that these two types of languages constitute separate, not related groups. Pidgins are primarily located: (1) on the west coast of Africa and (2) on Pacific islands. Creoles, on the other hand, are located: (1) both on Atlantic and Indian Ocean islands and (2) on the east coast of both Americas. It is said that creoles must have developed via a natural restructuring process. What is more, creoles cannot be treated as a nativized pidgin.

The topic of origins of pidgins and creoles remains debatable. However, despite various developmental similarities between these languages, pidgins and creoles should be treated as two independent classes with their own histories which had a considerable impact on their forms, since many factors may contribute to the emergence of pidgins and creoles, which makes it difficult to create one unified theory.

1.2. Tok Pisin¹

Tok Pisin is a pidgincreole spoken in Papua New Guinea. The name *Tok Pisin* has been the official name of the language since 1981. The language is also referred to as Neomelanesian, Melanesian Pidgin, New Guinea Pidgin, Tok Vaitman and Tok Boi in older accounts (Mühlhäusler, Dutton and Romaine 2003: 2). Tok Pisin users are claimed to be the largest group of speakers in the South Pacific. There are approximately 1,500,000 speakers of the pidgincreole and in this group, 100,000 people use this language as their mother tongue. Nonetheless, there are many people whose knowledge of Tok Pisin is basic. Additionally, the pidgincreole may be characterized by a certain degree of variability since there are a few related varieties of Tok Pisin spoken in the Solomon Islands and Vanuatu (Majewicz 1989: 38, Lynch 1990: 387).

As has already been implied, Tok Pisin is spoken in the South Pacific. Figure 1.3 presents the geographical location of Papua New Guinea.

¹ The first works describing Tok Pisin were published at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century (see Churchill 1911, Hemsheim 1883). These monographs described the language as an interesting phenomenon, but, at the same time, ridiculed the way it sounded like. Later, some dictionaries of Tok Pisin were published (e.g. Borchardt 1926, Kutscher 1940, van Baar 1930). A breakthrough was made with the publication of *Melanesian Pidgin Phrasebook and Vocabulary* by Hall (1943), considered a prominent study of Tok Pisin. Then, linguistic descriptions of Tok Pisin were published (e.g. Laycock 1970, Mihalic 1957, Mühlhäusler 1978, Würm 1971). Nowadays, Tok Pisin has received considerable attention and many studies on this language have been published (see, among others, Feldmanis 2002, Handman 2013, Levey 2000, 2001, Robinson 2008, Schäfer 2021, Wakizaka 2008 and Zimmerman 2011). It is worth noting that Polish linguists are interested in Tok Pisin as well (e.g. Kornacki 2010, 2013, 2015, 2019a, 2019b, 2022, Kosecki 2020, 2022, 2023, Stanulewicz 2006, Stanulewicz and Radomyski 2022 and Walczyński 2005, 2008, 2012, 2013a, 2013b).

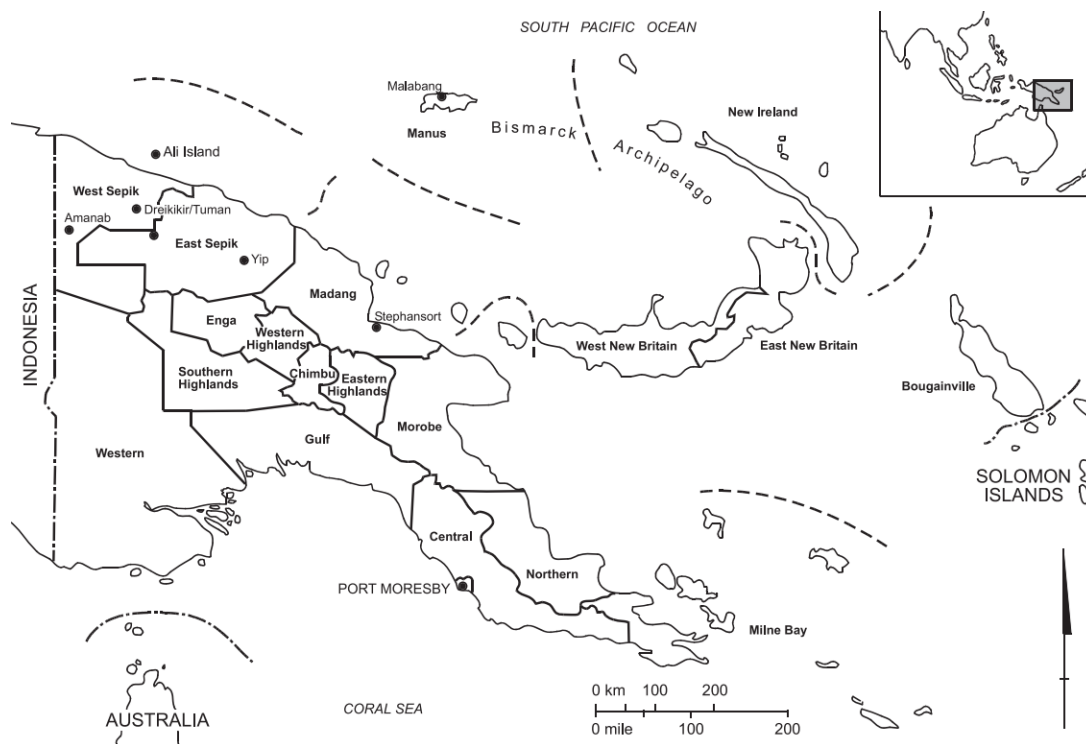


Figure 1.3. Map of Papua New Guinea and adjacent areas (Mühlhäusler et al. 2003: 3)

Papua New Guinea is a country divided into four main regions which consist of the following provinces: (1) Highlands Region (including Eastern Highlands, Enga, Simbu, Southern Highlands, Western Highlands), (2) Islands Region (including East New Britain, Manus, New Ireland, North Solomons – Bougainville, West New Britain), (3) Momase Region (including East Sepik, Madang, Morobe, West Sepik) and (4) Papuan Region (including Gulf, Milne Bay, Oro – Northern Province, Western Fly, Central Province, National Capital District – Port Moresby) (Walczyński 2012: 148).

It is worth mentioning that Tok Pisin is not the only official language of Papua New Guinea. There are two other official languages, namely English and Hiri Motu. Apart from these official languages, Papua New Guinea is well-known for its linguistic diversity. Mühlhäusler (2019: 158) states that approximately 700 indigenous languages are used in Papua New Guinea. Because of this linguistic diversity, this country is referred to as a “linguistic laboratory”.

1.2.1. Sociohistorical background

The sociohistorical aspects of Tok Pisin are directly connected with trade, plantation work and whaling (Walczyński 2012: 151, Zimmermann 2010: 7-12). Mühlhäusler, Dutton and Romaine (2003: 5) suggest that the development of Tok Pisin from its beginnings to the present-day state

has lasted for more than 100 years. The sociohistorical events involved in the development of Tok Pisin may be divided into seven periods (Mühlhäusler 1985c: 35-64, Walczyński 2012: 152): (1) Pacific Jargon English (before 1860), (2) Stabilization (1860-1883), (3) German New Guinea (1884-1914), (4) Expansion (1914-1940), (5) Tok Pisin during World War II, (6) the Post-war Period (1945-1953) and (7) 1953-onwards.

The first language contacts between the Europeans and the inhabitants of the Pacific region and the adjacent areas might be traced down to the 1850s. It was then when highly reduced jargons of English varieties had been brought to the Bismarck Archipelago, mainly by whale hunters and traders bartering sandalwood and *bêche-de-mer* 'sea slug' (Romaine 1992). These situational jargons served a purpose in sustaining communication between various peoples. Nonetheless, these contact jargons scarcely had any chance of surviving (Mühlhäusler, Dutton and Romaine 2003: 5). However, as the visits of European traders to restock their ships or hire islanders had become more frequent, an English-lexified pre-pidgin transpired, known as South Sea Pidgin or Beach-la-Mar. Communication in this language consisted in using broken English and numerous gestures (Walczyński 2012: 152).

Discussing the Stabilization period of Tok Pisin, one must take into consideration the importance of plantations involved in the development of the pidgincreole. The development of the contact language revolved around more areas than just the sugarcane plantations in Queensland, Australia. Prominent plantations which allowed some pre-Tok Pisin varieties to thrive were also located in New Caledonia and Samoa and to lesser degree Fiji where contact between the local population and colonizers was regular (Mühlhäusler 1985c: 39-40). As might be expected, plantations played an important role in stabilizing *ad hoc* jargons or pidgins based on English varieties. These contact languages served as a *lingua franca* for the new incoming populations. As implied by Mühlhäusler (1985b: 39), plantations had an extremely vital social function, that is, integrating people from various geographically remote regions and linguistic backgrounds. As a result, people who spoke different languages and formed a common and unified means of communication. This mode of communication was "a means of theorizing about an only partially understood reality" (Mühlhäusler 1985c: 40). The stabilization of English Pidgin on the plantations was induced by establishing enclaves for workers. In addition, the contact between workforce and masters was limited. Furthermore, workers from the Bismarck Archipelago were recruited to German plantations of Samoa and they constituted a major fraction of the local population from 1865 to 1880 in Kiribati (Gilbert Islands). Workers whose contracts had been terminated were sent back to home islands. During their stay on the plantations, they mastered Pidgin English at a communicative level. Pidgin English was

perceived as a language of prestige because its command would allow islanders to seek a job on plantations. The tendency to learn the pidgin was mainly observed among men. Additionally, according to Walczyński (2012: 153), one of the names of Tok Pisin *Tok Boi* ‘the boy’s/men’s talk’ was coined due to the fact that mostly men spoke the language back then. However, in certain situations women were also recruited to work on plantations (Mühlhäusler 1985c: 40).

Despite the fact that the number of male workers exceeded the number of female workers, marriages between plantation workers became a norm. That, in turn, resulted in the births of children in colonies who acquired English Pidgin as their first language. However, the number of children was never big enough in those colonies to give rise to a creolized variety of the pidgin. Children’s language innovations were limited since they relied on the language norms of adult speakers (Mühlhäusler 1985c: 41). Walczyński (2012: 153) adds that „Tok Pisin proper developed around the 1880s”. That period converged with the beginning of German seafaring activities in the Pacific.

The period of German New Guinea spans from 1884 to 1914. The year 1884 might be referred to as the birth of Tok Pisin. In that year, the German Reich annexed some territories in the Pacific, namely the Bismarck Archipelago, a part of the Solomon Islands and the north-eastern part of New Guinea (Mühlhäusler 1985c: 44). The annexation of the mentioned territories was part of the law introduced by Germany, that is, “pax Germanica” (Walczyński 2012: 153). Those events stopped any labour trade activities between most plantations in the Pacific. Interestingly, the English language was no longer a model language for the developing pidgin (Mühlhäusler 1985c: 44). The 1900s brought further historical developments which had a great impact on the developing contact language. Back then, the Samoan Plantation Pidgin became a model for Tok Pisin. In the early 1900s, Tok Pisin spread from plantations to villages. The knowledge of the language was associated with prosperity and power (Mühlhäusler, Dutton and Romaine 2003: 5). As pointed out by Walczyński (2012: 153-154), Tok Pisin was promoted as an essential mode of communication by the German government and German missionaries. The role of an interpreter from Tok Pisin became crucial. Interpreters were mostly former plantation workers. Tok Pisin, at that point, became a kind of *lingua franca* and started to be spoken by New Guineas as a mother tongue. Mühlhäusler, Dutton and Romaine (2003: 6) claim that Tok Pisin was used not only on plantations but also in different workplaces and at government stations under the Australian jurisdiction in 1914, soon after the end of the German rule.

The Expansion period lasted from 1914 to 1940. Walczyński (2012: 154) points out that the Island of New Guinea was divided into two parts, namely (1) German New Guinea and (2) British New Guinea. After the end of the German rule in New Guinea, Australia and Great Britain ceased control over the country in 1914 (Mühlhäusler 1985c: 49). Consequently, the German language was gradually less frequently used.

Even though the British were satisfied that the English language was used as a *lingua franca* in the German territory, they soon realized that it was a “barbarous and corrupted” version of English that was widely spoken. Although they wanted English to be widely used in lieu of Tok Pisin, the Australian government created many situations in which Tok Pisin was used instead (Mühlhäusler 1985c: 49). The growth of Tok Pisin stemmed from the social distance that the Australians imposed between their nation and the local population of New Guinea. Moreover, that situation caused further diversification of Tok Pisin into sociolects, for instance, Highlands Pidgin, Tok Masta and Tok Skul, also referred to as Tok Buk, spoken across New Guinea (Mühlhäusler 1985c: 50).

At the brink of the Second World War, New Guinea was invaded by the Japanese. As a result, the free and independent development of Tok Pisin was stopped because many places where the language was used were destroyed, for instance, plantations and missionary institutions. In addition, the young native population acquired a flawed variety of the language. Furthermore, Tok Pisin speakers came into contact with speakers of highly anglicized Papuan Pidgin English as well as with American and Australian soldiers who used baby talk in communication with them. Lastly, the process of codification and standardization of Tok Pisin was stopped because the work of the German missionaries had been brought to an abrupt halt (Mühlhäusler, Dutton and Romaine 2003: 6-7). Despite those events, Tok Pisin was used by allies in communication. This, in turn, called for creating dictionaries and books in Tok Pisin. Interestingly, not only were missionaries involved in making reference books about Tok Pisin, but also laypeople (Walczyński 2012: 156).

The Post-War Period began in 1945. During that period, the Australians reinforced the use of Tok Pisin in New Guinea. The language was used in newspapers and by the local government from 1945. Interestingly, the United Nations tried to ban Tok Pisin in 1953. However, the idea did not get support and Tok Pisin was still used in New Guinea. What should be noted is that Tok Pisin gained a more positive reception among Australians. The Australian government aided Papua New Guinea in establishing educational institutions. English had once again become the target language. Although English had a predominating role again, many

people still spoke Tok Pisin. For this reason, the local authorities decided to issue some newspapers and broadcast programmes on the radio in Tok Pisin (Walczyński 2012: 158).

After 1953 New Guinea developed a new culture consisting of two elements: the local culture and the western culture. A medium which fused these cultures was Tok Pisin. Up-to-date, except for Tok Pisin, English is used in Papua New Guinea. English as an auxiliary language contributes to the fact that diglossia is a common phenomenon in Papua New Guinea (Walczyński 2012: 158). In 1975, Papua New Guinea became an independent country and since then, English has been present not only in urban regions, but also in rural regions. It is problematic to predict linguistic changes that might happen in the future. However, owing to the fact that the English language is used in many domains of life, the role and use of Tok Pisin will probably decline (Mühlhäusler, Dutton and Romaine 2003: 7-8).

All things considered, the sociohistorical factors had a huge impact on Tok Pisin. What should be noted is that this language must have been under a great number of influences, not only the English language which seems to have a constant impact on the language, but also German, Malay, Melanesian, Portuguese, Polynesian and many locally spoken languages (Steinbauer 1998: 5). The languages used in this area shaped Tok Pisin that is used today. They gave rise to the characteristic linguistic features of the language which will be described in the next section.

1.2.2. Selected linguistic features

As has been implied in the previous section, there is a significant variability in the development of Tok Pisin; thus it is difficult to make generalizations about the language. However, there are some studies which provide general information about the features of the language.

This section describes selected linguistic features of Tok Pisin, including morphology syntax and the lexicon.

1.2.2.1. Morphology

Tok Pisin does not have a wide range of morphological means to inflect words. Neither does it have many derivational processes which allow its speakers to coin new lexical items (Smith 2004: 721).

Mühlhäusler (1985c: 336) points out that “most available grammars list [...] three inflectional features”. However, Smith (2004: 721-724) singles out some more up-to-date inflectional devices in Tok Pisin.

The transitive marker *-im*, according to Smith (2004: 720), is the most characteristic feature of Tok Pisin and it was observed in the early pidgins spoken in the Pacific islands. The suffix derives from the English third person object pronoun *him*. This suffix is necessary when transitive verbs are used, however, in Mühlhäusler's (1985c: 336) view, "*-im* is not attached to all transitive verbs and, in addition to transitivity, also signals causativity, reflexivity and reciprocity". Smith (2004: 721) presents examples of intransitive and transitive forms of certain verbs: *dring* 'to be drinking' – *dringim* 'to drink something', *giaman* 'to be lying' – *giamanim* 'to deceive someone', *marit* 'be married' – *maritim* 'to marry someone'. The suffix *-im* allows speaker of Tok Pisin to use a verb in a transitive form.

Furthermore, the suffix *-im* does not only have the function of changing an intransitive verb into a transitive one. The morpheme *-im* is also semantically meaningful. Smith (2004: 721) claims that the suffix has lately been used to distinguish between human and non-human agents. Consider the following examples: *kaikai* 'eat' – *kaikaim* 'bite', *pekpek* 'defecate' – *pekpekim* 'to lay e.g. eggs', *pispis* 'urinate' – *pispisim* 'piss on, sting'.

Smith (2004: 721) points out that the letter *m* is elided from *-im*; thus transitive verbs may be marked by simply using the suffix *-i*, for instance, *ol suti sla boi ia*, *ol puti em lo kar* 'They shoot this boy, they put him in the car'.

The suffix *-pela* is an adjectival suffix, for instance, *gut* + *-pela* 'good'. The suffix *-pela* occurs before a modified noun, e.g. *gutpela haus*. Some monosyllabic words cannot take the suffix (Smith 2004: 722). Monosyllabic adjectives appear after the modified noun, for instance, *banana mau* 'ripe banana'. Interestingly, the suffix *-pela* has its reduced form, that is *-pla*. Smith (2002: 64) points out that *-pela* can be used as a part of emphatic expression. The common form *hamas* means 'how much/many' but the expression *hamaspela* stands for 'goodness knows how many'.

Mühlhäusler (1985c: 336) claims that the suffix *-pela* can be used with the first- and second-person singular pronouns to coin equivalent plural pronouns. However, the system of pronouns is more complex than the English one (Smith 2004c: 723). What is interesting in the system of personal pronouns in Tok Pisin is that the language has dual, trial and plural pronouns. Smith (2004: 723) states that the trial form and the form *tupela* are gradually becoming less popular. However, some different forms of pronouns are heard in spontaneous speech, such as *mipela*, *mipla*, *mila* and *mila*. Such forms as *mitupela* and *yutupela* are reduced to *mitla* and *yutla* respectively (Smith 2004: 723). In *An Advanced Course in Tok Pisin*, the form *em tripela* is given instead of *emtripela* (Scorza and Franklin 1989: 33). Mühlhäusler

(1985c: 337) notices that the plural equivalents of the singular personal pronoun were coined by the postposition of the word *ol*, that is, *mi ol*, *yu ol* and *him ol*.

The following two suffixes, namely the plural marker *-s* and the progressive aspect marker *-ing*, in Mühlhäusler's (1985c: 339) view, are inflectional morphology borrowings. However, it is crucial to mention that Smith (2004: 724) neglects the use of the progressive marker in Tok Pisin.

The plural marker *-s* is a possible mechanism for pluralizing a noun. Nouns are, however, typically pluralized by using the multifunctional word *ol*, for instance, *tok ples oa ol language blong Papua New Guinea* 'vernaculars, that is **languages** of Papua New Guinea', *ol problem* 'problems', *ol refugee* 'refugees' and *ol rural areas* 'rural areas' (Kornacki 2015: 53). Smith (2004: 724) notices that native speakers of Tok Pisin tend to use the plural suffix *-s* very often together with the redundant plural marker *ol*. Romaine (1992: 234-235) postulates that the plural suffix *-s* is favoured with animate nouns, in particular those ones which denote humanness.

According to Mühlhäusler (1985c: 339-340), the suffix *-ing* is mainly used in spoken and written Urban Tok Pisin. This form was borrowed to fulfil a similar function to the transitive marker *-im*. However, some speakers of Tok Pisin use it in the same sense as English speakers.

The use of *-ing* as a progressive marker involves three stages. In Stage 1 (e.g. *mi ritim dispela buk* 'I am reading this book' or 'I read this book') and Stage 2 (e.g. *mi riding dispela buk* 'I am reading this book' or 'I read this book'), the suffixes *-im* and *-ing* attached to the verb do not help speakers of Tok Pisin to distinguish between an ongoing situation or a habitual or completed one. However, in Stage 3, the use of the suffix *-ing* and the past tense marker *bin* allows Tok Pisin users to differentiate between an ongoing (e.g. *mi riting dispela buk* 'I am reading this book') and completed activity (e.g. *mi bin rit dispela buk* 'I read this book') (Mühlhäusler 1985d: 340).

Apart from inflectional morphology, derivational morphology should be brought to attention. Mühlhäusler (1985d: 423) claims that coining new lexical items in Tok Pisin involves combining the existing words and morphemes. The following derivational processes might be observed: suffixation with *-im*, conversion, compounding and reduplication.

The suffix *-im* might be used with nouns to derive transitive verbs (e.g. *ain* 'iron' – *ainim* 'to iron', *bombom* 'torch', *bombomim* 'to catch a fish with torch') or intransitive verbs might take the suffix *-im* to derive transitive verbs (e.g. *surik* 'to flinch' – *surikim* 'to push back', *sindaun* 'to sit' – *sindaunim* 'to cause to sit, settle') (Mühlhäusler 1985e: 434-437).

Conversion is used to derive verbs from nouns (e.g. *brekpas* ‘breakfast’ – *brekpas* ‘to have breakfast’, *sande* ‘sunday’ – *sande* ‘to pool wages on Sunday, spend Sunday’), nouns from adjectives (e.g. *bikpela* ‘big’ – *bikpela* ‘size’, *longpela* ‘long’ – *longpela* ‘length’) or nouns from verbs (e.g. *kamap* ‘to arrive’ – *kamap* ‘arrival’) (Mühlhäusler 1985e: 434-437).

Compounds are coined in three different ways. First, adjectives might be combined with nouns to form nominal compounds (e.g. *bikbol* ‘elephantiasis’ lit. big testicles, *wanbel* ‘twin’ lit. one womb). Another group of compounds are verbal compounds. They are coined by combining a verb with a noun (e.g. *givim bel* ‘impregnate’ lit. give belly, *luslain* ‘depart’ lit. leave group). Lastly, adjectival compounds are formed by juxtaposing a verb and an adjective (e.g. *aipas* ‘blind’ lit. eye fast, *nekdrai* ‘thirsty’ lit. neck dry) (Mühlhäusler 1985e: 434-437).

The last process which enables Tok Pisin to enrich its vocabulary is reduplication. The following types of words might be reduplicated: transitive verbs (e.g. *askim* ‘to ask’ - *askaskim* ‘to ask persistently’), intransitive verbs or adjectives (e.g. *blakpela blakpela* ‘very dark’, *kraikrai* ‘crying loud’), adverbs (e.g. *insaitinsait* ‘deep inside’, *kwikkwik* ‘very quickly’), nouns (e.g. *bekbek* ‘various bags’, *konakona* ‘corners’) or numerals (e.g. *wanapelawanaplea* ‘each of’) (Mühlhäusler 1985e: 438-440). The main function of reduplication is to intensify meaning of a word or to pluralize it.

What might be seen is that the inflection morphology is centred around four inflectional morphemes, namely *-im*, *-pela*, *-s* and *-ing*. The last two morphemes are claimed to be inflection morphology borrowings (Mühlhäusler 1985d: 339). The derivational morphology of Tok Pisin, on the other hand, seems to be revolving around suffixation with *-im*, conversion, compounding and reduplication.

1.2.2.2. Syntax

The predominating word order in Tok Pisin is SVO. According to Smith (2000c: 726-739), some characteristic structures might be observed. In this section, the following issues are considered: (1) the particle *i*, (2) the verb phrase, (3) the noun phrase and (4) complementation.

The particle marker *i* is also known as a predicate marker. It comes from the third person singular pronoun. Smith (2004: 727) states that the predicate marker *i* is commonly used in the New Guinea Islands area, but it is omitted in the Highlands and North Coast areas of the mainland. In the areas where *i* is not used frequently as a predicate marker, it tends to appear before such words as *no*, *gat*, *dai* and *bin*. Romaine (1993) claims that the marker is the process of dropping and it occurs less frequently and, in some instances, is absent. There are some occurrences of the plural marker *ol* followed by the predicate marker *i*. However, it could also

be interpreted as the use of the plural marker *oli*, for instance, *ol man blong Kevieng ol i/oli gutpla man* ‘Kavieng people are good people’ (Smith 2004: 728).

The discussion of verb phrases may begin with the presentation of various particles which are used to mark tense, modality and aspect. There are two tense markers: (*i*) *bin* and *bai* (*i*). The preverbal particle *bin* derives from the English word *been*. There is a great variation in uses of this word. Some first language speakers do not use this particle at all (Smith 2004: 729). However, whenever it is used, *bin* is placed invariably before a verb, for instance, *Apaste long nait em bin go long wanplea pati* ‘The night before last he went to a party’ (taken from *The Atlas of Pidgin and Creole Language Structures Online* <<https://apics-online.info/surveys/22#section-6verbphrase>>). The preverbal particle *bai* comes from the English expression ‘by and by’. The following sentence exemplifies the use of *bai*: *Long ples bai yu lukim wanpela bikpela ston* ‘In the village you will see a large stone’ (taken from *The Atlas of Pidgin and Creole Language Structures Online* <<https://apics-online.info/surveys/22#section-6verbphrase>>). However, the word is undergoing grammaticalization and, as a result, it is cliticized, for example, *ol i bagarap olgeta b’ol i dai* ‘If they are completely spoiled, they will die’ (Smith 2004: 729).

As far as the category of aspect is concerned, there are four distinct verb phrases employed to fulfil this function in Tok Pisin: (1) *pinis*, (2) *sa(ve)*, (3) *wok lo(ng)* and (4) *stap*. *Pinis* is a post-verbal aspect marker which derives from the English word *finish*. In early varieties of Tok Pisin, two forms were used as a past reference marker, namely, *bin* and *pinis*. However, in contemporary Tok Pisin, there is a clear distinction between these forms. *Bin* is used as a past tense marker, as has already been signalled, and *pinis* is employed as a completive aspect marker. The following example shows *pinis* used in context: *mi kukim pinis* ‘I have cooked it’. *Sa(ve)* is a habitual aspect particle. It is an altered version of the Portuguese word *saber* ‘know’ which may be frequently found in many pidgins and creoles spoken in the Atlantic and Pacific regions. What may be noticed is that *save* may be back-clipped and the form *sa* is also used instead. The following sentences present *sa(ve)* in context: (1) *Olgeta yangpela man long ples i save traim long katim* ‘The young men in the village (habitually) tried to cut it’ and (2) *Ol ami ol sa pait wantaim ol ma ia* ‘The soldiers would fight with the people’ (taken from *The Atlas of Pidgin and Creole Language Structures Online* <<https://apics-online.info/surveys/22#section-6verbphrase>>). *Wok lo(ng)* is a progressive aspect marker used in a pre-verbal position. The word comes from the English verb phrase *walk along*. The use of this phrase has two different connotations as it usually refers to the state of being busy or engaged in an activity, for instance, *em tokim papa bilong em na em wok long karai nau* ‘He

told his father and he was crying’ (taken from *The Atlas of Pidgin and Creole Language Structures Online* <<https://apics-online.info/surveys/22#section-6verbphrase>>). The fourth aspect marker is *stap*. This word comes from the English word *stop*. *Stap* is used in a post-verbal position. Like *wok lo(ng)*, *stap* is a progressive marker. The following sentence shows its use: *ol i wokabaut i stap* ‘they are walking’. Interestingly, *wok lo(ng)* and *stap* may sometimes be used in the same sentence, e.g. *ol i wok long stori stap* ‘they were telling stories’ (Smith 2004: 729-731).

Modality in Tok Pisin is expressed by three pre-verbal markers: (1) *mas*, (2) *ken* and (3) *(i)nap*. The modal verb *mas* derives from English *must*. It is used not only in the context of personal obligation, but it is also employed as an assumption that something must be true. The following examples show the use of *mas*: (1) *bas kam nau mi tok, “em mas Djef mas kam”* ‘The bus came and I said, “it must be Geoff coming”; (2) *em tok olsem “mi mas pasim egsem bilong mi* ‘He said, ‘I mus pass my exam’ (taken from *The Atlas of Pidgin and Creole Language Structures Online* <<https://apics-online.info/surveys/22#section-6verbphrase>>). *Ken* comes from English *can*. It is used in permissive statements, for instance, *yu no ken kam insait* ‘You can’t come inside’. *(I)nap* is a word that derives from the word *enough*. It is employed in utterances expressing capability. This may be seen in the following example: *mi inap pinisim dispela kaikai* ‘I can finish this food’. However, it may be used like *ken*, for instance, *inap mi tokim yu wanpela samting?* ‘can I tell you something?’ (Smith 2004: 731-732).

Additionally, there is another characteristic phenomenon involving verbs in Tok Pisin, namely verb serialization. The process consists in using a few verbs one after another. This is done with a view to encoding more detailed meanings, for instance, (1) *em kam kamap long ples* ‘(s)he arrived at the village’ and (2) *em i brumim rausim ol pipia* ‘(s)he swept away the rubbish’. Some serial constructions might be undergoing the process of grammaticalization in Tok Pisin. This is true for some verbs, for example, *kirap* ‘get up, initiate’ or *stat* ‘begin’ in *nau ol stat kuk lo kleipot* ‘They started cooking in the clay pot’ and *ol kirap pait no ol pait* ‘a fight started. As far as the word *kirap* is concerned, it might be ambiguous in certain sentences since it has two meanings as mentioned earlier (Smith 2004: 732-733).

Let us now concentrate on noun phrases in Tok Pisin. A noun phrase consists of a pronoun or a noun. Nouns may be accompanied by pre- and post-nominal modifiers.

Mühlhäusler (1985e: 346) claims that “in Tok Pisin there is considerable freedom for nouns to appear in more than one syntactically relevant subclass”. However, certain specific groups may be identified. The first group encompasses animate nouns (e.g. *dokta* ‘doctor’ or *sunam* ‘Manus islander’ and inanimate nouns (e.g. *diwai* ‘tree’ and *gras* ‘hair/feather’). The

second group includes proper nouns which are usually used in a singular form. They may refer to animates (e.g. *Pita* ‘Peter’ or *John* ‘John’) and inanimates, such as the names of towns and various locations (e.g. *Sepik* ‘the Sepik’ or *Mosbi* ‘Port Moresby’). The third group encapsulates uncountable nouns. However, they are of marginal importance in Tok Pisin because any uncountable noun may be made countable. The fourth category encompasses abstract and concrete nouns. There is hardly any difference between these two types of nouns with respect to the ability of using prenominal modifiers. The fifth category are the nouns referring to containers and units of measurement (e.g. *mekpas* ‘bundle’ or *tin* ‘tin’). The sixth category includes nouns used to introduce proper nouns (e.g. *masta* ‘European’ or *wara* ‘river’ in *masta pobrus* ‘The European referred to as *pobrus* (smoker of native tobacco)’ and *wara Sepik* ‘the Sepik river’). The last category contains words naming units of measuring time and money (e.g. *mun* ‘month’ or *aua* ‘hour’) (Mühlhäusler 1985f: 346-348).

Nouns may be preceded by modifiers. Mühlhäusler (1985e: 354) presents the sequence of prenominal modifiers in a form of diagram (see Figure 1.4).

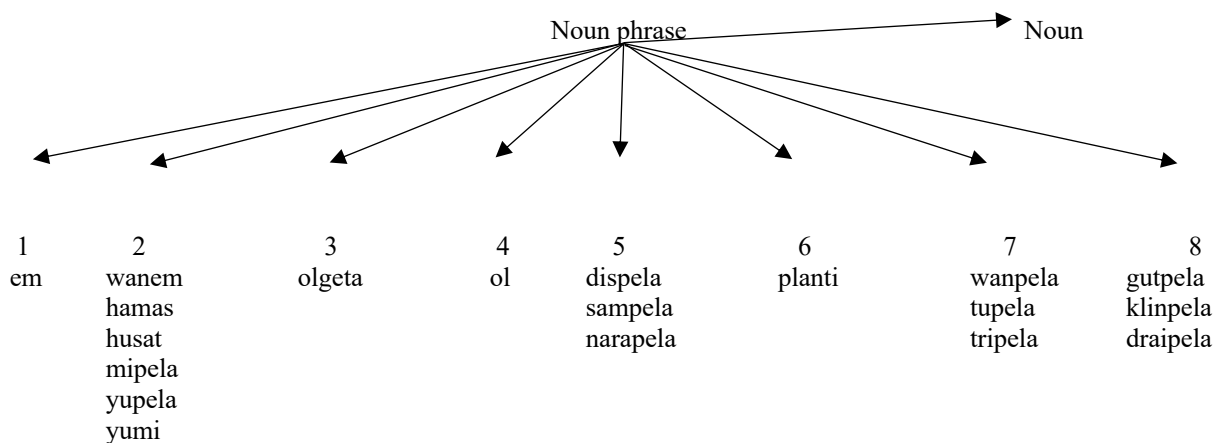


Figure 1.4. The most common sequence of pre-nominal modifiers
(Mühlhäusler 1985f: 354)

What may be inferred from Figure 1.4 is that there are eight places which might be occupied by different pre-nominal modifiers. The first place is occupied by the pre-nominal emphasizer *em* which can precede all modifiers, including pronouns. The second place might be occupied by interrogative pronouns which, as already mentioned, might function as adjectives but for the pronoun *we*. Moreover, personal pronouns might appear in this place as well. The third place is occupied by the infinitive quantifier *olgeta* ‘all, a very significant part of’. The fourth place is occupied by the plural marker *ol*; however, its position is not fixed and it may take any other position. The fifth place is taken by demonstratives, such as *dispela* ‘this’

and *hia* ‘here’ or *lohap* ‘there’. Furthermore, indefinite pronouns may occupy this position as well. The sixth place is taken by numerals, e.g. *wanpela* ‘one’, *tupela* ‘two’, *tripela* ‘three’ or *faipela ten* ‘fifty’. Lastly, the seventh position might be taken by adjectives (Mühlhäusler 1985f: 351-355).

Apart from the pre-nominal position, modifiers may be placed after the noun. The fixed sequence of elements after the noun is as follows: noun, adjective, phrase with *bilong*, *nabaut* ‘different, various’ and *ya*. Nonetheless, there are probably more “insufficiently understood restrictions” in such sequences (Mühlhäusler 1985f: 358).

In recapitulation, Tok Pisin makes use of various syntactic strategies to help structure an utterance. However, the described properties are still going through various changes. One could see that certain processes are becoming simplified, for instance, the dropping of the marker *i* or the use of clitized forms of some grammatical words.

1.2.2.3. The lexicon

The structure of the Tok Pisin lexicon originates to a large extent from English. It is estimated that approximately 75 %-80 % of lexical items derive from English, 15-20 % from indigenous Austronesian languages, mainly from the Tolai language, and 5 % from various non-Aboriginal languages; however, one may also mention German as the language whose impact is considerable (Majewicz 1992: viii-ix).

Mühlhäusler (1985f) presents an elaborate study on the lexical change in Tok Pisin. He uses the pidgin-creole life cycle stages to describe the changing lexicon of the language.

The Jargon English lexicon was small, and some sources state that the number of lexical items might have reached approximately 300 words (Genthe 1908, Churchill 1911). The limited vocabulary of Jargon English resulted from the limited number of domains in which the jargon was used and from the use of babytalk. Nevertheless, the use of baby talk seems to be untrue since some difficult lexemes were also used, for instance, *make'm peasoup adrift* ‘open the tin of meat’ or *bone along me slew* ‘to be bewitched’ (Mühlhäusler 1976: 241).

The Stabilized Tok Pisin lexicon, in Mühlhäusler’s view (1976: 252), was “a linguistic system separated from its lexifier language and the first language of its users”. Moreover, the process of stabilization was observed in its vocabulary. To be more specific, it was seen in the development of social conventions in lexical information, the reappearance of lexical structure and the appearance of stable syntactic structures employed in new lexical items (Mühlhäusler 1976: 252).

Many languages had an impact on the shape of the Tok Pisin lexical inventory, for instance, Samoan Plantation Pidgin (e.g. *kakaruk* ‘chicken’, *pukpuk* ‘crocodile’), Samoan (e.g. *laplap* ‘loincloth’, *popi*² ‘Catholic’), Tolai and other vernaculars (e.g. *kina* ‘mussel’, *diwai* ‘tree’), Malay (e.g. *baret* ‘ditch, groove’, *mambu* ‘bamboo’) and German (*gumi* ‘ruber, tube’, *malen* ‘paint’) (Mühlhäusler 1976: 254-266). It is vital to point out that Tolai, together with some local languages, as well as German, supplied the Tok Pisin lexicon with various lexemes from specific semantic categories. For instance, German was a source of vocabulary related to: (1) religion and doctrine, e.g. *baikten* from *beichten* meaning ‘confess’, (2) police force, e.g. *hauman* from *Hauptmann* meaning ‘captain’, (3) commands and abuse, e.g. *javol* from *jawohl* meaning ‘yes’, (4) maritime, e.g. *sluk* from *Schluck* meaning ‘whirlpool’ and (5) certain names of animals, e.g. *esel* from *Esel* meaning ‘donkey’ (Mühlhäusler 1976: 267-268). Furthermore, the Stabilized Tok Pisin stage was also characteristic of the emergence of semantic field structures. As already shown, some borrowings might be grouped into certain categories with some common features. However, different lexical groups transpired, that is, numeral system, kinship terms, human body parts or a group of coconut-related terms (the last group probably reflects the predominating type of agricultural tendencies in the area) (Mühlhäusler 1976: 285-289).

Furthermore, it is worth mentioning that the Stabilized Tok Pisin was characterized by the development of the derivational lexicon, that is, the use of circumlocutions (e.g. *small fellow something he go belong bush* ‘land crab’ lit. a small thing that goes to the bush, *plenty small fellow something he come he kaikai all finish* ‘ants’ lit. many small things that come when they have finished eating) or lexical phrases/word level lexical items (e.g. *man bilong kaikai* ‘glutton’ lit. man belongs eating, *pig man* ‘boar’ lit. pig man) (Mühlhäusler 1976: 291-292).

The lexicon of Expanded Tok Pisin relied mostly on derived lexical items which were supplied by the already existing lexemes, that is, “items generated from internal resources” of the language. However, some borrowings were still made to enrich the lexicon of the language. During this period, German was removed as the main lexifier and replaced by English. The Tolai language was still an important lexical source (Mühlhäusler 1976: 304).

During the Expanded stage many items, mostly compounds, were coined via morphological processes. Except for internal lexical expansion, Tok Pisin borrowed many words from various languages, for instance, English (e.g. *begin* ‘begin’, *duti* ‘duty’), New

² Interestingly, the word *popi* was used in Samoa from the 1870s and was not directly borrowed from English (Mühlhäusler 2002b: 290).

Ireland Pidgin (*hea* ‘handle’, *krani* ‘clover’), Manus Pidgin (e.g. *bilele* ‘goat’, *burukin* ‘dish’) or Rabaul Pidgin (*kukuvai* ‘umbrella’, *varkurai* ‘court case, debate’) as well as unspecified source languages (Mühlhäusler 1976: 305-307).

The borrowing of new lexical items was not the only process that occurred in Expanded Tok Pisin. The language also replaced certain obsolete items with new ones. For instance, the phrase *putim mak long pepa* was substituted by the lexeme *rait* ‘write’ or the phrase *tok tru antap* was replaced by the word *promis* ‘promise’ (Mühlhäusler 1976: 308).

Like in the case of Stabilized Tok Pisin, Expanded Tok Pisin developed new semantic fields: (1) names of animals (e.g. *nambawan balus* ‘grey pigeon’, *nambatu balus* ‘white pigeon’, *namatu palai* ‘lizard’), (2) names of plants (e.g. *nambawan namawan kabis* ‘cabbage’, *nambawan kwila* ‘white ironwood’, *nambatu kwila* ‘red ironwood’), (3) names of times of day (e.g. *apinun* ‘afternoon’, *moningtaim* ‘morning’, *nait* ‘night’), (4) terms of traditional religion (e.g. *marila* ‘love spell or charm’, *poisin* ‘black magic, sorcery, evil spell’, *tewel* ‘devil’) and (5) names of various kinds of people (e.g. *autsaitman* or *arereman* ‘outsider’, *poro* ‘mate’, *wanpis* ‘loner’) (Mühlhäusler 1976: 321-325).

Post-Pidgin Tok Pisin is the next lexical expansion stage in the development of the language. This period is characterized by intensified contact between Tok Pisin and its lexifier. An intense influence of the English language on Tok Pisin led to the anglicization of the latter, especially urban varieties. This process began at the end of the World War I (Mühlhäusler 1976: 360). This stage of lexical change involved borrowing and replacing lexical items.

Creolized Tok Pisin is the last stage of vocabulary development and enrichment. However, what is observed in this stage is the fact that it revolves mainly around the use of already existing patterns for the formation of lexical items in Rural Pidgin (Mühlhäusler 1976: 386).

As has already been mentioned, Tok Pisin has been anglicized. For this reason, many language changes have been brought to the language. In the study on the language used in *Wantok*, Walczyński (2012: 216) observes that:

[...] the lexicon of *Wantok* Tok Pisin is continually developing, which may be supported by the fact that there are increasing numbers of new words – usually derived recently from English – which are used to name new concepts so far alien to Papua New Guinean culture [...]

Apart from the process of anglicization in the context of vocabulary, it is worth mentioning the figurative language used in Tok Pisin. For many years, vehicular languages were perceived as a deficient means of communication in many aspects, especially with respect to their stylistic resources (Todd and Mühlhäusler 1978: 2). Between the two World Wars, Tok Pisin developed

its internal structure. Two processes impacted the creation of idiomatic phrases: the interlanguage growth of idiomatic expressions (e.g. the formation of *bel bilong me i paia* ‘my belly is on fire’ from *bel bilong mi i hat* ‘my belly is hot’ meaning ‘I am angry’) and the use of English semantics in place of Tok Pisin semantics (e.g. the use of *het bilong wara* ‘head of the river’ instead of *lek bilong wara* ‘foot of the river’ and *maus bilong wara* ‘mouth of the river’ instead of *ai bilong wara* ‘eye of the river’). Moreover, Tok Pisin speakers frequently employ metaphorical expressions congaing words denoting body parts (e.g. *ai bilong botel* ‘lid’, *ai bilong susu* ‘nipple’, *iau bilongen i pas* ‘he is deaf’, lit. his ears are obstructed, *maus bilong hul* ‘the opening of a cave’). Kosecki (2020: 50-59) identifies numerous metonymies (e.g. WHOLE-PART: *kau* ‘beef’, lit. cow, or MAIN FACTOR-PLACE *clos was* ‘laundry’ lit. clothes wash) and metaphors (e.g. UP IS POWER: *Mi antap long yu* ‘I above you’ – I am superior to you, or OBJECTS ARE IDEAS: *holim long tingting* ‘hold at/to thoughts’ – remember).

To recapitulate, the Tok Pisin lexicon has developed in many ways. Needless to say, one of the most critical factors is the influence of the lexifier language, that is, English. However, the substrate languages also have a strong impact on the shape of Tok Pisin vocabulary. Currently, the language is under the intense influence of the English language, thus the process of anglicization is underway. Lastly, figurative language appears to be of vital importance to expressing Tok Pisin users’ ideas.

1.3. Concluding remarks

Pidgins and creoles are contact languages which emerge in dire need of a mutual medium of communication in multicultural and multilingual speech communities which do not have one common lingua franca. Different types of pidgins and creoles may be determined by sociohistorical developments (Velupillai 2015). What is. More, there are many theories accounting for the origin of both pidgins and creoles. Even though they contribute to the explanation of how these languages appeared, there are still certain issues which cannot be explained in a precise way. The origin of pidgins and creoles remains debatable. However, despite various developmental similarities between these languages, pidgins and creoles should be treated as two independent classes with their own histories which had a considerable impact on their forms.

Tok Pisin is one of many languages in Papua New Guinea. It emerged in the second half of the 19th century when the first proto-Tok Pisin jargon varieties were used. It is said that the year 1884 might be referred to as the birth date of Tok Pisin (Mühlhäusler 1985c: 44). During its development, Tok Pisin has been influenced by many vernaculars, for instance, English,

German, Japanese, Malay, Melanesian, Portuguese, Tolai and many more European and indigenous languages.

Needless to say, the huge influence of so many languages accounts for unique linguistic features of Tok Pisin. For instance, the language uses specific morphemes, such as *-i(m)*, *-ing* and *-pela*, or favours certain word-formation mechanisms. As far as syntax is concerned, Tok Pisin uses the particle *i* which, among different grammatical elements, influences the structure of verbal and nominal phrases. The lexicon of Tok Pisin has constantly been changing and expanding in many ways, for instance, by using word-formation patterns or borrowing English lexemes (Walczyński 2012, Zimmermann 2010).

2. Circumlocution: Theoretical foundations

Circumlocutions are descriptive expressions or figures of speech used instead words referring to people, objects and places as well as to phenomena. Karolak (1999: 393) states that circumlocutions are used in place of single words, whereas Bańko (2002a: 5) claims that circumlocutions may occur in place of multi-word expressions.

To date, a vast body of research has been conducted on circumlocutions in various types of discourse. Elaborate expressions are frequently used by native speakers, for instance, poets and writers (Białoskórska 2002, Machnicka 2011), sports commentators (Koper 2012) or translators (Głowicka 2013). Furthermore, circumlocution has been investigated in aphasic patients (Rutkiewicz-Hanczewska 2016, Woolams and Patterson 2018), learners of foreign languages (Scullen and Jourdain 1999, Jourdain and Scullen 2002, Worden 2016) and users of pidgin and creole languages (Mühlhäusler 1985e, Radomyski 2020, 2022a, 2022b).

2.1. Circumlocution in literature, the media and translated texts

Circumlocution is a linguistic phenomenon widely observed in language. This figure of speech is frequently used in literature. Apart from literary texts, elaborate expressions occur in the press and other media, translation and everyday communication. Machnicka (2011: 48) claims that circumlocutions allow people to express their thoughts in unconventional ways and adjust the style and semantic content of their utterances to particular situations. Głowiński (1972: 49) states that this figure of speech imposes the sender's vision of an object, phenomenon or activity on the recipient. This allows the author to highlight selected salient features of a referent.

One area in which linguists have well-studied circumlocutions is literature. This issue has been largely explored by Polish researchers, especially by Białoskórska (2002). The following aspects are taken into account in the research on circumlocution in Poland: linguistic, rhetorical, stylistic and poetic.

Circumlocution in Polish linguistics is referred to as *peryfraza gramatyczna* (grammatical circumlocution) and, in this category, two types may be distinguished: (1) *orzeczenia peryfrastyczne* (verbal circumlocutions) and (2) *formy analityczne* (analytical forms). Verbal circumlocutions are defined as syntactic combinations of an auxiliary verb and an abstract noun, e.g. Polish and Spanish: *mieć nadzieję – tener esperanza* 'have hope' and *wziąć udział – tomar parte* 'take part' (Głowicka 2013: 81). Interestingly, by changing the auxiliary verb of a verbal circumlocution, one may alter the meaning of an expression, e.g. *wywolać panikę* 'cause

panic’ and *ulec panice* ‘get into panic’ or *wywierać wpływ* ‘have influence’ and *ulegać wpływowi* ‘come under influence’ (Karolak 1999: 431). As far as analytical forms are concerned, they frequently occur in languages which are – to a considerable extent – analytical, such as English or French. Karolak (1999: 432) regards the syntactic combination of an auxiliary verb and non-infinitive forms (gerunds, infinitives and participles) as analytical forms. Such analytical forms may be seen in the following examples: English: *is writing*, *had written*; French: *a lu* – ‘read’ (*passé composé*), *avait lu* – ‘had read’. This phenomenon may also occur in synthetic languages, such as Polish, e.g. *będzie czytać* – ‘(he/she/it) will read’. Furthermore, other analytical forms may fall into this category, such as the pre-position of the adverb *more* in comparative forms in English, e.g. *more beautiful* or *more wonderful* (Díaz 2006: 707). Within grammatical circumlocutions, the following structures are found: *peryfrazy słowotwórcze* (word-forming circumlocutions) and *deskrypcje określone* (definite descriptions). Word-forming circumlocutions are associative descriptions, e.g. *miesiąc, w którym kwitną lipy* ‘the month when poplars bloom’ – *lipiec* ‘July’. Definite descriptions are complex predicative expressions that describe properties of single objects or groups of objects. On top of that, predicative expressions may also indicate mutual relationships between these objects, e.g. *elektryczna maszyna cyfrowa* ‘electric digital machine’ – *komputer* ‘computer’.

In contrast to the linguistic account of circumlocutions, the rhetoric account does not encompass such grammatical constructions as *is writing*, *a lu* – ‘read’ (*passé composé*) or *będzie czytać* – ‘(he/she/it) will read’. Conversely, in rhetoric, circumlocutions function mostly in place of noun phrases. Circumlocutions in rhetoric differ in their length and replace the proper name of an object (Ziomek 1993: 193). This type of circumlocutions appears in the three functional varieties of language: spoken, artistic and oratorical (Białoskórska 2002: 13-14). These various range from euphemisms, e.g. *najniezbędniejsza część ubrania* ‘the most necessary item of clothing’ – *spodnie* ‘trousers’, *cudzą portmonetkę przenosić do swojej kieszeni* ‘move someone else's purse into one's pocket’ – *kraść pieniądze* ‘steal money’ and *czterdziestoletnia niewinność* ‘forty years of innocence’ – *stara panna* ‘old maid’ (Machnicka 2011), to metaphors, e.g. *błękitna planeta* ‘blue planet’ – *Ziemia* ‘Earth’, *czarna śmierć* ‘black death’ – *dżuma* ‘bubonic plague’ and *Nowy Świat* ‘New World’ – *Ameryka* ‘America’. In Machnicka’s (2011: 67, translation mine) words, “the purpose of this type of circumlocutions is to make utterances more attractive by introducing analytical, elaborate, figurative, usually metaphorical constructions in place of simple, common and ordinary expressions”.

In stylistics, attention is paid to semantic features of circumlocutions. In other words, circumlocutions are descriptions of a selected feature, activity or phenomenon. Additionally, a

circumlocution may be, among others, an animization, a synonym or a humoristic reference (Rychter 2011: 271). To give an idea of this type of circumlocutions, let us consider the following expressions: *dziwny gość wśród nas, ludzi* ‘a strange guest among us humans’ – *magnolia* ‘magnolia’, *chwasty o czarnych gruczołach* ‘weeds with black glands’ – *algi, yohamby* ‘algae, yohamby’, *uśmiech wydmy piaszczystej* ‘a sand dune smile’ – *dzika róża* ‘wild rose’ (Rychter 2011: 288-289). Białoskórska (2002: 16) admittedly argues that these types of circumlocutions may occur regardless of the genre, the subject of the work and the stylistic varieties of language in which they appear.

Lastly, circumlocution is considered both a stylistic figure and a type of metaphor in poetic terms. Moreover, it may bear some similarities to metonymy, synecdoche or synonymy. In classical poetry, circumlocutions were intended to express the sublimity of the text. The following lengthy expressions illustrate this phenomenon: *stambulskie gorycze* ‘Istanbul bitterness’ – *tytoń* ‘tobacco’ and *treści ciągnione z chińskich ziół* ‘content extracted from Chinese herbs’ – *herbata* ‘tea’. Moreover, circumlocutions may sometimes be incomprehensible to the recipient; therefore the author of the text may provide one-word terms corresponding to the long expressions. Let us now consider some passages from the sonnet *Góra Kikineis* ‘Mount Kikineis’ by Adam Mickiewicz. The underlined words are one-word equivalents and the phrases written in bold are circumlocutions: (1) *Spojrzyj w przepaść – **niebiosa leżące na dole*** ‘Look into the abyss – **the heavens below**’, (2) *Ta wyspa żeglująca w otchłani – to chmurą ‘**This island sailing in the abyss** – this is a cloud’ or (3) *Czy widzisz **plomienistą wstążkę** na jej czole? To jest piorun!* ‘Do you see **the flaming ribbon** on her forehead? It is a lightning bolt!’. This type of circumlocution is regarded as an explanatory circumlocution (*peryfrazy objaśniane*). In contemporary poetry, it is hardly possible to find this specific type of circumlocutions, as they have a rich lexical content. However, they might sometimes be used in various texts to perform semantic and stylistic functions (Kulawik 1997: 106-108).*

Regarding the structure of circumlocutions, Grzędzińska (1971: 108-109) claims that a circumlocution consists of the designator, index and reference. This can be presented by deconstructing the circumlocution *niebieski wysłaniec* ‘heavenly messenger’ – angel, where the designator is the noun *wysłaniec* ‘messenger’, the index is the adjective *niebieski* ‘heavenly’, and, finally, the reference of this circumlocution is *anioł* ‘angel’ (Białoskórska 2002: 90) (see Figure 2.1).

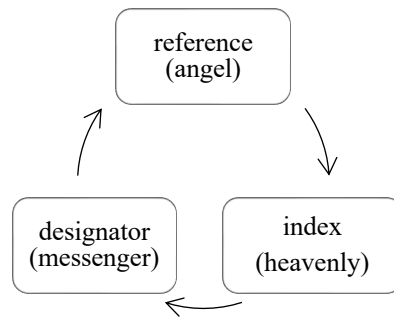


Figure 2.1. Structure of simple circumlocutions
(Grzędzielska 1971: 108, Białoskórka 2002: 90)

According to Grzędzielska (1971: 108), circumlocutions are semantically complex since they arrange and narrow the meaning of the circumlocution utilizing various components, i.e. the index and the designator (Białoskórka 2002: 90).

There are, however, circumlocutions that may be cumbersome to decipher. They might consist of complex indices that must be treated separately. Grzędzielska (1971: 107) provides an example of the circumlocution *rządca wilgotnej otchłani* ‘the ruler of the moist abyss’ – *Neptun* ‘Neptune’. To figure out the meaning of this expression, one must find the reference of the index ‘moist’ and the designator ‘abyss’, that is, sea. Then, the reference ‘sea’ becomes the index for the designator ‘ruler’ which, in turn, creates the reference ‘Neptune’ (see Figure 2.2).

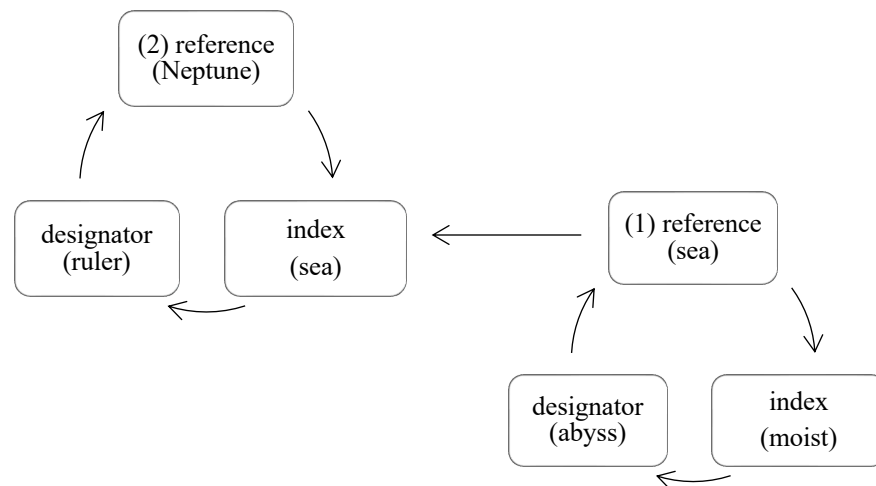


Figure 2.2. Structure of complex circumlocutions
(Grzędzielska 1971: 107-108)

In Grzędzielska’s (1971: 108) view, circumlocutions are definitions and conundrums that must be unravelled. This is the case in the example mentioned earlier, in which the final meaning of the circumlocution is hidden in the two separate phrases. More precisely, the meaning of the circumlocution is formed by the overlap between the semantic contents of its components and the context in which it occurs.

What is more, the structural properties of circumlocutions may be analyzed by considering the following features: (1) the type of word combination, (2) the degree of syntactic complexity and (3) the most common designators, indices and references in circumlocutions (Białoskórska 2002: 91, Machnicka 2011: 70, Afeltowicz 2020: 16).

Firstly, the type of word combinations in circumlocutions is determined by the part of speech which they substitute. Although Białoskórska (2002: 91-95) singles out only two possible types of circumlocutions, namely, nominal and verbal ones, Machnicka (2011: 90) claims that two more types are possible, that is, adjectival and adverbial circumlocutions. She concludes that nominal circumlocutions are the most common ones. This finding converges with Bańko's (2002a: 13) statement that this sort of circumlocution is the most common and frequent type of elaborate expressions.

Secondly, apart from having different functions, circumlocutions also differ in length and they may be classified into two distinct categories. The first category encompasses simple circumlocutions. Machnicka (2005: 351) defines them as lexical expressions that consist of two or three content words. The second group includes complex circumlocutions that have more than three content words and may appear in the form of, for instance, a clause, a sentence or a complex sentence.

Lastly, occurrences of the most common designators, indices and references depend on the type of the text and the context. Machnicka (2011: 241-242) identifies circumlocutions corresponding to various semantic categories: human beings, death, disease and health, religion or emotions, to name a few. Table 2.1 shows selected examples of circumlocutions and their properties.

Table 2.1. The table of selected circumlocutions (Machnicka 2011)

Type	Circumlocution in Polish	Degree of complexity	English translation	Meaning	Semantic category
nominal	<i>ziemskie anioły</i>	2	earthly angels	<i>kobiety</i> 'women'	human beings
	<i>Pan nad Pany</i>	2	Lord of Lords	<i>Bóg</i> 'God'	religion
	<i>najniezwyklejsi pomiędzy niezwyklejszymi</i>	2	the unhappiest among the unhappy	<i>obłąkani</i> 'the insane'	disease and health
verbal	<i>zasnąć w Panu</i>	2	fall asleep in the Lord	<i>umrzeć</i> 'die'	death
	<i>odpoczywać w ziemi</i>	2	rest in the ground	<i>umrzeć</i> 'be dead'	death
	<i>zrobić efekt uderzenia piorunu</i>	4	make the effect of a lightning strike	<i>wywołać szok</i> 'shock'	emotions
adjectival	<i>namiętny na zimno</i>	2	passionately cold	<i>oziębły</i> 'cold'	emotions
	<i>mocno klerikalnej barwy</i>	3	of strongly clerical colour	<i>purpurowy</i> 'purple'	miscellaneous
	<i>z wierzchu jeżem odziany</i>	3	on top clad in spikes	<i>oschły</i> 'harsh'	emotions
adverbial	<i>z miną zagniewanych Jowiszów</i>	3	with the face of angry Jupiters	<i>z oburzeniem</i> 'indignantly'	emotions
	<i>z piórkami w zębach</i>	2	with a feather in teeth	<i>beztrosko</i> 'carelessly'	emotions
	<i>gdy Bóg Najwyższy powoła [kogoś] do swej chwały</i>	5	when Almighty God calls [someone] to His glory	<i>gdy ktoś umrze</i> 'when someone dies'	death

All in all, circumlocutions in literature may be used to substitute nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs with more elaborate and descriptive expressions. They differ in length as well as in their references. Besides literature, circumlocution occupies an essential role in different registers.

Koper (2012) identifies a considerable number of circumlocutions in the media and press, investigating only the semantic aspect of elaborate expressions in radio and TV sports commentaries. Circumlocutions identified by Koper (2012: 116-117) refer to sportspeople and occur during natural and spontaneous utterances. The researcher singles out the main semantic categories used by sports commentators in circumlocutions, e.g. kingship (*Królowa Nart* 'The Queen of Skis' – Justyna Kowalczyk), religion (*Ikona Lekkoatletyki* 'The Icon of Athletics' – Yelena Isinbaeva), animals (*Czarna Pantera* 'Black Panther' – Eusébio da Silva Ferreira), jewels (*Perła Mozambiku* 'The Pearl of Mozambique' – Eusébio da Silva Ferreira). Koper (2012: 121) suggests that sports circumlocutions are highly metaphorical and, therefore, they

might be difficult to understand by people unfamiliar with the current sports events. The researcher stresses that these circumlocutions may be fuzzy and not semantically clear since they employ far-going associations. Another study touching upon circumlocutions in the mass media is the study by Straś (2001) who conducts a comparative analysis of circumlocutions found in the Polish and Russian press. She identifies certain minute differences between Polish and Russian circumlocutions, that is, Russian uses more adjective + noun combinations, while Polish uses noun + noun combinations, e.g. *горная страна* ‘mountainous country’ – *kraina gór* ‘the country of mountains’. Furthermore, there are differences in the degree of circumlocution complexity between both languages, e.g. *колыбель человеческой цивилизации* ‘the cradle of human civilisation’ (three elements) – *kolebka cywilizacji* ‘the cradle of civilisation’ (two elements) and there are slight differences in the selection of modifiers, e.g. *легкие планеты* ‘planetary lungs’ – *pluca Ziemi* ‘lungs of the Earth’. In Straś’s (2001: 108) opinion, circumlocutions are used in the press to substitute repeated lexemes and phrases, to draw the readers’ attention to advertised products and to stress the salient features of the designator. Additionally, it is worth mentioning that Straś (2001: 107) uses different terminology to describe the structure of circumlocutions. To be more specific, the designator is referred to as the keyword and the index as the modifier.

As has already been signalled, circumlocutions are often investigated from a comparative point of view. It is worth mentioning a piece of research by Czyżewska (2006) who scrutinizes circumlocutions with colour components. The author contrasts elaborate Polish expressions and German ones. Czyżewska (2006: 41-43) identifies four distinct groups, that is, Polish circumlocutions without a German equivalent, e.g. *biała dama* ‘white lady’ – cocaine; German circumlocutions without a Polish equivalent, e.g. *der rote Faden* ‘the red thread’ – idea; the same meaning in both languages, e.g. *biała śmierć/weißer Tod* – in both German and Polish: death by avalanche or freezing and, lastly, the same circumlocutions but different meanings in both languages, e.g. *białe myszki/weiße Mäuse* ‘white mice’ – German meaning: policemen, Polish meaning: hallucinations. Furthermore, Szerszunowicz and Vidović Bolt (2018) have conducted a corpus and survey study of Croatian equivalents of Polish circumlocutions of anthroponyms. The researchers identify four types of equivalents:

- (1) absolute equivalents that have the same lexical components and meaning in both languages, e.g. *Żelazna Dama/Željezna Dama* ‘Iron Lady’ – Margaret Thatcher;
- (2) partial equivalents that slightly differ as to the lexical choice or syntactic construction, e.g. *wielki kochanek* ‘great lover’/*latino ljubavnik* ‘Latin lover’ or *mračni ljubavnik* ‘dark lover’

- Rudolf Valentino and *ojciec narodów* ‘father of nations’/*otac nacije* ‘father of the nation’
- Joseph Stalin;

- (3) parallel equivalents that are semantically equal; however, they differ on lexical and syntactic strata, e.g. *Biedaczyna z Asyżu* ‘The Poor Man from Assisi’/*prijatelj Božjih stvorenja* ‘the friend of God’s creatures’ – Francis of Assisi and, finally;
- (4) zero equivalents that do not have Croatian equivalents since certain Polish culture-specific items are not known in Croatian culture, e.g. *czarny anioł polskiej piosenki* ‘black angel of the Polish song’ – Ewa Demarczyk.

Interestingly, some zero equivalent circumlocutions are understandable by Croatian native speakers, e.g. *głupi malarz* ‘stupid painter’ – Adolf Hitler. Both pieces of research, by Czyżewska (2006) and Szerszunowicz and Vidović Bolt (2018), show that circumlocutions are culture and context dependent. Knowledge of lexical units is insufficient to decipher an expression’s meaning.

Głowicka (2013) analyzes Polish translations of Spanish novels. In particular, she focuses on Polish equivalents of expressions representing a specific type of grammatical circumlocution referred to as inchoative circumlocution (Sp. *perífrasis inchoativa*). The inchoative circumlocution selected in this study is *empezar a* ‘begin to’ + infinitive. Głowicka (2013: 78-84) comes to the following conclusions: most translations are word-to-word equivalents, e.g. *empezó a hablar - zaczęła mówić* ‘(she) began to speak’; some inchoative circumlocutions are reduced to one-word equivalents, e.g. *empezó a pensar* ‘(he) began to think’ – *pomyślał* ‘(he) thought’ and specific examples are translated into Polish using different verbs, e.g. *empezó a abrir zanjas* ‘(it) began to dig ditches’ – *przystąpiła do rozkopywania* ‘(it) began to dig up’. Finally, Głowicka (2013: 84) states that the Polish language uses compound verbal predicates in lieu of inchoative circumlocution. A similar type of research has been conducted by Čermák et al. (2020) where differences between the Romance languages and Czech are investigated.

To recapitulate, circumlocutions transpire in various styles, registers and languages. They occur in highly poetic texts, the press and other media as well as in impromptu conversations. Although they may usually be employed as substitutes for common words and expressions, they may also function as a grammatical mode that allows speakers to express certain ephemeral aspects of an activity or phenomenon. Circumlocutions prove to be a beneficial communicative strategy when one is at a loss for words.

2.2. Circumlocution in Second Language Acquisition

A communicative strategy (CS) is an ability to compensate for any language deficiencies that a foreign language learner may encounter. Three significant approaches have been suggested to define CSs, that is, the psychological approach (Færch and Kasper 1983), the interactional approach (Tarone 1980) and the error approach (Brown 2000).

These three approaches offer complementary definitions of CSs and create a clear picture of a language interaction attempt. Færch and Kasper's (1983: 36) approach implies that interlocutors make a one-to-one conscious attempt to devise a solution to communicative hindrances. In Tarone's (1980: 420) vein, it is a situation where two or more interlocutors do not share, for instance, a word, in their mental lexicons; and thus a CS consists in debating the meaning of an unknown lexeme, so that it may be understood by all the parties involved. Brown (2000: 232) stresses that one can account for errors in non-native speakers' speech or written texts by considering their language background. In other words, the process of interlingual transfer is responsible, to a great extent, for L2 learners' errors. Brown (2000: 227) claims that errors stem from "interlingual errors of interference from the native language, intralingual errors within the target language, the sociolinguistic context of communication, psycholinguistic or cognitive strategies, and no doubt countless affective variables".

According to these definitions, CSs may be grouped into specific categories which share some common features. A significant body of research on CS categorization has been conducted by numerous scholars, Tarone (1977), Færch and Kasper (1983), Bialystok (1983, 1990), and Dörnyei and Scott (1997), to name a few. Each of these categorization approaches has its peculiarities. Dörnyei and Scott (1997) analyze existing taxonomies and create an alternative taxonomy of CSs. The authors draw attention to Bialystok's (1990: 61) statement that CS taxonomies vary significantly in terminology and the categorization principle; however, they share certain core features. Dörnyei and Scott (1997: 195) state that CSs have dual nature, that is, (1) adjusting "one's resources by altering, reducing or completely abandoning the original content" and (2) trying and conveying "the intended message in spite of the linguistic deficiencies by extending or manipulating the available language system". This approach is referred to as the reduction-achievement approach. Dörnyei and Scott (1997: 197) distinguished three categories, namely, direct, indirect and interactional strategies. Direct strategies are problem-solving approaches to a communicative issue. They allow speakers to debate the meaning of an unknown expression. In this category, the researchers include such techniques as the use of all-purpose words, circumlocution and mime, amongst others. Indirect

strategies stand in contrast to direct strategies since they do not allow one to debate the meaning; on the contrary, they prevent the breakdown of a conversation by “keeping the communication channel open”. Dörnyei and Scott (1997: 197) single out indirect strategies such as the use of filters or repetitions. Interactional strategies are *ad hoc* solutions in a communicative situation between speakers. They consist in asking for help or expressing non-understanding. This category includes the following techniques: comprehension check, own accuracy check or asking for confirmation.

As has already been mentioned, CSs create a reduction-achievement spectrum. In Dörnyei and Scott’s (1997) view, circumlocation is a direct strategy which means that interlocutors negotiate the meaning of a word. In the SLA context, circumlocutions are understood as lengthy expressions non-native speakers use in lost-for-words situations. Circumlocutions are used instead of single words to refer to an object, phenomenon, idea or activity. Dobao and Martínez (2007: 1) claim that speakers analyze their utterances and focus on missing words. They try to select the most representative and accurate words to convey their message effectively and efficiently.

The choice of the most appropriate and precise words might be cumbersome for non-native speakers of any language. Circumlocutions, that is, elaborate expressions whose function is to describe the most characteristic features of a given object, come helpful. Salomone and Marsal (1997) studied circumlocutions used by French non-native speakers. The people being tested were asked to produce circumlocutions in place of concrete nouns, abstract nouns and to name shapes. The authors of the study divided the students into separate groups, that is, the control group who focused on using the words in context and the experimental group who concentrated on explaining the words. Salomone and Marsal (1997: 477) found that silent functions of objects are used in descriptions. For example, both groups referred to a corkscrew as “used to open a bottle of wine”, the experimental group described a ladle as “something to serve soup”; however, the responses in the control group varied, that is, the word was substituted by “a type of spoon”, “something used to cook”, “is long and round” or “It is almost like a spoon and cup mixed together”. Salomone and Marsal claim that apart from the function, the location of an object may prove to be important; thus this feature might transpire in elaborate descriptions as well. To test this statement, Salomone and Marsal (1997) asked to provide circumlocutions for, among others, *thyroid gland* and *moon*. Providing circumlocutions for the term *thyroid gland* proved to be difficult. It is due to the fact that students more often than not match its location in the human body wrongly and they are not aware of its functions. However, some students provide the correct location in the neck region. Most students use hyponyms to refer to the

thyroid gland, namely, “gland”, “organ”, “part of the body” and “lymph node”. In the case of *moon*, not only did the students provide the location of the celestial body, but they also mentioned the time when it is most often visible. The students mentioned that the moon is located in “the sky” and “at night”, “in the evening” or “when it is dark”. Regarding the object, the students from the experimental group often used hyponyms, such as “a satellite of the earth”, “a big ball” and “a big star”. The students from the control group provided physical descriptions of the moon. As far as abstract nouns are concerned, Salomone and Marsal (1997: 478) state that they are difficult to define. The students from the experimental group often used the following expressions for *honesty* in their definitions: “tell the truth” and “not lie”. The students from the control group were more creative and they provided such lengthy sentences as “If you find one hundred dollars, you do not keep it” and “A personality trait that you must not have if you are going into politics”. The circumlocutions of the word *hell* explain why people go to hell: “a place where we go if we are not good in this life”, “the place where bad people go after their death” and “it’s where people go when they live an immoral life”. The control group included more value judgements than the experimental group by incorporating phrases such as “very bad”, “not good” or “a bad place”. Interestingly, the control group made references to the play *Huis clos* ‘No Exit’ by Jean-Paul Sartre, for instance, “where you can find Inès, Garcin, the Boy, and Estelle” and “where we cannot sleep or love”. Lastly, circumlocutions of symbols proved to be the most problematic. However, the participants managed to describe them. The symbol **Z** was described holistically in each group, meaning that students referred to already known items, such as “the last letter with a vertical line” and “a letter Z with a line in the centre”. The students from the control group made more creative references, for example, “a symbol for a rock music group”. As for the symbol **◇**, the students from both groups referred to the figure as “a girl’s best friend”. The control group happened to be more creative again and coined the following sentences: “You can see them on the side of the road; you read them and follow the directions” and “when a man loves me a lot, he will give me a thing like this on a ring”. Salomone and Marsal (1997: 480) claim that trying to convey one’s message despite language limitations is a good quality of a language learner. This characteristic is most often used by people who are not afraid to speak their mind, to speak freely and to voice their judgements. In the case of Salomone and Marsal’s (1997) research, these were characteristic features of students from the control group who were encouraged to rely on their experiences and knowledge. This made them more creative and flexible.

Duff (1997: 199) claims that language depends on the context, real-world knowledge and schemata stored in people's minds. On top of that, circumlocutions are representations of networks established in the memory. In the SLA context, circumlocutions stem from limited vocabulary and grammar. It is worth mentioning that even advanced and proficient students might face certain language limitations; however, they manage to use communicative strategies successfully, such as paraphrasing or circumlocuting (Berry-Bravo 1993: 372). To illustrate the emergence of circumlocutions from mental schemata, Duff (1997) analyzes circumlocutions produced by non-native Chinese speakers. Table 2.2 presents examples of circumlocution in a southern dialect of Mandarin Chinese.

Table 2.2. Circumlocutions in a southern dialect of Mandarin Chinese
(Duff 1997: 202-213)

Chinese lexical target	English equivalent	Circumlocution
<i>jin</i>	near	<i>Ta zhu zai nar. Bu yuan bu yuan.</i> She lives there. Not far not far. <i>Zhu zai xuexiao ma?</i> (She) lives at school? <i>Bu shi xuexiao. Ta-ta de fangjian bu yuan.</i> (It) is not school. Her- her room is not far.
<i>linju</i>	neighbour	<i>Ta yige yue yihou, ta uh bu yuan de zhu, bu yuan zhu de ren gaosu ta n – uh ta airen ziji de zuo ta de – tamen de fangzi.</i> She one month later, her uh not far live, not far live person tells her uh her husband himself made her – their house.
<i>jieri</i>	holiday	<i>Ah jintain meiyou ke. Women meiyou ke.</i> Ah today (we do) not have class. We (do) not have class. <i>Shi women de – uh waiguo de hen jungyao de – de ri. Meiyou ke.</i> (It) is out uh foreign very important day. (We) don't have class. <i>Shi women de wan yi wan de ri. Jintian shi shi'eryue ershiwu hao.</i> (It) is our play-n-play day. Today is December 25 th . <i>Shi yige hen jungyao de.</i> (It) is one of the important ones.
<i>hezi or ertong guachi/touchi</i>	cart or carriage	<i>haizi qu xuexiao de shihou, zai – tamen you xiaofangzi, fangzili tamen e – houbain, tamen mama haishi baba zixingche houmian zuo, zuo neige fangzili.</i> Children go (to) school time, at – they have small house, house – inside they behind, their mother or father bicycle behind go, go this house inside.

The presented examples show that circumlocution may differ in length and might be an element of an utterance. However, in some cases, they are elaborate descriptions that consist

of many sentences that serve an important purpose in structuring one's thoughts. Duff (1997: 200) claims that while looking for an adequate means of finding a circumlocution for a missing lexical item, one inhibits the non-target language and activates networks in the target language. This allows speakers to select lexemes connected with a given concept and context. Finally, speakers may choose a variety of lexical and grammatical strategies while constructing a circumlocution, including paraphrases, synonyms and negated antonyms.

Although speakers' background and knowledge matter, Dobao and Martínez (2007: 1) emphasize that a speaker's proficiency in a language plays a vital role in the communicative effectiveness of a lengthy expression. The proficiency level of a speaker is reflected by the means used while producing circumlocutory expressions. Dörnyei (1995) mentions Tarone and Yule's (1998) idea that creating a circumlocution requires simple vocabulary which defines properties, for instance, size and colour. In addition, certain expressions should be used automatically (e.g. *it is a thing for...*, *it is an animal that...* or *it is similar to...*) (Dörnyei and Thurrell 1992: 64, Ismail and Mathai 2018: 74).

Jourdain and Scullen (2002: 229-233) propose a five-stage sequence of lexical and syntactic choice for circumlocutions. The authors claim that the process of learning to create circumlocutions needs to follow five stages which differ in the level of lexical and syntactic complexity (see Table 2.3).

Table 2.3. An instructional sequence for lexical and syntactic choice
(Jourdain and Scullen 2002: 230-234)

Stage	Example
1. General description (to be + adjective)	<i>C'est</i> + adjective... [=It's + adjective...] <i>C'est orange.</i> [It's orange.]
2. Synonyms/analogies (adjective + noun)	<i>C'est une sorte de...</i> [=It's a type of...] <i>C'est comme une grande cuillère.</i> [=It's like a big spoon.]
3. General superordinates - description (relative clauses – which)	<i>chose</i> [=thing] <i>C'est une chose qui...</i> [=It's a thing which...] <i>C'est une chose qui est grande.</i> [=It's a thing which is big.]
4. Specific superordinates – function (relative clauses – that)	<i>meuble, vêtement, outil, machine, etc.</i> [=furniture, clothing, tool, machine, etc.] <i>C'est un meuble que/pour...</i> [=It's a piece of furniture that/for...] (+description/function) <i>C'est un machine qu'on utilise pour...</i> [=It's a machine that one uses for...]
5. Antonyms and metonyms – combinations of synonyms, analogies, descriptions of constituent features (elaborated description)	<i>C'est comme une grande fourchette, avec un manche en bois, qu'on emploie dans le jardin pour retourner la terre.</i> [=It's like a big fork, with a wooden handle, that is used in the garden for turning the soil.] (pitchfork)

The initial stage focuses mainly on producing simple sentences describing a missing lexeme by using an adjective corresponding to the salient feature of the lexeme. The second stage involves using a combination of an adjective and a noun. The adjective + noun sequence is preceded by a sentence including a noun phrase such as *a type of* or *a kind of*. In this way, one may produce sentences with more familiar words. The third stage uses a generic word which is then specified by a relative clause. The fourth stage is, to a large extent, similar to the previous point. However, the process involves using a specific word of a category. Lastly, the fifth stage stands out in comparison to the previous processes. This process involves using more detailed descriptions of objects, activities or phenomena.

Some studies refer to circumlocutions as phrasal compounds, compound phrases or lexicalized phrases. In their study, Broeder et al. (1993: 44-45) investigate complex word combinations that meet the following requirements: they are combinations of two or more words, and they are combinations of words and one or more affixes. One of the issues explored by the scholars is the composition of multi-word expressions. The researchers postulate that foreign language learners prefer to use one of the two types of noun + noun compounds: head-initial or head-final. Additionally, compound phrases are created by using basic lexical units. In some cases, one may notice that learners combine lexical items by using linking words. Such

a word-formation process is regarded as a compensation strategy employed by second language learners.

Broeder et al. (1993: 49-53) examined 12 speakers of six different languages (Arabic, Finnish, Italian, Punjabi, Spanish and Turkish) who learnt one of the following Germanic languages: Dutch, English or Swedish. Table 2.4 presents the target languages, mother languages, forms and types of phrasal compounds and the number and percentage of used structures.

Table 2.4. The distribution of N-N compound types (Broeder et al. 1993)

Target language		Dutch				English				Swedish			
Mother tongue		Arabic		Turkish		Italian		Punjabi		Finnish		Spanish	
form	type	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
N+N	head-final	37	59	93	76	31	79	48	84	42	93	35	67
modifier+N+N	head-final	0	0	17	14	1	3	8	14	0	0	1	2
N+N	linear	1	2	5	4	0	0	1	2	0	0	1	2
N+N	head-initial	3	5	8	7	0	0	0	0	1	2	8	15
N+prep+N	head-initial	22	35	0	0	7	18	0	0	2	4	7	13
Total		63	100	123	100	39	100	57	100	45	100	52	100

This analysis shows that noun + noun combinations with the head located in the final position is the most common form of coining new lexical items. As far as the Dutch language is concerned, the speakers of both Arabic and Turkish use N+N head-final constructions most often. However, Arabic speakers exhibit tendencies to produce head-initial N+prep+N compounds. It is worth noting that among Turkish speakers, there exist, a tendency to construct head-final compounds with a complex modifier, that is, the modifier+N+N form. The N+N linear form is the least common; however, it occurs in either group.

In the case of the English language, the predominant form is the N+N head-final form. Some utterances produced by both Italian and Punjabi speakers follow the structure modifier+N+N head-final. What is more, there are two structures which are exclusively used by both groups. One of the Punjabi speakers produced one N+N form, whereas several Italian users produced the N+prep+N structure.

Lastly, Swedish learners favour the N+N head-final construction. Both Finnish and Spanish speakers use the N+N and N+prep+N head-initial forms. Nevertheless, the structures are the most common among Spanish native speakers. As far as the modifier+N+N head-final and N+N linear forms are concerned, they are used solely by Spanish native speakers. Although

they may be observed, they are not common forms. Table 2.5 presents examples of phrasal compounds identified by Broeder et al. (1993).

Table 2.5. Complex N-N compounds used by non-native speakers (Broeder et al. 1993)

Structure	Target language	Mother tongue	Learner variety	Direct translation	Target variety	Direct translation
modifier+N+N head-final	Dutch	Turkish	<i>allemaal-kleine-kinder-feest</i>	all-little-children-party	<i>feest met allemaal</i>	party with all little children
			<i>auto-monteur-werk</i>	car-mechanic-work	<i>werk als automonteur</i>	work as a car mechanic
N+N linear	Dutch	Turkish/Arabic	<i>vader-moeder</i>	father-mother	<i>ouders</i>	parents
		Turkish	<i>broer-zus</i>	brother-sister	<i>geschwister</i>	siblings
			<i>oma-opa</i>	grandfather-grandmother	<i>grootouders</i>	grandparents
N+N head-initial	Swedish	Finnish	<i>moment-den-arbets</i>	stage-that-works	<i>arbetsmoment</i>	stage
		Spanish	<i>tabletter-vitamin</i>	tablets-vitamins	<i>vitamintablets</i>	vitamin pills
			<i>bil-polis</i>	car-police	<i>polisbil</i>	police car
N+prep+N head-initial	Dutch	Arabic	<i>kerk van Marokko</i>	church of Morocco	<i>moskee</i>	mosque
			<i>brief van werk</i>	letter of work	<i>arbeidscontract</i>	labour contract
	English	Italian	house of the burglars	-	prison	-
			stay with the police	-	imprisonment	-
			telephone-box for policeman	-	walkie talkie	-
	Swedish	Finnish	<i>lön med den accord</i>	salary with that contract	<i>ackordslön</i>	salary
<i>reklam på tidingen</i>			advertisement in newspaper	<i>tidnings-reklam</i>	advertisement	

N+N combinations produced by non-native speakers of the three Germanic languages differ in length and complexity. Various grammatical structures might be used to coin a new lexical item that may function instead of a word or a fixed phrase. It is worth mentioning that noun + noun compositions are the most commonly used by non-native Dutch, English and Swedish speakers.

All things considered, circumlocution in second language acquisition is a compensation strategy that non-native speakers of a language use to compensate for lexical limitations of their second language. Circumlocutions produced by non-native speakers differ significantly

among users and contexts. They can be simple compound expressions, simple or elaborate descriptions whose purpose is to single out the most characteristic features of objects or phenomena and, finally, they may take a form of a detailed description consisting of a few sentences.

2.3. Circumlocution in pidgins and creoles

Similarly, circumlocutions are used by speakers of pidgin and creole languages. They are employed to overcome difficulties in conversing by coining new lexical items. Lexical gaps in pidgin and creole users' lexicons stem from the fact that the auxiliary language has undergone expansion and is used in a broader range of domains. Thus, the users of the language do not have all the necessary lexical items at their disposal. For this reason, they need to enrich and extend their vocabulary by any means available. Naro (2000: 38) provides three language strategies that might be employed by pidgin and creole speakers, one of which is circumlocution. The researcher defines it as "the creation of standardized phrases to take the place of non-existent lexical items".

Wurm and Mühlhäusler (1985f: 101) state that circumlocutions intersect with syntax and lexicon. Additionally, the researchers emphasize the fact that circumlocutions are created *ad hoc* and are temporary solutions to a communicative problem. Some scholars provide a lengthy example of a circumlocution for 'piano' in Tok Pisin. Mühlhäusler (1985f: 101) and Szczerbowski (2000: 66) draw one's attention to the circumlocution *bikpela blakpela bokis i gat waitpela na blakpela tis oltaim yu paitim em, em i kraiaut* 'black big box has white and black teeth, when you hit it, it screams'. Szczerbowski (2000: 66) claims that this is not a circumlocution but a description of a piano by a native of Papua New Guinea who has never seen such an object before.

According to Naro (2000: 38), circumlocutions are phrases that may seem too picturesque for native speakers. However, circumlocutions or lexicalized phrases have been observed in many pidgins and creoles. In Mühlhäusler's (1985f: 102) view, elaborate circumlocutions tend to be substituted by simpler equivalents as soon as the new concepts are introduced to pidgin and creole speakers. Table 2.6 shows reported circumlocutions in Tok Pisin, their lexical substitutions and meanings.

Table 2.6. Lexical replacements of circumlocutions in Tok Pisin (Mühlhäusler 1985g: 102)

Reported circumlocution	Lexical replacement (source)	Meaning
<i>smok bilong graun</i>	<i>das</i> (Eng.) or <i>tobon</i> (Tol.)	dust
<i>rot bilong wara</i>	<i>baret</i> (Mal.)	ditch
<i>kom bilong sutim kaikai i go long maus</i>	<i>gabel</i> (Ger.)	eating fork
<i>susu bilong duai</i>	<i>gumi</i> (Ger.)	rubber
<i>snek bilong wara</i>	<i>maleo</i> (Tol.)	eel
<i>diwai bilong raitim pepa</i>	<i>blaistik</i> (Ger.)	pencil

Even though certain circumlocutions may be replaced by words borrowed from different languages, some of them might remain in the language. Mühlhäusler (1985f: 102) claim that some circumlocutions have been conventionalized. Table 2.7 presents examples of conventionalized circumlocutions in Tok Pisin.

Table 2.7. Conventionalized circumlocutions in Tok Pisin (Mühlhäusler 1985g: 102)

Circumlocution	Literal translation	Meaning
<i>sit bilong binen</i>	shit of bee	honey
<i>rop bilong su</i>	string of shoe	shoelace
<i>pekpek bilong lam</i>	faeces of lamp	soot

Plag (2009: 9-10) provides more examples of circumlocutions in Tok Pisin that have remained in the language. The author gives the following examples: *man bilong save* ‘man of knowledge’ – expert, *man bilong stil* ‘man of steal’ – thief, *bel i hevi* ‘belly he heavy’ – be sad, *bel i gut* ‘belly he good’ – be contented, *mekim hos* ‘make horse’ – to saddle or *mekim siga* ‘make cigar’ – to smoke. As may be inferred, circumlocutions may be coined in Tok Pisin by: (1) creating a noun phrase with the preposition *bilong*, i.e. N+*bilong*+N, (2) creating verbal phrase by using a noun, the predicate marker *i* and an adjective, i.e. N+*i*+Adj and (3) creating a verbal phrase by using the verb *makim* and a noun, i.e. *mekim*+N.

Plag (2009: 10) presents more circumlocutions which he refers to as constructional idioms. The author quotes Dijkhoff’s (1993) research and enumerates many “left-headed complex nominal expressions with the preposition *di* ‘of’, [...] about three dozens involving the preposition *pa* ‘for’ [...] and a few involving the prepositions *den* ‘in’ or *na* ‘at/in’” in Papiamentu. Table 2.8 presents nominal phrases collected by Dijkhoff (1993).

Table 2.8. Nominal phrases in Papiamentu (Dijkhoff 1993)

Nominal phrase	Literal translation	Meaning
<i>hòmber di fishi</i>	man of trade	expert
<i>kabes di karpachi</i>	head of skull	skull
<i>kuminda di atardi</i>	food of afternoon	dinner
<i>kama pa bebi</i>	bed for baby	cradle
<i>rèki pa buki</i>	rack for books	bookshelves
<i>awa pa baña kuné</i>	water for shower with it	bathwater
<i>karni den gargante</i>	flesh at throat	tonsil
<i>panlevi na suku</i>	soft cookies at sugar	sweet

Plag (2009: 11) investigates more examples of circumlocutions. He draws one's attention to the research by Braun (2009) who investigated complex noun phrases in Sranan. Most nominal phrases contain prepositions, for instance, *fo* 'for' (*feya fo Gado* 'fire of God' – lightning) or *va/vo/foe* 'of' (*watra va hai* 'water of eye' – tear(s), *blakka vo tappo* 'black of top' – clouds, *fienga foe fòetoe* 'finger of foot' – toes).

Sala (2014: 39) analyzes circumlocutions in Cameroon Pidgin English. The researcher refers to circumlocutions as phrasal compounds as well. Table 2.9 shows circumlocutions/phrasal compounds in Cameroon Pidgin English.

Table 2.9. Circumlocution/phrasal compounds in Cameroon Pidgin English (Sala 2014: 39)

Word	Word class	Direct Translation	Actual meaning
<i>bobi-tanap</i>	noun	the breast stands	firm-breasted girl/young landy
<i>chop-broke-pot</i>	noun	eat and break the pot	spendthrift (extended to mean an ungrateful person)
<i>deh-di-go</i>	noun	days are passing away	personal name (derogatory)
<i>die-for-laf</i>	noun	death of laughter	death of a very old person
<i>docta-du-good</i>	noun	a doctor that does good work	philanthropist, whip
<i>how-for-do</i>	adverb	what does one do	reluctantly, used to show one's frustration
<i>kam-for-contri</i>	noun	to come from a village	villager/primitive person (pejorative)
<i>kam-no-go</i>	noun	to come and refuse to go back or return	a settler (often north westerner in the south west region of cameroon), extended to mean a kind of resistant rash
<i>lok-mop-mak</i>	noun	a remark that closes the mouth, leaves one speechless	astounding thing/sign
<i>man-pas-man</i>	noun	a man is above a man	competition/survival of the fittest
<i>moni-mis-rud</i>	noun	money has missed its way	spendthrift/one who misuses money (also one who does not enjoy his wealth)
<i>pis-pis-for-bed</i>	noun	wet the bed continuously	one who wets the bed
<i>radio-one-battery</i>	noun	a radio set using only one battery	idle gossip
<i>shit-no-wipe-lass</i>	noun	to excrete and not clean the anus	worthless person

As has been stated, Cameroon Pidgin English uses prepositions, for instance, some of these phrases incorporate the preposition *for* 'for'.

Although circumlocutions are coined mainly by using prepositions to create nominal phrases, different grammatical structures may also be employed. Radomyski (2020) analyzes circumlocutions in the translation of King James' Bible into Hawai'i Creole English. He identified 15 circumlocutions with the headword *peopo* 'people' which occur in the studied text 30 times. Table 2.10 presents the circumlocutions with the word *peopo*, their word class, literal meaning and actual meaning.

Table 2.10. Circumlocutions in Hawai'i Creole English (Radomyski 2020: 29-30)

Circumlocution in HCE	Word class	Literal meaning	Actual meaning
<i>peopo dat work fo him</i>	noun	people that work for him	servants
<i>peopo dat stay spesho fo God</i>	noun	people that are special for God	saints
<i>first peopo dat give demself to God an his Baby Sheep Guy</i>	noun	first people that give themselves to God and Baby Sheep Guy	redeemed
<i>all da peopo dat God's Baby Sheep Guy wen pick</i>	noun	all the people that God's Baby Sheep Guy picked	chosen
<i>peopo dat not slaves</i>	noun	people that are not slaves	free
<i>peopo dat no trus</i>	noun	people that do not trust	unbelieving
<i>peopo dat no do notting cuz dey scared</i>	noun	people that do not do nothing cause they are scared	fearful
<i>peopo dat make kahuna</i>	noun	people that make kahuna	sorcerers
<i>peopo dat fool around</i>	noun	people that fool around	whoremongers
<i>peopo dat like kill oddas</i>	noun	people that like killing others	murderers
<i>peopo playing plenny guitars</i>	noun	people playing plenty guitars	harpers
<i>diffren peopos all ova da world</i>	noun	different people all over the world	kindreds
<i>peopo dat go down an pray to da idol kine gods</i>	noun	people that go down and pray to the idol kind of gods	idolaters
<i>peopo all ova da world dat do da real bad kine stuff</i>	noun	people all over the world that do the real bad kind of stuff	abominations
<i>peopo dat ack pilau kine</i>	noun	people that act a pilau kind of	abominable

The circumlocutions with the headword *peopo* do not form simple noun phrases. Radomyski (2020: 29) states that 28 circumlocutions are formed by adding a relative clause to the headword. The remaining two circumlocutions are formed by adding a reduced clause and a prepositional phrase to the noun *peopo*.

Mühlhäusler (1985f: 119) claims that the use of circumlocutions is a typical process in the jargon and stabilization period in the development of pidgins and creoles. There is only a limited number of instances when compounding is used instead. The following stages of a pidgin or creole development involve the increase in the number of "word-level compounds". Plag (2009: 11) points out that even though circumlocutions are a characteristic feature of a pidgin or creole at the early stages of its development, they are not exclusive to the jargon stage. On the contrary, they may be retained in the stable version of a language.

To sum up, circumlocutions are present in pidgin and creole languages. They may take various forms, such as simple N+N combinations, N+prep+N combinations or more lengthy phrases where a relative clause modifies the headword. Circumlocutions are in fact useful

devices which serve the purpose of bridging one's lexical gaps. On top of that, circumlocutions are not a characteristic feature of the early developmental stages of pidgins or creoles. In the later stages, they are helpful ways of expressing one's thoughts or ideas more picturesquely.

2.4. Circumlocution in anomic aphasia

Circumlocution is also observed in the speech of patients suffering from aphasia. People who have sustained various brain injuries, such as a stroke or neurodegenerative disease, suffer from linguistic impairments. Goodglass and Wingfield (1997: 3) single out problems with producing connected speech, difficulties in speech comprehension and troubles with reading or writing. What is more, these problems may occur together in various combinations.

Anomic aphasia is a significant language impairment affecting, amongst others, lexeme retrieval from the speaker's mental lexicon. The process of retrieving vocabulary from the mental lexicon has been narrowed down to three main stages (Andretta, Cantagallo and Marini 2012: 1777, Indefrey 2011: 2-3):

- (1) the generation of a mental plan by a speaker
- (2) the linguistic formulation:
 - (a) the preverbal message is transformed into a speech plan
 - (b) the lexical concepts fire lexical selection
 - (c) the word is selected
 - (d) the speaker gains access to the information stored in the lexical representation
- (3) the lexical production.

Due to the fact that the process of vocabulary retrieval from the mental lexicon is impaired in aphasic patients, they struggle with finding correct words to name objects, entities or phenomena. Such a type of anomic aphasia is referred to as word form anomia. People with this condition cannot recall the proper morphological and/or phonological form of a word. For this reason, one of the strategies employed by them is the use of a lengthy description of an object or phenomenon, i.e. circumlocution (Andretta, Cantagallo and Marini 2012: 1777, Mielnik 2012: 55, Rutkiewicz-Hanczewska 2016: 100).

In Rutkiewicz-Hanczewska's (2016) view, although aphasic patients face issues with finding necessary words, they still show their understanding of the world by using descriptions. She distinguishes between (1) semantically non-related circumlocutions and (2) semantic compensations. The latter ones are divided further into two more specific categories, namely, (1) denotational circumlocutions and (2) connotational circumlocutions. Figure 2.3 illustrates this categorization of circumlocutions.

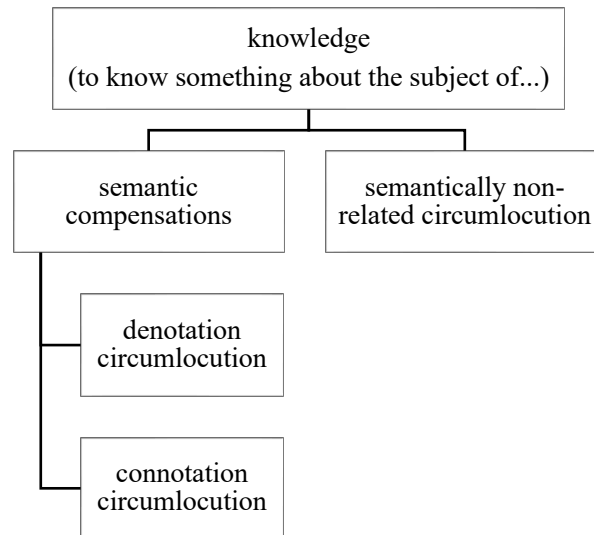


Figure 2.3. Paths of word compensation in aphasia (Rutkiewicz-Hanczewska 2016:100)

As may be seen in Figure 2.3, all compensation strategies make use of previous knowledge about the world. Rutkiewicz-Hanczewska (2016) has conducted a significant body of research on aphasic patients. Much of this study is devoted to communicative strategies such as circumlocutions. The researcher gathered a considerable number of such expressions. Table 2.11 presents some circumlocutions of common nouns and proper names collected by Rutkiewicz-Hanczewska.

Table 2.11. Circumlocutions produced by patients with aphasia
(Rutkiewicz-Hanczewska 2016:102-114)

Target word in Polish	Target word in English	Circumlocution in Polish	Circumlocution in English	Circumlocution type	
listonosz	postman	<i>ten, co przynosi listy</i>	this one who brings letters	denotation	semantic compensations
piekarz	baker	<i>pan, który robi pieczywo</i>	a man who makes bread		
wiertarka	drill	<i>do wiercenia</i>	for drilling		
listonosz	postman	<i>ten, co przynosi listy</i>	this one who brings letters		
piekarz	baker	<i>pan, który robi pieczywo</i>	a man who makes bread	connotation	
Feldman	Feldman (a Polish actress)	<i>była panią i panem</i>	[She] was a man and woman		
Sienkiewicz	Sienkiewicz (a Polish novelist)	<i>czytałem niedawno</i>	[I] have read recently		
dywan	carpet	<i>na dole domu</i>	at the bottom of a house		
filizanka	cup	<i>ta do picia kawy</i>	that one for drinking coffee	semantically non-related	
rękawiczki	gloves	<i>idealnie pasuje do męskiej skóry</i>	fits perfectly to male skin		
żelazko	iron	<i>pani doktor</i>	lady doctor		
herbata	tea	<i>woda w baniaku</i>	water in a bucket		
lew	lion	<i>taki kołowrotek</i>	such a reel		
garnek	pot	<i>taki pan, który stoi</i>	such a man who stands		

Semantic compensations reveal what speakers know about the world. Denotational circumlocutions convey the literal meaning of a sign, whereas connotational circumlocutions refer to associations with an object. The denotation-connotation spectrum allows people to define objects directly or by providing underlying meanings (Kim 2013: 5). Semantically non-related circumlocutions are unintelligible since their constituents do not designate any features of a described object. The context of the situation is vital in each case since it allows one to understand circumlocutions properly. This converges with factors for a choice of strategic competence presented in Figure 2.3.

In conclusion, circumlocution in patients with aphasia is an example of semantic compensation. This phenomenon emphasizes the fact that knowledge is a fundamental issue in coining new circumlocutions which may be comprehensible to a large extent without context. However, semantically non-related circumlocutions are difficult to understand since their constituents do not refer to the object being described. All in all, circumlocutions are a creative adaptation of the human brain to new conditions.

2.5. Concluding remarks

To recapitulate, circumlocutions are multi-word expressions used instead of common nouns, proper names and fixed expressions. They may be used in place of a single word or a multi-word item. On top of that, circumlocutions have diverse structures and grammatical forms. The most characteristic features of circumlocutions are the following ones:

- (1) Circumlocutions have two degrees of complexity; this means one may single out two basic types of circumlocutions:
 - (a) simple circumlocutions consist of at least two content words
 - (b) complex circumlocutions consist of more than three content words (Białoskórska 2002, Machnicka 2011).
- (2) Circumlocutions may be N+N or V+N combinations, N+Prep+N formations or complex full sentences (Broeder et al. 1993, Głowicka 2013, Jourdain and Scullen 2002, Plag 2009). The grammatical structure is primarily dependent on the language grammar.
- (3) Circumlocutions consist of an index, a designator and a reference (Grzędzińska 1971). However, one may employ the terminology used to describe compounds, that is, the index is the modifier, the designator is the headword (Broeder et al. 1993) or the keyword (Straś 2001) and the reference is simply the meaning of a circumlocution.

(4) Circumlocutions, contrary to Bańko's (2002a) statement, do not substitute only nouns.

Circumlocutions may substitute as nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs.

As far as the functions of circumlocutions are concerned, they depend on the register and context where these elaborate expressions occur. However, two main functions may be distinguished:

(1) Text embellishment which is mainly used in literary text or the press and other media.

Circumlocutions in these contexts contain various figures of speech, for instance, metaphor, metonymy, synecdoche, synonyms, antonyms etc.

(2) Circumlocution as a communicative strategy is used when a person is at a loss for words and cannot retrieve the necessary lexeme. In such situations, speakers use:

(a) definitions of a forgotten word denotations. Speakers create descriptions of various lengths and provide the most salient features of the object, activity or phenomenon.

(b) associations with a given object, activity of phenomenon connotations. Connotations may be much more difficult to decipher since interlocutors need more context. Connotations relate to the speaker's background and experience.

(c) semantically non-related circumlocutions which consist of words that are not related to the meaning to be conveyed.

Circumlocutions employ different grammatical structures and appear in various contexts. They all share the same purpose, that is, to express an idea by utilizing available grammatical and lexical resources. Understanding any circumlocution presupposes interlocutors' knowledge of the world. This is imperative to activating necessary schemata in their minds.

3. Investigating circumlocutions: Methodological considerations

The aim of this chapter is to present the approaches adopted in the analysis of circumlocutions in Tok Pisin. First, a classic approach to circumlocutions is described (Bańko 2002a, 2002b, Jourdain and Scullen 2002, Machnicka 2005, 2011). The details of this approach were explicated in Chapter 2. Additionally, semantic categories of nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs are identified (Biber, Conrad and Leech 2019 [2002]). Second, circumlocutions are investigated from the morphological perspective (Boreder et al. 1993, Selkirk 1982). Then, the Idealized Cognitive Model (ICM) (Kövecses 2010 [2009]) for metonymies and the Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) (Lakoff and Johnson 2002 [1980]) for metaphors are outlined. Furthermore, the theory of language worldview is introduced (Bartmiński 2009, Grzegorzczkova 2009, 2015, 2018, Humboldt 1988, Tokarski 1991, 1998, 2016, Pisarek 2016, Puzynina 2010, Sapir 1949, Whorf 1956, Wierzbicka 1999). The analysis is based on the set of ten Melanesian values compiled by Franklin (2007).

3.1. The degree of complexity, parts of speech and categories of circumlocutions

In the present analysis, the following features of circumlocutions are analyzed: the degree of complexity, word classes, semantic domains of the extracted circumlocutions and the origins of words coming from circumlocutions.

Machnicka (2005: 351) gives a basic structural classification of circumlocutions. She takes into consideration the degree of complexity (Pl. *stopień rozwinięcia*). The degree of complexity encompasses two classes of circumlocutions, namely, simple circumlocutions and complex circumlocutions. A simple circumlocution is an expression which consists of two or three content words, whereas a complex circumlocution contains more than three content words.

Another crucial aspect which needs to be addressed is the grammatical function of circumlocutions in sentences. Since circumlocutions are used in place of single lexemes, they function as adjectives, adverbs, nouns and verbs (Machnicka 2011: 90).

Circumlocutions may, as any other lexical items, be organized into *lexical fields*. In Lyon's (1977: 253) sense, the term *lexical field* is understood as a collection of lexemes which share similar features. That is why they may be labelled with one generic term. For instance, Lutzeier (2006: 78-79) claims that lexical fields are governed by sense relations and, to some extent, associations. What is more, lexical fields are believed to be paradigmatic classifications. In other words, lexemes which belong to a given lexical field tend to be of the same part of speech. In this research, groups of words with common features will be referred to as *categories* since

there is no clear distinction between such terms as *lexical field*, *word field*, *semantic field*, *semantic category*, *lexical category* or *domain* in the current literature on the typology of lexical fields (see Brinton and Brinton 2010: 404, Gao and Xu 2013: 2030-2031, Lutzeier 2006: 79).

Furthermore, nouns may be classified, in semantic terms, into concrete and abstract. Concrete nouns refer to physical objects such as people, substances, animals or plants, and abstract nouns denote phenomena such as emotions, qualities or states (Biber, Conrad and Leech 2019 [2002]: 21). For instance, the following lexical fields have been identified: the lexical field of payment: *income* or *earnings*, the lexical field of activity: *action* or *act*, the lexical field of substance: *energy* or *liquid* and the lexical field of motivation: *desire* or *incentive* (Lutzeier 1982: 39-40, Clavo and Gelbukh 2005: 485).

As regards verbs, they may be grouped into (1) activity verbs which refer to volitional activities and are initiated by an agent (e.g. *bring*, *buy*, *get*, *meet*, *leave*, *pay*), (2) communication verbs whose main function is to maintain communicative acts, i.e. oral or written communication (e.g. *ask*, *call*, *describe*, *offer*, *suggest*, *thank*), (3) mental verbs which denote mental states or activities (e.g. *know*, *think*), emotion, attitudes or desires (e.g. *love*, *want*), perception (e.g. *see*, *taste*) and receiving of communication (e.g. *hear*, *read*), (4) causative verbs which bring about the sense of changing the state of affairs by a person or thing (e.g. *allow*, *cause*, *enable*, *force*, *help*, *require*), (5) verbs of occurrence whose function is to refer to events or activities which have happened without an actor (e.g. *become*, *change*, *die*, *grow*, *happen*, *occur*), (6) verbs of existence/relationship denote relationships between existing entities in the real world or the actual state of existence (e.g. *appear*, *contain*, *exist*, *live*, *stand*, *represent*) and (7) verbs of aspect whose purpose is to denote the progress of an activity or event (e.g. *begin*, *continue*, *initiate*, *keep*, *progress*, *start*) (Biber, Conrad and Leech 2019 [2002]: 106-109).

Adjectives may be divided into two major semantic categories: (1) descriptors and (2) classifiers. Either of this class can be further divided into more subtle groups encapsulating adjectives sharing common properties. Within the first class, descriptors, one may find such groups as (1) colour descriptors (e.g. *black*, *blue*, *dark*, *green*, *purple*, *red*), (2) size/quantity/extent descriptors (e.g. *big*, *deep*, *little*, *short*, *thin*, *wide*), (3) time descriptors describing chronology, age and frequency (e.g. *early*, *late*, *monthly*, *old*, *recent*, *young*), (4) evaluative/emotive descriptors covering judgements, emotions and emphasis (e.g. *bad*, *beautiful*, *great*, *ideal*, *lovely*, *poor*) and (5) miscellaneous descriptors referring to many different characteristics (e.g. *cold*, *empty*, *free*, *open*, *serious*, *sudden*). The last category

encapsulates adjectives whose function is to limit and/or restrict a noun's properties. The following groups are found in it: (1) rational/classificational/restrictive classifiers whose purpose is to limit a noun's referents (e.g. *additional, chief, initial, similar, single, top*), (2) affiliative classifiers indicate the nationality or social group (e.g. *Chinese, Christian, Danish, Icelandic, Polish, United*) and (3) topic/other classifiers which narrow down a noun's referent to a specific type (e.g. *chemical, environmental, mental, phonetic, sexual, visual*) (Biber, Conrad and Leech 2019 [2002]: 197).

Adverbs may be used in different contexts, thus they may be assigned to many semantic domains. The semantic categories fulfilled by adverbs are classified as follows: (1) place adverbs whose function is to specify location, distance or direction (e.g. *backward, everywhere, far, forward, near, outside, upward*), (2) time adverbs which may indicate duration, frequency or relationship (e.g. *always, annually, last, monthly, seldom, now*), (3) manner adverbs which provide information about the fact how an action is performed (e.g. *carefully, fast, greedily, hard, warmly, well*), (4) degree adverbs are used to show if a characteristic is more or less perceivable and we may distinguish amplifiers/intensifiers (e.g. *extremely, more, very*) or diminishers/downtoners (e.g. *almost, hardly, slightly*), (5) additive/restrictive adverbs whose purpose is to present that one feature is added to another (e.g. *also, else, especially, only, solely, too*), (6) stance adverbs which have three major classes, namely, epistemic stance adverbs which function to express certainty or uncertainty, actuality, limitations and imprecision (e.g. *about, actually, allegedly, reportedly, sort of, typically*), attitude stance adverbs whose purpose is to express one's emotional state towards an event or a situation (e.g. *interestingly, intriguingly, regrettably, sadly, surprisingly, unfortunately*) or style stance adverbs which convey some information about speaker's way of speaking (e.g. *frankly, honestly, openly, simply, sincerely, straightforwardly*) and (7) linking adverbs which are used in discourse to connect its various elements (e.g. *although, besides, furthermore, however, moreover, therefore*) (Biber, Conrad and Leech 2019 [2002]: 208-213).

All in all, the classification provided by Biber, Conrad and Leech 2019 [2002] may be used to classify circumlocutions. As has already been explained, circumlocutions can function as nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs (Machnicka 2011: 90). Hence similar categories as those for single lexemes may be identified for circumlocutions.

The last feature taken into account is the analysis of the origin of words incorporated in circumlocutions. To identify the origin of words, the *Neomelanesian-English Concise Dictionary* by Steinbauer (1998) is used. For the reason that certain origins of words are

debatable, several dictionaries of languages spoken in the area of Papua New Guinea have been consulted as well.

3.2. Morphological analysis

As has been mentioned in Chapter 2, circumlocutions consist of headwords and modifiers (Straš 2001: 107). For this reason, they might be treated structurally as compounds. Selkirk (1982: 13) defines compounds as word structures which consist of up to two constituents which may be nouns, adjectives, verbs or prepositions. Moreover, such combinations may yield compounds which function as nouns, verbs or adjectives. Szymanek (2012 [1989]: 37), however, states that compounds may be made of two or more lexical items that represent such word classes as nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs, pronouns and particles. Additionally, it is worth mentioning that there exist compound adverbs, which are not mentioned by Selkirk (1982). Szymanek (2012 [1989]: 44) and Biber, Conrad and Leech (2019 [2002]: 194) make a note of such adverbs. Biber, Conrad and Leech (2019 [2002]: 194) provide a few examples of such compounds: *anyway* (from *any* + *way*) and *heretofore* (from *here* + *to* + *fore*).

Another important aspect of compounds, apart from their grammatical functions, is the inner structure. By way of explanation, compounds consist of the head and the modifier(s). Hoeksema (1992: 121) states that “the position of the head is considered to be one of the main parameters of language variation”. Selkirk (1982: 22-23) claims that heads are important for defining basic semantic sense of the compound. This may be clearly observed especially in the case of the NN type compounds, for instance, *apron strings*. The compound *apron strings* consists of the head *strings*, which gives the fundamental meaning of the compound, whereas the modifier *apron* specifies the type of *strings*. Furthermore, depending on the language, the head of a compound might be found in different places of a multi-word construction. Broeder et al. (1993: 43) assume that a distinction must be made between hierarchical and non-hierarchical (linear) compounds. Hierarchical compounds may be further divided into left-headed or right-headed. Selkirk (1982: 21) stresses that right-headedness of compounds is not universal across languages and different languages might favour different patterns. For instance, in French one might find left-headed compounds. In some languages, both hierarchical constructions might be in competition, for instance, in Dutch *schoolhoofd* and *hoofd van de school* meaning ‘headmaster’ (Broeder et al. 1993: 43). When it comes to linear compounds, the meaning of a compound cannot be deciphered from its constituents, e.g. *honeymoon* ‘a holiday taken by a newly married couple just after their marriage’. Lastly, it is

crucial to mention Pepper's (2016: 292-293) findings. In certain situations, it is difficult to assign the headedness of the compound. In the Nizaa language, some compounds might be classified as both left-headed and right-headed, e.g. the word *dǒóŋ nim* 'soup' < *dǒóŋ* 'sauce' + *nim* 'water' is classified as probably left-headed, the word *mbíram njañ* 'young girl' < *mbíram* 'child' + *njañ* 'woman' as left-headed or both and the word *táá gūr* 'last child' < *táá* 'father' + *gūr* 'foot/leg' as probably right.

Lastly, it is vital to mention that compounds may be characterized by certain orthographical variance, especially in English. Some compounds are written as: (1) separate words, e.g. *blood bank*, (2) hyphenated words, e.g. *tennis-ball* or (3) single words, e.g. *football*. It is believed that long established and conventionalized compounds are written as a single word, whereas novel inventions are written with a hyphen (Szymanek 2012 [1989]: 41).

Such an approach to circumlocutions allows one to see them as lexical units whose meanings stem from the interplay of their constituents, i.e. the head and modifier(s).

3.3. Metonymies and metaphors

Feldman (2006: 71-77) perceives the innate language system as a structure and compares it to a living organism. In this sense, any system has a set of inner rules. These governing laws may be altered at the inner level of the system, or they can be influenced by the external factors, that is, human experiences. This gives rise to the process of adaptation which allows a language to supply its speakers with necessary communicative tools. Figure 3.1 presents the structure-experience-adaptation cycle.

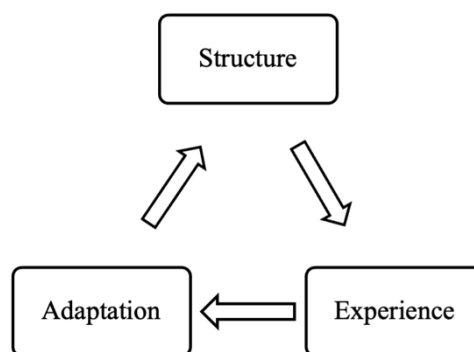


Figure 3.1. The structure-experience-adaptation cycle (Feldman 2006: 73)

Such an understanding of language enables one to take into account underlying human experiences and interactions with the world in which they live. Lakoff and Johnson (2003 [1980]: 3) state that:

The concepts that govern our thought are not just matters of the intellect. They also govern our everyday functioning, down to the most mundane details. Our concepts structure what we perceive, how we get around in the world, and how we relate to other people. Our conceptual system thus plays a central role in defining our everyday realities. If we are right in suggesting that our conceptual system is largely metaphorical, then the way we think, what we experience, and what we do every day is very much a matter of metaphor.

This statement helps one to observe that figurative language might be seen as an adaptation of a human language. Pinker (2007: 242-243) claims that human intelligence visible in language is an interaction of metaphors and combinatorics. In other words, metaphors enable the mind to conceptualize abstract phenomena through basic and more concrete entities, such as a substance, location, force and goal, whereas combinatorics allows to combine finite elements of fundamental ideas into new and infinite perplex ideas. This point of view also applies to metonymic processes. Let us now consider these two figures of speech: metonymy and metaphor.

Metonymy is perceived as a mechanism which has a referential function, but also shows the understanding of the world and human experiences. Metonymy helps one to organize knowledge and thoughts. This organization of knowledge is based on PART FOR WHOLE or WHOLE FOR PART relationships, e.g. *Get **your butt** over here!* The phrase **your butt** is a reference to a body part of a person, but the whole expression refers to a person. Lakoff and Johnson distinguish more metonymic relations observed in language. For instance, there are such metonymic processes as PRODUCER FOR PRODUCT (e.g. *He bought a **Ford***), OBJECT USED FOR USER (e.g. ***The buses** are on strike*), CONTROLLER FOR CONTROLLED (e.g. ***Nixon** bombed Hanoi*), INSTITUTION FOR PEOPLE RESPONSIBLE (e.g. *The **Senate** thinks abortion is immoral*), THE PLACE FOR THE INSTITUTION (e.g. *The **White House** isn't saying anything*) or THE PLACE FOR THE EVENT (e.g. ***Watergate** changed our politics*). This shows that this is not an arbitrary phenomenon, but rather a conventionalized one (Lakoff and Johnson 2003 [1980]: 36-40).

Kövecses (2010 [2009]: 177) captures the conventionality of metonymic expressions in a form of a graph which is based on the classical semiotic triangle by Odgen and Richards (1923: 11). Figure 3.2 presents the diagram with Kövecses' (2010 [2009]: 177) modifications.

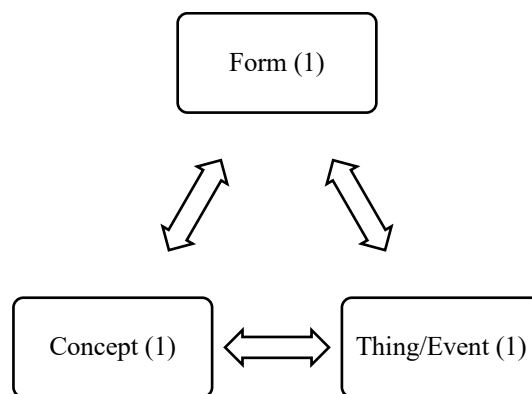


Figure 3.2. Possibilities for metonymies (Kövecses 2010 [2009]: 177)

In this approach, metonymies are believed to stem from idealized cognitive models. ICMs are stored in people's minds. They represent general knowledge as well as individual experiences of things, events and concepts (Kövecses and Radden 1998: 41). Kövecses (2010 [2009]: 177) claims that metonymies may arise from an interaction of concepts and things/events, things/events and form, form and concept. It is worth noting that these relations are reversible. Another observation made by Kövecses (2010 [2009]: 177-178) is the fact that all metonymies derive from two basic relations. Figures 3.3 and 3.4 present the concept.

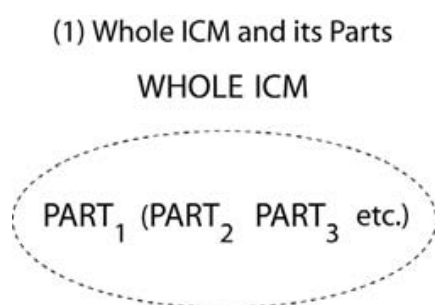


Figure 3.3. Whole ICM and its parts
(Kövecses 2010 [2009]: 178)

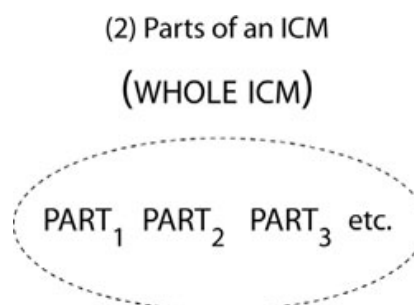


Figure 3.4. Parts of an ICM
(Kövecses 2010 [2009]: 178)

In this view, an ICM is a whole which consists of parts or conceptual entities/elements. As has been already implied, this approach to ICMs suggests that metonymies arise in a twofold manner. The first possibility for metonymies to be created is by the access to the conceptual entities via the whole ICM or the other way around. The second possibility for metonymies to come about is by using a part of the whole ICM to stand for another part of the ICM (Kövecses 2010 [2009]: 178, Kövecses 2019: 74-75).

Let us now consider different types of metonymies resulting from this view. In either group of metonymy types, one may identify a diverse set of idealized cognitive models. The Whole

ICM and Its Part(s) category encapsulates the following ICMs: Thing-and-Part ICM, Constitution ICM, Complex Event ICM, Category-and-Property ICM, Category-and-Member ICM and Scale ICM. For instance, in the Category-and-Property ICM, the category and its part(s) are in a kind-of relationship. An example of the relation CATEGORY FOR A MEMBER OF THE CATEGORY is *the pill* for ‘birth control pill’ and an example of MEMBER OF A CATEGORY FOR THE CATEGORY is *aspirin* for ‘any pain-relieving tablet’. The second type, the Part and Part relationship gives rise to the following ICMs: Action ICM, Perception ICM, Causation ICM, Production ICM, Control ICM, Possession ICM, Containment ICM, Location ICM, Sign-and-Reference ICM and Modification ICM. Let us consider the Control ICM. The possible relations are CONTROLLER FOR CONTROLLED *Schwartzkopf defeated Iraq* and CONTROLLED FOR CONTROLLER *The Mercedes has arrived* (Kövecses and Radden 1998: 49-59, Kövecses 2010 [2009]: 179-184).

Metaphor, as has already been implied, is a mechanism whose function is to help human beings conceive the reality. People’s thoughts shape how they describe the environment in which they live. People’s understanding of the world and activities, objects as well as processes occurring in it transpires in the language they speak. This perception of the reality is evident in metaphors. Lakoff and Johnson (2003 [1980]) single out three classes of metaphors: (1) orientational, (2) ontological and (3) structural.

First, orientational metaphors organize a whole system of concepts with respect to spatial directions, e.g. up-down, deep-shallow or central-peripheral. For that reason, concepts are attributed dimensional properties. For instance, there are such orientational metaphors as HAPPY IS UP (e.g. *My spirits rose*), SAD IS DOWN (e.g. *I’m feeling down*), HEALTH AND LIFE ARE UP (e.g. *He’s in top shape*), SICKNESS AND DEATH ARE DOWN (e.g. *He dropped dead*) or FORESEEABLE FUTURE EVENTS ARE UP OR AHEAD (e.g. *All upcoming events are listed in the paper*) (Lakoff and Johnson 2003 [1980]: 14-17).

Second, ontological metaphors are understood as entity and substance metaphors. They refer human daily experiences to artifacts and materials. This allows people to see their experiences as entities and thus abstract phenomena become tangible. Additionally, abstract nouns with not well-defined boundaries and quantities can be conceptualized in such a way. In consequence, these experiences may be then categorized, grouped, quantified and understood well. For example, there are such ontological metaphors as INFLATION IS AN ENTITY (e.g. *Inflation is backing us into a corner*), THE MIND IS A MACHINE (e.g. *My mind just isn’t operating today*), THE MIND IS A BRITTLE OBJECT (e.g. *I’m going to pieces*), VISUAL FIELDS ARE CONTAINERS (e.g. *The ship is coming into view*) or ACTIVITIES ARE CONTAINERS (e.g. *In*

washing the window, I splashed water all over the floor) (Lakoff and Johnson 2003 [1980]: 25-32).

Third, structural metaphors allow one to contrast two structurally complex concepts. Like orientational and ontological metaphors, structural metaphors are bound to human experiences. To put it simply, structural metaphors are used to talk about one concept in terms of another. For instance, there are such structurally motivated metaphors as AN ARGUMENT IS WAR (e.g. *You disagree? Okay, **shoot!***), TIME IS MONEY (e.g. *You're **wasting** my time*), IDEAS ARE PEOPLE (e.g. *He **breathed new life into** that idea*), LOVE IS A PATIENT (e.g. *This is a **sick** relationship*) or WEALTH IS A HIDDEN OBJECT (e.g. *He's **seeking** his fortune*) (Lakoff and Johnson 2003 [1980]: 46-68).

This threefold classification was modified by Lakoff and Johnson in 2003 and new explanations were included in the afterword in the new edition of the book (2003 [1980]: 264). In the new view on metaphors, there is no distinction between the three different types of metaphors. Lakoff and Johnson claim that the division was artificial since “all metaphors are structural (in that they map structures to structures); all are ontological (in that they create target domain entities); and many are orientational (in that they map orientational image-schemas)”. Metaphors should not be merely perceived as linguistic phenomena, but as linguistic, conceptual, socio-cultural, neural and bodily units which function on all these levels simultaneously (Kövecses 2005: 8-9).

As has already been mentioned, metaphor cannot be simply perceived as a figure of speech. It is a mechanism whose purpose is to govern our day-to-day activities. Pinker (2007: 241) explains the nature of conceptual metaphor by an analogy of how people learn abstract concepts. For instance, to understand the structure of an atom, one may compare it to the solar system: THE ATOM IS A SOLAR SYSTEM, or how our immune system protects us from pathogens: AN ANTIBODY IS A LOCK FOR A KEY. These abstract concepts might be explained in terms of ideas with which we are already familiar. Kövecses (2010 [2009]: 4) captures this process of a metaphorical comparison in the following way: CONCEPTUAL DOMAIN A IS CONCEPTUAL DOMAIN B. These two domains are labelled the source domain and the target domain. The source domain is the source of metaphorical expressions, whereas the target domain is the domain which one describes or understands in terms of the source domain. As noticed by Kövecses (2010 [2009]: 4), LIFE, ARGUMENTS or SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS are target domains which can be explained by using source domains, such as JOURNEY, PLANTS or FOOD.

There are many conceptual metaphors found in various domains, for instance, music (Barten 1998, Johnson and Larson 2003, Uberman 2015b), political speeches (Charteris-Black

2009, Mio 1997, Uberman 2022) or science (Duit 1991, Kuhn 1993). Metaphors may also differ across languages, for instance, Uberman (2020: 55-57) identifies conceptual metaphors for the target domain KNOWLEDGE in English and Polish proverbs (e.g. KNOWLEDGE IS POWER ‘for knowledge is itself power’, *nauka jest potęgą* ‘knowledge is power’, EXPERIENCE IS THE KEY TO GAINING KNOWLEDGE ‘experience is the mother/father of wisdom/knowledge’, *mistrz doświadczony rzadko błądzi* ‘an experienced master is rarely mistaken’ or LACK OF KNOWLEDGE IS ILLNESS *na głupotę nie ma lekarstwa* ‘there is not cure for stupidity). Lomotey (2019: 330-334) analyses metaphors in proverbs with the lexeme *mujer* ‘woman’ in Spanish (e.g. WOMEN AS ANIMALS *hijos, gallinas, curas y mujeres, nunca dicen “baste”* ‘children, hens, priest, and women never say “enough”’, WOMEN AS OBJECTS *reloj, caballo y mujer, tener bueno o no tener* ‘a watch, a horse and a woman, better to have a good one or none at all’ or WOMEN AS EVIL *ira de mujer, ira de Lucifer* ‘a woman’s anger, Lucifer’s anger).

3.4. The Melanesian worldview

The meaning of words goes beyond a simple interaction of lexemes governed by grammatical rules. More precisely, words may carry additional cultural connotations as well as values. These aspects show a worldview of a given group of people united by the same language.

The idea of linguistic worldview stems from the postulates made by Humboldt (1988 [1836]: 140). For instance, he claimed that:

[...] reflective consciousness of the language cannot be presumed in connection with its origin [...].
Every advantage that a language possesses in this truly vital portion of its organism proceeds originally from the living sensory world-outlook. But because the power that is highest, and deviates least from truth, arises from the purest attunement of all mental capacities [...]

This statement shows that language mirrors human interactions with the ambient world. On top of that, the human mental functions allow people to select the most salient features of reality. And so, these elements of reality transpire in the language they use. This idea was further entertained by Sapir (1949) as well as Whorf (1956) and was referred to as linguistic relativity.

The reality in which people live impacts different levels of language. It is believed that language worldview is embedded in grammar as well as meanings of words. Furthermore, bigger linguistic units may reflect people’s interactions with the reality, for instance, the structure and meanings of texts (Bartmiński 2009: 12-13, Grzegorzczkova 2001: 162-163, Tokarski 1991: 144, 1993: 358, Puzynina 2010: 40). Bartmiński (2006: 14) stresses that the

language worldview is “a product of the past, the outcome of specific human experiences, history and culture of a nation”.

Wierzbicka (1997: 11-17) notices that although words are carriers of cultural salience, the frequency of these lexemes cannot be neglected, especially when one compares lexemes with similar meanings in different languages. It needs to be stressed that such interpretations of frequencies of culturally salient lexemes might be biased because of types of texts contained in the corpus and its size. Nevertheless, such an analysis might reveal certain facts about cultures. This can lead researchers to discovering attitudes and values characteristic to certain culture. In a similar vein, Puzynina (2010: 40) states that descriptions of values carried by lexemes or longer phrases should be based on statistical and corpus data.

As has been explained, lexical items might carry important cultural facts which reflect the mindset of speakers of a given language, but also attitudes and values pertaining to a given community. Franklin (2007: 28-37) compiled a list of ten core Melanesian values which reflect cultural values of, for example, inhabitants of Papua New Guinea. The values that are included in the Melanesian worldview include:

- (1) the value of land (*graun* or *wara*),
- (2) the value of the clan (*lain* or *wantok*),
- (3) the value of reciprocity (*bekim* or *bekim bek*),
- (4) the value of food (*kaikai* or *mumu*),
- (5) the value of ancestors (*tumbuna* or *tambaran*),
- (6) the value of ritual (*taboo*, *singsing* or *lotu*),
- (7) the value of leadership (*hetman*),
- (8) the value of education (*skul*),
- (9) the value of compensation (*peibek*, *bekim* or *birua*),
- (10) the value of work (*wok*).

Lastly, Tokarski (1998: 10) emphasizes that language worldview is connected to the categorization and valuation of the world. And so, such an understanding of the concept allows one to not only reconstruct conceptual frameworks of lexemes, but also to observe lexical units in bigger clusters present at different linguistic levels, for instance, in figurative language.

3.5. Concluding remarks

The following chapters will present various analyses of circumlocutions. They will be examined in a classical way, where such features as the degree of complexity, grammatical functions or meanings are considered (Białoskórska 2002, Bańko 2002a, 2002b, Machnicka

2005, 2011). A morphological approach towards circumlocutions will be taken as well (Selkirk 1992, Broeder et al. 1993, Pepper 2016). Metonymies and metaphors used in circumlocutions will also be investigated (Lakoff and Johnson 2003 [1980], Kövecses and Radden 1998, Kövecses 2005, Kövecses 2010 [2009]). Finally, elements of the Melanesian worldview will be identified in the analyzed circumlocutions (Franklin 2007).

4. Corpus linguistics and investigating circumlocutions

Since this study makes use of a corpus analysis of circumlocutions, this chapter explains what corpus linguistics is. Additionally, attention is drawn to corpus tools employed in this type of research. Finally, the corpus compiled for the purposes of this study will be presented.

4.1. Corpus linguistics

Corpus linguistics is not a specific branch of linguistics. Zufferey (2020: 1) states that “corpus linguistics can be defined as an empirical discipline *par excellence*, since it aims to draw conclusions based on the analysis of external data, rather than on the linguistic knowledge pertaining to researchers”.

Mindt (2009: 7) claims that “corpus linguistics is a well-established discipline within English linguistics offering a wide range of applications”, hence it may be regarded as a set of methods which can be employed to analyze various linguistic components (see Baron et al. 2009: 41, Gries 2006: 57-58, Halliday 2014: 30, McEnery and Wilson 2001 [1996]: 2, Stanulewicz 2009: 87, Stanulewicz 2015: 375, Wulff 2006: 101-102). Corpora are rich sources of linguistic data and provide analytical tools, making it more convenient for a researcher to conduct a study. Moreover, corpora are not only employed in linguistic investigation, but they are also used in literary and cultural studies (Jaworska and Krishnamurthy 2012, Mahlberg 2007, Mahlberg 2013, McIntyre 2012). Apart from research, corpora might be used by computer scientists, interpreters/translators and teachers (Baker 2019, Römer 2011, Krajka 2022, Laviosa 2002). Piotrowski (2003: 133) emphasizes that the unprecedented advantage of any corpora is that they may be used regardless of any theoretical assumptions, including the nature of language. Nevertheless, some scholars claim that although corpora are incredibly functional, these large data sets may pose particular challenges. For instance, a corpus is not a representation of the entire language, but it is only a collection of texts in a specific language. Therefore, the interpretation of corpus data should not be regarded as a generalization of a language (Pawłowski 2003, Piotrowski and Grabowski 2013).

Let us now consider the term *corpus*. Many definitions of the concept revolve around similar key characteristics (Crawford and Csomay 2016: 6, McEnery and Wilson 2001 [1996]: 19, Zufferey 2020: 1):

- a reasonably large set of texts collected to study a language and/or its subsystems;
- texts have similar context and characteristics;
- texts are analyzed to see how language is used in different contexts;
- corpus findings are reoccurring patterns.

In contrast, on the website of the National Corpus of Polish, one may find a simple definition of the term “a linguistic corpus is a collection of texts where one can find the typical use of a single word or a phrase, as well as their meaning and grammatical function” (<<http://nkjp.pl/index.php?page=0&lang=1>>).

There are many corpora of various languages available online, for instance:

- Croatian – Hrvatski nacionalni korpus (<<http://www.hnk.ffzg.hr/>>),
- Czech – Český Národní Korpus (<<http://www.korpus.cz/>>),
- English – British National Corpus (<<http://www.natcorp.ox.ac.uk/>>), Corpus of Canadian English (Strathy) (<https://www.english-corpora.org/can/>) Corpus of Contemporary American English (<<http://corpus.byu.edu/coca/>>),
- Polish – Narodowy Korpus Języka Polskiego (<<http://nkjp.pl/>>),
- Slovak – Slovenský národný korpus (<<http://korpus.juls.savba.sk/>>),
- Spanish – Corpus de Referencia del Español Actual (<<http://corpus.rae.es/creanet.html>>), Corpus del Español (<<http://www.corpusdelespanol.org/>>).

These corpora offer a wide range of functions which aid the process of corpus analysis. for instance, the Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA) has many built-in functions. On its home page, its creators give a summary of six ways to browse the corpus (<<http://corpus.byu.edu/coca/>>):

- (1) looking for a phrase or string,
- (2) browsing frequency lists,
- (3) browsing through the Academic Vocabulary List created by Gardner and Davies (2013),
- (4) looking for a single word, finding collocates, topics, clusters, websites or concordance lines,
- (5) uploading entire texts and comparing it against the data in COCA,
- (6) finding random words and “Words of the Day”.

What the Corpus of Contemporary American English also offers its users is the possibility to create their own sub-corpora from the available texts. One may build: a genre specific corpus (e.g. a corpus of scientific texts) or a corpus from a specific timespan.

As has just been mentioned, corpora may be used to investigate different kinds of texts or uses of words from different timespans. It is due to the fact that the texts included in the corpus may come from different sources. Let now us consider the structure of the PWN Corpus of the Polish Language (Pl. *Korpus Języka Polskiego PWN*). Tables 4.1, 4.2 and 4.3 show sources, genres and periods from which the texts were collected.

Table 4.1. Text types in the PWN Corpus of the Polish Language
(<https://sjp.pwn.pl/korpus/struktura>), accessed 04.09.2022)

Source	%	Number of texts
Fiction	20.00	195
Non-fiction	21.00	191
Press	45.50	185
Spoken texts	4.50	84
Leaflets	5.50	272
Webpages	3.50	207

Table 4.2. Genres of texts in the PWN Corpus of the Polish language
(<https://sjp.pwn.pl/korpus/struktura>), accessed 04.09.2022)

Genres	%
Philosophy and religion	7.00
History and geography	17.00
Literary and language studies	9.00
Natural sciences and mathematics	9.00
Politics and economics	14.00
Social sciences	5.00
Applied sciences	8.00
Arts	5.50
Miscellaneous	25.50

Table 4.3. Periods of texts in the PWN Corpus of the Polish language
(<https://sjp.pwn.pl/korpus/struktura>), accessed 04.09.2022)

Period	%
1920 – 1945	4.50
1946 – 1969	10.00
1970 – 1989	7.50
1990 – 2005 (including spoken texts)	78.00

As may be seen, the PWN Corpus of the Polish language has a diverse structure, however, it is possible to create only genre specific corpora, for instance, a press corpus (see Brindle 2016, Gabrielatos and Baker 2008, Stanulewicz and Radomyski 2021, Stanulewicz, Radomyski and Komorowska 2022).

Apart from online corpora, one may find a plethora of computer programmes which offer the possibility to compile and analyze a set of collected texts, for instance:

- AntConc (<<http://www.laurenceanthony.net/software/antconc/>>),
- aConCorde (<<https://www.andy-roberts.net/coding/aconcorde>>),
- CasualConc (<<https://sites.google.com/site/casualconc/>>),
- Korpusomat (<<https://korpusomat.pl/>>),
- LancsBox (<<http://corpora.lancs.ac.uk/lancsbox/download.php>>),
- WordSmith (<<https://www.lexically.net/wordsmith/>>).

Many such programmes offer the possibility to calculate simple statistical values which may be useful to interpret the collected data (e.g. word frequencies) or compare the obtained data with a similar piece of research (e.g. normalized frequency, mutual information or t-score). Moreover, statistical measures allow one to describe linguistic phenomena within a single, finite set of linguistic data. Such values are probability and conditional probability (Bod 2003: 11-37).

4.2. Corpus tools

As has already been explicated, corpus linguistics consists in collecting a great number of texts in a language to be investigated. As a result, obtained data provides one with several linguistic observations. These linguistic findings must be correctly interpreted to yield adequate lexical and/or grammatical patterns and rules. To ensure that one makes insightful observations, appropriate types of software, as well as statistical measures, must be used.

In this section, attention is drawn to the following corpus tools available in the software *AntConc*: word list, KWIC (KeyWord in Context) and n-grams. Additionally, such statistical concepts as the raw and normalized frequency are explained.

4.2.1. Word list

Generating a word list is the most essential step in corpus studies. Anthony (2011) states that “this tool counts all the words in the corpus and presents them in an ordered list. This allows you to quickly find which words are the most frequent in the corpus”. Figure 4.1 shows the function *word list* in *AntConc*.

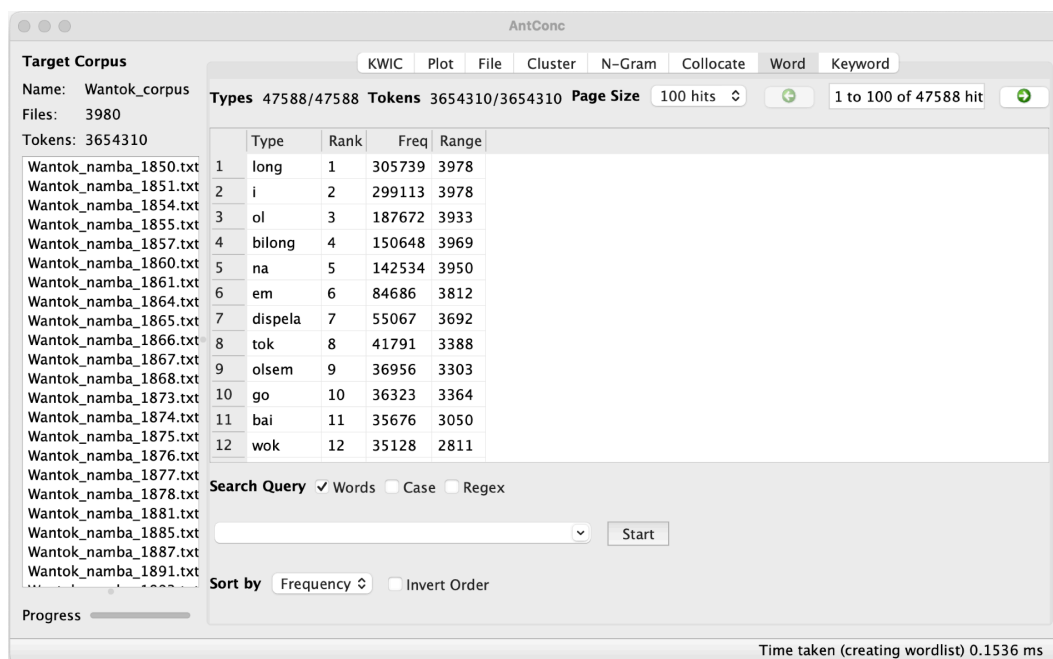


Figure 4.1. The function *word list* in *AntConc*

The generated word lists are automatically ordered by the frequency of their occurrences in the collection of texts. Hockey (2001) claims that well-designed word list generating software should be able to create word lists sorted, for instance, in alphabetical or frequency order. Anthony (2011) emphasizes that word lists can be generated either way. Nevertheless, there are more possibilities. For example, the word list can be sorted by the headword or part-of-speech. Word lists, among others, may be used to generate word families (Bauer and Nation 1993), that is, words organized by the headword and its derivatives, or they may pinpoint “interesting areas in a corpus and suggest problem areas” (Anthony 2004: 9).

Even so, more than a sole list of words sorted by their frequencies is needed to conduct an in-depth linguistic study. The context may tell one more about the actual use and/or function of a word in the corpus.

4.2.2. KWIC (KeyWord in Context)

As has just been explicated, the context in which a word or phrase occurs is vital to any linguistic enquiry. The KeyWord in Context (the concordance tool) is prevalent in all corpus software. Figure 4.2 presents the function *KWIC* in *AntConc*.

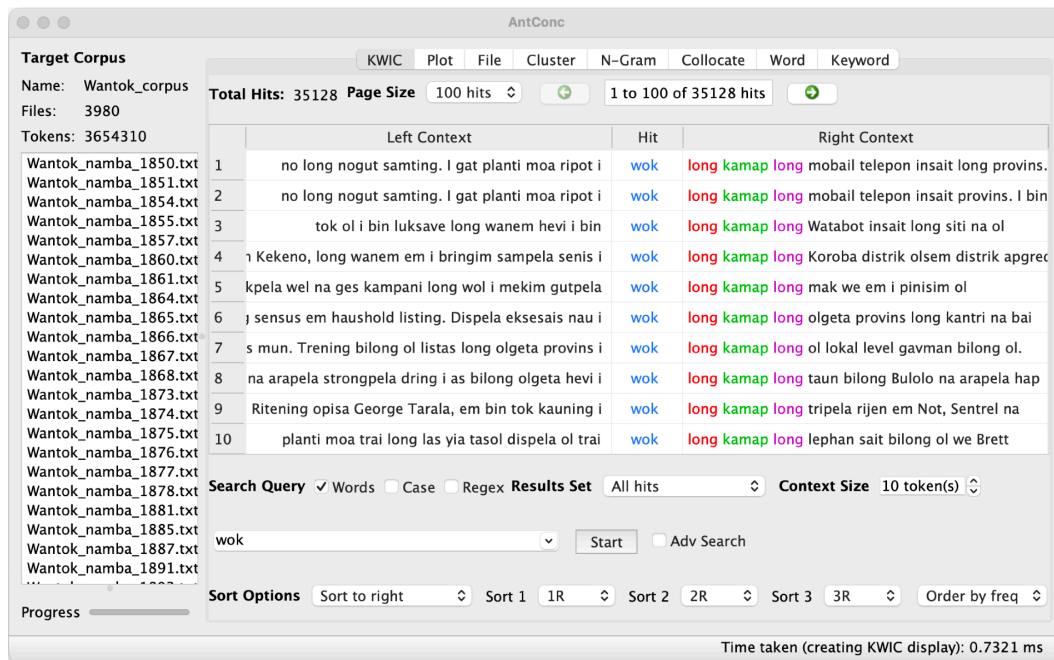


Figure 4.2. The function *KWIC* (KeyWord in Context) in *AntConc*

The results presented in a KWIC format show contexts of a word. In Figure 4.2, the Tok Pisin word *wok* ‘work’ is presented with its rightmost context. The concordance tool in *AntConc* gives the keyword in blue and the context elements are marked in red, green and pink. One may adjust which elements of context should be highlighted. Not only may this tool be used to identify the context, but it may also help one to notice certain repetitive word patterns. For this reason, it may be used to investigate, among others, collocations or different multi-word units. In Figure 4.2, one may notice the four-word verb phrase *wok long kamap long* repeating in the corpus (Anthony 2011).

4.2.3. n-grams

Such reoccurring word patterns are regarded as *n-grams*. The letter n in the term stands for the number of lexemes observed in such a word pattern. *AntConc* has an in-built function which allows one to identify *n-grams* of various lengths (see Figure 4.3).

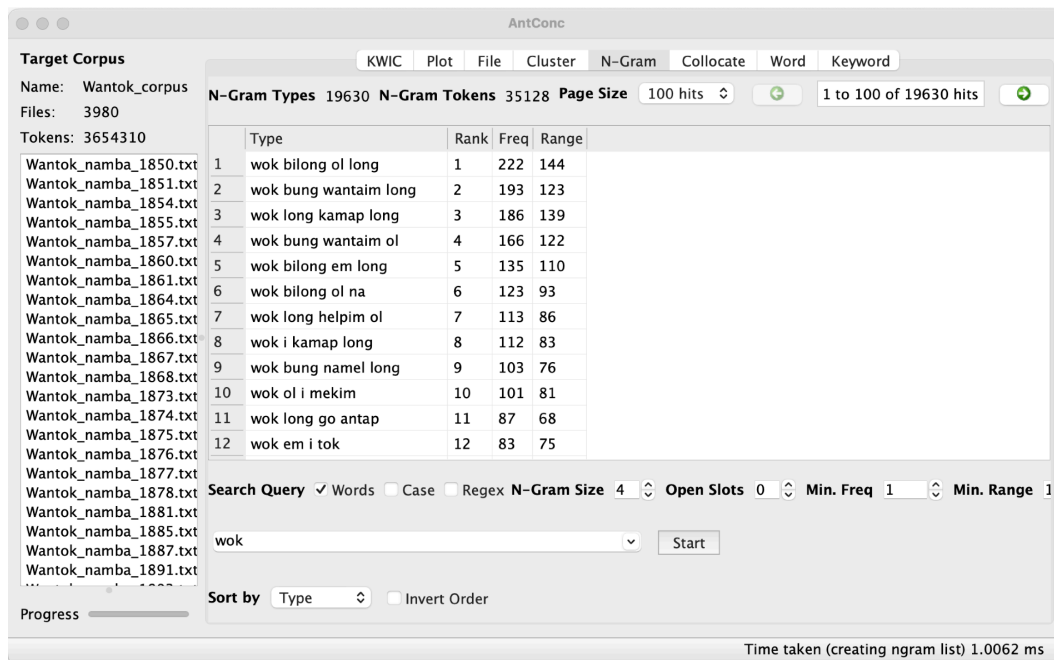


Figure 4.3. The function *n-gram* in *AntConc*

The function *n-gram* enables one to scan the whole corpus to find word bundles of 2, 3, 4 or more lexemes. Like the function *word list*, the function *n-gram* allows one to sort the list of *n-grams* by, for instance, frequency. What is more, the number of *n-grams* retrieved from the corpus might be limited by the minimum frequency which the researcher can freely adjust (Anthony 2011).

In Figure 4.3, 4-grams with the keyword *wok* are presented. The minimum frequency is set to 1. What is evident is that the low minimum frequency results in many 4-grams identified in the corpus (19,630). The number of observed 4-grams can be reduced by limiting the minimum frequency to 10, 20 or 40 occurrences.

4.3. Statistical measures

The choice of statistical measure depends on many factors, for instance, the type of data one deals with, the analytical approach, the size of the sample or the purpose of the study. The analysis of corpora is not merely an analysis of random words. Instead, as has already been mentioned, it is about observing certain conventionalized combinations of words in a language. Therefore, “when analyzing a corpus, we need to think carefully about word frequencies [...] in order to find meaningful patterns in language use” (Brezina 2018: 38).

4.3.1. Absolute and relative frequency

When analyzing corpus data, one investigates words and phrases present in the collection of texts. In statistical terms, these elements are regarded as linguistic variables. The basic principle of a corpus enquiry is to count occurrences of lexemes in the texts and to notice certain pertaining patterns (Brezina 2018: 38).

Firstly, absolute frequency, also known as raw frequency, is regarded as the most fundamental statistical value. It is simply the count of words or phrases in a particular corpus (Gries 2010: 6, Plecháč and Kolár 2015: 116). The absolute frequency of words is especially useful if one investigates only one corpus (Brezina 2018: 42) and it is necessary when sorting frequency lists of words and/or phrases.

Secondly, relative frequency, also regarded as normalized frequency, is a necessary value when comparing different corpora. The contrast of absolute frequencies from two corpora does not mean that one of the lexemes is more characteristic of a particular corpus (Grise 2010: 7). By way of explanation, relative frequencies are word counts recalculated for a common base line. That is, the occurrences are normalized per 1,000, 10,000, 100,000 or 1,000,000. However, the choice of this value is not limited to the four values as mentioned above; they can be greater. The value for normalization must be chosen according to the corpus size. Brezina (2018: 43) states “if we choose a basis for normalization that is too large relative to the actual size, this can ‘blow up’ our numbers artificially and thus effectively misrepresent the (limited) evidence we have”.

Finally, the relative frequency is a value calculated from the absolute frequency of a word or a phrase which occurs in a corpus. If one knows the number of occurrences of an investigated lexical item in the corpus, the following equation may be incorporated to calculate the number of occurrences per 1,000,000 words (see Brezina 2018: 43):

$$RF = \frac{AF \cdot 1,000,000}{N}$$

where: RF – relative frequency;
 AF – absolute frequency
 N – number of words in the corpus.

Let us now show an example of how to calculate the relative frequency for the first n-gram from Figure 4.3. The absolute frequency (**AF**) for the 4-gram *wok bilong ol long* is 222. Another value which is required is the corpus size. The corpus size (**N**) is 3,654,310. Once the values are given, one can calculate the relative frequency (**RF**), consider:

$$RF = \frac{222 \cdot 1,000,000}{3,654,310} = \frac{222,000,000}{3,654,310} \approx 60.75$$

In this case, the base line for normalization is equal to 1,000,000. This, in turn, implies that there are approximately 60 *wok bilong ol long*'s for every 1,000,000 words in the corpus. What is more, the relative value is also called *mean frequency* which is useful for different statistical measures.

To sum up, Brezina's (2018: 46) point of view is worth mentioning. He claims that when it comes to reporting word or phrase frequencies it is important to provide either value, namely, the absolute and relative frequency. What is crucial is that the relative frequency must be normalized to the adequate base line whose size is similar to the corpus size.

4.4. Data

The research material includes dictionary entries and a corpus compiled for the sake of this study. The circumlocutions have been extracted from five dictionaries and the corpus by means of a quantitative methodology used in the analysis of lexical bundles (see, among others, Bączkowska 2018, Biber and Barbieri 2007, Biber, Conrad and Cortes 2004, Cortes 2002, 2004, 2006, Grabowski 2015, Hyland 2008). This approach has already been employed in the extraction of circumlocutions by Radomyski (2022a) as well as Stanulewicz, Radomyski and Komorowska (2022).

4.4.1. The *Wantok* corpus

The corpus used in this analysis includes selected issues of *Wantok Niuspepa*, available at <<http://wantokniuspepa.com/>>. 184 issues from 2010 to 2017 (23 per year) were chosen randomly by using the online tool Research Randomizer, available at <<https://www.randomizer.org/>>. The downloaded issues were manually formatted from PDF to TXT via *TextPad 8*. As a result, a corpus of 3,654,310 words was compiled and analyzed with *AntConc*, available at <<https://www.laurenceanthony.net/software/antconc/>>. Table 4.4 presents the corpus.

Table 4.4. The structure of the *Wantok* corpus

Year	Number of issues of <i>Wantok</i>	Number of words	Percentage
2010	23	453,150	12.40
2011	23	439,166	12.02
2012	23	434,667	11.90
2013	23	488,260	13.37
2014	23	453,738	12.42
2015	23	471,756	12.91
2016	23	490,139	13.42
2017	23	422,197	11.56
Total	184	3,653,073	100.00

4.4.2. Dictionaries

To identify circumlocutions in the corpus, several paper- and Internet-based dictionaries were analyzed to create a collection of circumlocutions. The list of the examined dictionaries is as follows:

- (1) *Mały słownik neomelanezyjsko-polski / Liklikpela buk i soim insait bilong ol Tok Pisin na tok ol Polen* ‘A Concise Neomelanesian-Polish Dictionary’ by Majewicz (1992),
- (2) *The Neomelanesian-English Concise Dictionary* by Steinbauer (1998),
- (3) *The Oxford Papua New Guinea Tok Pisin English Dictionary* by Baing, Deutrom, Jackson and Volker (2008),
- (4) *Tok Pisin Translation, Resources, and Discussion*, available at <<https://www.tok-pisin.com/>>,
- (5) *Tok Pisin English Dictionary*, available at <<https://www.tokpisin.info/>>.

Multi-word expressions with one-word equivalents in English were extracted from the five dictionaries, e.g. *haus sik* ‘hospital’ or *askim long helpim* ‘appeal’. Additionally, in the course of the analysis, many expressions were retrieved from the corpus. To narrow down the long list of circumlocutions, the cut-off point of 7 occurrences in the corpus was established.

4.4.3. Circumlocution extraction procedure

The following criteria were used to identify circumlocutions (Bańko 2002a; 2002b, Machnicka 2011):

- (1) they consist of two content words,
- (2) they substitute one-word target word or a multi-word conventionalized name,
- (3) they function as adjectives, adverbs, nouns or verbs.

To extract circumlocutions with *AntConc*, two techniques were considered. First, multi-word expressions were obtained from the corpus by means of the n-gram function, then the retrieval procedure for lexical bundles was applied.

N-grams are sometimes referred to as lexical bundles. In other words, they are frequent reoccurring word patterns. The n-gram function is available in *AntConc* which allows one to extract lexeme combinations of various lengths. The letter *n* in the name *n-gram* stands for the number of words in a multi-word expression. As stated by Cortes (2002: 135), 3-grams are perceived as extended collocations, whereas 4-, 5- and 6-grams are phraseological units and hence they are less frequent. Apart from the length, another aspect which is important in the extraction of lexical bundles is their frequency. This aspect varies across different studies, for instance, Biber and Barbieri (2007: 267) assume that lexical bundles should occur at least 40 times per 1,000,000 words. Other researchers take different criteria into consideration, e.g. 25, 20, 19, 10 or even 4 occurrences per 1,000,000 words (see among others, Bączkowska 2018, Chen and Bakker 2010, Chen and Baker 2016, Cortes 2008, Culpeper and Kytö 2010, Fronczak 2020). The last aspect which must be considered when analyzing lexical bundles is their distribution in the texts of the corpus. It is claimed that a lexical bundle must occur in at least 5 texts (Cortes 2004); however, Chen and Baker (2016) study lexical bundles which occur in at least 3 texts. As can be observed, studies of lexical bundles are characterized by a lack of consistency in the parameters. The values of the variables are mainly selected by the researcher. For instance, to extract circumlocutions from a corpus, Radomyski (2022a) as well as Stanulewicz, Radomyski and Komorowska (2022) take into account 6-grams and neglect their distribution across the texts of their corpora since circumlocutions may be characteristic expressions only for one specific text.

In the present analysis, 6-grams have been extracted from the corpus. The cut-off point for this research is set for 7 occurrences in the corpus. The distribution of circumlocutions in the texts of the corpus has been neglected.

4.5. Concluding remarks

To recapitulate, in this chapter, corpus linguistics has been briefly presented. A corpus is a rich data source which may be structured in various ways. One may use already existing corpora and analyze word frequencies, word uses and grammatical structures, to name just a few. It is worth mentioning that corpora are also equipped with tools which enable them to generate

word lists, common collocations and n-grams. Additionally, normalized frequency has been introduced which will be taken into consideration in the analytical part of this thesis.

It is worth stressing that this research consists in extracting circumlocutions and analyzing their occurrences as well as linguistic features in a corpus containing Tok Pisin press texts.

5. Frequency of circumlocutions, the origin of their components and their replacements

Baron, Rayson and Archer (2009: 41) state that frequency-organized word lists are vital to any linguistic enquiry in corpus-based studies. One of the most common ways of presenting collected lexical items is to organize them by the value of observed frequency. The present chapter focuses on absolute and relative frequencies of circumlocutions extracted from the *Wantok* corpus and the most common keywords occurring in circumlocutions. Also, attention is drawn to the origin of words in circumlocutions, orthographic variations and lexical replacements of circumlocutions.

5.1. Frequency of circumlocutions

After the application of the selection criteria for circumlocutions, 351 multiword expressions have been extracted. In total, they occur in 34,148 contexts and they contain 264 different lexemes. The words constituting circumlocutions amount to 76,328 occurrences, which is 2.09 % of the words in the *Wantok* corpus.

In this section, the top 50 circumlocutions are presented together with their various senses. Table 5.1 shows the most common 50 circumlocutions out of the 351 identified in the *Wantok* corpus. The right-most columns provide basic statistical measures. **AF** stands for the absolute frequency and **RF** for the relative frequency.

Table 5.1. The top 50 circumlocutions

#	Circumlocution	Dictionary meaning(s)	AF	RF
1	<i>haus sik</i>	hospital	1,906	521.58
2	<i>go pas long</i>	lead/conduct (study, research, work)	1,719	470.40
3	<i>bikpela samting</i>	interesting	1,682	460.28
4	<i>wok bung</i>	collaborate	1,299	355.47
5	<i>tok orait long</i>	concede	672	183.89
6	<i>amamas tru</i>	rejoice	620	169.66
7	<i>ples balus</i>	airport	608	166.38
8	<i>kisim bagarap</i>	injured	598	163.64
9	<i>bikpela hevi</i>	crisis	571	156.25
10	<i>gut tru</i>	terrific	556	152.15
11	<i>gutpela tru</i>	marvelous / great	556	152.15
12	<i>tok amamas</i>	compliment, congratulate	556	152.15
13	<i>tok klia</i>	emphasize, explain, explanation	531	145.31
14	<i>gutpela pasin</i>	morals	527	144.21
15	<i>i mas kamap</i>	inevitable	503	137.65
16	<i>wok painimaut</i>	investigation, research	503	137.65

17	<i>bikpela bagarap</i>	catastrophe	468	128.07
18	<i>kamap bikpela</i>	escalate, expand, grow	430	117.67
19	<i>go bikpela</i>	grow up	397	108.64
20	<i>pasin nogut</i>	crime	397	108.64
21	<i>as tingting</i>	reason, theme	392	107.27
22	<i>haus lotu</i>	church	376	102.89
23	<i>save gut</i>	talent, talented	372	101.80
24	<i>pikinini meri</i>	daughter	368	100.70
25	<i>lukautim gut</i>	care	361	98.79
26	<i>go lukim</i>	visit	349	95.50
27	<i>kamapim gut</i>	improve	342	93.59
28	<i>bel isi</i>	accommodating, calm, calmness, content, peaceful, tranquil	309	84.56
29	<i>tok promis</i>	oath, pledge, vow	305	83.46
30	<i>sutim tok</i>	accuse, allege	291	79.63
31	<i>kisim save</i>	educational	266	72.79
32	<i>kirap nogut</i>	amaze, demonstrate, indignant, surprised	257	70.33
33	<i>pikinini man</i>	boy, son	256	70.05
34	<i>mekim save</i>	penalty, punish	255	69.78
35	<i>gutpela kaikai</i>	nourishment	251	68.69
36	<i>tok lukaut</i>	warn	240	65.68
37	<i>tok save</i>	announcement, information	235	64.31
38	<i>tok sori</i>	apology, pardon	229	62.67
39	<i>bikpela tru</i>	enormous	224	61.30
40	<i>harim tok</i>	obey	224	61.30
41	<i>tokaut strong</i>	command, emphasize, persist	204	55.82
42	<i>sik TB</i>	tuberculosis	201	55.00
43	<i>strepela pasin</i>	honesty, justice	199	54.46
44	<i>tok tru</i>	frank, honest, oath, truth	192	52.54
45	<i>lus tingting</i>	forget	190	51.99
46	<i>givim luksave</i>	acclaim	189	51.72
47	<i>bikpela hap</i>	chunk	187	51.17
48	<i>mani plen</i>	budget	185	50.60
49	<i>planti mani</i>	fortune, wealth	183	50.10
50	<i>bikpela bung</i>	ceremony	182	49.80

The first four circumlocutions constitute the most frequent multiword expressions in the collected circumlocutions. Their frequencies are significantly higher than the frequencies of the remaining expressions.

As far as the meanings of the presented circumlocutions are concerned, they refer to various objects and phenomena, for instance, buildings (e.g. *haus sik* ‘hospital’, lit. house sick, *ples balus* ‘airport’, lit. place bird, *haus lotu* ‘church’, lit. house religion), people (e.g. *pikinini meri* ‘daughter’, lit. child Mary, *pikinini man* ‘boy, son’, lit. child man) or misfortunes (e.g. *bikpela*

hevi ‘crisis’, lit. big. heavy, *bikpela bagarap* ‘catastrophe’, lit. big bugger-up). There are also expressions used as verbs (e.g. *go bikpela* ‘grow up’, lit. go big, *tok promis* ‘oath, pledge, vow’, lit. talk promise, *sutim tok* ‘accuse, allege’, lit. shoot talk) and adjectives (*bikpela samting* ‘interesting’, lit. big something, *kisim bagarap* ‘injured’, lit. get/take bugger-up, *gut tru* ‘terrific’, lit. good true).

5.2. Key words in circumlocutions

In this section, let us consider the most frequent 50 words used in circumlocutions. Table 5.2 presents the top 50 words employed in the 351 circumlocutions.

Table 5.2. The top 50 words used in circumlocutions

#	Word	AF	RF	#	Word	AF	RF
1	<i>bikpela</i>	4,885	1336.78	26	<i>pikinini</i>	706	193.20
2	<i>tok</i>	4,552	1245.65	27	<i>balus</i>	698	191.01
3	<i>long</i>	3,815	1043.97	28	<i>hevi</i>	673	184.17
4	<i>go</i>	2,873	786.19	29	<i>orait</i>	672	183.89
5	<i>haus</i>	2,667	729.82	30	<i>mani</i>	655	179.24
6	<i>sik</i>	2,493	682.21	31	<i>man</i>	629	172.13
7	<i>wok</i>	2,298	628.85	32	<i>givim</i>	624	170.76
8	<i>tru</i>	2,277	623.10	33	<i>meri</i>	576	157.62
9	<i>gut</i>	2,176	595.46	34	<i>mekim</i>	562	153.79
10	<i>samting</i>	1,849	505.98	35	<i>bilong</i>	520	142.30
11	<i>pas</i>	1,764	482.72	36	<i>painimaut</i>	503	137.65
12	<i>i</i>	1,763	482.44	37	<i>mas</i>	503	137.65
13	<i>save</i>	1,746	477.79	38	<i>as</i>	449	122.87
14	<i>pasin</i>	1,568	429.08	39	<i>hap</i>	435	119.04
15	<i>bung</i>	1,526	417.59	40	<i>lukautim</i>	432	118.22
16	<i>gutpela</i>	1,465	400.90	41	<i>kaikai</i>	425	116.30
17	<i>tingting</i>	1,399	382.84	42	<i>planti</i>	414	113.29
18	<i>amamas</i>	1,231	336.86	43	<i>strong</i>	397	108.64
19	<i>kamap</i>	1,229	336.32	44	<i>lotu</i>	387	105.90
20	<i>kisim</i>	1,194	326.74	45	<i>lukim</i>	380	103.99
21	<i>bagarap</i>	1,103	301.84	46	<i>kamapim</i>	353	96.60
22	<i>nogut</i>	1,039	284.32	47	<i>painim</i>	344	94.14
23	<i>ples</i>	932	255.04	48	<i>isi</i>	324	88.66
24	<i>klia</i>	828	226.58	49	<i>sutim</i>	305	83.46
25	<i>bel</i>	728	199.22	50	<i>promis</i>	305	83.46

What is evident is that nouns are the most common (e.g. *haus* ‘house’, *samting* ‘something’ or *pasin* ‘fashion’). Another group which may be found on the list are verbs (e.g. *lukaut* ‘look out’, *karim* ‘carry’ or *laikim* ‘like, love’). Some lexemes may function as words of different

classes: (1) noun or verb (e.g. *bagarap* ‘bugger-up’, *bung* ‘meeting’ or *kaikai* ‘food’), (2) adjective or adverb (e.g. *liklik* ‘small’), (3) adjective, adverb or noun (e.g. *orait* ‘all right’), (4) adjective or adverb (e.g. *stret* ‘straight’) and (5) adjective or noun (e.g. *sik* ‘sick’). It is also important to mention that one classifier occurs on the list, namely, *hap* ‘half, part’. Interestingly, there are also different classifiers used in circumlocutions. However, their frequencies are lower. According to Szczerbowski (2002: 100, translation mine), “classifiers reveal a tendency to select and classify objects (in the broad sense of the word) that are found in the surrounding reality”.

However, as already mentioned, grammatical words are also found. For instance, the most common grammatical word on the list is the preposition *long* with the absolute frequency 3,815. Two more grammatical words may be identified as well: the predicate marker *i* and the preposition *bilong* with the respective absolute frequencies of 1,764 and 520.

As this short examination of the key words has shown, circumlocutions are constructed from a certain number of words. Grammatical words are rare since their function is to link content words into various grammatical patterns used in circumlocutions.

5.3. Origin of words in circumlocutions

As already clarified, Tok Pisin has been influenced by various languages. Apart from the English language, which is its superstrate, Tok Pisin has absorbed and adapted many words from languages present in Papua New Guinea. The attestation of this phenomenon might also be observed in circumlocutions.

Let us focus on English lexical items found in the circumlocutions. Out of 76,328 words found in circumlocutions, 54,207 words originate from English. They amount to as many as 223 distinct lexemes. Table 5.3 presents the most frequent words of English origin.

Table 5.3. The top 20 words of English origin in circumlocutions

#	Word	Source	AF	RF
1	<i>bikpela</i>	big + suffix <i>-pela</i>	4,885	1,336.78
2	<i>tok</i>	talk	4,552	1,245.65
3	<i>long</i>	long	3,815	1,043.97
4	<i>go</i>	go	2,873	786.19
5	<i>sik</i>	sick	2,493	682.21
6	<i>tru</i>	true	2,277	623.10
7	<i>samting</i>	something	1,849	505.98
8	<i>pas</i>	pass	1,764	482.72
9	<i>pasin</i>	fashion	1,568	429.08
10	<i>tingting</i>	pass	1,399	382.84
11	<i>kamap</i>	come up	1,229	336.32
12	<i>kisim</i>	kiss + the suffix <i>-im</i>	1,194	326.74
13	<i>bagarap</i>	bugger up	1,103	301.84
14	<i>ples</i>	place	932	255.04
15	<i>bel</i>	belly	728	199.22
16	<i>hevi</i>	heavy	673	184.17
17	<i>orait</i>	alright	672	183.89
18	<i>mani</i>	money	655	179.24
19	<i>givim</i>	give + the suffix <i>-im</i>	624	170.76
20	<i>meri</i>	Mary	576	157.62

A significant number of words coming from English entered Tok Pisin with certain minor alternations; thus their meanings may be easily deciphered.

Apart from English words, Malay, Spanish and Portuguese words are adapted to function in Tok Pisin, i.e. *amamas* ‘rejoice/happy’ (1,312) from Malay *hormat* ‘honour’ (Mühlhäusler 1985a: 184), *save*³ (2,961) ‘know/knowledge’ from Spanish or Portuguese *saber* ‘know’ and *pikinini* ‘child’ (710) from Portuguese *pequeno* ‘small’, according to Steinbauer (1998). This class accounts for 4,983 occurrences (4.67 %). Nevertheless, in some instances, more words may come from two different sources (see Table 5.4).

³ In different accounts, the word *save* is claimed to have derived from the Portuguese word *saber* (Zimmermann 2010: 183). Smith and Siegel (2013: 219) state that “the word *save*, from Portuguese *saber* ‘know’, is well known in pidgins and creoles worldwide and as with other languages, it has a lexical meaning ‘know’ in Tok Pisin”.

Table 5.4. Words of “dual” origin in Tok Pisin

#	Word	Origins	AF	RF
1	<i>haus</i>	English or German	2,667	729.82
2	<i>save</i>	Portuguese or Spanish	1,746	477.79
3	<i>pikinini</i>	Portuguese or Spanish	706	193.20
4	<i>as</i>	English or German	449	122.87
5	<i>luksave</i>	English and Portuguese or Spanish	189	51.72
6	<i>gaden</i>	English or German	56	15.32
7	<i>didiman</i>	Fijian and English or German	52	14.23
8	<i>manmeri</i>	English or German and English	16	4.38
9	<i>saveman</i>	Portugese or Spanish and English or German	9	2.46

The words *haus*, *as* and *gaden* may all stem from either of the two Germanic languages which reached Papua New Guinea, i.e. English or German. The lexeme *haus* may come from *house* or *Haus*, *as* from *ass/arse* or *Arsch* and *gaden* from *garden* or *Garten*, from English or German respectively. As for the words of English and Spanish origin, their duality is different. Both words *luksave* and *saveman* are compounds which contain two words from the two languages. The lexemes *luk* ‘look’ and *man* ‘man’ are of English origin, whereas *save* ‘know, knowledge’ is of Portuguese or Spanish origin. The last word, that is, *didiman* ‘German agricultural worker, all agricultural workers’, according to Steinbauer (1998: 26), originates from the Gazelle peninsula and the German language: probably *didi* from Fijian meaning ‘deaf’ (Gatty 2009: 65) and German or English *Mann* or *man*.

Nonetheless, in certain situations, the origin is uncertain. According to Steinbauer (1998), some words may be classified into the following groups: Gazelle peninsula, Melanesian, Polynesian or unknown. However, at this stage, more precise sources of origin might be suggested for some of these words. Table 5.5 shows words with the classification proposed by Steinbauer and suggested origins.

Table 5.5. Suggested origins of some Tok Pisin words
(Gallagher 2008, Richard 1964, Pratt 1862, Steinbauer 1998)

#	Word	Steinbauer's classification	Suggested origin	AF	RF
1	<i>bung</i>	Gazelle peninsula	Tolai <i>bung</i> (1) 'a day either of 12 or 24 hours'; (2) 'to go to market'; (3) 'to prostitute oneself'	1,551	424.43
2	<i>kaikai</i>	Polynesian	-	869	237.80
3	<i>liklik</i>	Gazelle peninsula	-	804	220.01
4	<i>balus</i>	Gazelle peninsula	Tolai <i>balu</i> (1) 'the generic name of pigeons'; (2) 'one particular pigeon'	747	204.42
5	<i>lotu</i>	Polynesian	Fijian <i>lotu</i> (1) 'religion'	387	105.90
6	<i>tumbuna</i>	Gazelle peninsula	-	161	44.06
7	<i>dinau</i>	Gazelle peninsula	Fijian <i>dinau</i> (1) 'debt' (2) 'loan'	143	39.13
8	<i>birua</i>	Gazelle peninsula	Tolai <i>virua</i> (1) 'to be killed, to die by violence' (2) 'to perish, to become wrecked' (3) 'to have one's life attempted, to be beaten'	134	36.67
9	<i>diwai</i>	Gazelle peninsula	Tolai <i>davai</i> (1) 'tree, plant, herb, timber'	110	30.10
10	<i>pekpek</i>	Unknown/Onomatopoeitic	Tolai <i>pekapeke</i> or <i>peke</i> (1) 'to evacuate the bowels'	87	23.81
11	<i>pamuk</i>	Unknown	Bariai <i>pamuk</i> (1) 'to make dirty, cause to be dirty'	62	16.97
12	<i>brus</i>	Unknown	-	61	16.69
13	<i>lapun</i>	Unknown	Tolai <i>lapun</i> (1) 'old man'	57	15.60
14	<i>malolo</i>	Gazelle peninsula	Fijian <i>malolo</i> (1) 'a resting place, including deat'	39	10.67
15	<i>tambu</i>	Gazelle peninsula	-	38	10.40
16	<i>susu</i>	Melanesian	Malay <i>susu</i> (1) 'milk'	28	7.66
17	<i>arere</i>	Malayan	-	24	6.57
18	<i>malumalu</i>	Melanesian	Samoan <i>malu</i> (1) 'soft'	9	2.46
19	<i>guria</i>	Gazelle peninsula	Tolai <i>guria</i> (1) 'earthquake' (2) 'to tremble'	7	1.92

As may be seen, most origins primarily marked as Gazelle peninsula, Polynesian, Melanesian and Malayan may be traced back to such languages as Tolai, Fijian, Malay, Bariai or Samoan. As for the frequency, Tolai is the most common language whose words are observed in circumlocutions. Moreover, the majority of these lexical items entered Tok Pisin without any major changes, one may only notice certain minute alternations.

The word *balu* from Tolai gained the letter *s* in the last syllable yielding the word *balus*. The sense of this word is preserved in Tok Pisin; however, one more sense is present in contemporary Tok Pisin, that is, ‘airplane’. Another word is *virua* from Tolai. In Tok Pisin, the first letter in the initial syllable has been changed from *v* into *b*. The initial sense of the word and word class in Tolai have been altered as well. In Tok Pisin, the word is a noun and its senses are ‘enemy’ and ‘accident’. The next word, *divai*, originates from Tolai as well. The spelling has been slightly altered, that is, the letter *w* has changed into *v*; however, the Tolai sense of the word remains. The word *pekpek* might stem from the word *pekapeke* or *peke* in Tolai. It might have entered Tok Pisin by the elision of *a* from the second syllable and *e* from the final syllable from *pekapeke*. Another way of entering the language might have been through the word *peke*. The letter *e* might have been elided from the final syllable of the word and the form **pek* might have been reduplicated (Richard 1964: 140). Another word is *malu* which comes from Samoan. In Tok Pisin, it has the same meaning; however, its reduplicated form is used, that is, *malumalu* (Pratt 1862: 145).

Apart from words whose forms have been altered, in its lexicon, Tok Pisin has lexemes which are directly borrowed from certain local languages. For instance, the word *bung* has the same form in Tolai and in Tok Pisin. However, the meaning of the word has changed and, in Tok Pisin, it means ‘meeting’. In a similar way, the meaning of the Tolai word *lapun* ‘old man’ changed into ‘old’ (Connell 2018). Still, the Tok Pisin word *lapun*, in some contexts, may be translated into “old man”. For instance, this meaning is given in Martin (2007: 287): *lapun, stoa i stap long hap, na rot em i no pas* ‘**old man**, the store’s over there, and the road isn’t closed’. Another Tolai word which has entered Tok Pisin without any changes is the word *guria* (Richard 1964: 50).

Fijian is another language from which Tok Pisin has borrowed lexemes in unchanged forms. There are three words from Fijian which can be found in circumlocutions. The Fijian words whose forms have remained the same are *lotu*, *dinau* and *malolo*. The word *malolo* carries many associations, consider the explanation “[...] *malolo* can mean to submit, implying some ancient defeat and submission, or simply a word implying a resting place, including even death itself [...]” (Gatty 2009: 154). In contemporary Tok Pisin, the meaning of *malolo* is narrowed down to ‘rest’. The last language which needs to be addressed is Malay from which the word *susu* ‘milk’ originates (Shellabear 1916).

Also, it is worth discussing the origins of grammatical words. The origins for the words *bilong* and *long* point to the superstrate, that is the English language. However, the origin of words such as *i* and *na* is unclear. The predicate marker *i* is said to derive from English or is of

an unknown origin (Steinbauer 1998: 39). The statement that it derives from the English third person singular pronoun *he* is not the only possible explanation, since it might originate from Austronesian languages as well (Krifka 2005: 86). For instance, the Tolai language has the word *i* in its lexicon. It has a few functions: (1) the third personal pronoun, (2) a particle used before pronouns, (3) a preposition or a genitive used in compounds or (4) a euphonic particle sometimes used between a verb and a pronoun in the objective case (Richard 1964: 53). In the Bariai language, *i* is a prefix which is used, for instance, as a verbal prefix signalling agreement with a third person singular pronoun *ei* (Gallagher 2008: 59). The conjunction *na* is classified by Steinbauer (1998: 67) as an item of an unknown origin. However, again a similar word is used in both Tolai and Bariai. For instance, in Bariai, it is used as (1) an illocutionary particle, (2) an adverb meaning ‘already, indeed, truly’; or (3) an adverb meaning ‘there’ (Gallagher 2008: 148). In this analysis, both *i* and *na* are classified as having the Austronesian origin.

In sum, the constituting words of circumlocutions mainly derive from the English language. However, there are certain words which originate from other languages. Table 5.6 shows the origins of words.

Table 5.6. Origins of words in circumlocutions

Origin	AF	%
English	54,207	71.02
English or German	12,385	16.23
Tolai	2,506	3.28
Portuguese or Spanish	2,452	3.21
Austronesian	2,056	2.69
Malay	1,258	1.65
Fijian	569	0.75
Polynesian	425	0.56
Gazelle Peninsula	298	0.39
Bariai	54	0.07
Fijian and English or German	52	0.07
Portuguese or Spanish and English or German	9	0.01
Samoan	9	0.01
Unknown	48	0.06
Total	76,328	100.00

5.4. Orthographic variation

Let us now concentrate on orthographic variations in circumlocutions. There are 58 circumlocutions which have different spellings. All together, they occur 15,417 times.

As has been explained earlier, circumlocutions may become lexicalized and form hyphenated compounds. As regards Tok Pisin, it is also possible to write two words of a compound as a single word or overlap two words to create a blend-like structure. Additionally,

the alternative spelling of the suffix *-pela* might be used, namely, *-pla*. Table 5.7 shows 58 circumlocutions which have their parallel hyphenated and single word counterparts.

Table 5.7. Orthographic variations of circumlocutions

#	Circumlocution	AF	RF	Orthographic variation(s)	AF	RF	Dictionary meaning(s)
1	<i>haus sik</i>	1,906	521.58	<i>hausik</i>	122	33.39	hospital
				<i>haus-sik</i>	1	0.27	
2	<i>bikpela samting</i>	1,682	460.28	<i>bikpla samting</i>	3	0.82	important
3	<i>wok bung</i>	1,299	355.47	<i>wokbung</i>	593	162.27	collaborate
				<i>wok-bung</i>	55	15.05	
4	<i>tok orait long</i>	672	183.89	<i>tokorait long</i>	37	10.13	concede
				<i>tok-orait long</i>	29	7.94	
5	<i>ples balus</i>	608	166.38	<i>ples-balus</i>	12	3.28	airport
				<i>plesbalus</i>	8	2.19	
6	<i>bikpela hevi</i>	571	156.25	<i>bikpla hevi</i>	4	1.09	crisis
7	<i>gutpela tru</i>	556	152.15	<i>gutpelatru</i>	1	0.27	marvelous, great
8	<i>tok amamas</i>	556	152.15	<i>tok-amamas</i>	1	0.27	compliment, congratulate
9	<i>tok klia</i>	531	145.31	<i>tokklia</i>	7	1.92	emphasize, explain, explanation
				<i>tok-klia</i>	5	1.37	
10	<i>gutpela pasin</i>	527	144.21	<i>gutpla pasin</i>	1	0.27	morals
11	<i>wok painimaut</i>	503	137.65	<i>wok-painimaut</i>	12	3.28	investigation, research
				<i>wokpainimaut</i>	9	2.46	
12	<i>as tingting</i>	392	107.27	<i>astingting</i>	290	79.36	reason, theme
				<i>as-tingting</i>	30	8.21	
13	<i>haus lotu</i>	376	102.89	<i>haus-lotu</i>	2	0.55	church
				<i>hauslotu</i>	1	0.27	
14	<i>pikinini meri</i>	368	100.70	<i>pikininimeri</i>	1	0.27	daughter
15	<i>lukautim gut</i>	361	98.79	<i>lukautimgut</i>	1	0.27	care
16	<i>bel isi</i>	309	84.56	<i>belisi</i>	32	8.76	accommodating, calm, calmness, content, peaceful, tranquil
				<i>bel-isi</i>	28	7.66	
17	<i>tok promis</i>	305	83.46	<i>tokpromis</i>	1	0.27	oath, pledge, vow
18	<i>pikinini man</i>	256	70.05	<i>pikininiman</i>	2	0.55	boy, son
19	<i>mekim save</i>	255	69.78	<i>mekim-save</i>	11	3.01	penalty, punish
20	<i>tok lukaut</i>	240	65.68	<i>toklukaut</i>	15	4.10	warn
				<i>tok-lukaut</i>	5	1.37	
21	<i>tok save</i>	235	64.31	<i>toksave</i>	479	131.08	announcement, information
22	<i>tok sori</i>	229	62.67	<i>toksori</i>	4	1.09	apologize, apology, pardon
23	<i>haus kalabus</i>	203	55.55	<i>haus-kalabus</i>	10	2.74	prison
24	<i>stap namel long</i>	203	55.55	<i>stapnamel long</i>	1	0.27	central
25	<i>lus tingting</i>	190	51.99	<i>lustingting</i>	25	6.84	forget
26	<i>mani plen</i>	185	50.63	<i>maniplen</i>	1	0.27	budget
27	<i>was gut</i>	160	43.78	<i>was-gut</i>	1	0.27	care, careful
28	<i>kamap ples klia</i>	138	37.76	<i>kamap plesklia</i>	1	0.27	manifest
29	<i>Mama Lo</i>	135	36.94	<i>mama lo</i>	100	27.36	constitution
				<i>mamalo</i>	2	0.55	
30	<i>i no long taim i go pinis</i>	133	36.40	<i>i no longtaim i go pinis</i>	56	15.32	recent
31	<i>haus slip</i>	129	35.30	<i>haus-slip</i>	5	1.37	dormitory
				<i>hauslip</i>	1	0.27	

32	<i>win mani</i>	118	32.29	<i>winmani</i>	443	121.23	profit
				<i>win-mani</i>	13	3.56	
33	<i>banis sut</i>	99	27.09	<i>banis-sut</i>	1	0.27	immunisation
34	<i>het tisa</i>	97	26.54	<i>het-tisa</i>	5	1.37	principal
				<i>hettisa</i>	1	0.27	
35	<i>sik nogut</i>	94	25.72	<i>siknogut</i>	2	0.55	contagious disease
36	<i>bel hevi</i>	93	25.45	<i>bel-hevi</i>	16	4.38	conflict, depressed, sad, upset
37	<i>haus lain</i>	85	23.26	<i>haus-lain</i>	30	8.21	clan, long house
38	<i>planti kain kain</i>	82	22.44	<i>planti kainkain</i>	21	5.75	mix, range
39	<i>tok pait</i>	79	21.62	<i>tokpait</i>	27	7.39	argue, argument, controversy, dispute
				<i>tok-pait</i>	12	3.28	
40	<i>spak brus</i>	48	13.14	<i>spakbrus</i>	39	10.67	marijuana
				<i>spak-brus</i>	3	0.82	
41	<i>tok piksa</i>	48	13.14	<i>tok-piksa</i>	2	0.55	parable, saying, example
				<i>tokpiksa</i>	2	0.55	
42	<i>haus kuk</i>	36	9.85	<i>hauskuk</i>	18	4.93	kitchen
43	<i>as ples</i>	34	9.30	<i>asples</i>	714	195.39	homeland, hometown, originally
				<i>as-ples</i>	1	0.27	
44	<i>bekim tok</i>	34	9.30	<i>bekimtok</i>	1	0.27	answer
45	<i>haus kaikai</i>	33	9.03	<i>hauskaikai</i>	1	0.27	dining room, mess
46	<i>tok save olsem</i>	32	8.76	<i>toksav olsem</i>	56	15.32	announce
47	<i>tenpela yia</i>	31	8.48	<i>tenpla yia</i>	1	0.27	decade
48	<i>tok pilai</i>	29	7.94	<i>tok-pilai</i>	1	0.27	joke
49	<i>tok win</i>	22	6.02	<i>tok-win</i>	1	0.27	chatter, gossip, rumour
50	<i>bel kirap</i>	19	5.20	<i>belkirap</i>	4	1.09	fascinate
51	<i>lusim ting</i>	17	4.65	<i>lusimting</i>	1	0.27	forget
52	<i>tanim tok</i>	16	4.38	<i>tanimtok</i>	2	0.55	interpret
53	<i>bikpela pairap</i>	13	3.56	<i>bikpla pairap</i>	1	0.27	deafening
54	<i>haus bung</i>	12	3.28	<i>haus-bung</i>	1	0.27	hall, conference
				<i>hausbung</i>	1	0.27	
55	<i>autim bel hevi</i>	9	2.46	<i>autim bel-hevi</i>	4	1.09	complain
				<i>autim belhevi</i>	13	3.56	
56	<i>haus sel</i>	9	2.46	<i>haus-sel</i>	4	1.09	tent
57	<i>bel kol</i>	8	2.19	<i>bel-kol</i>	1	0.27	at ease, reconciled
58	<i>tumbuna meri</i>	7	1.92	<i>tumbuna-meri</i>	1	0.27	grandmother

Different circumlocutions may become hyphenated lexicalized phrases. There are 30 hyphenated equivalents which occur 298 times. The circumlocution which has the greatest number of lexicalized counterparts in the corpus is *tok long klia*. It is the only case in which the hyphenated form exceeds the phrase with separate words in the number of occurrences. Nevertheless, occurrences of hyphenated lexicalized phrases, despite their low frequencies, suggest a new tendency in Tok Pisin that has transpired in this set of circumlocutions.

As can be observed above, there are 38 single word equivalents. They occur 2,912 times in the corpus. This shows that single-word spelling is more common than hyphenated spelling. This is especially evident in the case of the following circumlocutions: *tok save* ‘announcement, information’, lit. talk knowledge, and *toksav*, *win mani* ‘profit’, lit. win money, and *winmani*, *as ples* ‘homeland, hometown, originally’, lit. ass place, and *asples*, *tok*

save olsem ‘announce’, lit. talk knowledge this, and *toksave olsem* or *autim bel hevi* ‘complain’, lit. out belly heavy, and *autim belhevi*.

Apart from these two numerous types of spelling alternations, there are two more types which are less frequent. First, let us concentrate on overlaps of two circumlocutions whose first constituent ends with the consonant *s* and another begins with the same consonant. The overlapped counterparts of these circumlocutions occur 123 times. What is evident is that overlaps occur with the word *haus*. For instance, *hausik* which occurs 122 times. Similar to *hausik*, there is the overlapped equivalent of the circumlocution *haus slip*, namely, *hauslip*. However, the latter occurs only once in the *Wantok* corpus. Interestingly, the circumlocution *haus sel* does not have its overlapped equivalent **hausel*. Only the form *haus-sel* has been retrieved from the corpus.

The last case of spelling alternations deals with the suffix *-pela*. The suffix *-pela* is used in the corpus 127,310 times, whereas its other form, namely, *-pla* occurs 404 times. There are only four different circumlocutions with the suffix *-pla*. Their total frequency amounts to only 9.

5.5. Lexical replacements

As mentioned before, wordy expressions tend to be replaced by one-word equivalents, to a large extent, from the superstrate language. Lexical replacements have been found for 55 circumlocutions which occur 10,833 times. Interestingly, lexical replacements occur twice as often in the corpus whose total frequency is 22,740 (see Table 5.8).

Table 5.8. Lexical replacements of circumlocutions

#	Circumlocution(s)	AF	RF	Lexical replacement(s)	AF	RF
1	<i>haus sik</i>	1,906	521.58	<i>hospital</i>	28	7.66
2	<i>bikpela wok</i>	969	265.17	<i>projek</i>	5,201	1,423.25
3	<i>bikpela samting</i>	589	161.18	<i>impotan</i>	1	0.27
4	<i>bikpela hevi</i>	571	156.25	<i>krais</i>	49	13.41
5	<i>samting i kamap</i>	555	151.88	<i>action</i>	14	3.83
6	<i>bikpela bagarap</i>	468	128.07	<i>katastropi</i>	1	0.27
7	<i>pasin nogut</i>	397	108.64	<i>kraim</i>	69	18.88
8	<i>kisim taim</i>	384	105.08	<i>krais</i>	49	13.41
9	<i>wok bisnis</i>	380	103.99	<i>komes</i>	229	62.67
10	<i>haus lotu</i>	376	102.89	<i>sios</i>	3,834	1,049.17
				<i>church</i>	29	7.94

11	<i>save gut</i>	372	101.80	<i>talent</i>	13	3.56
12	<i>bel isi</i>	309	84.56	<i>pisful</i>	15	4.10
				<i>peaceful</i>	1	0.27
13	<i>lain i save</i>	301	82.37	<i>ekspet</i>	6	1.64
14	<i>kisim save</i>	266	72.79	<i>edukesen</i>	2,980	815.48
				<i>eduksen</i>	8	2.19
15	<i>mekim save</i>	255	69.78	<i>panismen</i>	9	2.46
16	<i>Mama Lo / mama lo</i>	235	64.31	<i>konstitusen</i>	256	70.05
17	<i>gutpela taim</i>	225	61.57	<i>peace</i>	34	9.30
18	<i>stap namel long</i>	203	55.55	<i>sentral</i>	659	180.34
19	<i>brukim lo</i>	200	54.73	<i>ofens</i>	10	2.74
20	<i>strepela pasin</i>	199	54.46	<i>onesti</i>	1	0.27
				<i>honesti</i>	5	1.37
				<i>justice</i>	14	3.83
21	<i>mani plen</i>	185	50.63	<i>budget</i>	2	0.55
22	<i>bikpela bung</i>	182	49.80	<i>seremoni</i>	547	149.69
23	<i>pasin tumbuna</i>	139	38.04	<i>kalsa</i>	692	189.37
				<i>tradisen</i>	1	0.27
24	<i>liklik taim</i>	137	37.49	<i>momen</i>	1	0.27
25	<i>haus slip</i>	129	35.30	<i>domitori</i>	57	15.60
26	<i>maunten paia</i>	114	31.20	<i>volkeno</i>	37	10.13
27	<i>banis sut</i>	99	27.09	<i>imunaisesen</i>	31	8.48
				<i>immunisation</i>	1	0.27
28	<i>long ples klia</i>	85	23.26	<i>transparent</i>	1	0.27
29	<i>wok didiman</i>	52	14.23	<i>agrikalsa</i>	673	184.17
				<i>egrikalsa</i>	575	157.35
30	<i>wok politik</i>	52	14.23	<i>politiks</i>	419	114.66
31	<i>spak brus</i>	48	13.14	<i>mariwana</i>	144	39.41
				<i>marijuana</i>	2	0.55
				<i>maruana</i>	1	0.27
32	<i>dia tumas</i>	46	12.59	<i>ekspensiv</i>	7	1.92
33	<i>piksa nogut</i>	44	12.04	<i>ponograpi</i>	6	1.64
34	<i>pekpek wara</i>	31	8.48	<i>dairia</i>	4	1.09
35	<i>givim stori</i>	28	7.66	<i>ripot</i>	2,725	745.69
36	<i>liklik wara</i>	28	7.66	<i>krik</i>	5	1.37
37	<i>brukim marit</i>	26	7.11	<i>divos</i>	15	4.10
38	<i>spirit nogut</i>	20	5.47	<i>tewel</i>	74	20.25
39	<i>stap tru</i>	19	5.20	<i>feitful</i>	3	0.82
40	<i>samting bilong mekim</i>	18	4.93	<i>asivmen</i>	3	0.82
				<i>aktiviti</i>	1	0.27
41	<i>we bilong wokim</i>	17	4.65	<i>attitude</i>	4	1.09
42	<i>bikpela rong</i>	16	4.38	<i>kraim</i>	69	18.88
43	<i>i stap fri</i>	16	4.38	<i>fridom</i>	167	45.70

44	<i>we bilong mekim</i>	16	4.38	<i>instraksen</i>	15	4.10
45	<i>buk tambu</i>	15	4.10	<i>baibel</i>	375	102.62
46	<i>singim song</i>	14	3.83	<i>song</i>	108	29.55
47	<i>askim long helpim</i>	13	3.56	<i>apil</i>	85	23.26
48	<i>graun na ples</i>	12	3.28	<i>environment</i>	15	4.10
				<i>environmen</i>	4	1.09
49	<i>kaikai bilong gaden</i>	12	3.28	<i>krop</i>	104	28.46
50	<i>kukim long paia</i>	11	3.01	<i>beik</i>	5	1.37
				<i>babakyu</i>	4	1.09
51	<i>liklik binatang</i>	11	3.01	<i>vairas</i>	33	9.03
52	<i>liklik skul</i>	11	3.01	<i>neseri</i>	92	25.18
53	<i>hukim pis</i>	10	2.74	<i>pisin</i>	441	120.68
54	<i>haus sel</i>	9	2.46	<i>tent</i>	21	5.75
55	<i>haus mani</i>	8	2.19	<i>benk</i>	1,672	457.54
				<i>beng</i>	102	27.91

As has already been mentioned, some Tok Pisin circumlocutions were substituted with borrowed lexemes from various languages, including German, Malay, Tolai and English. Table 5.8 shows English-derived lexical replacements of circumlocutions. It is evident that, in certain cases, one form is favoured over another, for instance, the circumlocution *haus sik* ‘hospital’, lit. house sick, is more common than its lexical replacement *hospital*. There are more examples of such a tendency, e.g. *bikpela samting* ‘important’, lit. big something’, and *impotan*, or *lain i save* ‘expert’, lit. clan knowledge, and *ekspet*. Nevertheless, there are pairs for which the frequency of the lexical replacement is greater than that of the circumlocution, e.g. *bikpela wok* ‘project’, lit. big work, and *projekt, stap namel long* ‘central’, lit. stop middle along, and *sentral* or *bikpela bung* ‘ceremony’, lit. big meeting, and *seremoni*. Another issue worth mentioning is the fact that certain circumlocutions have more than one replacement, e.g. *haus lotu* ‘church’, lit. house religion, and *sios* or *church*. There are also lexical replacements that have different spellings, e.g. *bel isi* ‘peaceful’, lit. belly easy, and *pisful* or *peaceful*, *kisim save* ‘education’, lit. get/take knowledge’, and *edukesen* or *eduksen* as well as *stretpela pasin* ‘honesty, justice’, lit. straight fashion, and *onesti* and *honesti*. As for the frequencies of lexical replacements, the words which are early borrowings tend to have higher frequencies, for instance, *sios* (3,834) and *church* (29).

5.6. Concluding remarks

This chapter demonstrates that the words used in circumlocutions constitute a small portion of all the words used in the texts compiled in the *Wantok* corpus. Nonetheless, 351 distinct circumlocutions have been identified. They occur 34,148 times in total.

As regards the origin of the words employed in the elaborate expressions, it may be traced down mainly to the English language. However, certain words derive from other European languages, such as Portuguese, German and Spanish. Some lexical items also come from the local languages, including Bariai, Fijian, Malay, Samoan and Tolai. Although some origins may be easily traced back to particular languages, the sources of some lexemes are difficult to identify.

Another aspect of circumlocutions which needs to be emphasized is their orthographic variation. In the examined corpus, specific spelling characteristics for circumlocutions are noticed:

- (1) hyphenated words,
- (2) single-word spelling,
- (3) overlap of words,
- (4) sporadic use of the suffix *-pla*.

In the present analysis, English-derived replacements have been identified. They are mostly adaptations of English words, e.g. *apil* from ‘appeal’ instead of *askim long helpim* ‘appeal’, lit. ask along help’, *krop* from ‘crop’ instead of *kaikai bilong gaden* ‘crop’, lit. food belong garden’, or *fridom* from ‘freedom’ instead of *i stap fri* ‘freedom’, lit. stop free. However, there are sometimes English words borrowed instead, such as *church* for *haus lotu* ‘church’, lit. house religion, *environment* for *graun na ples* ‘environment’, lit. ground and place, and *song* for *singim song* ‘song’, lit. sing song. Moreover, certain circumlocutions may have a few lexical replacements, for example, *sios.* and *church* for *haus lotu* or *onesti/honesti* and *justice* for *stret pela*.

It is worth mentioning that adaptations of English words have enriched the Tok Pisin lexicon. This phenomenon has been described by Deborah Salle, a Tok Pisin translator, who says:

Tok Pisin is growing. As Tok Pisin speakers interact with English, new words are borrowed and used to express Papua New Guinea's current reality. [...] Trying to use old words instead of current spoken forms can only serve as a barrier and promote an image of Tok Pisin as old and irrelevant in this time and age, when in fact, the total opposite is true. Tok Pisin is alive and well and it is the writing and

spelling aspect of it that needs to catch up. (<<https://www.pnglanguageservices.com/post/new-tok-pisin-transliterations>>)

This observation clearly shows that new borrowings from English are essential. They help Tok Pisin speakers to describe their changing reality in a precise and coherent fashion.

6. The structure of circumlocutions: Degree of complexity and syntactic patterns

In this chapter, selected features of circumlocutions are presented. At this stage, the following characteristics are considered: degree of complexity, headedness and syntactic patterns.⁴

6.1. Degree of complexity

The degree of circumlocution complexity is one of the most fundamental parameters of these expressions. In the *Wantok* corpus, both simple and complex circumlocutions have been identified. They range from two-word combinations to four-word combinations.

There are 311 two-word circumlocutions which occur 33,006 times in total. They function as adjectives, adverbs, nouns and verbs. Table 6.1 shows the parts of speech, total absolute frequencies (AF), number of circumlocution and their percentages. Only the dominant parts of speech are presented in the table.

Table 6.1. Two-word circumlocutions

Part of speech	Number of circumlocutions	%	AF	%
noun	152	48.87	13,457	40.77
verb	107	34.41	13,358	40.47
adjective	43	13.83	6,068	18.38
adverb	1	0.32	123	0.37
Total	311	100.00	33,006	100.00

Three-word circumlocutions are another group of multi-word expressions which are classified as simple circumlocutions. There are 36 different three-word expressions in the corpus. Their total frequency amounts to 1,085. Like two-word circumlocutions, they may function as four parts of speech. However, they only exhibit one function. Table 6.2 presents parts of speech, the number of circumlocutions and the total absolute frequencies. Only the dominant parts of speech are shown in the table.

⁴ In this chapter, the following abbreviations are used to describe syntactic patterns: **Adj** – adjective, **Adv** – adverb, **Conj** – conjunction, **N** – noun, **Neg** – negation, **Num** – numeral, **PL** – plural marker, **PM** – predicate marker, **Prep** – preposition, **Pron** – pronoun, **V** – verb.

Table 6.2. Three-word circumlocutions

Part of speech	Number of circumlocutions	%	AF	%
noun	16	44.44	421	38.80
verb	13	36.11	362	33.36
adverb	2	5.56	161	14.84
adjective	5	13.89	141	13.00
Total	36	100.00	1,085	100.00

In the group of complex circumlocutions, there are only four-word combinations. 4 distinct expressions have been found in this category. They occur 57 times in total. What is more, their function is limited only to nouns.

As may be inferred from the data presented above, circumlocutions differ in the number of content words found in their structures. Additionally, the simple circumlocutions are most frequently found in the analyzed corpus, whereas the complex circumlocutions are the least frequent (see Table. 6.3).

Table 6.3. Types of circumlocutions

Degree of complexity		Number of circumlocutions	%	AF	%
simple circumlocutions	2	311	88.60	33,006	96.66
	3	36	10.26	1,085	3.18
complex circumlocutions	4	57	16.24	57	0.17
Total		351	100.00	34,148	100.00

Some of the two-word circumlocutions may function as two distinct parts of speech. However, this is not a common feature. Three- and four-word circumlocutions are less frequent. In these groups, circumlocutions have only single grammatical functions. Unlike two- and three-word circumlocutions, four-word circumlocutions are used only as nouns.

6.2. Headedness

Another structural aspect of circumlocutions taken into consideration is headedness. The position of the head is a vital feature of circumlocutions as it allows one to identify the part of speech of a word combination. In addition, in the case of right- and left-headed circumlocutions, headedness points to their fundamental meaning. Table 6.4 shows the distribution of different types of circumlocutions and their absolute frequencies (AF).

Table 6.4. The headedness of circumlocutions

Headedness	Number of circumlocutions	%	AF	%
left	109	31.05	15,542	45.51
linear	137	39.03	11,798	34.55
right	62	17.66	6,113	17.90
left/right	3	0.85	695	2.04
Total	351	100.00	34,148	100.00

As can be noticed, the most common type of circumlocutions are left-headed circumlocutions. Linear and right-headed circumlocutions are less frequent. There are three circumlocutions whose headedness cannot be precisely assigned.

6.2.1. Left-headed circumlocutions

Left-headed circumlocutions extracted from the *Wantok* corpus contain such headwords as *tok* ‘to talk’, *haus* ‘house’, *pasin* ‘behaviour’, *ples* ‘place’ or *taim* ‘time’. They are combined with various modifiers to yield three different types of circumlocutions. Table 6.5 shows parts of speech of circumlocutions, their degrees of complexity, frequencies and percentages.

Table 6.5. Frequencies of left-headed circumlocutions

Part of speech	Degree of complexity			Total	%
	2	3	4		
	AF				
verb	8,130	100	-	8,230	52.95
noun	5,743	87	29	5,859	37.70
adjective	1,453	-	-	1,453	9.35
Total	15,326	187	29	15,542	100.00
%	98.61	1.20	0.19	100.00	

What may be seen in Table 6.5. is that the most common type of left-headed circumlocution is verbal circumlocution. Left-headed circumlocutions also show different levels of complexity from 2 to 4 content words. Table 6.6 presents 20 heads frequently used in verbal circumlocutions.

Table 6.6. Frequencies of heads in verbal left-headed circumlocutions

#	Verb	Meaning	Frequency of heads in circumlocutions	#	Verb	Meaning	Frequency of heads in circumlocutions
1	<i>tok</i>	talk	2,867	11	<i>soim</i>	show	52
2	<i>go</i>	go	2,136	12	<i>lainim</i>	learn	49
3	<i>wok</i>	work	1,299	13	<i>lukluk</i>	look	44
4	<i>lukautim</i>	look out	361	14	<i>raitim</i>	write	25
5	<i>kamapim</i>	come up	342	15	<i>tingim</i>	remember	23
6	<i>tokaut</i>	talk out	267	16	<i>pilai</i>	play	21
7	<i>harim</i>	hear	224	17	<i>pinis</i>	finish	18
8	<i>givim</i>	give	189	18	<i>strongim</i>	strengthen	17
9	<i>tingting</i>	think	158	19	<i>stretim</i>	straighten	12
10	<i>apim</i>	rise	78	20	<i>kukim</i>	cook	11

What is more, left-headed verbal circumlocutions are coined by means of a limited set of verbs. However, they offer the possibility to coin many multi-word expressions. The verbs presented in Table 6.6 do not belong to one specific category. There are communicative verbs (e.g. *tok*, *tokaut*), motion verbs (e.g. *go*, *kamapim*), mental verbs (e.g. *tingting*, *lainim*) or verbs denoting activities (e.g. *givim*, *kukim*). Exemplary verbal circumlocutions are presented below. Additionally, some contexts from the corpus are given.

1. *tok*⁵ + *amamas* [V Adj]_V ‘complement, congratulate’, lit. **talk** happy

degree of complexity: 2

Tok Pisin	English translation
<i>Sif Eksekyutiv Opisa (CEO) bilong PNGSDP, David Sode, i bin tok amamas long opening bilong dispela projek. (Wantok no. 2013)</i>	The Chief Executive Officer of PNGSDP, David Sode, congratulated on launching this project.

⁵ *The Oxford Papua New Guinea Tok Pisin English Dictionary* provides two equivalents of the word *tok* ‘message, account, word, speech’ and ‘tell, say, speak’ (Baing et al. 2008: 109).

2. *pinis + long*⁶ *skul* [V Prep N]_v ‘graduate’, lit. finish along school

degree of complexity: 2

Tok Pisin	English translation
<i>Em i pinisim namba wan yia pinis long skul long Yunivesiti bilong Papua Niugini long skul bilong ikonomiks.</i> (Wantok no. 2047)	He/she has already completed his/her first year at the University of Papua New Guinea in the field of economics.

3. *go + lukluk raun long* [V V Adv Prep]_v ‘explore/visit’, lit. go look around along

degree of complexity: 3

Tok Pisin	English translation
<i>Micah i go lukluk raun long Singapore, we em i bin bungim Tharman Shanmugaratnam, husat i Deputi Praim Minista na Fainens Minista bilong Singapore, long toktok long skelim model bilong pablik entaprais bilong ol.</i> (Wantok no. 1986)	Micah visited Singapore, where he met with Tharman Shanmugaratnam, Singapore's Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Finance, to discuss their public enterprise model.

4. *tok + save olsem* [V N Adv]_v ‘announce’, lit. talk knowledge in this way

degree of complexity: 3

Tok Pisin	English translation
<i>Mista Kimisopa i bin tok save olsem ol dispela ripot bai kamap long taim Palamen i bung long mun Mas, tasol dispela i no bin kamap.</i> (Wantok no. 2180)	Mr. Kimisopa has announced that these reports will be available by March, but that never happened.

As seen in the examples quoted above, the word class and the primary sense of a verbal circumlocution stem from the leftmost element of these expressions. The words written in bold provide the basic meaning which is modified by the following elements. It is worth mentioning that in example 2, the translation of *pinis long skul* given by a native speaker, ‘complete’, is different from the one found in the dictionaries, that is, ‘graduate’. However, the fundamental sense of completing a certain level of education is preserved.

Another group of circumlocutions with the head in the initial position include nominal circumlocutions. As seen in Table 6.7, most of these expressions have two content words. Table 6.7 shows 20 most common nominal heads.

⁶ The preposition *long* originates from English (Steinbauer 1998: 58). It derives from the English word *along* (see, among others, Eilfort 1986: 86, Kwak 2003: 22, Romaine 2000: 29, Smith 2002: 115). Also, it has several equivalents in English, for instance, ‘at, in, on, to’ (Smith and Siegel 2013: 220). The function of *long* depends on the context in which it is used. In this analysis, the Tok Pisin preposition *long* is translated into *along*.

Table 6.7. Frequencies of heads in nominal left-headed circumlocutions

#	Noun	Meaning	Frequency of heads in circumlocutions	#	Noun	Meaning	Frequency of heads in circumlocutions
1	<i>haus</i>	house	2,660	11	<i>piksa</i>	picture	44
2	<i>pasin</i>	fashion	664	12	<i>wara</i>	water	43
3	<i>ples</i>	place	643	13	<i>pepa</i>	paper	34
4	<i>save</i>	knowledge	508	14	<i>pekpek</i>	feaces	31
5	<i>wok</i>	work	503	15	<i>han</i>	hand	24
6	<i>taim</i>	time	133	16	<i>arere</i>	area	24
7	<i>maunten</i>	mountain	114	17	<i>as</i>	ass	23
8	<i>sik</i>	sick	101	18	<i>hetman</i>	headman	22
9	<i>man</i>	man	96	19	<i>singsing</i>	song	18
10	<i>tok</i>	talk	48	20	<i>skru</i>	screw	16

As may be seen, many of these nouns are used to refer to physical objects, such as *haus*, *ples*, *mauntenm*, *wara*, *han*, to name a few. Some of these nouns are also used to denote people, for instance, *man* or *hetman*. There are also some abstract nouns, for example, *save*, *wok* or *tok*. Exemplary nominal circumlocutions are presented below.

5. *haus* + *sik*⁷ [N N]_N ‘hospital’, lit. house sick

degree of complexity: 2

Tok Pisin	English translation
<i>Ol haus sik long kantri i nidim nupela masin, moa bet bilong ol sikman na moa speselis dokta. (Wantok no. 2140)</i>	Hospitals in the country need new equipment, more beds for the sick and more specialised doctors.

6. *save* + *long rit na rait* [N PM V Conj V]_N ‘literacy’, lit. knowledge along read and write

degree of complexity: 3

Tok Pisin	English translation
<i>Wankain tu long edukesen, sapos pipel i go skul na ol i save long rit na rait, ol wok developmen bai go gut wantaim moa save manmeri long mekim wok. (Wantok no. 1878)</i>	Like education, literacy and attending a school will improve the development of people's skills.

⁷ *The Oxford Papua New Guinea Tok Pisin English Dictionary* provides two equivalents of the word *sik*: ‘sickness, disease, illness’ and ‘to be sick, to be ill’ (Baing et al. 2008: 88-89).

7. *hetman* + *bilang Katolik Sios long wol* [N Prep Adj N Prep N]_N ‘pope’, lit. headman belong Catholic Church long world

degree of complexity: 4

Tok Pisin	English translation
<i>Nau Katolik Sios long PNG i wetim taim bai sios i mekim Bleset Peter ToRot i kamap wanpela santu, bihain long nau i dai hetman bilang Katolik Sios long wol, nau i dai Pop John Paul 2, i bin kam long PNG na mekim em i kamap Bleset.</i> (Wantok no. 1961)	The Catholic Church in Papua New Guinea is now waiting for the Church to canonize Blessed Peter Torot, after the death of the pope , the late Pope John Paul II, who came to Papua New Guinea and canonized him.

The examples of nominal circumlocutions present how the initial meaning of the noun might be altered.

The last type of left-headed circumlocutions are the adjectival ones. The most common adjectival heads are shown in Table 6.8.

Table 6.8. Frequencies of heads in adjectival left-headed circumlocutions

#	Adjective	Meaning	Frequency of heads in circumlocutions
1	<i>gutpela</i>	big	653
2	<i>gut</i>	good	556
3	<i>bikpela</i>	good	224
4	<i>kros</i>	cross	20

Adjectival circumlocutions include only four adjectives. The adjectives collected in Table 6.8 are descriptors since the word *bikpela* evaluates the size, *gutpela* and *gut* specify the quality, whereas *kros* is an adjective denoting emotion. These adjectives are used to coin six distinct left-headed adjectival circumlocutions. Some selected examples are presented below.

8. *bikpela* + *tru* [Adj Adv]_{Adj} ‘enormous’, lit. big true

degree of complexity: 2

Tok Pisin	English translation
<i>Em i tok olsem dispela hevi bai kamap bikpela tru bihain long likwifait netsurel ges (LNG) projek i go het long givim aut mani na mani i ron insait long ikonomi bilong kantri.</i> (Wantok no. 1874)	He said that this problem will become enormous later when the Liquefied Natural Gas (LNG) project continues to pay and the money is inside the country's economy.

9. *kros* + *nogut*⁸ [Adj Adj]_{Adj} ‘ferocious, fierce’, lit. cross not good

degree of complexity: 2

Tok Pisin	English translation
<i>Mi kros nogut tru bilong PNGFA i daunim em yet long kamapim dispela kain pasin.</i> (<i>Wantok</i> no. 2140)	I am furious with the PNGFA for humbling itself to cause this scene/attitude/behavior.

The examples show that the basic meaning of an adjective is modified by an adverbial postmodifier whose function is to intensify the meaning or diminish the principal meaning.

6.2.2. Linear circumlocutions

Let us now concentrate on linear circumlocutions. They are the most frequent constructions where the head is not located in the analyzed expression. Table 6.9 presents parts of speech, degrees of complexity as well as frequencies and percentages of the occurrences of these circumlocutions.

Table 6.9. Frequencies of linear circumlocutions

Part of speech	Degree of complexity			Total	%
	2	3	4		
	AF				
verb	5,178	262	-	5,440	46.11
adjective	4,455	141	-	4,596	38.96
noun	1,262	202	28	1,492	12.65
adverb	109	161	-	270	2.29
Total	11,004	766	28	11,798	100.00
%	93.27	6.49	0.24	100.00	

As for the grammatical function of circumlocutions, verbal circumlocutions are the most common in the linear group. They have two degrees of complexity: 2 and 3. Table 6.10 shows frequent content words in verbal linear circumlocutions.

⁸ *The Oxford Papua New Guinea Tok Pisin English Dictionary* provides four equivalents of the word *nogut*: ‘no good, bad, evil’, ‘wrongly’, ‘lest, else, otherwise, don’t’ and ‘very’ (Baing et al. 2008: 56).

Table 6.10. Frequencies of content words in verbal linear circumlocutions

#	Word	Meaning	Frequency of content words in circumlocutions	#	Word	Meaning	Frequency of content words in circumlocutions
1	<i>bikpela</i>	big	827	11	<i>sutim</i>	shoot	292
2	<i>kamap</i>	come up	655	12	<i>kisim</i>	take/get	287
3	<i>tru</i>	true	639	13	<i>nogut</i>	not good/evil	284
4	<i>amamas</i>	happy	620	14	<i>wok</i>	work	200
5	<i>go</i>	go	559	15	<i>save</i>	know/knowledge	189
6	<i>mekim</i>	make	527	16	<i>kirap</i>	rise	182
7	<i>tok</i>	talk/word	514	17	<i>kam</i>	come	178
8	<i>tingting</i>	think/thought	477	18	<i>lus</i>	lose	177
9	<i>givim</i>	give	377	19	<i>karim</i>	carry	176
10	<i>painim</i>	find	319	20	<i>bel</i>	belly	152

As may be noticed, Table 6.10 contains many words which function solely as verbs (e.g. *kamap*, *go*, *mekim*, *givim*, *painim*, *sutim*, *kam*, *karim*, *kisim*) and a certain number of words which may function as either a noun or a verb (e.g. *tok*, *wok*, *tingting*). The remaining words are adjectives, nouns and adverbs. Let us now consider a few examples of verbal linear circumlocutions in contexts.

10. *sutim bel* [V N]_V ‘provoke/jeer’, lit. shoot belly

degree of complexity: 2

Tok Pisin	English translation
<i>Mista Kelly bilong Sydney, Australia, i bin statim Black Swan long yia 2011, na nau taim dispela kampani i wok long gro i go bikpela, sampela manmeri insait long sekyuriti indastri yet i wok long jeles na mekim kainkain toktok long sutim bel bilong ol sumatin na arapela manmeri long kantri. (Wantok no. 2181)</i>	Black Swan was founded in 2011 by Mr. Kelly of Sydney, Australia, and as the company has grown, some in the security industry have become jealous and have provoked students and the nation.

11. *blut i kapsait* [N PM V]_V ‘bleed’, lit. blood capsize

degree of complexity: 2

Tok Pisin	English translation
<i>Mi lukim long ai bilong mi na narapela boi i kisim katres, na blut i kapsait, tasol arapela ol sumatin i karim em i go daun long Poroman sait, em i tok. (Wantok no. 2179)</i>	"I witnessed the shooting of the boy, he was bleeding . Meanwhile, the other students were brought down to Poroman," he said.

12. *kamapim gutpela tingting* [V Adj N]_v ‘impress’, lit. come up good thought

degree of complexity: 3

Tok Pisin	English translation
<i>Mi lukim long ai bilong mi na narapela boi i kisim katres, na blut i kapsait, tasol arapela ol sumatin i karim em i go daun long Poroman sait, em i tok.</i> <i>(Wantok no. 2179)</i>	"I witnessed the shooting of the boy, he was bleeding . Meanwhile, the other students were brought down to Poroman," he said.

13. *i stap long dispela bung* [PM V Prep Pron N]_v ‘attend’, lit. stay long this meeting

degree of complexity: 3

Tok Pisin	English translation
<i>Ekting Provinsal Edministreta long ENB, Levi Mano, i tokim moa long 2,000 papagraun, wokmanmeri bilong Tzen Grup ov Kampanis, na ol arapela manmeri i stap long dispela bung bilong brukim graun, olsem ENB provinsal gavman i amamas long wokbung wantaim ol long lukim dispela projek i go het.</i> <i>(Wantok no. 1992)</i>	The acting Provincial Administrator of ENB, Levi Mano, told more than 2,000 landowners, employees of Tzen Group of Companies, and others who attended the groundbreaking ceremony that the ENB Provincial Government was happy to cooperate with them to see the project through.

In the case of examples from 10 to 13, the grammatical function is derived from the verb included in the expression; however, its generic meaning cannot account for the meaning of the circumlocution as a whole. The final sense of the expression is the outcome of overlapping senses of the words used in it.

Another group of linear circumlocutions encompasses expressions which function as adjectives. Expressions in this group, similar to verbal linear circumlocutions, exhibit two degrees of complexity: 2 and 3. Table 6.11 shows 20 most common words in this class.

Table 6.11. Frequencies of content words in adjectival linear circumlocutions

#	Word	Meaning	Frequency of content words in circumlocutions	#	Word	Meaning	Frequency of content words in circumlocutions
1	<i>bikpela</i>	big	1,790	11	<i>tok</i>	talk/word	211
2	<i>samting</i>	thing ⁹	1,682	12	<i>was</i>	watch	160
3	<i>kisim</i>	take/get	879	13	<i>gat</i>	get	158
4	<i>bagarap</i>	bugger-up	598	14	<i>sindaun</i>	sit down	137
5	<i>kamap</i>	come up	503	15	<i>planti</i>	plenty	136
6	<i>mas</i>	must	503	16	<i>tingting</i>	think/thought	129
7	<i>save</i>	know/knowledge	419	17	<i>hevi</i>	problem	93
8	<i>gut</i>	good	297	18	<i>wanpela</i>	one	87
9	<i>bel</i>	belly	226	19	<i>tasol</i>	only	87
10	<i>tru</i>	true	218	20	<i>wan</i>	one	85

Table 6.11 contains words which belong to four words classes: adjectives (e.g. *bikpela*), adverbs (e.g. *planti*), nouns (e.g. *bel*) and verbs (e.g. *kisim*). It is worth noting that numerals are also used in adjectival linear circumlocutions (e.g. *wan*). Moreover, there are also words which may have various grammatical functions. Some examples of this type of circumlocutions are given below.

14. *kisim bagarap* [V N]_{Adj} ‘injured’, lit. get/take bugger-up

degree of complexity: 2

Tok Pisin	English translation
<i>Faiv Eit bilong Manly Kieran Foran bai i no inap pilai long dispela wiken long wanem em i kisim bagarap long lek bilong em.</i> (<i>Wantok</i> no. 2064)	The five-eighth from Manly, Kieran Foran, will not play at the weekend due to his leg is injured .

15. *i bihainim lo* [PM V N]_{Adj} ‘lawful’, lit. follow law

degree of complexity: 2

Tok Pisin	English translation
<i>Mipela i bihainim lo na mekim samting stret.</i> (<i>Wantok</i> no. 2183)	We will be lawful and do things right.

⁹ In *The Oxford Papua New Guinea Tok Pisin English Dictionary*, one can find three equivalents of the word *samting*: ‘something’, ‘thing’ and ‘etcetera’ (Baing et al. 2008: 82).

16. *gat planti gris* [V Adv N]_{Adj} ‘overweight’, lit. got plenty grease

degree of complexity: 3

Tok Pisin	English translation
<i>Kamap pat o gat planti gris - Alkohol i gat planti gris na em i ken mekim man i go bikpela tumas na hevi tumas long bodi.</i> (Wantok no. 2064)	Becoming fat or overweight - Alcohol contains a lot of fat and it can cause people to become overweight.

17. *i no save long rit na rait* [PM Neg V Prep V Conj V]_{Adj} ‘illiterate’, lit. not know along read and write

degree of complexity: 3

Tok Pisin	English translation
<i>Tasol mipela i lukim olsem planti pikinini i no save long rit na rait na mipela i kirap statim dispela priskul long helpim ol pikinini.</i> (Wantok no. 2064)	But we saw that many illiterate children, so we started this school to help them.

Adjectival linear circumlocutions gain their fundamental meanings from their constituents. For instance, the meaning of the phrase *i bihainim lo* ‘lawful’ must come from the noun *lo* ‘law’. However, to yield the meaning ‘abiding by rules’, the phrase *i bihain* must be incorporated to add the sense of ‘abiding by’. Similarly, the meaning of the circumlocution *i no save long rit na rait* is the interplay of the prepositional phrase containing the verbs denoting the actions of reading and writing, *long rit na rait*, provides access to the meaning ‘literacy’, then the meaning is narrowed down to ‘illiteracy’ by adding the phrase *i no save*.

The third possible type of linear circumlocution is the nominal one. In this category, expressions with three possible degrees of complexity are found. Table 6.12 presents the most frequent words occurring in nominal linear circumlocutions.

Table 6.12. Frequencies of content words in nominal linear circumlocutions

#	Word	Meaning	Frequency of content words in circumlocutions	#	Word	Meaning	Frequency of content words in circumlocutions
1	<i>bel</i>	belly	324	11	<i>samting</i>	thing	103
2	<i>isi</i>	easy	324	12	<i>sut</i>	shoot	99
3	<i>bikpela</i>	big	202	13	<i>banis</i>	fence/wall	99
4	<i>man</i>	man	171	14	<i>tenkyu</i>	give thanks	88
5	<i>meri</i>	woman	171	15	<i>san</i>	sun	85
6	<i>lo</i>	law	135	16	<i>han</i>	hand	58
7	<i>mama</i>	other	135	17	<i>givim</i>	give	58
8	<i>win</i>	win/wind	118	18	<i>tru</i>	true	53
9	<i>mani</i>	money	118	19	<i>stretim</i>	straighten	49
10	<i>tok</i>	talk/word	104	20	<i>nogut</i>	not good/evil	49

Like the previous groups of linear circumlocutions, nominal circumlocutions are constructed from words representing various word classes. However, one may notice that nouns constitute the significant part (e.g. *bel*, *meri*, *man*, *win*, *mani*, *mama*, *lo* etc.). There are also adjectives (e.g. *isi*, *bikpela*), adverbs (e.g. *tru*) and verbs (e.g. *win*, *sut*, *givim*). Let us now focus on a few examples of nominal linear circumlocutions.

18. *bel isi* [N Adj]_N ‘peace’, lit. belly easy

degree of complexity: 2

Tok Pisin	English translation
<i>Sol bilong em i ken malolo gut long bel isi bilong oltaim, oltaim, Mista Kase i tok.</i> (<i>Wantok</i> no. 2181)	May his soul rests in eternal peace , says Mr Kase.

19. *planti man na meri* [Adv N Conj N]_N ‘crowd’, lit. plenty man and woman

degree of complexity: 3

Tok Pisin	English translation
<i>Long Papua na Wes Papua, planti man na meri i save raun long motobaik.</i> (<i>Wantok</i> no. 2181)	From Papua to West Papua, crowds (many people) commute by motorbike.

20. *namba wan samting long laip* [N Adj N Prep N]_N ‘priority’, lit. number one something along life

degree of complexity: 4

Tok Pisin	English translation
<i>Long olgeta hap long wel, edukesen em i namba wan samting long laip bilong manmeri.</i> (Wantok no. 1940)	Education is a priority for people everywhere.

Nominal linear circumlocutions are formed by combining various nouns and adjectives. Some of these words might have specific primary connotations with the object which they stand for; however, this is not sufficient to decipher the conventionalized meaning of the expression.

The last category of linear circumlocutions is adverbial circumlocutions. They occur 270 times. Nonetheless, they are represented only by four distinct phrases.

21. *naispela tru* [Adj Adv]_{Adv} ‘lovely’, lit. nice true

degree of complexity: 2

Tok Pisin	English translation
<i>Ol manmeri i kam wantaim kain kain bilas bilong ol na mekim Daiosis bilong Mendi i luk naispela tru.</i> (Wantok no. 1938)	The men came with various traditional costumes and made the Daiosis of Mendi look beautifully .

22. *long ples klia* [Prep N Adj]_{Adv} ‘openly’, lit. along place clear

degree of complexity: 2

Tok Pisin	English translation
<i>God bai sasim o glasim yumi long ol gutpela na nogut samting yumi wokim long ples klia na tu, taim yumi hait.</i> (Wantok no. 1975)	God will judge us based on the good and bad things we have done openly and in private.

23. *long wan wan mun* [Prep Num Num N]_{Adv}, ‘monthly’, lit. along one one moon

degree of complexity: 3

Tok Pisin	English translation
<i>Em i save gat 30 sikman na meri i slip insait long haus sik long wan wan mun.</i> (Wantok no. 2159)	There is usually has 30 patients admitted to the hospital monthly .

24. *i no long taim i go pinis* [PM Neg Prep N PM V V]_{Adv} ‘recent’, lit. not along time go finish

degree of complexity: 3

Tok Pisin	English translation
<i>Dispela em tok bilong Alekim Sisifa, Dairekta bilong Sekretariat bilong Pasifik Komyuniti Len Risoses Divisen long Samoa long kibung bilong Pasifik Ailan Kantri we i kamap long Mosbi i no long taim i go pinis.</i> (Wantok no. 1860)	These were the words of Alekim Sisifa, Director of the Secretariat of the Pacific Community Lending Division in Samoa, recently at the Pacific Island Country Conference in Mosby.

Adverbial linear circumlocutions are the least frequent expressions. Similarly to the three previous types of circumlocutions, the head cannot be identified anywhere in the expression. Although some constituting words may indicate the basic sense, still more context is needed to unravel the meaning.

6.2.3. Right-headed circumlocutions

Right-headed circumlocutions are expressions in which the head is placed in the final position. Table 6.13 presents basic data concerning the right-headed circumlocutions retrieved from the corpus.

Table 6.13. Frequencies of right-headed circumlocutions

Part of speech	Degree of complexity		Total	%
	2	3		
	AF			
noun	5,807	132	5,937	97.15
adjective	160	-	160	2.62
adverb	14	-	14	0.23
Total	5,981	132	6,113	100.00
%	97.84	2.16	100.00	

As can be observed, the most common type in this group is the nominal right-headed circumlocution. The dominant degree of complexity is two. Table 6.14 shows the 20 most common nominal heads.

Table 6.14. Frequencies of heads in nominal right-headed circumlocutions

#	Noun	Meaning	Frequency of heads in circumlocutions	#	Noun	Meaning	Frequency of heads in circumlocutions
1	<i>pasin</i>	fashion	790	11	<i>mani</i>	moeny	183
2	<i>tingting</i>	thought	626	12	<i>bung</i>	meeting	182
3	<i>hevi</i>	problem	571	13	<i>graun</i>	ground	160
4	<i>bagarap</i>	buzzer-up	468	14	<i>opis</i>	office	116
5	<i>kaikai</i>	food	287	15	<i>birua</i>	enemy	115
6	<i>save</i>	knowledge	250	16	<i>man</i>	man	106
7	<i>sori</i>	sorry	229	17	<i>tisa</i>	teacher	97
8	<i>TB</i>	tuberculosis	201	18	<i>kolera</i>	cholera	90
9	<i>plen</i>	plan	198	19	<i>kampani</i>	company	90
10	<i>hap</i>	half	187	20	<i>lain</i>	clan	85

The nouns frequently used as heads in nominal circumlocutions are mostly concrete nouns, such as *kaikai*, *mani*, *plen*, *bung*, *graun*, *opis*, *biura*, *man* or *tisa*. Some nouns, for instance, *man* or *tisa*, are used to coin nominal circumlocutions denoting people. There are also some abstract nouns, for example, *pasin*, *tingting*, *hevi*, *bagarap*, *TB* or *kolera*. Let us now concentrate on some examples of right-headed circumlocutions.

25. *bikpela* + *hevi*¹⁰ [Adj N]_N ‘crisis’, lit. big heavy

degree of complexity: 2

Tok Pisin	English translation
<i>Na dispela yet i givim bikpela hevi long gavman bilong Tunisia bikos ol i no nap long helpim bikpela namba bilong ol pipel.</i> (<i>Wantok</i> no. 1906)	And this causes a crisis for the Tunisian government since they are not capable to support a great number of people.

¹⁰ The word *bikpela* contains the suffix *-pela* which implies that it modifies the preceding noun. In *The Oxford Papua New Guinea Tok Pisin English Dictionary*, there are three equivalents of the word *hevi*: ‘to be heavy’, ‘clumsy’ and ‘problem, blame, responsibility’ (e.g. *Em i gat planti bikpela wok na em i save karim bikpela. hevi* ‘He has a lot of work and a lot of **responsibility**’ or *Ol hevi bilong haus sik* ‘**Problems** at the hospital’) (Baing et al. 2008: 26-27).

26. *gutpela na stretpela + pasin* [Adj Conj Adj N]_N ‘integrity, ethics’, lit. good and straight fashion

degree of complexity: 3

Tok Pisin	English translation
<i>Sanap strong long soim gutpela na stretpela pasin oltaim.</i> (Wantok no. 2048)	Stand firm to always show integrity .

What is evident in the examples presented above is that an adjective or an adjectival phrase premodifies the noun. Adjectives may also be used in circumlocution where they are used as heads. Table 6.15 presents adjectives used as heads in right-headed circumlocutions.

Table 6.15. Frequencies of heads in adjectival right-headed circumlocutions

#	Adjective	Meaning	Frequency of heads in circumlocutions
1	<i>nogut</i>	not good/evil	64
2	<i>nais</i>	nice	36
3	<i>amamas</i>	happy	30
4	<i>pret</i>	afraid	30

Only four instances of adjectival heads in right-headed circumlocutions have been recorded in the corpus. The adjectives *nogut*, *nais* and *pret* denote qualities, whereas the adjective *amamas* refers to an emotion or state. Examples illustrating the use of adjectival heads are given below.

27. *luk + nais* [N Adj]_{Adj} ‘attractive, elegant’, lit. look nice

degree of complexity: 2

Tok Pisin	English translation
<i>Ol i save luk nais na klin tru wantaim ol stail klos olsem siot, trausis, sun a soks bilong ol we ol i save putim na pilai.</i> (Wantok no. 1908)	They are stunning when they play in their cool sporting gears such as their jersey, shorts, shoe and socks.

28. *i save + pret* [PM V Adj]_{Adj} ‘fearful’, lit. know afraid

degree of complexity: 2

Tok Pisin	English translation
<i>Manmeri i save pret long belhat na strong bilong em.</i> (Wantok no. 2152)	The people are normally afraid of his anger and strength.

The presented adjectival circumlocutions show that the head might be premodified by a noun or a verb preceded by the particle *i*.

The last type of circumlocution is the adverbial circumlocution. Only one instance of this type has been observed in the collected data.

29. *stret + nau* [Adj Adv]_{Adv} ‘immediately’, lit. straight now

degree of complexity: 2

Tok Pisin	English translation
<i>Na tu plen menesa bilong Si-Web, Ms Anaseini Vesikula Ban i mekim wankain toktok olsem gat ol disisen i wok long go olgeta de na ol projek i go stret nau, o bai i statim long bihain taim i bes long sains.</i> (<i>Wantok</i> no. 1996)	The plan that the Minister for Si-Web, Ms Anaseini Vesikula Ban says the same thing that decisions are being made everyday and the projects are executed immediately , or they will start it at a later time

The adverbial right-headed circumlocution is *stret nau*, lit. straight now, meaning ‘immediately’. The head of this circumlocution is the word *nau*. The circumlocution occurs 14 times in the *Wantok* corpus.

6.2.4. Left- or right-headed circumlocutions

In some instances, it might be difficult to state whether the meaning of a compound arises from its left- or right-most constituent. In this study, three examples of such expressions have been identified.

30. *pikinini man* [N N]_N ‘son’, lit. child man

degree of complexity: 2

Tok Pisin	English translation
<i>Nambtri pikinini man, Joshua em i kam insait long laip bilong mi na ol pikinini meri long yia 1990 taim mipela i kamap Kristen pinis.</i> (<i>Wantok</i> no. 2019)	"I have a third son , Joshua, who came into my and my daughters' life in 1990 when we became complete Christians."

31. *pikinini meri* [N N]_N ‘daughter’, lit. child woman

degree of complexity: 2

Tok Pisin	English translation
<i>Taim em i toktok, ol pikinini meri bilong em i rausimai wara isi isi.</i> (<i>Wantok</i> no. 1850)	When he spoke, his daughters poured water softly.

32. *kam kamap* [V V]_V ‘arrive’, lit. come come up

degree of complexity: 2

Tok Pisin	English translation
<i>Nau PNG i amamas long lukim nupela sip i bikpela moa, i gat 5- pela dek i kam kamap long Pot Mosbi.</i> (<i>Wantok</i> no. 2181)	Currently, PNG is happy to have a new and big ship that has 5 decks, which has arrived in Port Moresby.

In all the three examples, each circumlocution has the degree of complexity 2 and a compound structure. The head might be considered to be the rightmost element or the leftmost element, for instance, *pikinini meri* might be considered as a left-headed compound. The head *pikinini* ‘child’ is specified by the modifier *meri* ‘woman’ whose function is to specify the gender. On the other hand, the compound might be considered a right-headed structure. In this situation, the word *meri* ‘woman’ becomes the head and the word *pikinini* ‘child’ is the modifier whose function is to specify the age.

All in all, there are three types of circumlocutions identified in the corpus, namely, (1) left-headed circumlocutions, (2) right-headed circumlocutions and (3) linear circumlocutions. Additionally, there is a small group of either left-/right-headed circumlocutions. In this context, the headedness might be assigned to either element of the circumlocution.

6.3. Grammatical patterns

Another crucial issue which needs to be addressed is the structural patterns observed in circumlocutions.

6.3.1. Nominal circumlocutions

Nominal circumlocutions are the most numerous. The biggest group includes right-headed circumlocutions. Left-headed circumlocutions are the second biggest group. The least numerous groups are linear circumlocutions and right-/left-headed circumlocutions.

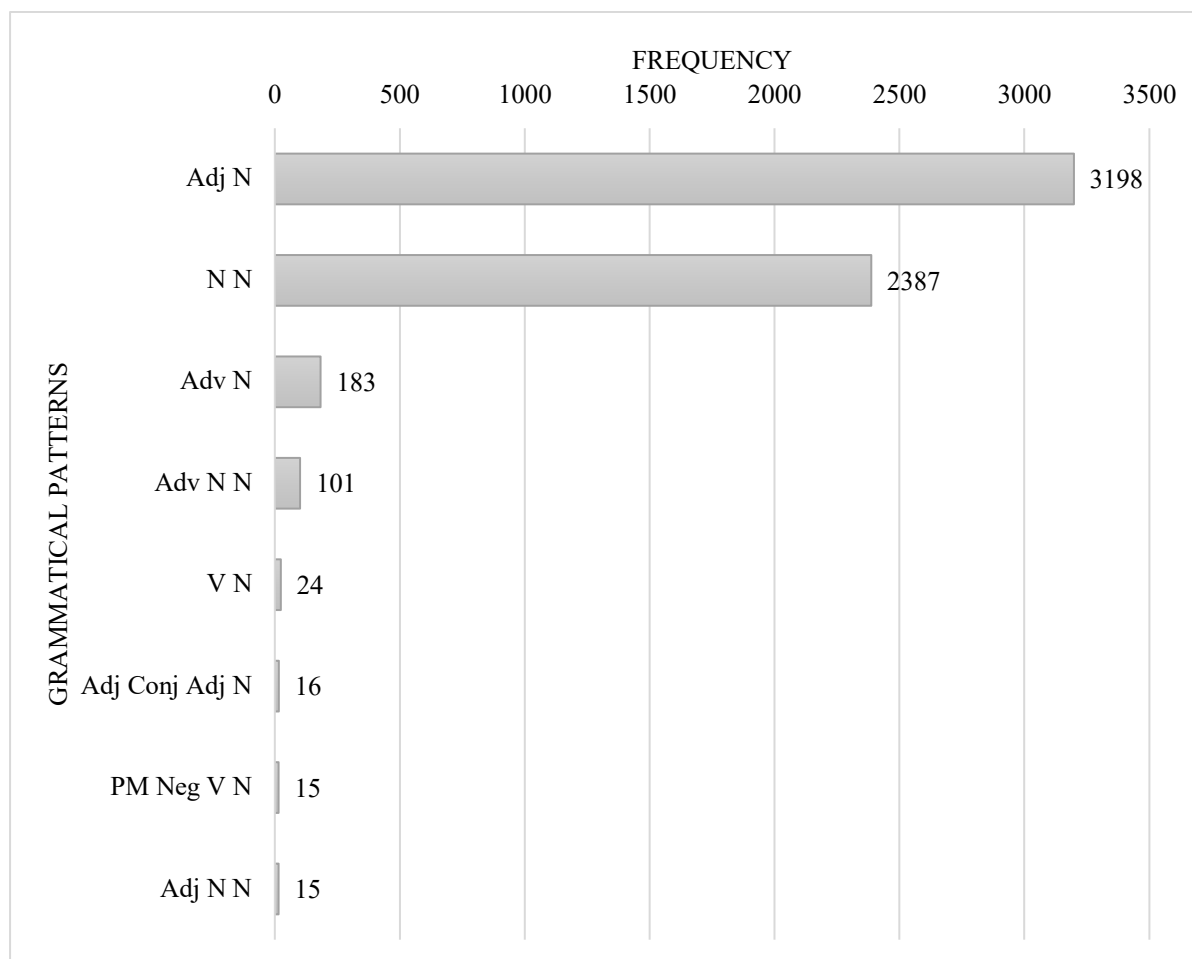


Figure 6.1. Grammatical patterns of nominal right-headed circumlocutions

Right-headed circumlocutions are found 5,939 times in the corpus. There are 66 expressions identified in this group. Moreover, 8 different types of grammatical patterns have been retrieved from the corpus. Figure 6.1 presents the constructions and their frequencies.

As may be inferred from the data, two structures appear with notable frequencies, namely, [Adj N]_N (e.g. *bikpela hevi* ‘crisis’, lit. big heavy, *gutpel pasin* ‘morals’, lit. good fashion, *bikpela bagarap* ‘catastrophe’, lit. big bugger-up) and [N N]_N (e.g. *as tingting* ‘reason’, lit. ass thought, *diwai kros* ‘cross’, lit. tree cross, *ai wara* ‘tear’, lit. eye water). The sum frequency of these two structures amounts to 5,585. The remaining structures have fewer attestations in the corpus. What is more, some of the less usual structures include one of two most common ones, for instance, Adv + [N N]_N → [Adv N N]_N (e.g. *olgeta hap graun* ‘environment, land’, lit.

altogether half ground), Adj + [N N]_N → [**Adj N N**]_N (e.g. *bikpela hap graun* ‘estate’, lit. big half ground) or Adj + Conj + [Adj N]_N → [**Adj Conj Adj N**]_N (e.g. *gutpela na stretpela pasin* ‘integrity, ethics’, lit. good and straight fashion). Furthermore, there is one unique construction, namely, [PM Neg V N]_N (i.e. *i no gat save* ‘ignorance’).

Left-headed circumlocutions occur altogether 5,880 times. There are 117 distinct circumlocutions of this type. In this group, 14 types of grammatical patterns have been identified. Figure 6.2 shows the structures and their frequencies in the corpus.

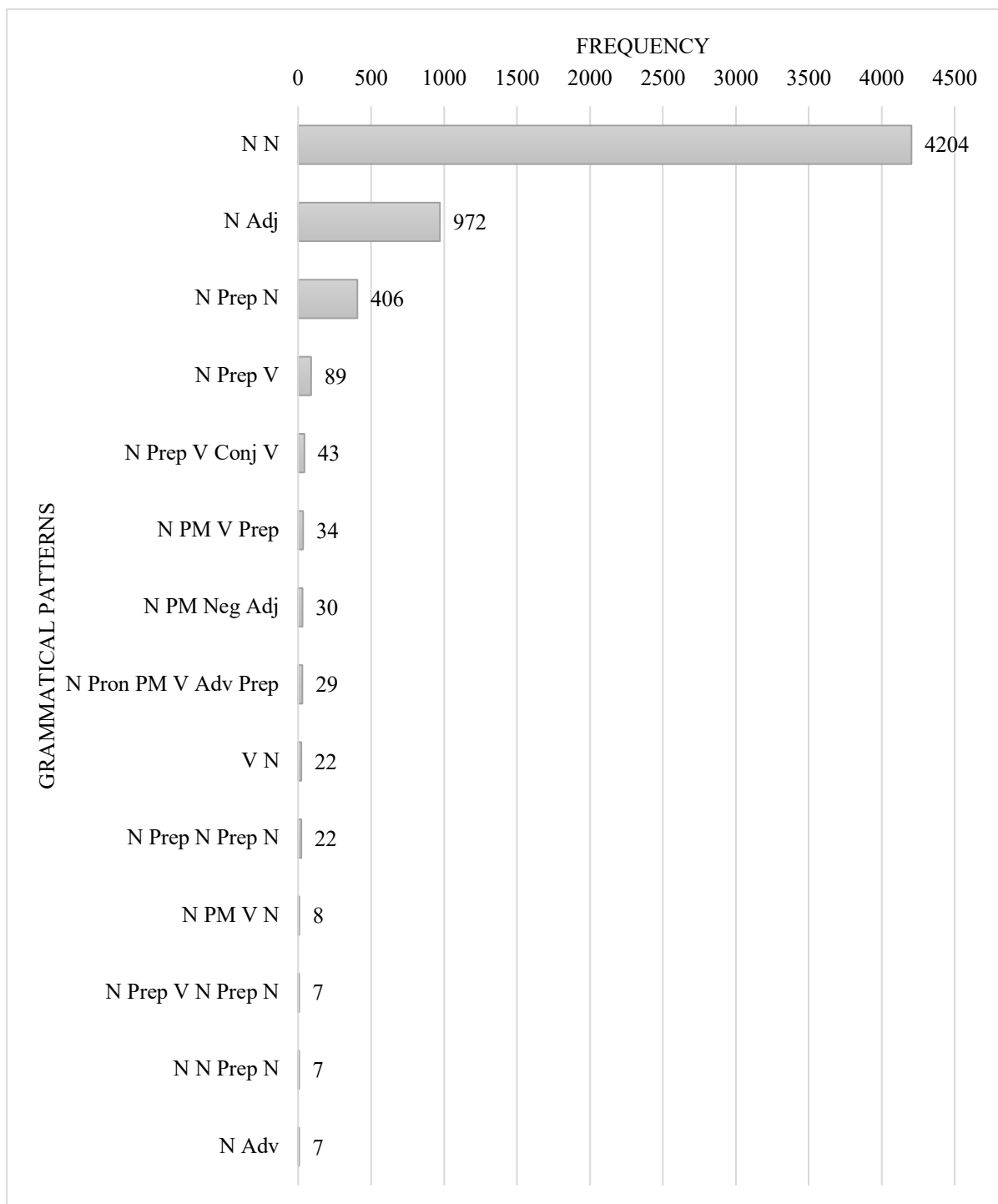


Figure 6.2. Grammatical patterns of nominal left-headed circumlocutions

What is seen in Figure 6.2 is that one pattern dominates, that is, the simple compound $[N N]_N$ (e.g. *haus sik* ‘hospital’, lit. house sick, *ples balus* ‘airport’, lit. place bird, *haus lotu* ‘church’, lit. house religion). However, there are also two patterns with frequencies higher than 300 occurrences: $[N Adj]_N$ (e.g. *pasin nogut* ‘crime’, lit. fashion not good, *save gut* ‘talent’, lit. knowledge good, *man nogut* ‘criminal’, lit. man not good) and $[N Prep N]_N$ (e.g. *taim bilong ren* ‘rain season’, lit. time belong rain, *taim bilong malolo* ‘leisure’, lit. time belong rest,

han bilong diwai ‘branch’, lit. hand belong tree). The two structures, [N Prep N]_N and [N Prep V]_N, are simple patterns which are used to create circumlocutions. The remaining structures are either alternations of some of the structures, for instance, N + [N Prep N]_N → [N N Prep N]_N (e.g. *sik kensa bilong susu* ‘breast cancer’, lit. sick cancer belong b) and N Prep V + [N Prep N]_N → [N Prep V N Prep N]_N (e.g. *ples long kisim vot bilong ol manmeri* ‘voting place’, lit. place along vote belong all people), or they are structural innovations, for example, [N PM V Prep]_N (e.g. *man i kisim bagarap* ‘casualty, lit. man get/take bugger-up) and [N Pron PM V Adv Prep]_N (e.g. *man husat i go pas long* ‘chief, leader’, lit. man who go pass along).

Linear circumlocutions occur 1,492 times and 22 different structures are identified in this group. There are 42 distinct expressions present in the collected data. Figure 6.3 presents the linear structures and their frequencies.

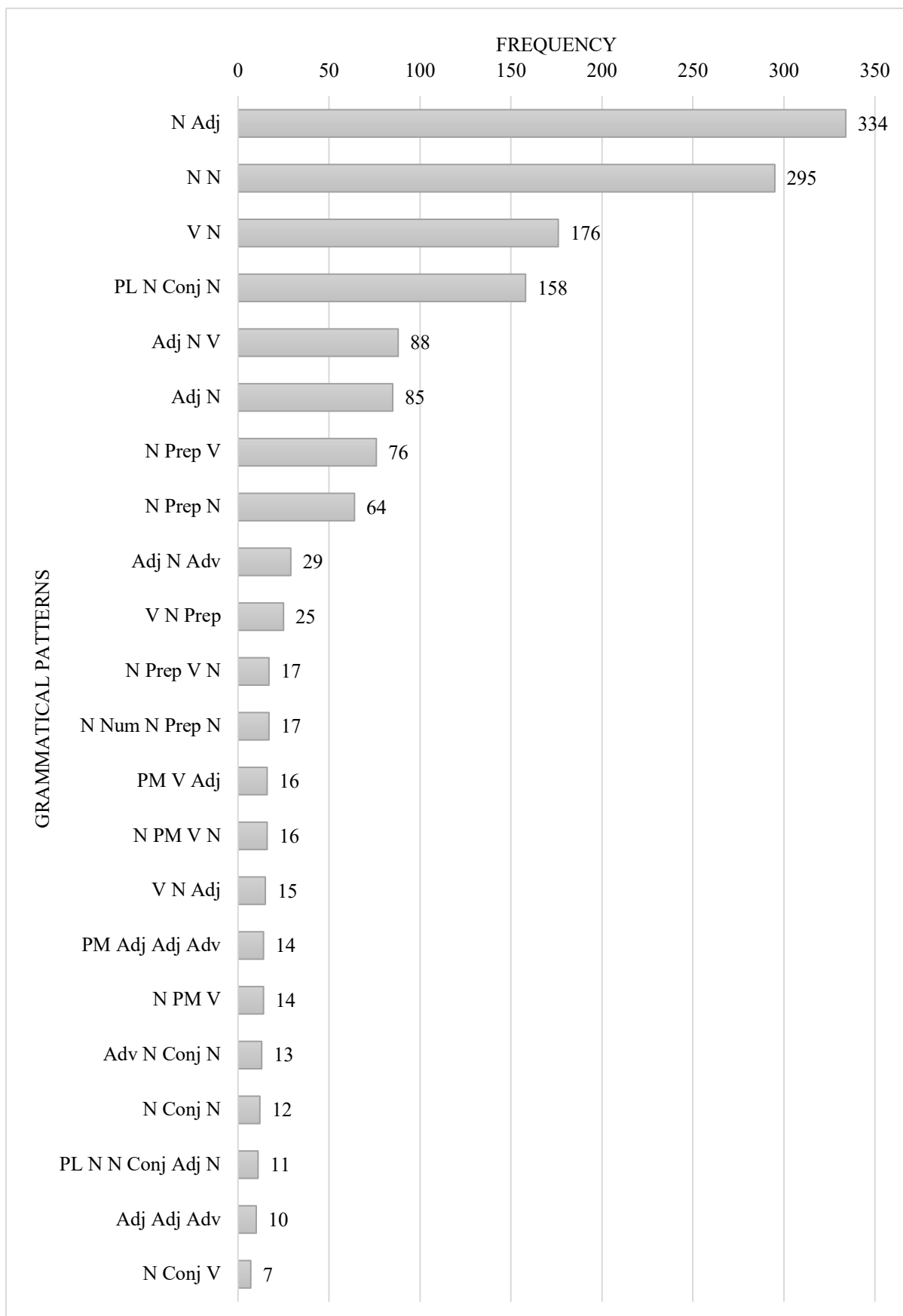


Figure 6.3. Grammatical patterns of nominal linear circumlocutions

As may be observed, in this category, there are many grammatical variants; hence it might be difficult to pinpoint one or two dominant structures. Nevertheless, there are four structures whose frequencies exceed 100 occurrences: [N Adj]_N (e.g. *bel isi* ‘peace’, lit. belly easy), [N N]_N (e.g. *banis sut* ‘immunization’, lit. fence/wall shot), [V N]_N (e.g. *win mani* ‘profit’, lit. win money) and [PL N Conj N]_N (e.g. *ol man na meri* ‘crowd’, lit. all man and Mary). The remaining constructions are found only in a few expressions or only one, like the pattern [PL N Conj N]_N.

Lastly, let us consider right-left-headed circumlocutions. There are only two nominal circumlocutions in this category: *pikinini man* ‘boy, son’, lit. child man, and *pikinini meri* ‘daughter’, lit. child Mary. Both expressions employ the structure [N N]_N.

All in all, nominal right-headed circumlocutions are the most common and represent two basic compound-like patterns [Adj N]_N and [N N]_N. Nominal left-headed circumlocutions are quite frequently coined using the following constructions: [N N]_N, [N Adj]_N, [N V]_N and [N Prep N]_N. In the case of linear expressions, there are many types of constructions; however, four notable patterns may be singled out: [Adj N]_N, [N N]_N, [V N]_N and [PL N Conj N]_N.

6.3.2. Verbal circumlocutions

Verbal circumlocutions occur less frequently than the nominal ones, 13,741 times in total. They form verbal left-headed circumlocutions or verbal linear circumlocutions. There is an example of only one left- or right-headed circumlocution.

Verbal left-headed circumlocutions occur 8,209 times and there are 41 different expressions found in this category. 9 different grammatical patterns have been identified. Figure 6.4 shows these grammatical structures.

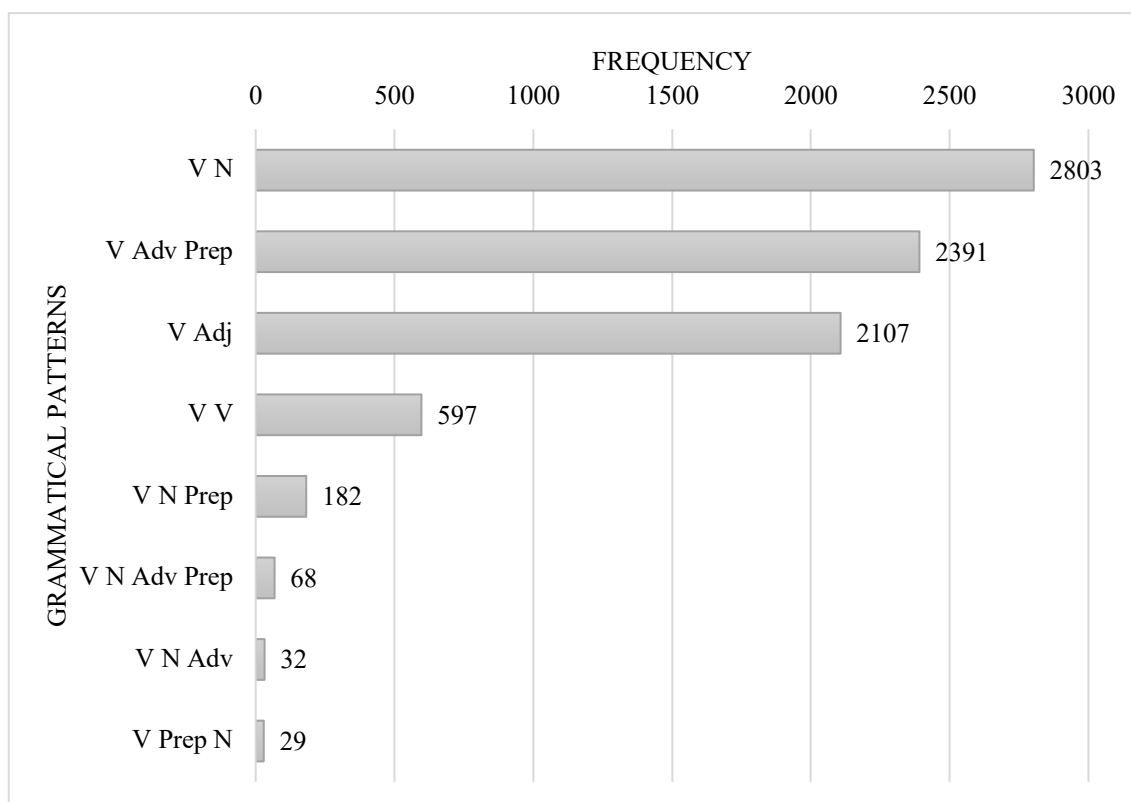


Figure 6.4. Grammatical patterns of verbal left-headed circumlocutions

What may be inferred from Figure 6.4 is that three grammatical structures seem to be the dominant ones, that is, $[V N]_V$ (e.g. *wok bung* ‘collaborate’, lit. work meeting, *lus tingting* ‘forget’, lit. lose thought, *bekim tok* ‘answer’, lit. back talk), $[V Adv Prep]_V$ (e.g. *go pas long* ‘conduct, lead’, lit. go pass along, *tok orait long* ‘concede’, lit. talk alright along) and $[V Adj]_V$ (e.g. *tok amamas* ‘compliment, congratulate’, lit. talk happy, *tok klia* ‘emphasise, explain’, lit. talk clear, *lukautim gut* ‘care’, lit. talk good). There is one more simple compound-like construction, namely, $[V V]_V$. What is evident is that the construction $[V N Prep]_V$ stems from $[V N]_V$. What is more, there are a few unique constructions: $[V N Adv Prep]_V$, $[V N Adv]_V$ and $[V Prep N]_V$.

Verbal linear circumlocutions occur in the corpus 5,440 times in total. In this group, there are 83 distinct expressions. What is more, 21 different constructions have been identified. Figure 6.5 shows the frequencies of these constructions.

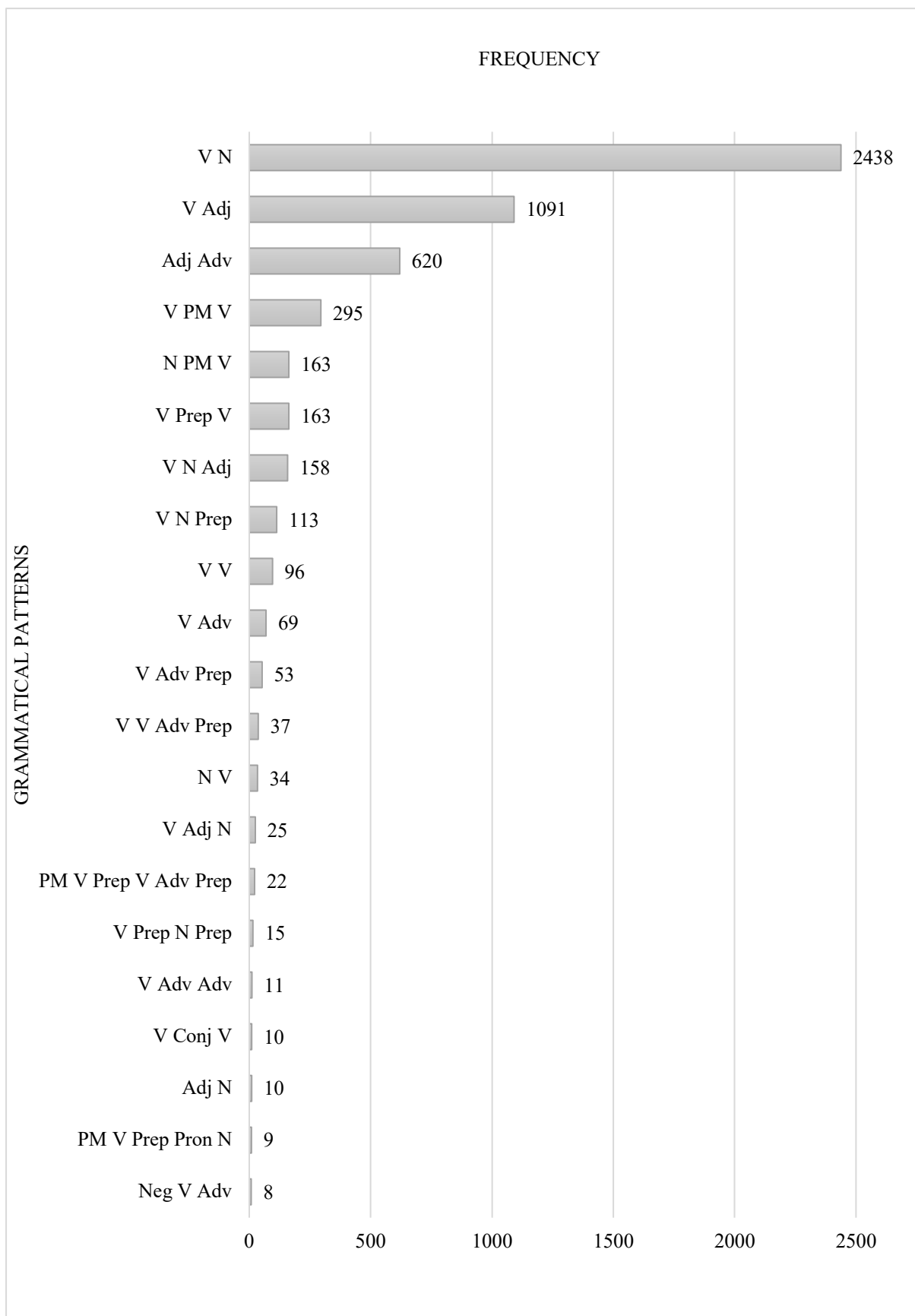


Figure 6.5. Grammatical patterns of verbal linear circumlocutions

Like nominal linear circumlocutions, their verbal counterparts exhibit a considerable grammatical pattern variance. However, one dominant structure emerges from the presented data: [V N]_V (e.g. *sutim tok* ‘accuse, allege’, lit. shoot talk, *mekim save* ‘inform’, lit. make knowledge, *givim wok* ‘employ’, lit. give work). What is more, the structure [V Adj]_V (e.g. *go bikipela* ‘grow up’, lit. go big, *kirap nogut* ‘amaze, demonstrate’, lit. get up not good, *mekim strong* ‘confirm’, lit. make strong) occurs twice as rarely as the structure mentioned earlier.

The last type of circumlocution in this category is an expression which can be classified as either a left- or right-headed circumlocution, namely, [V V]_V *kam kamap* ‘arrive’. The frequency of this expression amounts to 71 occurrences in the corpus.

To sum up, verbal left-headed circumlocutions are the most common type of constructions in this group. There are three types of structures which are used to construct these phrases, that is, [V Adv]_V, [V N]_V and [V Adv Prep]_V. What is more, the verbal linear circumlocutions occur approximately twice less frequently than the left-headed ones.

6.3.3. Adjectival circumlocutions

Adjectival circumlocutions occur 6,209 times in total. Left-headed circumlocutions constitute the most prominent group.

Adjectival linear circumlocutions the most frequently, that is, 4,596 times. Like the nominal and verbal linear circumlocutions, the adjectival elaborate expressions have different grammatical structures. There are 25 distinct constructions (see Figure 6.6).

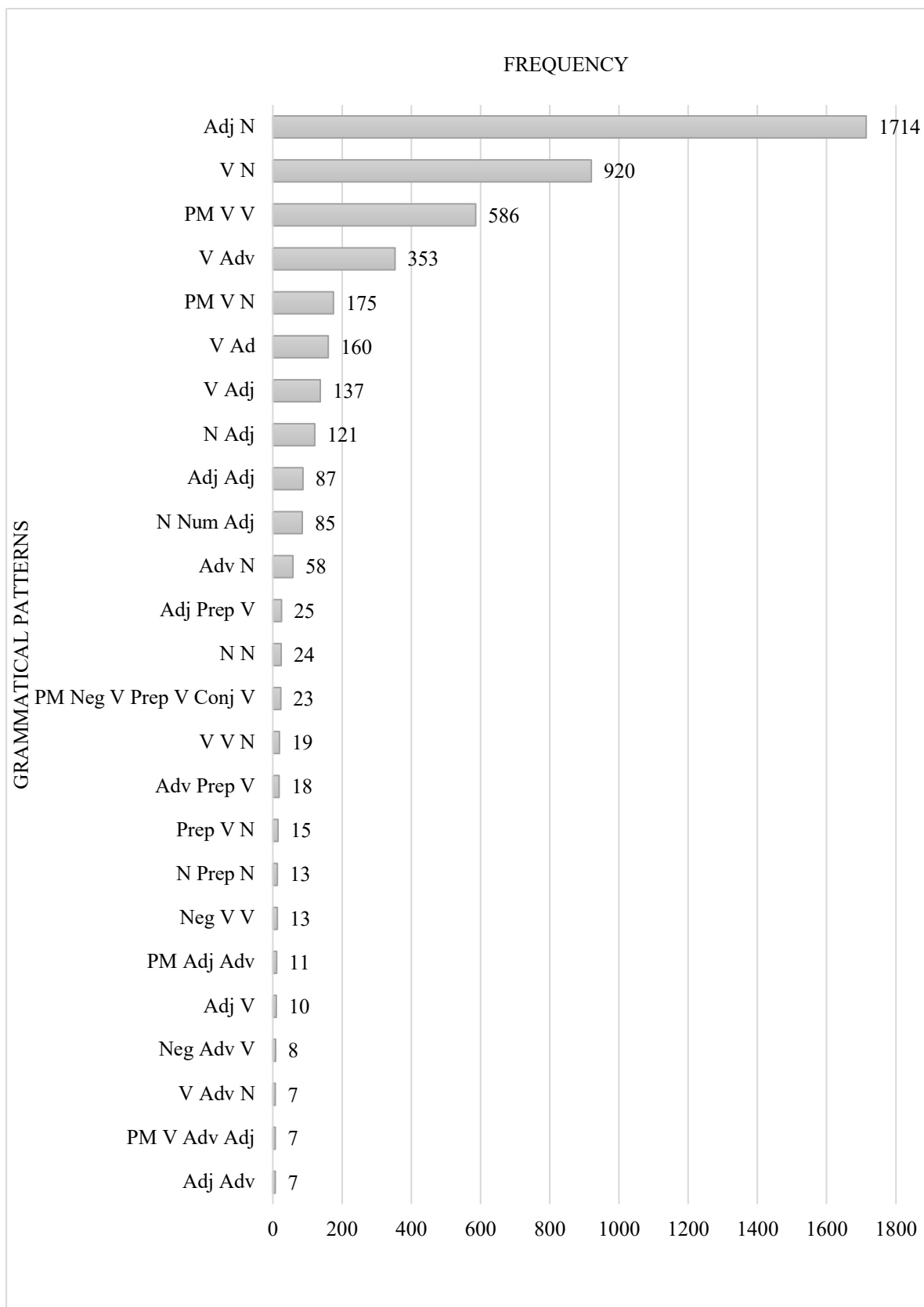


Figure 6.6. Grammatical patterns of adjectival linear circumlocutions

There are three dominant grammatical patterns, namely, [Adj N]_{Adj} (e.g. *bikpela pairap* ‘deafening’, lit. big fire up, *bikpela samting* ‘important’, lit. big something, *liklik prais* ‘cheap’,

lit. small price), [V N]_{Adj} (e.g. *kisim bagarap* ‘injured’, lit. get/take bugger-up, *kisim save* ‘educational’, lit. get/take knowledge, *karim kaikai* ‘fruitful’, lit. carry food) and [PM V V]_{Adj} (e.g. *i mas kamap* ‘inevitable’, *i save pairap* ‘voluble’).

Left-headed circumlocutions occur 1,453 times. There are only 5 distinct expressions in this group. Figure 6.7 presents the identified grammatical patterns and their corresponding frequencies.

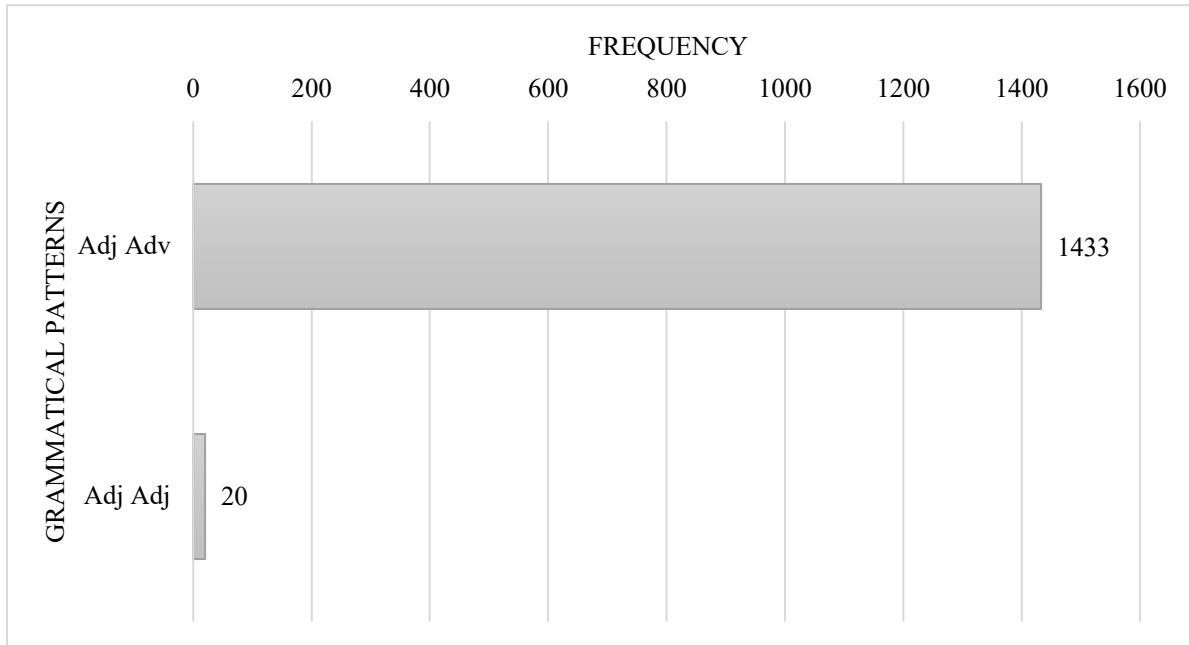


Figure 6.7. Grammatical patterns of adjectival left-headed circumlocutions

Only two patterns of adjectival left-headed circumlocutions have been identified. [Adj Adv]_{Adj} (e.g. *gut tru* ‘terrific’, lit. good true, *gutpela tru* ‘marvellous, great’, lit. good true, *bikpela tru* ‘enormous’, lit. big true) is the most frequent structure. The other construction [Adj Adv]_{Adj} (i.e. *kros nogut* ‘ferocious, fierce’, lit. cross not good) occurs only 20 times.

Adjectival right-headed circumlocutions do not occur frequently in the corpus. They appear 160 times. What it more, only four different expressions have been identified. Figure 6.8 shows their grammatical patterns and frequencies.

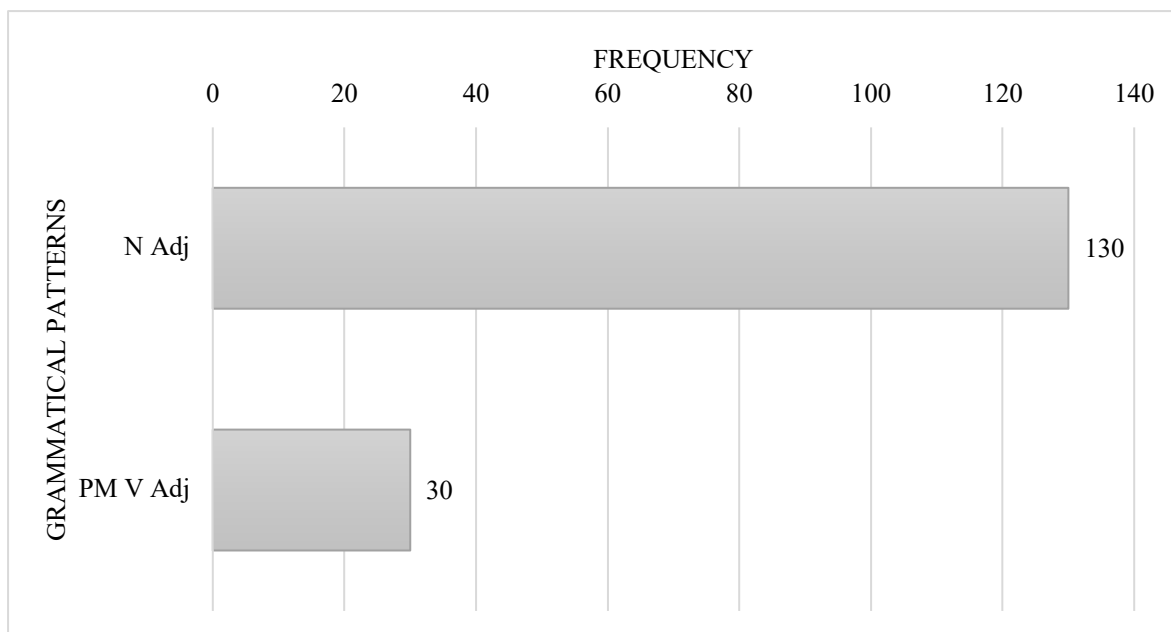


Figure 6.8. Grammatical patterns of adjectival linear circumlocutions

The common grammatical construction is $[N \text{ Adj}]_{\text{Adj}}$ (e.g. *samting nogut* ‘dangerous’, lit. something not good, *luk nais* ‘attractive, elegant’, lit. look nice, *save amamas* ‘cheerful’, lit. knowledge happy). The other construction is $[PM \text{ V Adj}]_{\text{Adj}}$ (e.g. *i save pret* ‘fearful’, lit. know afraid).

All in all, there are three types of adjectival circumlocutions: left-headed, linear and right-headed ones. There are only two grammatical patterns of the left-headed circumlocutions: $[\text{Adj } N]_{\text{Adj}}$ and $[\text{Adj } \text{Adj}]_{\text{Adj}}$. In the case of the linear circumlocutions, there are as many as 25 different structures, yet three notable constructions may be singled out: $[\text{Adj } N]_{\text{Adj}}$, $[V \text{ N}]_{\text{Adj}}$ and $[PM \text{ V } V]_{\text{Adj}}$. The right-headed circumlocutions have only two grammatical patterns, namely, $[N \text{ Adj}]_{\text{Adj}}$ and $[PM \text{ V Adj}]_{\text{Adj}}$.

6.3.4. Adverbial circumlocutions

Adverbial circumlocutions are the least frequent. In the corpus, only five distinct expressions of four different grammatical patterns have been identified (see Figure 6.9).

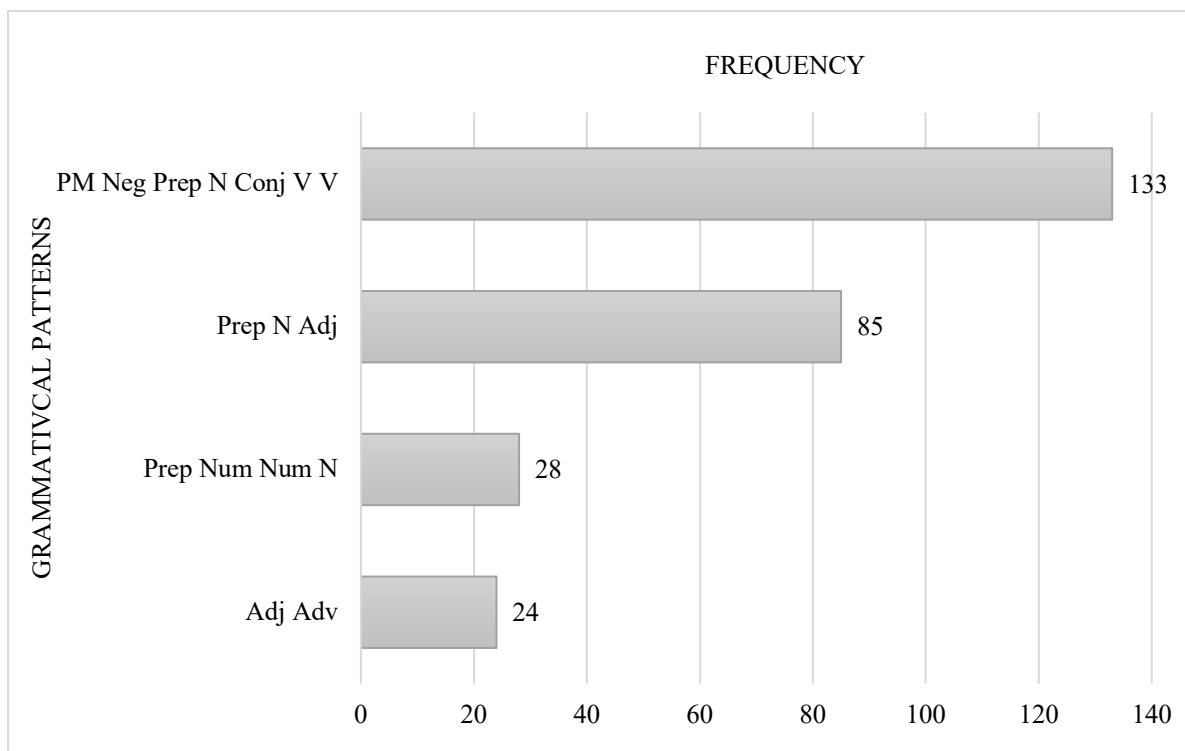


Figure 6.9. Grammatical patterns of adverbial linear circumlocutions

The most frequent expressions are linear ones. The most common one is *i no long taim i go pinis* ‘recently’, lit. no along time go finish, which occurs 133 times. Its structure is [PM Neg Prep N Conj V V]_{Adj}. Another expression is *long ples klia* ‘openly’, lit. along place clear. The phrase occur 85 times and its structure is [Prep N Adj]_{Adj}. Next, the circumlocution *long wan wan mun* ‘monthly’, lit. along one one moon, is found 28 times. The structure of this expression is [Prep Num Num N]_{Adj}. The last linear adverbial circumlocution is *naispela tru* ‘lovely’, lit. nice true, occurring 24 times. The structure of this expression is [Adj Adv]_{Adj}.

Finally, the fifth circumlocution which is the least frequent is right-headed. The expression *stret nau* ‘immediately’ occurs 14 times. The grammatical pattern is [Adj Adv]_{Adj}.

6.4. Concluding remarks

This analysis has shown that circumlocutions in the *Wantok* corpus differ in length, headedness and grammatical structures. As for the grammatical functions of the identified expressions, four different classes have been identified: (1) nominal circumlocutions (13,914 occurrences), (2) verbal circumlocutions (13,741 occurrences), (3) adjectival circumlocutions (6,209 occurrences) and (4) adverbial circumlocutions (284 occurrences).

As regards the degree of complexity, the current analysis indicates that most circumlocutions are simple expressions consisting of two or three content words. In the group of simple circumlocutions, there are 311 two-word combinations (33,006 occurrences) and 36 three-word combinations (1,085 occurrences). The last group consists of complex circumlocutions. There are only four four-word complex circumlocutions (57 occurrences).

Another vital aspect of circumlocutions is the position of the head in the phrase. The analysis indicates that left-headed circumlocutions (15,542 occurrences) are the most common. In this group, there are 69 nominal circumlocutions (5,859 occurrences), 43 verbal circumlocutions (8,230 occurrences) and 5 adjectival circumlocutions (1,453 occurrences). Then, linear circumlocutions (11,798 occurrences) have been identified. The following types belong to this group: 37 nominal circumlocutions (1,492 occurrences), 82 verbal circumlocutions (5,440 occurrences), 42 adjectival circumlocutions (4,596 occurrences) and 4 adverbial circumlocutions (270 occurrences). The least common circumlocutions are the right-headed ones (6,113 occurrences), including: 61 nominal circumlocutions (5,939 occurrences), 4 adjectival circumlocutions (160 occurrences) and 1 adverbial circumlocution (14 occurrences). Headedness is a critical feature of circumlocutions since the position of the head allows one to predict their grammatical functions and decipher basic meaning. It is worth emphasizing that certain phrases contain two words that function as the head. Hence, they may be classified as left-head circumlocutions or right-headed circumlocutions. In the corpus, 3 circumlocutions (695 occurrences), which can be either left-headed or right-headed, have been identified.

The grammatical patterns of the identified circumlocutions differ in their complexity. However, the majority of the expressions represent simple compound-like structures in which one word is the head and its meaning is modified by another word, for instance, [Adj N]_N, [N Adj]_N or [V Adv]_V. What is more, left- and right-headed circumlocutions exhibit a certain tendency to represent a low number of structures. In these two types, it is also possible to note dominant high-frequency structures. It should be observed that the linear circumlocutions are difficult to analyze. They encompass more than 20 different nominal, verbal and adjectival elaborate expressions.

7. Semantics of circumlocutions

This chapter concentrates on the semantics of circumlocutions. One of the most basic ways of investigating lexical items is to group them into categories sharing certain similar characteristics (Tyler 1969: 8). Hence, the first section of this chapter presents categories of nominal, verbal, adjectival and adverbial circumlocutions.

What is more, circumlocutions used by speakers of a language show their knowledge of the world (Rutkiewicz-Hanczewska 2007: 100). This implies that, in circumlocutions, this knowledge might be present in the form of metonymic and metaphorical expressions (Bańko 2002a). The second part of the chapter provides an analysis of metonymic processes in circumlocutions and the third part includes an analysis of metaphorical processes.

7.1. Categories

The aim of this section is to identify and group meanings of circumlocutions into categories. The semantic categories of nominal circumlocutions and verbal circumlocutions are presented. Then, attention is paid to the semantic categories of adjectives and adverbs.

7.1.1. Categories of nominal circumlocutions

Nominal circumlocutions, being the biggest group of elaborate expressions in the corpus, carry several different meanings. Thus, they can be grouped into many categories that encapsulate various names of activities, objects or phenomena they stand for. Table 7.1 presents identified categories of nouns, circumlocutions, the total absolute frequency (**AF**) and percentage of circumlocutions constituting a given category.

Table 7.1. Categories of nominal circumlocutions

#	Category	Circumlocutions	AF	%
1	Buildings and Rooms	<i>haus sik</i> 'hospital', <i>haus slip</i> 'dormitory', <i>haus bung</i> 'hall/conference', <i>het opis</i> 'headquarters', <i>haus mani</i> 'bank', <i>haus holi</i> 'temple/sanctuary', <i>haus kuk</i> 'kitchen', <i>haus lotu</i> 'church', <i>bikpela opis</i> 'headquarters', <i>haus sel</i> 'tent', <i>haus kaikai</i> 'mess', <i>ples bilong stap</i> 'accommodation', <i>bani bilong haus</i> 'yard', <i>bikpela hap graun</i> 'estate', <i>ples balus</i> 'airport'	3,342	24.02
2	Qualities	<i>gutpela na stretpela pasin</i> 'integrity', <i>gutpela pasin</i> 'morals', <i>stretpela pasin</i> 'honesty', <i>stong long mekim wok</i> 'energy', <i>save gut</i> 'talent', <i>strongpela laik</i> 'ambition', <i>strongpela tingting</i> 'ambition', <i>gat save long</i> 'experience', <i>i no gat save</i> 'ignorance', <i>i stap fri</i> 'freedom', <i>laik bilong bodi</i> 'lust', <i>namba wan samting long laip</i> 'priority', <i>pasin bilong pait</i> 'aggression', <i>save long wok</i> 'experience', <i>smel nogut</i> 'stink', <i>samting bilong mekim</i> 'achievement'	1,550	11.14
3	Misfortunes	<i>bigpela bagarap</i> 'catastrophe', <i>bigpela bagarap tru</i> 'disaster', <i>bikpela birua</i> 'catastrophe', <i>bikpela hevi</i> 'crisis', <i>bikpela trabel</i> 'emergency'	1,216	8.74
4	Communication and Language	<i>salim tok</i> 'communication', <i>bung toktok</i> 'discussion', <i>tok win</i> 'chatter/gossip/rumour', <i>tok save</i> 'announcement/information', <i>wanapela tingting</i> 'hint', <i>as bilong tok</i> 'meaning', <i>as tingting</i> 'reason/theme', <i>liklik buk</i> 'booklet', <i>hap tok</i> 'expression, idiom, paragraph, quotation, statement', <i>tok i go pas</i> 'foreword/introduction', <i>tok piksa</i> 'parable/saying/example', <i>tok sori</i> 'apology/pardon', <i>toktok kros</i> 'criticism', <i>wokim plen</i> 'draft'	1,201	8.63
5	People	<i>pikinini man</i> 'boy/son', <i>pikinini meri</i> 'daughter', <i>tambu meri</i> 'daughter-in-law', <i>tambuna meri</i> 'grandmother', <i>bung na paitim</i> 'mob', <i>musik man</i> 'musician', <i>man i kisim bagarap</i> 'casualty', <i>planti man na meri</i> 'crowd', <i>ol pikinini na tambuna long bihain taim</i> 'future generations', <i>maus manmeri</i> 'agent', <i>man husat i go pas long</i> 'chief/leader', <i>haus lain</i> 'community', <i>lek nogut</i> 'cripple', <i>man i stap long</i> 'inhabitant', <i>ol man na meri</i> 'crowd', <i>wasman bilong sipsip</i> 'shepherd'	1,072	7.70
6	Health	<i>bani sut</i> 'immunisation', <i>sik kensa bilong susu</i> 'breast cancer', <i>sik kolera</i> 'cholera', <i>sik malaria</i> 'malaria', <i>sik mun</i> 'menstruation', <i>sik nogut</i> 'contagious disease', <i>sik TB</i> 'tuberculosis', <i>dokta bilong ol meri</i> 'gynaecologist', <i>dokta bilong tit</i> 'dentist', <i>bikpela sik</i> 'epidemic/plague', <i>pekpek wara</i> 'diarrhoea'	706	5.07
7	Crime and Justice	<i>bikpela rong</i> 'crime', <i>pasin nogut</i> 'crime', <i>man nogut</i> 'criminal/villain', <i>pasin pamuk</i> 'prostitution', <i>pasin i no stret</i> 'injustice', <i>saveman bilong lo</i> 'lawyer', <i>pilai laik</i> 'gambling', <i>raskol pasin</i> 'crime', <i>samting bilong pait</i> 'weapon', <i>kalabus man</i> 'prisoner'	659	4.74
8	Money and Finance	<i>mani plen</i> 'budget', <i>planti mani</i> 'fortune/wealth', <i>pepa man</i> 'note', <i>win mani</i> 'profit'	520	3.74
9	Nature	<i>graun i guria</i> 'earthquake', <i>bikpela haiwara</i> 'deluge', <i>bikpela san</i> 'drought', <i>graun malumalu</i> 'mud', <i>kalut i pairap</i> 'thunder', <i>maunten paia</i> 'volcano', <i>han bilong diwai</i> 'branch', <i>gras nogut</i> 'weed', <i>graun na ples</i> 'environment', <i>olgeta hap graun</i> 'environment', <i>as bilong diwai</i> 'trunk', <i>sait bilong maunten</i> 'cliff', <i>bikpela ston</i> 'boulder', <i>bikpela paia</i> 'blaze', <i>arere bilong wara</i> 'bank', <i>liklik maunten</i> 'hill', <i>liklik wara</i> 'creek', <i>ples wesan</i> 'desert', <i>skin diwai</i> 'bark', <i>wara bilong dring</i> 'fresh water'	478	3.44
10	Emotions	<i>bel isi</i> 'peace', <i>stap bel isi</i> 'peace', <i>bikpela tok tenkyu</i> 'gratitude', <i>pret nogut tru</i> 'dread', <i>pasin birua</i> 'ill-will', <i>i amamas nogut tru</i> 'ecstasy'	455	3.27
11	Religion	<i>buk tambu</i> 'Bible', <i>hetman bilong Katolik Sios long wol</i> 'pope', <i>singsing bilong Krismas</i> 'carol', <i>singsing lotu</i> 'hymn', <i>diwai kros</i> 'cross', <i>bikpela bung</i> 'ceremony'	298	2.14
12	Food	<i>gutpela kaikai</i> 'nourishment', <i>bikpela kaikai</i> 'banquet/feast'	287	2.06
13	Quantities	<i>bikpela hap</i> 'chunk', <i>planti kain kain</i> 'mix/range'	269	1.93
14	Politics and Policy	<i>Mama Lo</i> 'constitution', <i>samting long stretim</i> 'correction', <i>ples long kisim vot bilon gol manmeri</i> 'voting place', <i>wokim senis</i> 'amendment', <i>graun bilong gavman</i> 'government property', <i>rot bilong wokim</i> 'procedure/manner'	230	1.65
15	Topography	<i>hap graun</i> 'landmark', <i>as ples</i> 'hometown/homeland', <i>liklik rot</i> 'track', <i>rot bilong wokabaut</i> 'footpath'	182	1.31
16	Folklore	<i>stori bilong tumbuna</i> 'myth', <i>stori tumbuna</i> 'legend', <i>pasin tumbuna</i> 'culture/tradition'	154	1.11

17	Time	<i>taim bilong ren</i> ‘rain season’, <i>taim bilong san</i> ‘dry season’, <i>belo kaikai</i> ‘noon’, <i>tenpela yia</i> ‘decade’, <i>moningtaim tru</i> ‘dawn’, <i>time bilong kaikai</i> ‘mealtime’	150	1.08
18	Education	<i>save long rit na rait</i> ‘literacy’, <i>het tisa</i> ‘principal’	140	1.01
19	Transport	<i>balus kampani</i> ‘airline’, <i>bikpela kar</i> ‘van’	135	0.97
20	Agriculture and Gardening	<i>bikpela gaden</i> ‘farm’, <i>gris bilong graun</i> ‘fertilizer’, <i>kaikai bilong gaden</i> ‘crop’, <i>wok didiman</i> ‘agriculture’, <i>wok fama</i> ‘agriculture’, <i>wok gaden</i> ‘gardening’	127	0.91
21	Drugs	<i>smok nogut</i> ‘marijuana’, <i>spak brus</i> ‘marijuana’	65	0.47
22	Leisure	<i>de bilong amamas</i> ‘festival’, <i>taim bilong malolo</i> ‘leisure’	50	0.36
23	Body parts	<i>skru bilong han</i> ‘elbow’, <i>skru bilong lek</i> ‘knee’	16	0.11
24	Miscellaneous	<i>givim han</i> ‘handshake’, <i>ai wara</i> ‘tear’, <i>haus kraik</i> ‘protesting’, <i>hul wara</i> ‘well’, <i>wok painimaut</i> ‘investigation/research’, <i>piksa nogut</i> ‘pornography’, <i>sia king</i> ‘throne’, <i>sit bilong paia</i> ‘ash’	670	4.82
Total			13,914	100.00

What may be inferred from Table 7.1 is that circumlocutions are used to replace names of activities, states, objects or phenomena belonging to 23 distinct categories. According to the data presented, there are five categories – Buildings and Rooms, Qualities, Misfortunes, Communication and Language as well as People – that account for more than 54 % of the identified nominal circumlocutions. The categories related to Health, Crime and Justice, Money and Finance, Nature as well as Emotions are ranked six to ten, respectively, with percentage values from 5.07 % to 3.27 %. Circumlocutions describing activities, objects and phenomena related to Religion, Food and Quantities occupy further positions in Table 7.1, with percentage values spanning from 2.14 % to 1.93 %. Politics and Policy, Topography, Folklore, Time, Education, Transport as well as Agriculture and Gardening categories are positioned lower in the table, with percentage values ranging from 1.65 % to 0.91 %. The least common categories are Drugs, Leisure and Body Parts, with values 0.47 %, 0.36 % and 0.11 %. The last category, Miscellaneous, encapsulates elaborate expressions which cannot be grouped into categories sharing some common features. This category constitutes 4.82 % of all the nominal circumlocutions.

The high frequency of the circumlocutions used in the category Buildings and Rooms may indicate that this is one of the imperative topics in the *Wantok* corpus. The circumlocutions in Buildings and Rooms emphasize the function and/or property of an object. For instance, the circumlocution *haus kuk* ‘kitchen’, lit. house cook, uses the lexeme *kuk* ‘cook’ to indicate the function of the place. In contrast, the circumlocution *bikpela opis* ‘headquarters’, lit. big office’, incorporates the word *bikpela* ‘big’ which highlights the function of a building. Similar observations might be made about the remaining categories: Qualities, People and Nature. For example, the circumlocution *stretpela na gutpela pasin* ‘integrity’, lit. straight and good fashion, incorporates two adjectives *stretpela* ‘straight’ and *gutpela* ‘good’ which refer to the

salient features of the concept of ‘integrity’. In the case of the expressions *man i kisim bagarap* ‘casualty’, lit. man get/take bugger-up, and *han bilong diwai* ‘branch’, lit. hand belong tree, one may observe that associations with certain objects may emerge in the names denoting referents. In *man i kisim bagarap* ‘casualty’ lit. ‘man kiss injury’, the association is that a casualty is an injured person. In the case of *han bilong diwai* ‘branch’ lit. ‘hand belong tree’, the branch of a tree is compared to a hand.

All in all, nominal circumlocutions are used instead of names for various activities, qualities, objects and phenomena. The most common categories include Buildings and Rooms, Qualities, Misfortunes, Communication and Language as well as People. The least frequent categories encompass circumlocutions which belong to the following categories: Drugs, Leisure and Body Parts.

7.1.2. Categories of verbal circumlocutions

The next grammatical class of circumlocutions are verbal circumlocutions. Verbal circumlocutions denote various activities. In turn, certain general categories can be identified. In the analyzed corpus, there are 13,720 verbal circumlocutions. Table 7.2 presents identified semantic domains, absolute frequencies and percentages of groups of circumlocutions.

Table 7.2. Categories of verbal circumlocutions

#	Category	Circumlocutions	AF	%
1	Activity Verbs	<i>wok bung</i> ‘collaborate’, <i>wok long painim</i> ‘search’, <i>painim mani</i> ‘earn’, <i>raitim nem</i> ‘sign’, <i>givim susu</i> ‘suckle’, <i>hukim pis</i> ‘fish’, <i>givim gutpela kaikai</i> ‘nourish’	5,696	41.79
2	Communication Verbs	<i>tok amamas</i> ‘compliment/congratulate’, <i>tanim tok</i> ‘interpret’, <i>tok promis</i> ‘oath/pledge/vow’, <i>tok autklia</i> ‘express’, <i>tok bilas long</i> ‘mock’, <i>tok gris</i> ‘flatter’	4,033	29.59
3	Mental Verbs	<i>amamas tru</i> ‘rejoice’, <i>lus tingting</i> ‘forget’, <i>tingim gut</i> ‘persuade’, <i>hatim bel</i> ‘infuriate’, <i>kamapim gutpela tingting</i> ‘impress’, <i>no laikim tru</i> ‘hate’	2,004	14.70
4	Occurrence Verbs	<i>kamap bikepla</i> ‘escalate/expand/grow’, <i>go bikpela</i> ‘grow up’, <i>lukautim gut</i> ‘care’, <i>givim luksave</i> ‘acclaim’	1,377	10.10
5	Causative Verbs	<i>sutim tok</i> ‘accuse/allege’, <i>apim nem</i> ‘exalt’, <i>mekim nogut</i> ‘damage’, <i>pasim tingting</i> ‘decide’	521	3.82
Total			13,741	100.00

The data shows that the category Activity Verbs has the most significant frequency. Then, it is followed by the category Communication Verbs and Mental Verbs. Finally, the least frequent verbal circumlocutions belong to two remaining categories, that is, Occurrence Verbs and Causative Verbs.

Such a distribution of semantic classes of verbal circumlocutions suggests that verbal circumlocutions are highly frequently used in the corpus texts to describe activities and events mentioned in the articles included in the corpus. Moreover, a high number of verbs denoting communicative acts and mental processes may stem from the fact that the articles must describe interactions and include exchange of information or opinion between people. Both types of verbs allow one to voice one's judgements and opinions. The low frequencies of occurrence and causative verbs suggest that verbal circumlocutions are not often used to describe details of events.

7.1.3. Categories of adjectival circumlocutions

Adjectival circumlocutions are employed in the texts to specify properties of entities, objects or phenomena. In the *Wantok* corpus, 51 adjectival circumlocutions have been identified. They occur in total 6,209 times. Table 7.3 shows the identified types of adjectival circumlocutions and frequencies.

Table 7.3. Categories of adjectival circumlocutions

#	Category	Circumlocution	AF	%
1	Evaluative/Emotive Descriptors	<i>bikpela samting</i> 'interesting', <i>gutpela tru</i> 'marvellous/great', <i>sindaun gut</i> 'comfortable', <i>bel hevi</i> 'sad/depressed/upset', <i>karim kaikai</i> 'fruitful'	4,021	64.76
2	Time Descriptors	<i>i mas kamap</i> 'inevitable', <i>bikpela pinis</i> 'mature'	513	8.26
3	Size/Quantity/Extent Descriptors	<i>bikpela tru</i> 'enormous', <i>bun nating</i> 'slender', <i>gat planti gris</i> 'overweight', <i>i gat gris</i> 'fat'	313	5.04
4	Topic Descriptors	<i>kisim save</i> 'educational', <i>bilong kisim save</i> 'educational'	281	4.53
5	Rational/Restrictive Descriptors	<i>namba wan bikpela</i> 'principal', <i>i no save long rit na rait</i> 'illiterate', <i>wokim rong</i> 'guilty/immoral', <i>pasim bel</i> 'contraceptive'	144	2.32
6	Miscellaneous Descriptor	<i>kisim bagarap</i> 'injured', <i>i gat bel</i> 'pregnant', <i>wanpela tasol</i> 'alone', <i>i save pulim</i> 'magnetic', <i>raun nating</i> 'aimless'	937	15.09
Total			6,209	100.00

What may be inferred from the data is that evaluative/emotive adjectives are the most common. It is due to the fact that newspapers often contain texts with opinions, comments or descriptions of events. In such descriptions, adjectives which evaluate or express one's emotional attitude towards entities, objects or phenomena are employed. The remaining types of adjectival circumlocutions do not appear to be so crucial to the texts of *Wantok*.

7.1.4. Categories of adverbial circumlocutions

The last type of circumlocution is adverbial circumlocution. These expressions form the smallest category. There are only five expressions which occur 284 times. Table 7.4 presents the collected adverbial circumlocutions and their frequencies.

Table 7.4. Categories of adverbial circumlocutions

#	Category	Circumlocution	F	%
1	Adverbs of Time	<i>i no long taim i go pinis</i> 'recent', <i>long wan wan mun</i> 'monthly', <i>stret nau</i> 'immediately'	175	61.62
2	Adverbs of Manner	<i>long ples klia</i> 'openly'	85	29.93
3	Adverbs of Degree: Amplifier	<i>naispela tru</i> 'lovely'	24	8.45
Total			284	100.00

The data suggests that adverbial circumlocutions are not a common type of elaborate expressions in the corpus. Additionally, judging by the frequency, their semantic contents are not crucial to understanding *Wantok* texts since they constitute only a small part of all the extracted circumlocutions. However, of the three identified types of adverbs, the adverbs of frequency are the most popular. They might be vital in the corpus texts since they might be useful to state how often certain events or phenomena might happen. The categories Adverbs of Manner and Adverbs of Degree: Amplifier contain only one circumlocution each.

All in all, as has been shown, circumlocutions may play an important role in conveying meaning. They may be grouped into categories which exhibit the most salient semantic features. In the collected set of circumlocutions, one may observe that elaborate expressions falling into the categories of Buildings and Rooms, Qualities, Misfortunes, Communication and Language, People, Activity Verbs, Communication Verbs, Vental Verbs, Evaluative/Emotive Descriptors and Adverbs of Time are the most frequent. This distribution of categories may imply which types of values and concepts are significant to a particular community.

7.2. Metonymies

This section attempts to present identified metonymies in circumlocutions in Tok Pisin. Metonymies are divided into two categories: (1) the Whole ICM and Its Part(s) and (2) Part(s) of ICM.

7.2.1. Whole ICM and Its Part(s)

The category Whole ICM and Its Part(s) encapsulates metonymic expressions in which the mechanism is reversible, for instance, WHOLE FOR PART *My car has just broken down* meaning ‘I cannot drive because of a flat tyre’ (the word *car* is used instead of its part, that is, a *tyre*) or PART FOR WHOLE: *Do you like my wheels?* meaning ‘Do you like my car?’ (the word *wheels* is used instead of the word *car*). In the *Wantok* corpus, the following ICMs have been observed: Thing-and-Whole ICM, Constitution ICM, Complex Event ICM, Category-and-Member ICM and Category-and-Property ICM (Kövecses 2010 [2009]: 179).

7.2.1.1. Thing-and-Whole ICM

The category Thing-and-Whole ICM encompasses metonymic expressions which exhibit some of the parts of an entity. In this section, two metonymic thing-and-whole relations are introduced: (1) part for whole and (2) main factor for place.

Firstly, the Part-for-Whole relationship is the most fundamental type of metonymy. In Langacker’s sense (1991), parts of a whole are active zones, enabling one to understand what is referred to in a metonymic way. The examples given below present this kind of metonymic relation:

(1) *bikpela opis* ‘headquarters’, lit. big office

Dispela bikpela opis bilong polis trefik i save kamap, em i stap insait long wanpela olupela haus bilong taim bilong Australia gavman yet. (Wantok no. 2024)

‘The **headquarters** for the traffic police is in an old building built during the the Australian Government rulling.’

(2) *bikpela gaden* ‘farm’, lit. big garden

Em i wari olsem bai mobeta sapos ol papagraun i kamapim bikpela gaden na ol yet i ken kisim mani, na noken larim planti bilong ol dispela mani i go aut long ol fama bilong narapla ol provins. (Wantok no. 1975)

‘They are worried that the landowners will make a **farm** and will take all the money gained for themselves and not let the money go out to farmers in other provinces.’

(3) **het tisa** ‘principal’, lit. head teacher

*Jenerel Edukesen Menesa bilong Treid Pasifik Oscar Iguarek i bin mekim mein Presentesen i go long **het tisa** bilong skul na bihain demo presentesen bilong ol buk na pensil i go long 10- pela sumatin bilong apa na lowa greit. (Wantok no. 2216)*

‘The general education manager for Trade Pacific Oscar Iguarek made the presentation to the **principal** of the school and then the demo presentation of books and pencils to three upper and lower grade students.’

(4) **bun nating** ‘slender, thin’, lit. bone nothing

*Em i slip long han bilong mama tasol bodi bilong em i **bun nating** na i no strong. (Wantok no. 2214)*

‘He sleeps on his mother's hands, but his body is **slim/thin** and doesn't have strength.’

(5) **smok nogut** ‘marijuana’, lit. smoke not good

*Minista Pruiatch i tok gayman i save olsem dispela senis bai i mekim ol manmeri go long arapela rot nabaut long kisim ol **smok nogut** o mekim ol kain kain bia nabaut we lo i tambu long en. (Wantok no. 2199)*

‘Minister Pruiatch said that the government knows that this change will cause people to shift to other ways to take **marijuana** or produce homebrew, which is against the law.’

As observed in (1) and (2), the words written in bold are parts of larger objects. In (1), the word *opis* ‘office’ stands for the whole building ‘headquarters’, whereas, in (2), the word *gaden* might be understood as a part of a farmland that is why it might be interpreted as ‘farm’. The word *het* ‘head’ and *bun* ‘bone’ in (3) and (4) are names of body parts of a human being and they are used here to mean ‘principal’ and ‘slender’ or ‘thin’, respectively. Additionally, the expression in (3) is a calque of the English compound *headteacher*. Finally, in (5), the word *smok* ‘smoke’ is a product of smoking, e.g. marijuana or tobacco products thus it may be considered a part of this ICM. As a result, it can metonymically stand for ‘marijuana’ in this context.

As implied by Kosecki (2020: 54), the main factor for the place is a common type of metonymic relations in Tok Pisin. Such words or expressions contain a metonymic element which represents the characteristic element of an entity, for instance, *clos was* ‘clothes wash’ meaning ‘laundry’, *haus kuk* ‘house cook’ meaning ‘kitchen’ or *haus piksa* ‘house picture’

meaning ‘cinema, theatre’. Examples of expressions from the corpus involving this specific metonymic process are presented below:

(6) *haus sik* ‘hospital’, lit. house sick

Ol haus sik long kantri i nidim nupela masin, moa bet bilong ol sikman na moa speselis dokta. (Wantok no. 2140)

‘**Hospitals** in the country need new equipment, more beds for the sick and more specialised doctors.’

(7) *haus lotu* ‘church’, lit. house religion

Mi marit pinis long haus lotu na mi no nap bai marit gen tupela taim, mi pret long bel hat bilong God. (Wantok no. 2019)

‘I already got married in a **church** so I will not get married for the second time I fear the wrath of God.’

(8) *haus holi* ‘sanctuary/temple’, lit. house holy

Asbisop Ribat i tokim kongrigesen, Yumi mas lukim dispela sios bilding i olsem haus bilong yumi, haus holi God i stap long en, na long wankain taim, yumi olgeta tu i wan wan haus holi bilong God. (Wantok no. 2074)

‘Archbishop Ribat told the congregation that we should view this church building as our house, the holy temple in which God dwells, and at the same time, we are all one **temple** of God.’

(9) *haus slip* ‘dormitory’, lit. house sleep

Hetmasta bilong Buiyon Hai skul, Dusty Imaita i tok amamas long dispela mani bai helpim tru skul, em i tok skul i bin wok long painim helpim mani long pinisim haus slip bilong ol skul meri husat i wok long slip pas pas insait long wanpela bilding tasol. (Wantok no. 1881)

‘Headmaster of the Buiyon High School, Dusty Imaita, said that this money would truly help the school, he said the school had been working to find money to finish the girls' **dormitory** that is inside a building now.’

(10) *haus mani* ‘bank’, lit. house money

NEC i bin tok Sir Salamo i bin kisim potnait mani tupela taim, i no yusim gut mani bilong kot, paulim mani bilong haus mani bilong wok manmeri bilong kot na kontemp sas bilong sakim kot oda bilong Jastis Sevua. (Wantok no. 1962)

‘NEC has stated that despite receiving his fortnight twice, Sir. Salamo has engaged in fraud in relation to employees of the **bank** which has resulted in a contempt of court charge by Justice. Sevua.’

(11) *haus kuk* ‘kitchen’, lit. house cook

Em i kisim wok long haus kuk long St Vincen na lain Tok Inlgis na bihain em i kisim namba tu wok long nait bikos em i laik sevim mani na go bek long skul. (Wantok no. 2231)

‘He took a job at St. Vincent's **kitchen** and learnt how to speak English and then he got another job to work during night shift because he wanted to save up and go back to school, i.e. to continue his formal education.’

(12) *haus kaikai* ‘dining room, mess’, lit. house food

Mi hangre na painim haus kaikai. (Wantok no. 2134)

‘I'm looking for a mess because I am hungry.’

(13) *haus bung* ‘conference, hall’, lit. house meeting

TOK promis long kamapim wanpela sinot haus bung bilong Evanjelikal Lutren Sios bilong Papua Nuigini, long Heldsbach insait long Finsafen, Lae, i no bin kamap long mak olsem gavman bilong em i tok. (Wantok no. 2217)

‘The promise that there will be a Synod **conference**, for the Evangelical Lutheran church for Papua New Guinea, hosted in Heldsbach, in Finchafen, Lae, did not take place, according to the government there.’

(14) *haus lain* ‘clan, long house, community’, lit. ‘house line’

Dispela sevei bai helpim long painimaut na givim tingting long ol mama long gutpela menesmen bilong liklik bisnis bilong ol long ples na haus lain long sait long wanem liklik sapot blong mani ol i kisim long utsait o insait long Projek. (Wantok no. 2103)

‘The survey will help find out and will give good management advice to mothers for their small businesses back in their villages and **communities** about whatever small funding that they will receive from outside or inside the project.’

Examples from (6) to (14) show modifications of the headword *haus* ‘house’. The second component highlights the most explicit features of the referent, namely, a building or room. This is true of examples from (6) to (12), where such words as *sik* ‘sick’, *lotu* ‘religion’, *holi* ‘holy’, *slip* ‘sleep’, *mani* ‘money’, *kuk* ‘to cook’ and *kaikai* ‘food’ narrow down the general meaning of the headword; however, in the case of (12) and (13), even though that some dictionary meanings might indicate a type of room, the translations show that *haus bung* is used with the meaning ‘conference’ and *haus lain* means ‘community’. The referents imply that these phrases might be used with the sense of ‘group of people’.

7.2.1.2. Constitution ICM

The Constitution ICM is a metonymic relationship between the uncountable constituents of an ICM and the whole ICM. The elements which are used to coin such metonymic expressions are substances/materials which constitute physical objects (Kövecses 2010 [2009]: 180).

In Tok Pisin, expressions containing the name of a material or substance constituting a physical object have been noted by Kosecki (2020: 54), for instance, *gumi bilong kok* meaning ‘condom’ and *wara* ‘river’. In the *Wantok* corpus the metonymy MATERIAL CONSTITUTING AN OBJECT FOR THE OBJECT has been found.

(15) *ai wara* ‘eye water’ – tear

Taim mama i hagim em, Pater i pilim ai wara bilong mama i pundaun long bodi bilong em. (Wantok no. 2153)

‘When mother hugs him, father can feel the **tears** of the mother falling down on his body.’

(16) *liklik wara* ‘little water’ – creek

Narapela wok dispela konsalten Ninkama Yoba en Asosiet i kamapim em long kisim rekot na kwaliti bilong wara long ol riva o liklik wara olsem Banu krik, Anangri krik, Banap na Gagayo riva. (Wantok no. 1969)

‘The other work that the consultant, Ninkama Yoba and Associates are doing is to record the quality of water from the rivers or **creeks** like Banu Creek, Anangri creek and Gagayo River.’

(17) *pekpek wara* ‘water faeces’ – diarrhoea

MALNUTRISEN em i wanpela sik we i wok long hait na kilim ol pikinini wantaim ol narapela bikpela sik olsem malaria, dairia o pekpek wara na numonia. (Wantok no. 2172)

‘Malnutrition is one of the sicknesses that is silently killing children with other major sicknesses such as malaria, dysentery or **diarrhea** and pneumonia.’

Examples from (15) to (17) contain the word *wara* ‘water’ which is constituent of the referents ‘tear’, ‘creek’ and ‘diarrhoea’. In the case of the last example, either word, that is, *pekpek* ‘faeces’ and *wara* ‘water’ might be considered as metonymic elements which correspond to the referent. The following examples present more metonymic relations in which a word referring to a material or substance, which is the main ingredient of an object, is used in circumlocutions.

(18) *pepa mani* ‘note’, lit. paper money

Mista Webb i kisim K1.6 milen pepa mani i gat nem Bogenvil kina long en. (Wantok no. 2059)

‘Mr. Webb got K1.6 million **notes** that had Bougainville kina on them.’

(19) *haus sel* ‘tent’, lit. house canvas

Dokta Tapo i mekim dispela toktok bikos sampela kontrakta husat bin mekim ol wok mentenens o arapela skul projek i wok long paitim dua bilong Edukesen Dipatmen long peimen bilong ol long las wik yet i kam na ol i taitim haus sel na kemp ausait long Edukesen opis i stap. (Wantok no. 2107)

‘Doctor Tapo said that, because there are some contractors who have done maintenance work or other school project, have been eagerly asking the Education Department for their payments since last week. Now they have set **tents** and are camping and waiting outside the Education office.’

(20) *ples wesan* ‘desert’, lit. place sand

Kantri Israel em pulap long bikpela ples wesan, i no gat wara na ol diwai na bikpela graun. (Wantok no. 2122)

‘The country of Israel is covered by **desert**, no water and less trees and good soil.’

As may be noticed in examples from (18) to (20), circumlocutions might contain different names of materials which form metonymic relations.

7.2.1.3. Complex Event ICM

The category Complex Event ICM is a relationship between parts of an event and the entire event. In other words, events may generally consist of initial, central and final subevents. These subevents may, in a metonymic way, stand for an entire complex event. For instance, the following utterances mention certain subevents which refer to the entire complex event: (1) *They stood at the altar* is the initial subevent for the event of the wedding ceremony, (2) *Mother is cooking potatoes* is the central subevent of cooking potatoes and stands for all the actions involved in preparing them, e.g. peeling potatoes, cooking potatoes or mashing potatoes and (3) *I have to grade hundreds of papers* where the final subevent of grading stands for all the actions involved, e.g. reading or correcting (Kövecses 2010 [2009]: 180).

In the *Wantok* corpus, several instances of metonymies belong to the category Complex Event ICMs. They are divided into two types: PART OF AN EVENT FOR THE COMPLEX EVENT and SUCCESSIVE SUBEVENT FOR COMPLEX EVENTS. Let us now consider the following examples of the first type of metonymy:

(21) *lukautim pikinini* ‘to babysit’, lit. look out child

Ating nau yu wanpela i hatwok long lukautim pikinini bilong yu yet ah? (Wantok no. 2025)

‘I guess now it is hard work to **babysit** your child, isn't it?’

(22) *soim rot* ‘to direct, to guide’, lit. show road

Em i tok wanpela bisniseri long Saina i bin autim ol gutpela toktok na givim gutpela skul toktok long soim rot long manmeri PNG long kirapim ebisnis wantaim ol kompyuta na mobail pon. (Wantok no. 2176)

‘A businesswoman from China has helped teach Papua New Guineans by **guiding** them on how to engage in electronic business using computers and mobile phones.’

(23) *tok save long* ‘to announce’, lit. talk knowledge along

Na sapos ol provinsal opis i laik kamapim ol spot ektiviti long provins, ol i mas tok save long ol rijonal opis bilong Papua Niugini Spots Faundesesen. (Wantok no. 2057)

‘And if the provincial offices want to create sports activities within the Province then they should **inform** the Region offices of Papua New Guinea foundation.’

(24) *tok save olsem* ‘to announce’, lit. talk knowledge all same

Mista Kimisopa i bin tok save olsem ol dispela ripot bai kamap long taim Palamen i bung long mun Mas, tasol dispela i no bin kamap. (Wantok no. 2180)

‘Mr. Kimisopa has **announced** that these reports will be available by March, but that never happened.’

(25) *wok bung* ‘to collaborate’, lit. work meeting

Ol sios long Papua Niugini i tok long wok bung wantaim gavman long kamapim developmen long kantri. (Wantok no. 2218)

‘The churches in Papua New Guinea are willing to **collaborate** with the government to establish development in the country.’

In the above examples, the metonymic expressions consist of a verb denoting an action and a noun denoting a person, object, location or phenomenon involved in the activity. Another type of the category Complex Event ICM is SUCCESSIVE SUBEVENT FOR COMPLEX EVENTS. Examples from (26) to (36) highlight only one event involved in the whole activity.

(26) *askim long helpim* ‘to appeal’, lit. ask along help

EM i taim nau long askim long helpim ovasis long ol lain husat i bungim bikpela hevi na bagarap long bikpela san o drai sisen. (Wantok no. 2159)

‘THIS is the time to **appeal** to those oversees who have been affected by a severe drought.’

(27) *brukim marit* ‘to divorce’, lit. break marry

Papamama bilong mi i divos o brukim marit, na papa i marit pinis na i gat wanpela pikinini. (Wantok no. 1964)

‘My parents **divorced** and my father already got married to a new wife and has one child.’

(28) *bung na paitim* ‘mob’, lit. meet and fight

Mob Violence long PNG o manmeri i bung na paitim na bagarapim narapela em i nogut pasin tru na i mas pinis. (Wantok no. 1982)

‘Mob Violence in PNG, whereby groups of men and women **mob** an individual, which is a very bad practice and this behavior needs to stop.’

(29) **go lukim** ‘to visit’, lit. go look

Mipela laik strongim yu tupela long go lukim famili plening klinik klostu long yupela. (Wantok no. 2087)

‘We encourage you both to **visit** a family planning clinic near you.’

(30) **go lukluk raun long** ‘to explore, to visit’, lit. go look around along

Dispela wok i karim kaikai bihain long benk i go lukluk raun long skul na i bin opim Choice Basic Akaun bilong ol sumatin wantaim K2 tasol. (Wantok no. 2070)

‘The effort paid off after the bank **visited** the school and opened a Choice Basic Account for students with only K2.’

(31) **karim i kam** ‘to bring’, lit. carry come

Na em i bin kaikai hap na em i katim hap na em i karim i kam long pukpuk meri bilong em. (Wantok no. 2223)

‘It ate the other half, tore the other half, and then **brought** it to its female crocodile mate.’

(32) **larim i go** ‘to acquit, to yield’, lit. leave go

LONG ol laspela de bilong em olsem Presiden bilong Amerika, Barack Obama i bin larim i go fri 209 kalabus pipel long Amerika. (Wantok no. 2209)

‘During his last term as the President of America, Barrack Obama **acquited** 209 prisoners in America.’

(33) **marit i bruk** ‘to divorce’, lit. marry break

*Pren, mipela i luksave long wei yu inap long menesim laip bilong yu, maski **marit i bruk** wantaim man yu gat bikipela laik long en. (Wantok no. 1959)*

‘Friend, we are aware that you can manage your life even though you **divorced** your husband.’

(34) **mekim lukluk raun long** ‘to explore, to visit’, lit. make look around along

Ol opisa bilong DIRD i bin mekim lukluk raun long mun Desemba na ol i lukim olsem dispela distrik i gat ol saveman na meri long karim ol wok bilong distrik i go het. (Wantok no. 2207)

‘The DIRD officers **visited** the district in December and found that there were experts who could take care of the district.’

(35) **wok long painim** ‘to research, to search’, lit. work along find

RAMU Nikel kampani (NiCo) o MCC Limited i wok long painim ol rot bilong kamapim Sios- Praivet poroman wok long divelopim Madang Provins. (Wantok no. 1885)

‘Ramu Nickel (NiCo) or MCC Limited is **searching** for ways to develop church-private partnership work to develop Madang Province.’

(36) **wok painimaut** ‘research’, lit. wok find out

Wanpela kampani, Nautilus Minerals i wok long redi nau long kam mekim wok painimaut long solwara bilong yumi long Papua Niugini. (Wantok no. 2050)

‘The company, Nautilus Minerals, is preparing to carry out **research** on our seas in Papua New Guinea.’

As may be observed in examples from (26) to (36), the words written in bold are not used literally, although they may individually contribute to the final meanings of the phrases. The lexemes are more likely used to highlight specific stages of an action. For instance, in expression (26), the two words *askim* ‘to ask’ and *helpim* ‘to help’ interact with one another to give rise to a new sense of the phrase *askim long helpim* ‘to appeal’. The remaining examples acquire meanings in a similar way to the expression in (26).

7.2.1.4. Category-and-Member ICM

The category Category-and-Member ICM is a case of a metonymic relation in which categories may be understood in terms of their members and members may be perceived through the categories to which they belong. In other words, it is a relationship of inclusion, thus it may be analyzed through the perspective of the container and its contents, and vice versa (Kövecses and Radden 1998: 52). Kosecki (2020: 55) has identified several metonymic relations of this type in Tok Pisin, for instance, *ples* ‘place’ meaning ‘village, town, area’, *haus dok sik* ‘house dog sick’ for ‘animal hospital’ or *leta bokis* ‘letter box’ meaning ‘post-box’.

The metonymies MEMBER FOR CATEGORY, CATEGORY FOR MEMBER and PLACE FOR MEMBER have been identified in the *Wantok* corpus. First, let us consider the first type of metonymy:

(37) *bikpela* **sik** ‘epidemic, pandemic’, lit. big sick

Dokta Dakulala i tok sik TB em i wanpela bikpela sik long kantri we planti pikinini i gat 14 yias i go daun (long mak bilong 30 pesen) i gat long em. (Wantok no. 2003)

‘Dr Dakulala had announced that Tuberculosis (TB) is one of the **epidemics** in the country that is ending the lives of the many 14-year-old teenagers.’

(38) *ol man na meri* ‘crowd’, lit. all man and Mary

Mi tok amamas long ol man na meri husat i save mekim wok olgeta de, long pinisim pasin bilong pait insait long dispela kantri. (Wantok no. 2147)

‘I’m grateful toward the **people** who have been working every day to mitigate fighting within this country.’

(39) *pasin tumbuna* ‘culture, tradition’, lit. fashion ancestor

Emitok ol dispela turis i bin lukluk raun long ples long lainim na save moa long pasin tumbuna bilong ol pipel bilong provins. (Wantok no. 2062)

‘These tourists looked around the place to learn and learn more about the **culture/tradition** of the people of the province.’

(40) *raskol pasin* ‘crime’, lit. rascal fashion

Mista Bawa i mekim dispela toktok bihain long wanpela raskol pasin i kamap long dispela wik long Morata setelmen i lukim ol raskol i holim pasim kar bilong Nesenel Brotkasting Kopresen (NBC) na repim tupela wok meri. (Wantok no. 2093)

‘Mr Bawa said this regarding the **crime** this week at Morata settlement which saw criminals holding up a car belonging to the National Broadcasting Cooperation (NBC) and raping two female staff.’

(41) *wok fama* ‘agriculture’, lit. work farmer

City Mission i gat vejetebol fam bilong em long Magi Haiwe ausait long Mosbi siti we i save givim trening i go long ol yut long wok fama na groim ol kumu long salim na kisim mani long lukautim ol yet. (Wantok no. 2036)

‘City Mission has its own vegetable farm on Magi Highway outside Mosby City that trains youths in **agriculture** and growing cucumbers to make a living.’

In examples from (37) to (41), the lexemes written in bold are words which can be used with reference to people. They are members of a category and, in turn, they evoke associations

which may help one to decode the meaning of the phrase. For instance, *raskol pasin* ‘crime’ consists of two lexemes. The first word *raskol* metonymically stands for inappropriate behaviour since its principal meaning ‘a young person who behaves badly’ is narrowed down to behaviour in general by incorporating the noun *pasin*. In a similar metonymical way, the remaining circumlocutions are coined.

(42) *bikpela **kaikai*** ‘feast, banquet’, lit. big food

*Long makim 15 krismas ITI i putim **bikpela kaikai** long Holide Inn long Pot Mosbi las wik Sarere we ol olupela sumatin, stafna ol lain husat i save sapotim ITI i bin kam bung wantaim long amamasim dispela enivesari. (Wantok no. 2065)*

‘To celebrate its 15th year anniversary, ITI held a **banquet** at Port Moresby in Holiday Inn last week Saturday. The invited guests were its alumni, staffs and sponsors.’

(43) ***kaikai bilong gaden*** ‘crop’, lit. food belong garden

*Nupela **kaikai bilong gaden** i winim kaikai ol i katim na karim long rot na putim long san long maket. (Wantok no. 2170)*

‘Fresh **crops** are much better than those foods that went through distant to be sold at market under the sun.’

(44) *bikpela **bagarap tru*** ‘disaster (negative consequence)’, lit. big bugger-up true

*Ol lida bilong kantri i wari long **bikpela bagarap tru** sik TB inap kamapim. (Wantok no. 2110)*

‘The leaders of the country worry about the **epidemic** of tuberculosis.’

(45) ***lek nogut*** ‘cripple’, lit. leg not good

*Paralimpik gems, em ol lain i gat sampela hevi long bodi olsem, aipas, lek bruk, **lek nogut**, han nogut, baksait bruk na ol kain lain olsem i save pilai. (Wantok no. 2040)*

‘Paralympic games, they are players who have some physical disabilities such as, blindness, broken legs, **leg paralysis**, damaged hands, broken backs, and other such disabilities.’

Phrases from (42) to (45) contain three words, i.e. *kaikai* ‘food’, *bagarap* ‘to destroy’ and *lek* ‘leg’. These three lexemes refer to different referents in the real world which are part of ICMs. The principal senses of the nouns written in bold are narrowed down by means of the words accompanying them. For instance, *kaikai bilong gaden* ‘crop’ uses the generic word

kaikai ‘food’ whose meaning is specified by the noun *gaden* ‘garden’. This, in turn, gives rise to the expression which means ‘crop’.

The metonymy CATEGORY FOR MEMBER is also present in the corpus. Consider, for example, the expressions presented below:

(46) *gutpela na stretpela pasin* ‘ethics, integrity’, lit. good and straight fashion

Sanap strong long soim gutpela na stretpela pasin oltaim. (Wantok no. 2048)

‘Stand firm to always show **integrity**.’

(47) *gutpela pasin* ‘morals’, lit. good fashion

Dispela donesen i soim laik bilong mipela long bildim gutpela pasin long ol yangpela pipel husat bai kamap ol lida long bihain taim. (Wantok no. 2013)

‘These donations show our **concerns** for the young people and to build good characters in their lives who will become leaders in the future.’

(48) *pasin bilong pait* ‘aggression’, lit. fashion belong fight

Dispela kain pasin bilong pait long Hela i ken kamapim bikpela birua long ol investa na long ol arapela bisnis manmeri, ol asples manmeri na long gavman propeti na pablik sevan. (Wantok no. 2190)

‘Such **aggression** in the Hela province can create a bigger enemy to the investors and other businessman and woman, the locals, government properties and the public servants.’

(49) *pasin i no stret* ‘injustice, unfair’, lit. fashion not straight

Long dispela nupela samting, ol pikinini i no kisim HIV na AIDS long ol mama bilong ol, tasol long "child sexual abuse" o long pasin bilong bagarapim na mekim pasin i no stret long pikinini. (Wantok no. 1950)

‘In this new thing, the children have not received HIV and AIDS from their mother, unless through “child sexual abuse” or the act of **rape** of a child.’

(50) *pasin nogut* ‘crime’, lit. fashion not good

Dispela kain pasin nogut i mas no ken kamap long ol disiplineri fos. (Wantok no. 2148)

‘Such a **crime** must not be accepted or tolerated within the Disciplinary Forces.’

Examples from (46) to (50) contain the hypernym *pasin* ‘fashion’. The use of this lexeme allows one to modify the basic meaning of this word, that is, ‘behaviour’. For instance, in phrase (46), the word *pasin* is modified by two modifiers *gutpela* ‘good’ and *stretpela* ‘straight’ which create a circumlocution meaning ‘ethics’ or ‘integrity’ by means of metonymic relation. Similarly, in example (47), the headword is modified by one adjective *gutpela*, giving rise to a circumlocution meaning ‘morals’. In examples from (51) to (55), the same process is observed with different key words.

(51) *liklik maunten* ‘hill’, lit. little mountain

Ol bikman husat i bin kisim bodi bilong dai Pater Liebert taim em i pondaun long balus long Amerika na stap long funereel misa na planim bodi long liklik maunten klostu long Wewak Boys Town em, Koreksenel Sevis (CIS) Minista, Tony Aimo na Komisina Richard Sikani wantaim tu planti ol pren, rilijes na pipel long Wewak taun. (Wantok no. 1919)

‘The leaders who have received the body of Late Father Liebert when his body had arrived from America by airplane, have attended the funeral service and witnessed the burial of Late Fr. Liebert close to a **hill** near the Wewak Boys town are, Correctional Service (CIS) Minister, Tony Aimo and Commissioner, Richard Sikani with all the friends, religions and the people of Wewak town.’

(52) *maunten paia* ‘volcano’, lit. mountain fire

Bihain long Manam Ailan maunten paia i bin pairap na bagarapim olgeta hap bilong ailan long yia 2004, samting olsem 10,000 i go 12,000 man, meri na pikinini i bin lusim ailan na i go sindaun long graun bilong ol bikples nau inap long 13 yia olgeta. (Wantok no. 2216)

‘The **volcano** on Manam Island had erupted and destroyed most of the area on the island in 2004. About 10,000 to 12,000 men, women and children have fled from the island and have settled on the mainland for about 13 years now.’

(53) *save gut* ‘talent’, lit. knowledge good

Is Nu Briten Provinsal Gavman i promis long sapatim ol etlit long provins husat i save gut pilai i ken go het na resis long trek na fil resis taim ol i stadi long USA. (Wantok no. 2209)

‘East New Britain Provincial Government promised to support the athletes in the province who have **talent** and to go ahead and compete in the track and field race sport when they study in the USA.’

(54) *save long rit na rait* ‘literacy’, lit. knowledge along read and write

Wankain tu long edukesen, sapos pipel i go skul na ol i save long rit na rait, ol wok developmen bai go gut wantaim moa save manmeri long mekim wok. (Wantok no. 1878)

Like education, **literacy** and attending a school will improve the development of people's skills.

(55) *save long wok* ‘experience’, lit. knowledge along work

Dia Wantok Niuspepa, mi wanpela man bipo wok olsem kiap o patrol opisa, i gat save long wok bilong gavman na pablik edministresen. (Wantok no. 2059)

‘Dear Wantok Niuspepa, I am a former patrol officer with **experience** in government and public administration.’

As may be observed in examples from (51) to (55), headwords different from *pasin* may be used to create new nominal circumlocutions via metonymy. For instance, in (51) and (52), the category *maunten* ‘mountain’ is used, which is a hypernym, then the type of mountain is specified by a modifier. Furthermore, in (51), the headword is specified by the lexeme *liklik* ‘small’ and, in (52), by the word *paia* ‘fire’. As a result, new meanings arise, namely, ‘hill’ and ‘volcano’, respectively. In the case of (53) and (54), the headword *save* ‘knowledge’ metonymically represents the category of ‘a-kind-of knowledge’. The lexeme is modified by the adjective *gut* ‘good’ in (53), the prepositional phrases *long rit na rait* in (54) and *long wok* in (55). In this way, circumlocutions with new senses are coined. Let us now consider the circumlocutions in (56) – (59) with different words used metonymically.

(56) *dokta bilong ol meri* ‘gynaecologist’, lit. doctor belong all Mary

Namba wan dokta bilong ol meri long PIH, Dokta Mathias Sapuri i tok olsem nau haus sik long PIH i gat marasin bilong kilim tripela virus o binatang i save kamapim kensa. (Wantok no. 2090)

‘Head **gynaecologist** from PIH, doctor Mathias Sapuri, says that PIH hospital has medicine for three viruses causing cancer.’

(57) *dokta bilong tit* ‘dentist’, lit. doctor belong teeth

I gat ol jenerel medikal dokta, ol dentis o dokta bilong tit na ol dokta bilong ol enimal i kam long Australia, Nu Silan, Kanada, Singapo na Amerika na wok bung wantaim aninit long PPP long givim fri sevis i go long ol pipel husat i gat ol kain sik. (Wantok no. 1918)

‘There are general medical doctors, **dentists** and veterinarians who have travelled from Australia, New Zealand, Canada, Singapore and America to work together under the guidance of the PPP to provide free medical services to individuals who require medical assistance.’

(58) *saveman bilong lo* ‘lawyer’, lit. expert belong law

Olsem na long surukim taim na de bilong ileksen em Gavman wantaim ol wokman bilong Iektorel Komisin na ol saveman bilong Lo mas lukluk gut insait long Mama Lo na mekim samting stret bihainim. (Wantok no. 1965)

‘Therefore, when postponing the date for elections, the Government along with individuals who work for the Electoral Commission and **Lawyers** must carefully consult the Constitution in order to ensure that their actions are in accordance with the law.’

(59) *wasman bilong sipsip* ‘shepherd’, lit. watch man belong sheep

Gutpela wasman bilong sipsip em i save lusim laip bilong em yet bilong helpim ol sipsip. (Wantok no. 2181)

‘A good **Sheppard** will sacrifice his life in order to save the sheep.’

Examples from (56) to (59) show that lexemes denoting people are incorporated into metonymic references. Phrases (56) and (57) use the headword *dokta* ‘doctor’ to refer to specialist doctors, namely, ‘gynaecologist’ and ‘dentist’. In examples (58) and (59), two different headwords are used, that is, *saveman* ‘expert’ and *wasman* ‘watch man’. Both lexemes are combined with adequate modifiers to create new senses ‘lawyer’ and ‘shepherd’. Examples from (60) to (66) present more words used in a metonymical way.

(60) *bikpela bung* ‘ceremony’, lit. big meeting

OL LUTERAN Siosmembra bilong Isten Hailans i mekim ol wok redi nau long holim namba 28 sios sinod o bikpela bung bilong Lutertan Sios long neks yia. (Wantok no. 1929)

‘The Lutheran congregation of Eastern Highlands have begun preparations to organise the 28th church **ceremony** next year.’

(61) *bikpela paia* ‘blaze’, lit. big fire

Las wik bikpela paia i bin kukim 4-pela stua long Tabari, namel stret long Boroko na klostu long Boroko Paia stesin. (Wantok no. 2219)

‘Last week, a **blaze** burnt down 4 stores of Tabari at the center of Boroko, and close to the Boroko Fire Station.’

(62) *bikpela ston* ‘bolder’, lit. big stone

Total i mekim sait trek driling taim bikpela ston i save dispela bikpela ston blokim rik o paip i go long graun long rausim oil na ges. (Wantok no. 2213)

‘Total had carried outside track drilling when the **bolder** that blocked the rig or pipe into the ground to extract oil and gas.’

(63) *bung toktok* ‘discussion’, lit. meeting talk

TRIPLELA de konprens o bung toktok bilong Busu Luteran Peris long Morobe Provins i bin ron gut tasol na kamap wantaim ol sampela samting we ol sios memba i save gat wari long en. (Wantok no. 1985)

‘The three-day **conference** for the Busu Lutheran Parish at Morobe Province has progressed well with some solutions to issues faced by church members achieved.’

(64) *gras nogut* ‘weed(s)’, lit. grass not good

Em i promis olsem bihain liklik em bai bringim ol kopi palpa masin na ol pam bilong pamim marasin long kilim dai ol gras nogut long kopi gaden. (Wantok no. 2058)

‘He promises that soon he will bring coffee grinders and pumps to clear up **weeds** in the coffee fields.’

(65) *sia king* ‘throne’, lit. chair king

Husat i sindaun long sia king long bel bilong yu? (Wantok no. 1906)

‘Who sits on the **throne** with you?’

(66) *strongpela laik* ‘ambition’, lit. strong like

Tasol em i gat strongpela laik yet long skulim ol yangpela long skul bilong Budha. (Wantok no. 2107)

‘Yet, he still had an **ambition** to teach young people about Buddhism.’

As may be observed in phrases from (60) to (66), various nouns might be used to function in a metonymical way. The words *bung* ‘meeting’, *ston* ‘stone’, *toktok* ‘talk’, *gras* ‘grass’, *sia* ‘chair’ and *laik* ‘like’ are included in circumlocutions to refer to actions or objects. Their meanings are specified by modifiers.

The metonymy PLACE FOR MEMBER is also found in the collected circumlocutions. An example is presented below:

(67) *kalabus man* ‘prisoner’, lit. prison man

Em i tok tu olsem dispela wok ol kalabus man i mekim em i wanpela rihebilitesen wok long helpim ol i stap gut na pinisimtaim bilong ol na bai ol i ken go bek long ol komyuniti bilong ol. (Wantok no. 2026)

‘He also said that the work was a rehabilitation effort to help the **prisoners** recover and return to their communities.’

As may be seen in (67), the lexeme *kalabus* ‘prison’ functions in a metonymical way to refer to an imprisoned person. The word *kalabus* is a modifier of the word *man*.

Lastly, in some instances, either element constituting a circumlocution might be treated as a vehicle of a metonymy. Consider the following examples:

(68) *pikinini man* ‘son’, lit. child man

Nambtri pikinini man, Joshua em i kam insait long laip bilong mi na ol pikinini meri long yia 1990 taim mipela i kamap Kristen pinis. (Wantok no. 2019)

‘I have a third **son**, Joshua, who came into my and my daughters’ life in 1990 when we became complete Christians.’

(69) *pikinini meri* ‘daughter’, lit. child woman

Taim em i toktok, ol pikinini meri bilong em i rausimai wara isi isi. (Wantok no. 1850)

‘When he spoke, his **daughters** poured water softly.’

Examples (68) and (69) consist of two elements that might be considered the source of metonymy. In phrase (68), the words *pikinini* ‘child’ and *man* ‘man’ might be considered as categories indicating a more specific member, namely, ‘son’. As for the circumlocution in (69), the word *pikinini* ‘child’, like (68), might be considered together with the lexeme *meri* ‘woman’ as categories indicating a member, that is, ‘daughter’.

7.2.1.5. Category-and-Property ICM

The last identified category is Category-and-Property ICM. Properties of objects may be perceived as objects or they metonymically represent elements of a thing. In other words, an object can be assigned a set of its salient properties. Consider the following examples: CATEGORY FOR PROPERTY: *jerk* for ‘stupidity’ or PROPERTY FOR CATEGORY: *blacks* for ‘black people’ (Kövecses 2010 [2009]: 181). Kosecki (2020: 55) enumerates several expressions highlighting characteristic properties which metonymically stand for entities, for example, *bikpela man* for ‘adult’, *gutpela taim* for ‘peace’, *bikpela mun* for ‘full moon’ or *tu kina meri* ‘prostitute’. He classifies this metonymic relation as PROPERTY FOR ENTITY.

In the *Wantok* corpus, two metonymic relations in the Category-for-Property ICM have been identified: CATEGORY FOR PROPERTY and PROPERTY FOR CATEGORY. Let us now consider the first type of metonymy:

(70) *liklik prais* ‘cheap’, lit. little price

*Dispela prinsop bai operet long 1p.m. long avinun inap 9p.m long nait long wan wan de long givim ol sumatin wantaim **liklik prais** long printim blek na wait, na poto kopi long kala na ol baining fesiliti long helpim long mekim ol asaighmen na ol narapela akedemik pepa.* (*Wantok* no. 2123)

‘This print shop will operate between 1pm to 9 pm each day to provide students with **cheap** black-and-white printing, color photocopies and binding facilities to help with assignments and other academic papers.’

There is only one expression in the CATEGORY FOR PROPERTY metonymic relation. The category *prais* ‘price’ is modified by the word *liklik* ‘little’. The interplay of these two words yields a circumlocution with the meaning ‘cheap’.

The last group encapsulates the metonymy PROPERTY FOR CATEGORY. An example of this metonymic expression is given below.

(71) *bikpela rong* ‘crime’, lit. big wrong

*Mista O'Neill i tok dispela em bilong lukautim ol kalabus lain i wokim ol **bikpela rong** na i go long kalabus long longpela taim.* (*Wantok* no. 2021)

‘Mr. O’Neill said this is for looking after prisoners who have committed **crimes** and are serving longer sentences in prison.’

In example (71), the word *rong* ‘wrong’ is a negative feature denoting ‘doing something in a(n) bad/incorrect way’. This concept stands metonymically for ‘crime’.

7.2.2. Part(s) of ICM

The Part(s) of an ICM includes cases where entities or objects involved in an action interact with one another. In other words, the Part(s) of an ICM typically applies to things within an event.

In the *Wantok* corpus, only two types of the Part(s) of an ICM have been identified: Action ICM and Causation ICM.

7.2.2.1. Action ICM

An action is a complex event, usually consisting of many elements. That is why various entities involved in an action can be used to metonymically stand for the action. There are such interactions as INSTRUMENT FOR ACTION (e.g. to *ski*, to *shampoo*), AGENT FOR ACTION (e.g. to *butcher*, to *author*), OBJECT INVOLVED IN AN ACTION FOR THE ACTION (e.g. to *blanket* the bed, to *dust* the room), MANNER FOR ACTION (e.g. She *tiptoped* to her bedroom), MEANS FOR ACTION (e.g. He *sneezed* the tissue off the table), to name a few (Kövecses and Radden 1998: 54-55, Kövecses 2010 [2009]: 181-182).

Kosecki (2020: 57) has identified two types of the Action ICM in Tok Pisin, that is, INSTRUMENT FOR EVENT (e.g. *belo* ‘bell’ for ‘midday, noon’, *belo bek* ‘bell back’ for ‘afternoon’) and INSTRUMENT FOR ACTION (e.g. *wilwilim mit* ‘wheel wheel meat’ for ‘mice meat’, *hukim pis* ‘hook fish’ for ‘catch fish’).

In the corpus, one type of the category Action ICM has been identified: ACTION FOR RESULT. Let us consider the following examples:

(72) *bikpela birua* ‘catastrophe’, lit. big to be killed/to die

Epril 25 i makim namba 25 yia bihain long bikpela birua i bin kamap long Chernobyl (Senobil) i stap long kantri Yukren (Ukraine). (Wantok no. 1914)

‘April 25 marks 25 years since the **catastrophe** at Chernobyl (Senobil) in the country of Ukraine.’

As may be observed in (72), the circumlocution contains the verb *birua* ‘to be killed’ or ‘to die’. The lexeme is further modified by the adjective *bikpela* ‘big’ to intensify the meaning of the word used in a metonymical way.

(73) **mama i karim** ‘born’, lit. mother carry

*Ol sampela moa kwesten ino go wantaim 2000 sensus em ol kwesten we i toktok long nupela pikinini **mama i karim**, ol nupela pikinini **mama i karim** na indai, ol wok stretim long sait bilong rit na rait na wane mol samting ol manmeri save yusim long ples ol i stap na slip-kirap long en. (Wantok no. 1866)*

‘Some of the questions did not go well with the 2000 census the question is about new **born** babies and the new **borns** that died after birth, they were fixing the things about education and what things the people use in the village they live in.’

Example (73) depicts an agent involved in an action. The word *mama* ‘mother’ is one of the entities which is found in this specific Action ICM. The word *mama* is followed by a predicate marker and a verb specifying the action performed by the agent. *Mama i karim* stands for the result, that is, the newly born baby.

7.2.2.2. Causation ICM

The category Causation ICM is a cause-effect metonymic relation. Kövecses (2010 [2009]: 182) claims that two possible interactions may be identified in this category: CAUSE FOR EFFECT or EFFECT FOR CAUSE. It is also vital to emphasize that cause and effect are closely tied to one another that is why they frequently imply each other (Kövecses and Radden 1998: 56).

Kosecki (2020: 56) has identified several expressions in Tok Pisin which belong to the Causation ICM, for instance, *taim bilong san* ‘time of sun’ for ‘dry season’, *kot bilong ren* ‘coat bilong rain’ for ‘raincoat’, *taia i plat* ‘tyre flat’ for ‘puncture’ or *klinim gaden* ‘to clean garden’ for ‘to weed’.

One type of the category Causation ICM has been identified in the *Wantok* corpus. The CAUSE FOR EFFECT metonymic relation has been observed. Examples are given below.

(74) *bikpela san* ‘drought’, lit. big sun

*Vanuatu wankain olsem ol narapela ailan kantri long Pasifik i save wari long wara long ol gutpela taim na tu long ol taim bilong **bikpela san** na ples i drai. (Wantok no. 2219)*

‘Vanuatu like other island nations in the pacific, is always concerned about water during good times, and **draught** when the place becomes dry.’

(75) *taim bilong san* ‘dry season’, lit. time belong sun

Long sampela hap bilong Madang provins, taim ol i lukim olsem mumut i kamap planti na ran painim kaikai long bus na gras nambaut em ol pipel i save tok olsem em taim bilong drai sisen o longpela taim bilong san i kam klostu. (Wantok no. 2229)

‘Somewhere in Madang Province, when bandicoots are seen running around looking for food and, in the bushes, and grass, it is said by the people that it is a sign or an indication of **dry season** approaching.’

As can be seen in examples (74) and (75), the metonymy stems from the noun. The circumlocutions in (74) and (75) use the word *san* ‘sun’ which metonymically stands for the effects: ‘drought’ and ‘dry season’, respectively. The noun in (74) is modified by the adjective *bikpela* ‘big’ whose function is to intensify the meaning of the noun. Example (75) contains the word *taim* ‘time’.

7.3. Metaphors

The present section deals with metaphorical mechanisms involved in circumlocutions. To this end, it has been emphasized that metaphors consist of the source and the target domains. The present classification of Tok Pisin metaphors is based on target domains identified in circumlocutions. The corresponding target domains are given in the respective parts of this subchapter. The target domains found in circumlocutions are divided into: (1) EMOTIONS, (2) COMMUNICATION AND LANGUAGE, (3) THINKING, (4) HUMAN BODY, (5) HEALTH, (6) PLANTS as well as (7) COMPANIES AND INSTITUTIONS.

7.3.1. Metaphors of emotions

Metaphors of emotions are one of the most prevalent figures of speech found in many languages. They allow people to translate their feelings into words which might be understood by another person. According to Kövecses (2005: 35),

Emotions are commonly said to be private and heavily culturally dependent experiences that are inaccessible to others. For this reason, the language and underlying conceptualization of emotional experience are expected to be highly culture-specific.

Furthermore, Kövecses (2010 [2009]: 23) states that the target domain EMOTIONS encapsulates such concepts as anger, happiness sadness, shame or pride, to name a few. These concepts are usually, but not exclusively explained by the source domain NATURAL FORCES. Some common metaphors of emotions include: EMOTION IS A FLUID IN A CONTAINER (e.g. *She*

was bursting with joy), EMOTION IS A NATURAL FORCE (e.g. *I was overwhelmed by joy*), EMOTION IS A PHYSICAL FORCE (e.g. *He was hit by happiness*), EMOTION IS A CAPTIVE ANIMAL (e.g. *All joy broke loose as the kids opened their presents*) or EMOTION IS AN OPPONENT (e.g. *She was seized by joy*) (Kövecses (2010 [2009]: 108-111).

Kosecki (2020: 50) has identified several expressions referring to emotions in Tok Pisin which contain a name of a part of a human body, namely, *bel* ‘stomach’. This can be observed in the following examples: *bel kaskas* ‘belly sores’ meaning ‘to be angry’, *strongim bel* ‘strengthen belly’ for ‘get up courage’ and lastly *belhevi* ‘belly heavy’ meaning ‘regret’.

Let us now concentrate on metaphors of emotions found in circumlocutions from the *Wantok* corpus. The only identified type of metaphor is EMOTION IS A SUBSTANCE / AN OBJECT IN A CONTAINER. To be more specific, the container is the belly. Hence, the following metaphors might be represented as THE BELLY / THE BODY IS A CONTAINER FOR EMOTIONS.

(76) *bel hevi* ‘sad’, lit. belly heavy

Ol bel hevi bilong mitupela em long taim mitupela i ting long rot we mitupela i laik bai kantri bilong mipela i mas kamap gutpela. (Wantok no. 2221)

‘Our main **concern** is that when we think about the future, our country needs to become better.’

(77) *autim bel hevi* ‘complain’, lit. out belly heavy

Minista bilong Edukesen, Nick Kuman i bin autim bel hevi bilong em long Yunivesiti bilong Papua Niugini Kaunsil long disisen ol i mekim long pasim skul yia bilong 2016 we ol sumatin bai i no inap long sindaun moa long ol klas na kisim skul. (Wantok no. 2183)

‘Minister of Education Nick Kuman **complained** about the University of Papua New Guinea Council's decision on suspension of 2016 school year which the students were not attending classes to be educated.’

(78) *belhat tru* ‘furious’, lit. belly hot true

Taim em i kam bek long hau, papa i belhat tru na kisim pawa kod na paitim meri yah nogut tru na em i dai. (Wantok no. 1944)

‘When she returned home, her father was **furious** and so he belted her using a power cord until she died.’

(79) *hatim bel* ‘infuriate’, lit. heat belly

Dispela kain toktok i bin hatim bel bilong planti pipel, long wanem pasin rep na kilim nating ol pipel nau i wok long go antap tru long PNG. (Wantok no. 2018)

‘These types of words have been **infuriating** mad because raping and killing people unnecessarily is growing rapidly in PNG.’

(80) *bel isi* ‘peace’, lit. belly easy

Sol bilong em i ken malolo gut long bel isi bilong oltaim, oltaim, Mista Kase i tok. (Wantok no. 2181)

‘May his soul rests in eternal **peace**, says Mr Kase.’

(81) *bel kirap* ‘fascinate’, lit. belly wake up

Long dispela taim i kam ol memba bilong grup i bel kirap long musik, na tupela memba bilong grup, Misek Aaron na Kups Nareo i go kisim musik klas long Goroka Lutheran sios. (Wantok no. 2151)

‘At that time, the members of the group were **fascinated** by music and two of them Misek Aron and Kups Nareo went to study music at Goroka Lutheran church.’

(82) *bel kol* ‘at ease, reconciled’, lit. belly cold

Ol i kolim dispela pasin kastom, Nomaingu o bel kol. (Wantok no. 2101)

‘They call this the custom of **compensation**.’

(83) *givim bel* ‘love’, lit. give belly

Laiplain i agensim ol marit i bruk o long manmeri i wokim pasin nogut olsempaul wantaim marit man o meri o givim bel long narapela i marit pinis. (Wantok no. 1930)

‘The pastor is against divorce or infidelity in marriage and works against bad behavior such as adultery or an **affair** with a married person.’

(84) *strongim bel* ‘encourage, exhort’, lit. strengthen bell

Tasol mi save stap tu wantaim ol manmeri i save daunim ol yet na sori long ol sin bilong ol, na mi save strongim bel bilong ol na mekim laip bilong ol i kamap gutpela gen. (Wantok no. 2110)

‘I also live with the people and see how they humble themselves and for the wrongs that they have done, I use to **encourage** them and make their life better again.’

(85) *strongpela bel* ‘zeal, steadfastness’, lit. strong belly

Na ol jas i nogat rot long kisim halivim long nesenel tresari long baim politikal sapot olsem Namah na O'Neill i ken mekim olsem. Samting ol Jas i save sanap strong long en bai ol i wok gut, em rispek bihainim skul ol i kisim long loa, wok bilong ol olsem ol loya, gutpela pasin bilong ol, na strongpela bel bilong ol, na las tru, nem bilong opis bilong Jas. (Wantok no. 1968)

‘They have no way to get help from the National Treasury to get political support like Namah and O'Neill can. Something Judges stand firm on is that they will work well, respect follows the education they got in Law, their work as Lawyers, their good behaviour and their **steadfastness**, and lastly the name of the office of Judges.’

(86) *laik bilong bodi* ‘desire’, lit. like belong body

Ol i no kamap pikinini bilong God long blut bilong papamama, o long laik bilong bodi, o long laik bilong man. (Wantok no. 2224)

‘They did not become God’s children because of their parents, neither through **desires** nor through what other people want them to be.’

Examples from (76) to (85) contain the word *bel* ‘stomach’ and example (86) contains the word *bodi* ‘body’. Both lexemes are understood in terms of a container for various emotions. It is worth mentioning that the metaphor EMOTION IS A FLUID IN A CONTAINER is common across many cultures. According to Gibbs (1999: 147), many of people’s experiences are kinesthetic. In other words, people experience:

[...] bodily containment ranging from situations in which bodies are in and out of containers [...] to experiences of bodies as containers in which substances enter and exit. An important part of bodily containment is the experience of our bodies being filled with liquids including stomach fluids, blood and sweat. Under stress, people experience the feeling of their bodily fluids becoming heated.

Although the statement by Gibbs suggests that negative emotions might be explained in a metaphorical way, positive emotions may also be expounded by metaphorical means.

The circumlocutions from (76) to (79) have negative connotations. The expression in (76) *bel hevi* means ‘sad’. The word *hevi* ‘heavy’ is used to indicate the type of sensation experienced by a person. What is evident is that expression (76) is used in phrase (77), *autim bel hevi*. This shows that one metaphor may serve as a base for another metaphor. The phrase in (77) has the meaning ‘complain’. In examples (78) *belhat tru* meaning ‘furious’ and (79) *hatim bel* meaning ‘infuriated’, the lexeme *hat* ‘heat’ is used. This is yet another negative sensation felt by a person and expressed metaphorically.

Examples from (80) to (85), on the other hand, contain metaphorical expressions with positive meanings. In this context, positive emotions are contained within the stomach. This might be observed in the use of such lexemes as *isi* ‘easy’, *kol* ‘cold’ or *strongpela* ‘strong’. They indicate the sensation experienced by a person. There are also verbs used with the word *bel*, that is, *kirap* ‘wake up’ and *strongim* ‘strengthen’. It is important to emphasize that the words referring to temperature are included in circumlocutions. The ability to understand emotions in terms of PHYSICAL / NATURAL FORCES is a product of “force-dynamics” described by Talmy (1988). The idea was further entertained by Kövecses (2000: xv) who states that “the master metaphor is EMOTION IS FORCE”. As a result, emotions are usually conceptualized in terms of temperature (Kövecses 2000: 93).

The last phrase, *laik bilong bodi* ‘desire’ in (86), is an example of a metaphor with the whole body considered a container.

7.3.2. Metaphors of communication and language

Reddy (1979) states that language (in his study, the English language) has “a preferred framework for conceptualizing communication”. One of the observations made by him is the metaphor COMMUNICATION IS SENDING. He states that communication is an act performed between people via a conduit. Thud, the metaphor COMMUNICATION IS AN OBJECT might be observed in the language. Kövecses (1995: 318) gives the following example: “[a friend is] *someone that you'll share intimate things with, like you'll tell things to your best friend you'll never tell other people*”.

Scollon (2009: 16-17) mentions two more metaphors of language and communication from Cantonese Chinese, for instance, the metaphor COMMUNICATION IS THE HUMAN BODY IN ACTION (e.g. *jeun jeun lohk douh*, lit. saliva happily running, ‘talk with great delight’, *sa sau gim nihng tauh*, lit. wave hand and twist head, ‘refuse to comply’ or *gu maaih paau soi*, lit. drum move toward bubble cheeks, ‘to puff out the cheeks’) and the metaphor SPEECH IS ANALOGIZED AS BODILY SECRETION (e.g. *hahm hyut pan yan*, lit. hold-in-mouth blood spurt person, ‘to make slanderous charges or accusation’, *yauh pei jauh fong*, lit. have fart just release, ‘speak up’ or *yuht gam yuht cheut si*, lit. more press more out feaces, ‘to pressure someone to reveal secrets’).

Several examples of metaphors of communication and language have been observed in the *Wantok* corpus. First, let us consider the metaphor COMMUNICATION IS OBJECT MANIPULATION:

(87) *sakim tok* ‘to apologize, to contradict, to disobey’, lit. shake talk

Tasol meri em i sakim tok, na em susuim bebi pinis long susu bilong em na man i kirap nogut na em i krai na tok, o sori boi bilong mi. (Wantok no. 2171)

‘She **apologized** for startling him after she had finished breastfeeding her baby.’

(88) *tanim tok* ‘to interpret, to translate’, lit. turn talk

*PALAMEN em i antap moa long judisiari bikos em i save yusim pawa bilong pipel bilong PNG long mekim ol loa bilong kantri taim judisiari i save **tanim tok** o intepretim ol dispela loa palamen i save mekim. (Wantok no. 2044)*

‘The Parliament is superior to the judiciary because it exercises the power of the people of PNG to make the laws of the country when the judiciaries **interpreted** the laws made by the Parliament.’

In examples (87) and (88), the verbs *sakim* ‘to shake’ and *tanim* ‘to turn’ are used. These verbs are used with the noun *tok* ‘talk’. In these circumlocutions, the actions denoted by the verbs are not performed on concrete objects but on abstract ones.

As stated by Sweetser (1987: 44), the domain OBJECT MANIPULATION is one of the most frequently used source domains in English. This metaphor is explained by Sweetser (1987: 449) in the following way:

[...] the mind is a manipulator of thoughts or ideas, which are identified with manipulable objects. Our cognitive processes are seen as holding, touching, and moving mental objects. Something understood is said to be grasped or comprehended (< Lat. *comprehendere*, ‘to seize’): or a mind can “catch on” to a new idea, or more informally just “get it”.

As may be seen, the same metaphorical pattern is observed in Tok Pisin since English is its superstrate language.

Another type of metaphor observed in the circumlocution is LANGUAGE USE IS WAR. Examples from (89) to (91) show this type of metaphor.

(89) *sutim tok* ‘to accuse, to allege’, lit. shoot talk

*Olsem, na sapos yumi lukluk bihainim tingting antap, ating yumi olgeta i asua pinis long **sutim tok** long ol lain husat i save mekim dispela pasin. (Wantok no. 1930)*

‘If we look at the biblical views, we are not supposed to **blame** others.’

(90) *sutim bel* ‘to jeer, to provoke’, lit. shoot belly

Ol i singaut long gavman bilong Not Korea long stopim dispela pasin bilong sutim bel.
(Wantok no. 2216)

‘They have called out to the government of North Korea to stop the attitude of **provoking** them.’

(91) *tok pait* ‘argument’, lit. talk fight

BIKPELA tok pait i kamap aste namel long dipatmen bilong Fainens na Nasanel Hausing Korporesen o NHC taim Pablik Akaun Komiti o PAC siaman John Hickey askimFainens long K70 milian rent mani bilong NHC we Fainens i bin kisim long pei bilong ol pablik seven olsem rent mani. (Wantok no. 2019)

‘There is word of a big **argument** yesterday between the department of Finance and National Housing Corporation or NHC when the Public Accounts Committee or PAC chairman John Hickey asked the Finance about NHS’s K70 million rent money, which the Finance has taken from the public servants’ pay as rent money.’

As seen in examples (89) and (90), the verb *sutim* ‘to shoot’ is used, and in example (91), the lexeme *pait* ‘to fight’ is employed. It shows that verbal interaction is understood as a physical fight. Flusberg, Marlock and Thibodeau (2018: 4) explain that the source domain WAR is a productive domain used in various languages and allows people to converse about a number of topics, including: sports, politics or healthcare. For instance, Lakoff and Johnson (2003 [1980]: 63) explain that the metaphor ARGUMENT IS WAR “is grounded in our knowledge and experience of physical combat” and that, in terms of WAR, rational arguments are considered to be irrational and suspicious. What is more, since the expression in (91) shows considerable similarity to the explanation by Lakoff and Johnson, one may claim that it is also the metaphor ARGUMENT IS WAR.

It is also worth mentioning that in example (90), the word *bel* ‘stomach’ is used. It shows that the metaphor THE BELLY IS A CONTAINER FOR EMOTIONS is embedded in this expression since negative emotions associated with provoking somebody are contained in the stomach.

The metaphor WORDS ARE A VISUAL STIMULUS is found in the compiled corpus as well. Examples from (92) to (94) show the use of this metaphor in the context.

(92) *tok bilas* ‘to flatter, to jeer, to ridicule, to gossip’, lit. talk decoration

Long dispela taim ol ovasis lain i tok bilas yumi, olsem bai yumi pundaun na bagarap stret. (Wantok no. 1914)

‘At that time people from abroad **gossiped** about us that we are going to fall and be destroyed.’

(93) *tok bilas long* ‘to mock’, lit. talk decoration long

May i tok bilas long John Kerry husat i bin stap olsem US Seketeri bilong stet, long tok bilas long Israel gavman olsem gutpela raitwing tru long histori bilong em. (Wantok no. 2212)

‘May mocked the United States Secretary, John Kerry for **mocking** the Israeli government for being the best right-wing in its history.’

(94) *tok piksa* ‘to describe’, lit. talk picture

Na ol i givim wanpela tok piksa long samting we i bin opim ai bilong ol na ol i traim ol arapela rot mekim pipel i gat intres long kam long peris na lotu. (Wantok no. 2087)

‘And they gave a **parable** that was an eye opener and tried other ways to get people interested to come to the parish for mass.’

In examples from (92) to (94), two lexemes – *bilas* ‘decoration’ and *piksa* ‘picture’ – are used to conceptualize the act of communication through a visual stimulus. In the case of example (94), the translation does not contain the dictionary meaning of the phrase *tok piksa*, that is, ‘to describe’. A different equivalent is given, that is, ‘parable’.

The source domain HUMAN PERCEPTION is common for “internal state metaphors” (Müller, Nagels and Kauschke 2022: 366). Lakoff and Johnson (2003 [1980]: 48-50) identify, for instance, the metaphor UNDERSTANDING IS SEEING (e.g. *I see what you’re saying* or *What is your outlook on that?*) and SEEING IS TOUCHING (e.g. *I can’t take my eyes off her* or *Her eyes picked out every detail of the pattern*). What is more, Kövecses (2019: 328) claims that perceptions are used to conceptualized various abstract concepts.

Furthermore, many natural forces are observed by physical sciences, for instance, electric, gravitational, magnetic or mechanical. These natural processes lay in our daily human experiences, that is, one might observe fire, storm or wind. For instance, in Chinese the source domain WIND is used to talk about diseases: *zhong-feng* ‘hit by wind’ meaning ‘stroke’, *tong-feng* ‘pain from wind’ meaning ‘gout’ or *feng-shi* ‘wind damp’ meaning ‘rheumatic disease’ (Jing-Schmidt and Peng 2017: 11).

Moreover, the metaphor WORDS ARE WIND has been identified in the corpus. An example of a metaphorical expression is given in (95).

(95) *tok win* ‘to chatter, to gossip, to rumour’, lit. talk wind

Tok win i wok long raun olsem MRDC i bin givim K30 milien long gavman long yusim taim ol i bin mekim kemp long Alotau long las wik. (Wantok no. 2185)

‘**Rumors** had been going around that MRDC had given K30 Million to the Government to use while they were camping at Alotau Last Week.’

Another source domain used to talk about language and communication is. COOKING AND FOOD. According to Kövecses (2010 [2009]: 20), it is deeply embedded in human history. Additionally, the process of preparing food consists of many elements, e.g. an agent, action or product. All these elements may be therefore used in a metaphorical manner to explain different concepts. Lakoff and Johnson (2003 [1980]: 46) and Kövecses (2010 [2009]: 84) enumerate several metaphors IDEAS ARE FOOD: *We don’t need to **spoon-feed** out students, This is the **meaty** part of the paper* or *The idea has been **fermenting** for years* or THINKING IS COOKING: *Let me **stew over** this.*

The metaphor LANGUAGE IS FOOD has been observed in the *Wantok* corpus. Example (96) shows a metaphor with the source domain FOOD.

(96) *tok gris* ‘to flatter’, lit. talk grease

Ating ol pipel bilong yumi, i no moa aipas long tok gris bilong ol lida bilong yumi. (Wantok no. 1948)

‘The eyes of our people are not blinded by the **flattery** of our leaders.’

The metaphor LANGUAGE IS A BODY PART OF AN ANIMAL / A HUMAN BEING has been identified in the corpus. By way of explanation, both source domains THE HUMAN BODY and ANIMALS are frequently used to explain concepts.

The source domain HUMAN BODY embodies human experiences. However, it does not mean that all elements of a human being are used to conceptualize abstract concepts. Only some elements are chosen to function in a metaphorical manner, e.g. *head, mouth, face* or *hands* (Kövecses (2010 [2009]: 18).

The source domain ANIMALS are also popular since human qualities are understood in terms of animals. For this reason, people might be referred to as a *fox*, a *lion* or a *cat* (Kövecses (2010 [2009]: 19).

Example (97) shows the metaphor MEANING IS A BODY PART OF AN ANIMAL / A HUMAN BEING.

(97) *as bilong tok* ‘meaning, reason’, lit. ass belong talk

Ol saintis i tok i gat planti as bilong tok watpo graun malmalum i save bruk i go daun na bagarapim ples. (Wantok no. 2220)

‘Scientists say that there are many **reasons** why soil erosion is happening and damaging the environment.’

Example (97) contains the word *as* ‘ass’ which is not used in its literal sense, that is, a rear part of an animal. This word is used in a metaphorical way when it occurs with the noun *tok* ‘to talk’. In this way, the word *as* is understood as being the principal sense of a word, phrase or utterance. All in all, the source domain A BODY PART OF AN ANIMAL / A HUMAN BEING is used to explain the target domain MEANING.

7.3.3. Metaphors of thinking

As mentioned before, the target domain THINKING can emerge in metaphors, e.g. THINKING IS COOKING. Kövecses (2010 [2009]: 24) explains that this target domain is frequently used since little is known about how the human mind works. Thinking is usually understood as “the manipulation of objects in a workshop”. There are such metaphors as THINKING IS MOVING (e.g. *reach a conclusion* or *do you follow me*) or THINKING IS OBJECT (MANIPULATION) (e.g. *turn it over in your mind* or *toss ideas around*) (Lakoff 2014: 1-2).

In the *Wantok* corpus, several expressions employing the metaphor THINKING IS OBJECT MANIPULATION have been identified. The source domain OBJECT MANIPULATION is explained earlier. Let us now consider the following examples from:

(98) **lusim ting** ‘to forget’, lit. lose thought

*Yumi go insait nau long 2016 na yumi no ken ting tasol long ol taun na siti na **lusim ting** ol pipel husat i stap longwe long bikbus na ples tais husat i save sot oltaim long ol samting. (Wantok no. 2159)*

‘We are heading towards 2016 and we must not focus only on towns and cities and **forget** about the people who live in remote places back in the village that lack basic services.’

(99) **lusim tingting long** ‘to forget’, lit. lose thought along

*Yumi mas no ken **lusim tingting long** ol lain husat i bin mekim wok pastaim long yumi, na stori bilong ol i stap wantaim yumi nau, Leftenen Jeneral Morrison i tok. (Wantok no. 2076)*

‘We must not **forget** those who have worked before us, their stories must live with us, stated Lieutenant General Morrison.’

(100) **pulim tingting** ‘to persuade’, lit. pull thought

*Vais Sansela Profesa Ross Hynes i tok welkam long laik bilong Samchang Grup na long Mista Lee i tokaut long laik bilong em i **pulim tingting** bilong UPNG long kamapim kain wok. (Wantok no. 1887)*

‘Vice-Chancellor Professor Ross Hynes welcomed the Samchang Group's interest and Mr Lee expressed his desire to **persuade** UPNG to create new jobs.’

(101) **tanim tingting** ‘to convert, to influence’, lit. turn thought

*Taim Allen i bin traim **tanim tingting** bilong ol asples, i nogat bekim i kam long ol papagraun. (Wantok no. 1938)*

‘When Allen tried to **convince** the villagers, there were no responses from the village elders.’

Regarding examples from (98) to (101), thinking is conceptualized in terms of object manipulations since the expressions include such activity verbs as *lusim* ‘to lose’, *pulim* ‘to pull’ and *tanim* ‘to turn’. They all indicate that an action is performed on THOUGHT.

Human body parts are used in a metaphorical manner to talk about central parts of concepts as well. Consider the following examples of the metaphor THOUGHT IS A BODY PART OF AN ANIMAL / A HUMAN BEING:

(102) *as tingting* ‘reason, theme’, lit. ass thought’

Em i tok as tingting bilong dispela projek em long mekim awenes na skulim ol man na meri long grasrut level i ken luksave long dispela, nogut gavman westim mani long nesenel level. (Wantok no. 2019)

‘He said the **theme** of this project is to create awareness and educate people at the grassroot level so that they can recognise this government corruption that is wasting money at the national level.’

Example (102) resembles example (97). In this case, the word *as* ‘ass’ is used in a metaphorical way to talk about thoughts. The source domain A BODY PART OF AN ANIMAL / A HUMAN BEING is used to explain the target domain THOUGHT.

7.3.4. Metaphors of plants

Names of human parts may also be used to refer to parts of plants. Kövecses (2010 [2009]: 19) classifies the domain PLANTS as one of the most common source domains. However, in the present study, the domain PLANT has been classified as the target domain. According to Singh (2022: 5), Polynesian cultures show close connection with nature. This converges with the importance of the value of land, which is explained in Chapter 8.

Examples below present the metaphor A PART OF A PLANT IS AN ANIMAL / A HUMAN BODY PART:

(103) *as bilong diwai* ‘trunk’, lit. ass belong tree

Na man i bihainim maus bilong meri i go lukim samting olsem 10-pela kapul i stap long wanpela as bilong diwai. (Wantok no. 2199)

‘And the person that followed what the woman says, went and saw that there were 10 cuscuses under the **trunk**.’

(104) *han bilong diwai* ‘branch’, lit. hand belong tree

Wantu, taragau i plai i kam daun na kisim dispela pikinini man long tupela lek bilong en na plai i go antap na sindaun long han bilong diwai. (Wantok no. 2216)

‘Suddenly, a taragau bird came down and took this babyboy in its claws and flew up and sat on a **branch**.’

(105) *skin diwai* ‘bark’, lit. skin tree

Yu karim sampela malala o skin diwai na mekim o? (*Wantok* no. 2001)

‘Do you carry a piece of wood or a piece of **bark**?’

What may be inferred from the samples presented above is that certain body parts, that is, *as* ‘ass’, *han* ‘hand’ and *skin* ‘skin’, may be used to refer to some parts of trees. The words *as* ‘ass’ and *han* ‘hand’ specify concrete elements of human or animal bodies; hence the source domain AN ANIMAL / A HUMAN BODY PART helps conceptualize certain parts of plants. In this way, the expression *as bilong diwai* refers to ‘trunk’ and *han bilong diwai* denotes ‘tree branch’. The last example *skin diwai* ‘bark’ incorporates the lexeme *skin* which refers to the layer that covers an animal or human body. The word *skin* in *skin diwai* corresponds to the outer layer of the tree, namely, ‘bark’.

7.3.5. Metaphors of the human body

To this point, it has been emphasized that the domain HUMAN BODY can be used a source domain; however, it can also function as a target domain. This involves depersonification, that is, ascribing inanimate properties to animate objects. For instance, the expression *collateral damage* is considered depersonification since it “dehumanizes casualties of war” (Zanin 2018: 1).

What is more, Witosz (2009: 107) explains that one may use depersonification by self-observation. For instance, in the utterance *udaje mi się sklecić coś, domalowuję temu rzęsy maskarą* ‘I manage to put **something** together, colour **it** with mascara’, the person depersonifies her body by using the pronouns denoting unspecified things.

Furthermore, machines, tools and concepts related to them are used by people to talk about different things. For this reason, they might inspire the foundation of metaphorical expressions. The source domains related to machines and tools are present in the language, for instance, in the expression *the machine of democracy, conceptual tools* or *She produces a book every year* (Kövecses 2010 [2009]: 20). Kosecki (2020: 50) gives an example of a metaphor with the source domain MECHANISM in Tok Pisin, namely, THE MIND IS MECHANISM *waia lus* ‘wire loose’ meaning ‘crazy’.

The metaphor A BODY PART IS A MECHANISM is found in circumlocutions retrieved from the *Wantok* corpus. Consider the following examples:

(106) *brukim skru* ‘to kneel’, lit. break screw

Olgeta manmeri bai brukim skru na olgeta maus bai i tokaut olsem Jisas em i Bikpela.
(Wantok no. 2119)

‘All man will **kneel**, and all the mouth shall proclaim that Jesus is the King.’

(107) *skru bilong han* ‘elbow’, lit. screw belong hand

Dispela em bilong wanem, Muay Thai save yusim, tupela han, tupela lek, tupela skru bilong han na tupela skru bilong lek long pait bilong ol. (Wantok no. 1950)

‘This is the reason why Muay Thai fighters use both their arms, legs, **elbows** and knees when fighting.’

(108) *skru bilong lek* ‘knee’, lit. screw belong leg

Ol i ken pait long han skru bilong han, kik long lek na skru bilong lek na tu holim pasim narapela paitman na tromoim em i go daun long graun. (Wantok no. 1959)

‘They can fight using their elbow, kick using their legs and **knee** and also try to hold down a man who is involved in a fight and throw him to the ground.’

As for examples from (106) to (108), the phrases contain the word *skru* ‘screw’ which is understood as a piece of metal used to join two things together. In this context, the function of this word is extended from its typical use to a metaphorical application where the lexeme stands figuratively for a joint that is a structure found in human or animal bodies.

7.3.6. Metaphors of health

The concept of HEALTH is claimed to be frequently discussed with the use of metaphors. There are many metaphors of HEALTH, e.g. (1) ILLNESS IS AN OBSTACLE ON LIFE’S JOURNEY (e.g. *it brought me to the kind of ... the edged of abyss*), (2) ILLNESS AND ITS TREATMENT ARE A GAME (e.g. *one option was to do nothing and just live with the odds*), (3) AN ILL PERSON IS AT WAR (e.g. *my consultants recognized that I was a born fighter*) (Demjén and Semino 2016: 388-395). What is more, disease outbreaks or pandemics might be conceptualized via the source domain WAR. De Saint Preux and Blanco (2021: 38) claim that disease outbreak might be equated with such concepts as FIGHT, STRATEGY or IMPACT (e.g. *Trump puts US on war footing to combat outbreak, So how are we faring in this battle between the human race and the coronavirus? or Starbucks Baristas Confront Coronavirus Pandemic*).

In the *Wantok* corpus, three types of the conceptualization of HEALTH are found. The source domain used to explain it is WAR. Let us consider the first metaphor TRYING TO BE HEALTHY IS WAR:

(109) *givim sut* ‘immunize, vaccinate’, lit. give shot

Gutpela we bilong lukautim ol lain i noken kisim sik tetanus em long givim sut na marasin bilong banisim ol, nau mipela kempein long em insait long nesen long olgeta yanpela meri na bikpela meri krismas bilong ol namel long 15 na 45 wantaim ol mama i gat bel long kisim sut na marasin. (Wantok no. 2025)

‘Another way to prevent tetanus is to **vaccinate** and make awareness nationwide targeting the women between the ages of 15 and 45 and also including the pregnant women.’

(110) *givim sut long* ‘inject’, lit. give shot along

Ol i ranawe bikos i harim stori pinis olsem, long Holy Rosary praimeri skul, ol i givim sut long ol pikinini na kisim nem na piksa bilong ol tu. (Wantok no. 2070)

‘They ran away, because they heard that in Holy Rosary Primary School, they **vaccinate** the children, take their names, and their photos.’

(111) *banis sut* ‘immunization’, lit. fence/wall shot

Dispela plen em long givim banis sut na marasin long olgeta pikinini, krismas bilong ol 6 mun i go 59 mun long Sandaun na long sampela hap bilong Is Sepik Provins. (Wantok no. 2180)

‘This plan is to give **immunizations** and injections to all children of 6 months to 59 months in Sandaun and in some parts of the East Sepik Province.’

In examples from (109) to (111), the word *sut* ‘shot’ is used. The lexeme allows one to conceptualize the target domain TRYING TO BE HEALTHY in terms of the source domain WAR. Therefore, being vaccinated might be understood through the concept of being at war. What is more, expression (109) is a calque of the English expression meaning ‘give an injection’.

Another metaphor found in the corpus is INFECTION IS MOVEMENT. Movement and direction are also popular concepts and may function as source domains to express human ideas metaphorically. Moreover, the movement might involve a change of location or on the contrary it might be stationary, for instance, *He went crazy*, *Inflation is soaring* or *She solved the problem step by step* (Kövecses 2010 [2009]: 22).

(112) *kalap i go* ‘to infect’, lit. jump go

Dispela i opim dua long bikhet pasin na sans long binatang bilong HIV na AIDS i kalap i go long moa pipel. (Wantok no. 1922)

‘This opens the door to bad behaviors and the spread of HIV and AIDS to **infect** more people.’

As may be observed in (112), the combination of two verbs used in a phrase might function together to give rise to a new meaning. In the phrase, the lexemes *kalap* ‘to jump’ and *go* ‘to go’ are used to create the meaning ‘to infect’.

In the *Wantok* corpus, the lunar cycle has been identified as one of the source domains for metaphors. Time is a source domain which is common in metaphors.

Lakoff and Johnson (2003 [1980]: 7-8) enumerate several metaphorical patterns with the concept of TIME, that is, TIME IS MONEY, TIME IS A LIMITED RESOURCE or TIME IS A VALUABLE COMMODITY.

Tok Pisin, however, has developed a dual conceptualization of TIME which is based on the native tradition and the Western concepts. One of the ways of expressing time is to interpret it as an astronomical phenomenon. One may notice the notion of the cycle of, for instance, the sun (e.g. *taim bilong san i kamap* ‘time belong sun come up’ meaning ‘daybreak’) or moon (e.g. *sik mun* ‘sick moon’ for ‘menstruation’) (Kosecki 2022: 14-15).

An example of the metaphor MENSTRUATION IS A LUNAR CYCLE is presented below.

(113) *sik mun* ‘menstruation’, lit. sick moon

Sapos yu gat sevaikel kensa bai dispela samting i kamap: Meri i lusim blut nating olsem sik mun tasol i no taim em long kisim sik mun, bihain long meri slip wantaim man o taim meri i winim 40 yia krismas. (Wantok no. 2088)

‘If you have cervical cancer, you are likely to experience these symptoms; - bleeding unexpectedly. Not on your correct **menstruation** date or after sexual intercourse and after the age of 40.’

In example (113), the concept of being sick is ascribed to the moon. This shows “the cultural taboo belief that the moon is responsible for women’s menstruation” (Kosecki 2022: 14).

7.3.7. Metaphors of companies and institutions

According to Kövecses (2010 [2009]: 157-159), such concepts as ORGANIZATIONS, INSTITUTIONS or COMPANIES, to name just a few, are all target domains that belong to a more general target domain, namely, (ABSTRACT) COMPLEX SYSTEMS. One of the ways of conceptualizing this target domain is to talk about it in terms of the source domain HUMAN BEINGS OR ANIMALS.

In the corpus, the metaphor AN INSTITUTION / COMPANY IS (A BODY PART OF) AN ANIMAL / A HUMAN BEING has been identified.

(114) *het opis* ‘headquarters’, lit. head office

Em i gat het opis bilong em long Shangai, Saina na em i mekim ol wok bilong diwai insait long Saut Amerika tu. (Wantok no. 2113)

‘Its **headquarters** are in Shanghai, China and also lunch timber operations in South America.’

(115) *ples balus* ‘airport’, lit. place bird

Piksa i soim wanpela Q400 balus bilong Qantas Link i lusim Jackson's ples balus long Pot Mosbi na i laik go long Cairns, Australia. (Wantok no. 2152)

‘The picture shows Qantas Link's airplane Q400 leaving Jackson's **airport** in Port Moresby and heading to Cairns, Australia.’

(116) *balus kampani* ‘airline’, lit. bird company

BALUS kampani bilong PNG, Air Niugini, i kisim nupela B737-700 siris balus las wik Trinde. (Wantok no. 1978)

‘The PNG **airline**, Air Niugini, has purchased a new B737-700 series plane last week Wednesday.’

In example (114), the circumlocution *het opis* ‘headquarters’ is a calque of the English compound noun *head office*. In both English and Tok Pisin, the target domain INSTITUTION is understood as a body part of a human being or an animal. The lexeme *het* ‘head’ indicates a central part of an institution. Different researchers have identified a similar metaphor (see Jing-Schmidt and Peng 2017, Gallelli 2018).

The source domain ANIMAL is used in examples (115) and (116). The word *balus* ‘bird’ functions in a metaphorical way in these expressions. In this metaphor, the properties of birds, such as flying and having wings are mapped onto an airplane. This conceptualization of an

airplane as a bird allows one to understand the compound *ples balus* as ‘airport’ and *balus kampani* as ‘airline’.

7.3.8. Miscellaneous metaphors

In the last section of this subchapter, a number of phrases are presented, which are the only instances of certain types of metaphors. The list below shows the proposed metaphorical patterns, metaphorical expressions and exemplary passages from the Wantok corpus.

— TIME IS A LUNAR CYCLE

Time is a concept difficult to conceptualize. On top of that, the human senses make the observation of time extremely subjective. For this reason, time is conceptualized in terms of more concrete concepts (see e.g. Komorowska 2019, Komorowska and Stanulewicz 2021, Olkiewicz 2018: 25, Stanulewicz 2021). Kövecses (2010 [2009]: 26) states that time can be understood as an object that moves. However, Lakoff and Johnson (1999: 137) state that “all of our understandings of time are relative to other concepts such as motion, space and events”.

In the extracted circumlocutions from the *Wantok* corpus, the metaphor TIME IS A LUNAR CYCLE has been found. Example (117) shows the use of this metaphor.

(117) *long wan wan mun* ‘monthly’, lit. along one one moon

Em i save gat 30 sikman na meri i slip insait long haus sik long wan wan mun. (*Wantok* no. 2159)

‘There are usually 30 patients admitted to the hospital monthly.’

In example (117), the lexeme *mun* ‘moon’ stands figuratively for the monthly period of time. In this case, the passage of time is conceptualized in terms of movement, as suggested by Lakoff and Johnson (1999) as well as by Kövecses (2010 [2009]). By way of explanation, the movement of celestial bodies is the measurement of time since “[m]otion appears to be primary and time is metaphorically conceptualized in terms of motion. There is an area in the visual system of our brains dedicated to the detection of motion”. Similarly, the English word *month* originally meant “the interval between one new moon and the next (a sense attested from late Old English)” (<<https://www.etymonline.com/search?q=month>>).

— PAIN IS AN OBJECT

Pain is a concept which belongs to human bodily experiences as well. It is a natural biological response to tissue damage or other problems and serves as a warning to a human or animal. In other words, it is “a physical sensation that is unwelcomed in nature” (Uberman 2015a: 68-69). For this reason, it is not surprising that the lexeme *pain* and related words are used in a metaphorical way (see Uberman 2014). For instance, PAIN might be seen as: INSERTION OF A POINTED OBJECT (e.g. *stinging, pricking penetrating pain*), APPLICATION OF A SHARP OBJECT (e.g. *cutting, sharp, lacerating pain*), PULLING or TEARING (e.g. *drawing, squeezing wrenching pain*) or APPLICATION OF PRESSURE / WEIGHT (e.g. *crushing, heavy, tight pain*) (Semino 2010: 2-6).

Example (118) shows the metaphor PAIN IS AN OBJECT.

(118) *givim pen* ‘afflict, torture’, lit. give pain

Ol i dropim ol bom, kalabusim na givim pen na kilim nabaut planti pipel. (Wantok no. 2222)

‘They bombed, imprisoned, **tortured** and killed a lot of people.’

As can be seen in sample (119), the lexeme *pen* ‘pain’ is used with the verb *givim* ‘to give’; hence the sensation of pain might be perceived as an object which is given to people. The phrase might be interpreted as ‘to afflict’ or ‘to torture’.

— PROFIT IS WINNING

Shields and Bredemeier (2011: 35) propose the existence of the metaphor PLAYING IS WINNING. In this metaphor, a winner is a person whose performance is based on luck, skills and different factors important to achieve a positive result. In such a metaphor, the focus is placed on the outcome. Let us now focus on the metaphor PROFIT IS WINNING.

(119) *win mani* ‘to profit’, lit. win money

Bikpela win mani long Ok Tedi em go aut long 10- pela yia, taim PNGSDP i bin kamap. (Wantok no. 2016)

‘Big **profit** from OK Tedi went out in 10 years when PNGSDP was made.’

Example (119) shows that the circumlocution *win mani* ‘to profit’ consist of the verb *win* ‘to win’, which refers to the act of achieving a positive outcome. In this context, the juxtaposition of the two lexemes yields the meaning ‘profit’.

— LAWS ARE A FAMILY

Ebbesson (2008: 260) states that metaphors take a special position in legal terminology. They reflect how people understand various contexts and situations. “Metaphors work in this way also to enrich and facilitate legal communication through useful analogies”. Ebbesson (2008: 267-268) claims that legal metaphors are, for instance, LAWS ARE GAMES / SPORTS.

In the *Wantok* corpus, the metaphor LAWS ARE A FAMILY has been found. Example (120) shows the metaphor.

(120) *Mama lo* ‘constitution’, lit. mother law

Mista Naru i tok Mama Lo bilong kantri i givim tok klia olsem i gat tripela gavman i stap, em ol Eksektiv (Nesenel Eksektiv Kaunsil o NEC), Palamen (Lejislesa), na Kot (Judiseri). (Wantok no. 2185)

‘Mr. Naru says that in the country's **constitution** there are three governments, the Executive (National Executive Council or NEC), Parliament (Legislative), and the Court (Judiciary).’

Example (120) demonstrates that the lexeme *mama* ‘mother’ is used figuratively. It allows one to conceptualize the abstract concept LAW by using a comparison with a simpler concept FAMILY.

The concept LAW might have been difficult for local communities to comprehend once Papua New Guinea was colonized. The term *lo* ‘law’, according to Bęben (2006: 269), encompasses values imposed on the native inhabitants by the colonizers. Interestingly, the lexeme *lo* is negatively valuated, for instance, *lo bilong papamama*, lit. law belong parents, which refers to negative character traits inherited by children from their parents (Bęben 2019: 89). However, there are several terms which have positive connotations with the term *lo*, for instance, *lo bilong inside*, ‘conscience’, lit. law belong inside (Bęben 2006: 269). One might argue that the metaphorical expression *mama lo* also has positive connotations since it is “the Mother of all Laws” (Malbrancke 2019: 14) and as stated by Deklin (2010: 51):

Our Mama Lo, as our fundamental law, is designed to protect three fundamental values: we, the People of Papua New Guinea, our Democracy, and the Rule of Law. This involves meeting two matter-of-life-and-death challenges simultaneously if society is to survive. A constitution must, on the one hand,

provide stability, and, on the other hand, facilitate change in the basic social order. This requires a gymnastic act of balancing two weights: stability at one end and change at the other end of the scale.

— **HOMELAND IS AN ANIMAL / A HUMAN BEING**

As has already been explicated the lexeme *as* ‘ass’ may be used in a figurative way to denote a core element of a concept. Let us now concentrate on the metaphor **HOMELAND IS AN ANIMAL / A HUMAN BEING**. Example (121) shows the metaphor.

(121) *as ples* ‘homeland, hometown’, lit. ass place

Bikpela amamas i kamap long lukim sampela ol meri as ples i danis na soim stail bilong ol.
(*Wantok* no. 2111)

‘A joy to see some **homeland** ladies dancing and showcasing their beauties.’

As may be observed in example (121), locations may be conceptualized in terms of body parts. Wagner and Talakai (2007: 4) explain that the expression *as ples* can be understood as a “root place” of a person. It is a special term since it emphasizes where a person is from, and most importantly, it allows one to define his or her individuality “in relation to their urban neighbours, friends and workplace companions”. What is more, this expression shows the importance of the value of clan which is discussed in Chapter 8.

— **FIRE IS AN ANIMAL / A HUMAN BEING**

In this example, the metaphor consists of the target domain **FIRE** and the source domain **AN ANIMAL / A HUMAN BEING**.

(122) *sit bilong paia* ‘ash’, lit. shit belong fire

Sit bilong paia i bagarapim ol gaden kaikai na wara bilong dring long ailan. (*Wantok* no. 2135)

‘The **ash** has damaged the crops and the drinking water on the island.’

As may be observed, in phrase (122), the word *sit* ‘shit’ is used in a metaphorical way to stand for the by-product of burning material.

— **APPLAUD IS WAR**

Another identified metaphor conceptualizes the act of applauding in terms of the source domain **WAR**. The use of the metaphor **APPLAUD IS WAR** is shown below.

(123) *paitim han* ‘to applaud’, lit. fight hand

Olgeta Memba na manmeri i paitim han taim Sir Michael i wokabaut i go insait.
(*Wantok* no. 2220)

‘All the members and people **applauded** as Sir Michael walked in.’

As may be seen in the last example, the act of showing approval by clapping one’s hands is conceptualized in terms of WAR by the use of the verb *paitim* ‘to fight’.

7.4. Concluding remarks

The semantic analysis of circumlocutions demonstrates that these elaborate nominal expressions may be classified into 23 distinct categories. The most common referents are Buildings and Rooms, Qualities, Misfortunes, Communication and Language as well as People. What is more, one may also notice that some categories encapsulate: (1) concrete nouns (e.g. *haus sik*, *haus holi*, *pikinini man* or *man husat i go pas long*) and (2) abstract nouns (e.g. *stretpela pasin*, *smel nogut*, *planti mani* or *i amamas nogut tru*).

As regards verbal circumlocutions, they are used instead of verbs describing activities, communicative acts and mental states. The frequent use of such verbs is a logical consequence of newspaper articles describing events, interactions between people or opinions. The least common are occurrence verbs and causative verbs.

Adjectival circumlocutions constitute another category. There is only one dominating group of adjectives whose purpose is to evaluate and to show emotions. There are also such categories as Time Descriptor, Size/Quantity/Extent Descriptors or Topic Descriptors, which are less frequent.

Finally, adverbial circumlocutions yield a small category. There are only three categories: Adverbs of Time, Adverbs of Manner and Adverbs of Degree: Amplifier. The category of adverbs of time is the biggest one.

As regards figurative language, metonymies are the most abundant figurative mechanism in the analyzed material. Both categories of metonymies have been identified, that is, (1) Whole ICM and Its Part(s) and (2) Part(s) of ICM. In the first category, five specific Idealized Cognitive Models have been found:

- (1) Thing-and-Whole ICM
- (2) Constitution ICM
- (3) Complex Event ICM

(4) Category-and-Member ICM

(5) Category-and-Property ICM.

In the second category of metonymies, two Idealized Cognitive Models have been identified:

(1) Action ICM

(2) Causation ICM

The presence of metonymies in circumlocutions in Tok Pisin shows that the world perceived by the users of this pidgincreole is governed by cognitive processes which enable them to highlight the most prototypical and salient features of activities, objects or phenomena. This converges with the statement by Rutkiewicz-Hanczewska (2007: 100), given at the beginning of the present chapter, that circumlocutions present the understanding of the surrounding world.

The identified metaphors have been divided into seven specific classes, taking into consideration their target domains. Additionally, a group of circumlocution with miscellaneous target domains has been described. The seven specific target domains are the following ones:

(1) EMOTIONS,

(2) COMMUNICATION AND LANGUAGE,

(3) THINKING,

(4) HUMAN BODY,

(5) HEALTH,

(6) PLANTS,

(7) COMPANIES AND INSTITUTIONS.

It is worth mentioning the target domains which occur in miscellaneous metaphors: TIME, PAIN, PROFIT, LAWS, HOMELAND, FIRE, APPLAUD and LACK OF KNOWLEDGE.

Lastly, the source domains used to explain concepts encompass A BODY PART OF AN ANIMAL / HUMAN BEING, A FLUID IN A CONTAINER, OBJECT MANIPULATION, WAR, VISUAL STIMULUS, MECHANISM and LUNAR CYCLE, to name just a few.

In the case of metaphors, they show that the users of the language use linguistic, conceptual, socio-cultural, neural and bodily phenomena (Kövecses 2005: 8-9) to identify and describe the objects in the real world. The names of elements in the real world which are the most common are used in circumlocutions.

8. The Melanesian worldview reflected in circumlocutions

The term *Melanesian World* is used with reference to the communities living in the Pacific region, which includes such areas as Papua New Guinea, West Papua, Torres Strait Islands, Solomon Islands, Vanuatu and New Caledonia (Hirsch and Rollason 2019: 2). Franklin (2007: 26) claims that the term also encapsulates more regions from Polynesia and Micronesia. These regions belong to a bigger cluster, namely, “the great Austronesian complex”.

In this chapter, attention is drawn to the values of the Melanesian World, in the case of the present research, Papua New Guinea. The section will present the identified values in circumlocutions. As proposed by Franklin (2007), the traditional values are: (1) land, (2) clan, (3) reciprocity, (4) food, (5) ancestors, (6) ritual, (7) leadership, (8) education, (9) compensation and (10) work. Although Franklin provides a list of key words helpful in identifying underlying cultural values, it is worth emphasizing that their current picture might have changed to some extent. This is well-depicted in the statement by Kulick (2019: 368):

Margaret Mead believed that people have a responsibility to engage with others who are very different from themselves. Everyone has that responsibility, but the ones who have more of it than others are people who live in countries like the United States and western Europe. These are the places of privilege from which the active agents of change have emerged—active agents who have purposefully and irrevocably transformed the lives of people in faraway places, through colonialism; by converting them to Christianity; by drawing them into the capitalist world by conscripting them as servants, as factory workers, as plantation laborers; by imposing borders that separate them where none existed before [...]

In contemporary Papua New Guinea, the prototypical values are influenced and altered by contact with different nations.

Before presenting the analysis of the Melanesian values, it is crucial to emphasize that this categorization differs from the semantic categorization presented in the previous chapter as it aims to provide insights into another culture and therefore allows one to observe the worldview reflected in the language (Ottenheimer and Pine 2019: 27-28). Let us consider the statement made by Szczerbowski (2021: 141, translation mine) who explains why language should be investigated also with relation to culture:

Language can no longer be analyzed on its own and for itself. Researchers are interested in the relationship between language and culture. Of course, it is possible to focus on either language or culture, but it seems more promising to treat language and culture as a complex relationship which can interact with other languages and cultures.

8.1. Work

The concept of work is directly connected with the social status in Papua New Guinea. Gibson (2019: 164) emphasizes that a particular type of dichotomy might be observed, namely, the country's population is divided into two socio-economic groups. First, there are *elites*. This group encompasses well-educated “urban-based professionals and public servants in high-income employment”. Second, there are *grassroots*. In this group, one may find people from low-income households in urban regions and people from rural regions.

Franklin (2007: 37) states that the concept of work was imposed on Papua New Guinea communities by the government and missionaries. Interestingly, the concept of work was absent from the Kewa language; however, once it was introduced, people speaking the language had to coin certain terms which allowed them to convey the idea. Franklin (2007: 37) explains that the Kewa people use the word *pa* ‘make’ and combine it with a noun, for instance, *government* or *mission* to spell out the type of work. Returning to Tok Pisin, Franklin (2007: 37) claims that once the concept of work enters a society, novel means of naming phenomena are required.

In the *Wantok* corpus, three words – *painim* ‘find’, *wok* ‘work’ and *wokim* ‘work’ – have been found to relate to work. Each of these words can be used in expressions denoting the value of work. Table 8.1 presents circumlocutions with these words as well as and their frequencies and percentage values.

Table 8.1. Circumlocutions with the value of work

Word	Circumlocutions	Total frequency of circumlocutions	%
<i>wok</i> ‘work’	<i>givim wok</i> ‘employ’, <i>wok bung</i> ‘collaborate’, <i>wok didiman</i> ‘farmer’, <i>wok gaden</i> ‘gardening’, <i>strong long mekim wok</i> ‘energy’, <i>wok painimaut</i> ‘investigation/research’, <i>wok long painim</i> ‘search’	2,176	90.82
<i>painim</i> ‘find’	<i>painim mani</i> ‘earn’, <i>painim pis</i> ‘fish’	169	7.05
<i>wokim</i> ‘build, work, be busy’	<i>wokim plen</i> ‘draft’, <i>wokim rong</i> ‘guilty/immoral’, <i>wokim senis</i> ‘correction’, <i>rot bilong wokim</i> ‘procedure’	51	2.13
Total		2,396	100.00

As can be observed, the verb *painim*, meaning ‘search earnestly for something’ (Franklin 2007: 45), is used with nouns to indicate work-related activities. Interestingly, both concepts are not seen as work, but as a search for payment and food. Additionally, in some circumlocutions, the word *wok* functions as a superordinate term and this “imposes new

temporal and economic constraints on how a continuum of people’s activity could be conceptualized and managed” (Kornacki 2022: 89). This is evident in the following examples *givim wok* ‘employ’, lit. give work, *wok bung* ‘collaborate’, lit. work meeting, *wok didiman* ‘farmer’, lit. work farmer, *wok gaden* ‘gardening’, lit. work garden’, *wok painimaut* ‘investigation/research’, lit. work find out, and *wok long painim* ‘search’, lit. work along find. The last word *wokim*, meaning “build, work, be busy” (Kornacki 2022: 83), is used in circumlocutions referring to: (1) activities *wokim senis* ‘correction’, lit. work change, or *rot bilong wokim* ‘procedure’, lit. road belong work, (2) a piece of writing *wokim plen* ‘draft’, lit. work plan, or (3) qualities *wokim rong* ‘guality/immoral’, lit. work wrong. Additionally, the dichotomy noticed by Gibson (2019) may also be observed. For instance, there are circumlocutions which might be more common in urban-based settings, such as *wokim plan* ‘draft’ and *rot bilong wokim* ‘procedure’, whereas such expressions as *painin pis* ‘fish’ or *wok didiman* ‘farmer’ might be more common in rural-based settings.

In summation, the frequent use of the value of work in circumlocutions might suggest that Melanesian communities find work-related activities very important.

8.2. Compensation

According to Franklin (2007: 36), compensation is one of the principal values of Papuan culture. It is claimed that compensation “is expected and extracted for “accidents”, murder and warfare, domestic quarrels, land use – in short almost anything can be a conduit for compensation”. Cox (2019: 186) states that it stems from the past wrongdoings. Filer (1997: 156) explains that the sense of compensation does not solely stem from “the conflicting evaluations of which have been lost, damaged or destroyed”, but it also derives from “the conceptual and emotional relationship between compensation and other forms of property or value which engage the minds of the participants”. Zgrzebnicki (2017: 80, translation mine) describes his encounter with local people who exhibit the value of compensation in real life. Consider the following passage:

I knew that Papuan tribes were among the most ruthless in the world. I also knew that fighting and armed conflict were the pride and fundamental cultural fabric of the local population. However, I never imagined that a trivial quarrel in a market could result in bloody murder and armed raids.

Table 8.2 presents the words which represent the value of compensation. The *Wantok* corpus contains five words related to the concept of compensation. In table 8.2., circumlocutions are given together with their frequencies and percentage values.

Table 8.2. Circumlocutions with the value of compensation

Word	Circumlocution	Total frequency of circumlocutions	%
<i>bagarap</i> 'damage'	<i>bikpela bagarap</i> 'catastrophe', <i>bikpela bagarap tru</i> 'disaster', <i>kisim bagarap</i> 'injured', <i>man i kisim bagarap</i> 'casualty'	1,113	69.56
<i>trabel</i> 'trouble'	<i>bikpela trabel</i> 'emergency'	224	14.00
<i>birua</i> 'enemy'	<i>bikpela birua</i> 'catastrophe', <i>pasin birua</i> 'ill-will'	134	8.38
<i>bagarapim</i> 'damage'	<i>bagarapim nem</i> 'humiliate', <i>bagarapim sindaun</i> 'annoy', <i>inap long bagarapim</i> 'vulnerable'	95	5.94
<i>bekim</i> 'repay'	<i>bekim tok</i> 'answer'	34	2.13
Total		1,600	100.00

The circumlocutions with the value of compensation contain the words: *bekim* 'to repay a loan or to payback a wrong', *bagarap/bagarapim* 'to destroy something or harm someone', *birua* 'an enemy or an accident' and *trabel* 'unfortunate circumstances' (Franklin 2007: 43-46). Most of the circumlocutions have negative connotations. They emphasize negative consequences of certain events, for instance, *bikpela bagarap* 'catastrophe', lit. big bugger-up, or *kisim trabel* 'emergency', lit. get/take trouble. Some of the expressions may also be used with reference to people and their qualities, such as *man i kisim bagarap* 'casualty', lit. man get/take bugger-up, or *pasin birua* 'ill-will', lit. fashion enemy. One circumlocution, that is, *bekim tok* 'answer', lit. back talk, does not have negative connotations.

All in all, the value of compensation is vital to many communities in Papua New Guinea (Franklin 2007: 36). What can be seen is that compensation in circumlocutions is expressed chiefly in terms of 'sustaining damage' or 'trouble'. However, in some instances, compensation is verbalized by means of the word *birua* meaning 'enemy'.

8.3. Ritual

The value of ritual is considered a crucial part of Papua New Guinea peoples. Kulick (2019: 43) states that various groups living in Papua New Guinea share similar beliefs concerning sorcery or rituals. With the arrival of missionaries, people were converted to Christianity. Nowadays, rituals are followed in churches of various denominations (Franklin 2007: 34, Kulick 2019: 59).

Table 8.3 shows the words which reflect the value of ritual. Exemplary circumlocutions are given with their frequencies and percentage values.

Table 8.3. Circumlocutions with the value of ritual

Word	Circumlocution	Total frequency of circumlocutions	%
<i>lotu</i> ‘religion’	<i>haus lotu</i> ‘church’	376	87.24
<i>sios</i> ‘church’	<i>hetman bilong Katolik Sios long wol</i> ‘pope’	22	5.10
<i>singsing</i> ‘song’	<i>singsing bilong Krismas</i> ‘Christmas carol’, <i>singsing lotu</i> ‘hymn’	18	4.18
<i>tambu</i> ‘taboo’	<i>buk tambu</i> ‘Bible’	15	3.48
Total		431	100.00

The circumlocutions corresponding to the value of ritual contain the following words: *lotu* ‘building where church is held’, *singsing* ‘ritual dances’, *sios* ‘church or its activities’ and *tambu* ‘something forbidden or one’s in-laws’ (Franklin 2007: 44-46). All these circumlocutions revolve around the concept of religion. The most common word is *lotu* which occurs in one expression, *haus lotu* ‘church’, lit. house religion. Another expression referring to the general concept of religion is *singsing lotu* ‘hymn’, lit. sing religion. It is worth emphasizing that *singsing* is also a Papuan tradition. These are momentous gatherings which bring together people of different tribes. The primary purpose of this custom is to tighten relationships with various people and exchange experiences (Zgrzebnicki 2017: 113). The remaining circumlocutions refer to the Catholic church. Interestingly, the expression *buk tambu* meaning ‘Bible’ includes the word *tambu* which implies that it is a forbidden book.

In the coastal and island regions of Melanesia, Christianity has been thriving for more than a century. This explains why the value of ritual revolves greatly around different religious concepts including Christianity, and not folk beliefs, customs and traditions. In contemporary Papua New Guinea, a new picture of religion is emerging. Eriksen and MacCarthy (2019: 347-350) emphasize that the region “has been dominated by Pentecostal and Charismatic churches and prayer groups”.

8.4. Food

Bourke (2019: 143) states that “food production continues to provide much of the food consumed” in, among others, Papua New Guinea. In addition, community members depend on one another for food supplies, helping with gardening and cooking. The Papua New Guinea way is to share food with others rather than storing it for a single family (Franklin 2007: 32). This way of living is well-depicted in an excerpt from Kulick’s book which shows his experience of living with local people and the food sharing tradition (2019: 104):

In the village, they fed me—women and girls taking it upon themselves to send me plates of food throughout the day, or else they called me to come and eat with them in their houses when they had cooked a fresh cauldron of sago jelly or boiled some banana stew.

In the *Wantok* corpus, only the word *kaikai* ‘food’ is used with reference to the value of food. Table 8.4 presents the word *kaikai* ‘food’ and circumlocutions with this word together with their total frequency.

Table 8.4. Circumlocutions with the value of food

Word	Circumlocution	Frequency of circumlocutions
<i>kaikai</i> ‘food’	<i>belo kaikai</i> ‘noon’, <i>bikpela kaikai</i> ‘banquet/feast’, <i>givim kaikai</i> ‘feed/treat’, <i>givim gutpela kaikai</i> ‘nourish’, <i>gutpela kaikai</i> ‘nourishment’, <i>haus kaikai</i> ‘mess’, <i>kaikai bilong gaden</i> ‘crop’, <i>karim kaikai</i> ‘fruitful’, <i>taim bilong kaikai</i> ‘mealtime’	425

The word *kaikai* is defined by Franklin (2007: 44) as ‘a feast or celebration’. The meaning of this word is broadened and is used in expressions with different meanings. The word *kaikai* is used in verb phrase whose meanings entail that food is given to somebody as in *givim kaikai* ‘feed/treat’ or *givim gutpela kaikai* ‘nourish’. The lexeme can also be used with reference to the time when a meal is consumed, for instance, *belo kaikai* ‘noon’, lit. bellow food, or *taim bilong kaikai* ‘mealtime’, lit. time belong food. Additionally, the word is used in circumlocutions denoting the event (*bikpela kaikai* ‘banquet/feast’, lit. big food), place (*haus kaikai* ‘mess’, lit. house food), plant (*kaikai bilong gaden* ‘crop’, lit. food belong garden) and quality (*karim kaikai* ‘fruitful’, lit. carry food).

The circumlocutions containing the value of food are often used as verbs and imply food sharing. Moreover, the relation between the value of work and land is visible in the expressions.

8.5. Land

Telban (2019: 487) claims that people of Melanesia are strongly attached to the “land-and-seascape” which they are surrounded by. Local people state that “the landscape is them and that they are the landscape”. This strong connection is visible in the following statements: *O wara Vailala, em mama bilong mi* ‘the river Vailala is my mother’ (Franklin 2007: 29, translation mine) and “rainforests are places where people commune with nature and become one with the biosphere” (Kulick 2019: 30). There are also several traditions which show that the value of land is one of the most important values. For instance, the deceased used to be

mummified and placed on trees or rocks. The purpose of such a burial tradition was to allow the departed to enjoy the beautiful scenery and to protect the living (Zgrzebnicki 2017: 44).

Table 8.5 presents four words which represent the value of land and identified circumlocutions which are given with their frequencies and percentage values.

Table 8.5. Circumlocutions with the value of land

Word	Circumlocutions	Frequency of circumlocutions	%
<i>graun</i> 'ground'	<i>graun bilong gavman</i> 'government property', <i>graun I guria</i> 'earthquake', <i>graun malumalu</i> 'mud', <i>graun 183ap les</i> 'environment', <i>gris bilong graun</i> 'fertilizer', <i>hap graun</i> 'estate', <i>olgeta hap graun</i> 'environment/land'	214	62.94
<i>wara</i> 'water'	<i>arere bilong wara</i> 'bank', <i>bikpela haiwara</i> 'deluge', <i>liklik wara</i> 'creek', <i>wara bilong dring</i> 'fresh water'	104	30.58
<i>as</i> 'base'	<i>as bilong diwai</i> 'trunk'	15	4.41
<i>ples</i> 'place'	<i>ples wesani</i> 'desert'	7	2.05
Total		340	100.00

The words used in circumlocutions are defined by Franklin (2007: 42-45) in the following way: *as* 'the reason or basis for some action or the meaning of some word', *graun* 'land used for gardens, houses, etc.' and *ples* 'one's village'. Franklin does not provide the definition of water, nor does he explain its value to local people. According to Scott and Mulrennan (1999: 153) and Telban (2019: 492), the rights to use deep water, its riches and the reef are as important as the rights to use the land. It is also interesting to mention that people living near the Sepik, the longest river in Papua New Guinea, believe that it is inhabited by spirit crocodiles that can change into pythons which may follow inhabitants, protect them and help them return to their village (Telban 2019: 495). This shows a special bond between the inhabitants of Papua New Guinea and water.

As far as the circumlocutions of the value of land are concerned, they primarily contain the word *graun* 'ground/soil' and function as names of masses of land (*olgeta hap graun* 'environment/land', lit. altogether half ground), substances (*gris bilong graun* 'fertilizer', lit. grease belong ground) or phenomena (*graun i guria* 'earthquake', lit. ground shake). *Wara* 'water' is another word commonly used in this type of circumlocutions. These expressions name different natural objects (*arere bilong wara* 'bank', lit. area belong water), natural phenomena (*bikpela haiwara* 'deluge', lit. big high water) and substances (*wara bilong dring* 'fresh water', lit. water belong drink). There are also two more expressions with different lexemes, namely, *as* in *as bilong diwai* 'trunk', lit. as belong tree, and *ples* in *ples wesani* 'desert', lit. place sand. It is worth noting that the word *as*, according to Franklin (2007: 42),

may be used with reference to actions or the meaning of words. However, in the case of *as bilong diwai*, it is used with the meaning ‘a fundamental part of an object’.

To sum up, circumlocutions naming natural objects, phenomena or substances reflect what is crucial in the view of the inhabitants of Papua New Guinea. This confirms Stewart and Strathern’s (2003: 4-5) statement that “persons travel with their own inner landscapes” as well as “landscapes [...] travel with people”. Banks (2006: 261) emphasizes that continuous climate changes and industrialization causing the destruction of the natural habitat, contribute to disruptions of social relations. This close connection with the environment can be seen in the statement by a Bougainvillean (Dove, Miriung and Togolo 1974: 182):

Land is our life. Land is our physical life-food and sustenance. Land is our social life; it is marriage; it is status; it is security; it is politics; in fact, it is our only world. When you [the Administration] take our land, you cut away the very heart of our existence. We have little or no experience of social survival detached from the land. For us to be completely landless is a nightmare which no dollar in the pocket or dollar in the bank will allay; we are a threatened people.

8.6. Education

Education has always had a direct connection with work and social mobility – and Melanesia follows this worldwide tendency as well (Gibson 2019: 173). As has already been mentioned, education played an important role on plantations. The knowledge of languages, including English and an early version of Tok Pisin, facilitated employment as an interpreter and translator on plantations. Gibson (2019: 173) says that education and literacy “became a marker of distinction, influencing access to economic and political power”.

Table 8.6 shows one word used in the *Wantok* corpus which occurs in circumlocutions referring to the concept of education.

Table 8.6. Circumlocutions with the value of education

Word	Circumlocution	Frequency of circumlocutions
skul ‘school’	<i>tok skul</i> ‘advice, lecture, recommend’, <i>givim skul</i> ‘instruct’, <i>pinis long skul</i> ‘graduate’	195

As can be seen, the value of education is present in circumlocutions. The lexeme which is found in these expressions is *skul*. It is defined by Franklin (2007: 46) as ‘activity of reading, writing, attending classes’. The circumlocutions function as communication verbs: *tok skul* ‘advice/lecture/recommend’, lit. talk school, and *givim skul* ‘instruct’, lit. give school, and as an activity verb *pinis long skul* ‘graduate’, lit. finish along school. The use of communication

verbs with reference to the value of education may stem from the tradition of oral transmission of knowledge and legends (Zgrzebnicki 2017: 138). As is shown, the value of education in circumlocutions is rooted in communication and completion of education.

All in all, education is highly prized in Papua New Guinea. Many regions in the country promote pursuing educational careers since it allows the country to educate future leaders and government members (Franklin 2007: 35).

8.7. Ancestors

The people of Papua New Guinea are claimed to be spiritual societies (Franklin 2007: 32). The close connection with the spiritual world is described by Bęben (2016: 78). He claims that Papuan peoples believe that there are two principal elements of a human being, namely, the soul and spirit. The soul enters the human body once a person is born. The spirit is an ancestor who can live in a person. Kulick (2019: 43) claims that:

Large swathes of neighbouring groups throughout the mainland share similar traditional beliefs about what happens after one dies; they think related things about sorcery, initiation rituals, and ancestor worship; they have roughly similar myths about how they all originated.

This may be observed in the origin of many myths or tales which describe how ancestors found and settled down in “uninhabited land and untouched forests” (Telban 2019: 489). For instance, the Arapesh people believe that (Bęben 2016: 81, translation mine):

[...] ancestors came from coastal areas, or even that they sailed from off-island or found themselves on the island after a sea disaster caused by the Taleo storm. The ancestors of the members of this tribe swam to New Guinea by grasping at large turtles, but none of the myths say where they came from, or what was the ancestral home of the Arapesh people, who assume that there is a gateway to the mythical *delmel* on the seacoast, and this is the land to which the souls of the dead are sent.

Table 8.7 presents circumlocutions with one word *tumbuna* ‘ancestor’, which is used with reference to the value of ancestors.

Table 8.7. Circumlocutions with the value of ancestors

Word	Circumlocution	Frequency of circumlocutions
tumbuna 'ancestor'	<i>stori bilong tumbuna</i> 'myth', <i>stori tumbuna</i> 'legend', <i>ol pikinini na tumbuna long bihain taim</i> 'future generations', <i>tumbuna meri</i> 'grandmother', <i>pasin tumbuna</i> 'culture/tradition'	172

Franklin (2007: 46) defines *tumbuna* as an 'ancestor or ancestral spirit'. Three circumlocutions refer to customs and traditions, that is, *stori bilong tumbuna* 'myth', lit. story belong ancestor, *stori tumbuna* 'legend', lit. story ancestor, and *pasin tumbuna* 'culture, tradition', lit. fashion ancestor. Two circumlocutions are used with reference to people, namely, *ol pikinini na tumbuna long bihain taim* 'future generations', lit. all small and ancestor along behind time, and *tumbuna meri* 'grandmother', lit. ancestor Mary.

8.8. Clan

The last value observed in the circumlocutions is the value of clan. The lexeme *clan* should be understood as an elaborate and complex relationship between various members living in a society. In Papuan tribes, a clan is not only a nuclear family, but a conglomerate of people with whom individuals have close relations. Consequently, a member of a society can belong to more than one clan (Bęben 2004: 168-169, 2006: 228-229, Zgrzebnicki 2017: 202).

Complex social relations can be observed among the Arapesh people in the following passage (Bęben 2006: 228, translation mine):

If you ask an Arapesh child: "Where is your father?". The child will probably answer like this: "One is in the garden and the other is hunting, the third has gone to town".

A child can name up to a dozen such "fathers". This, by no means, does not imply that the Arapesh people are unfamiliar with the concept of a biological father. They refer to them by terms adopted from Tok Pisin *papa tru* (real father) and *papa i karim* (father who gave birth).

Table 8.8 shows a circumlocution which may be ascribed the value of clan. The table shows the frequency of this phrase.

Table 8.8. Circumlocutions with the value of clan

Word	Circumlocution	Frequency of circumlocutions
lain	<i>haus lain</i> 'clan'	85

The circumlocution *haus lain* means ‘clan’. It contains the word *lain* which means ‘a clan or recognized group of people’ of ‘a village’. This word, according to Franklin (2007: 44), can be associated with the value of clan.

8.3. Concluding remarks

The analysis of the presence of the Melanesian values – as identified by Franklin (2007) – indicates that eight out of the ten values are found in the circumlocutions extracted from the *Wantok* corpus. The values, in terms of the frequency of circumlocutions, occur in the following sequence: (1) work (2,396 occurrences), (2) compensation (1,600 occurrences), (3) ritual (431 occurrences), (4) food (425 occurrences), (5) land (334 occurrences), (6) education (195 occurrences), (7) ancestors (172 occurrences) and (8) clan (85 occurrences).

Such a distribution of Melanesian values implies that the concepts of work and compensation are of primary importance in the collected circumlocutions. The high frequency of elaborate expressions referring to the concept of work may be explained by the fact that work is “very specifically related to particular functions within the culture” (Franklin 2007: 37). Hence, expressions such as *givim wok* ‘employ’, lit. give work, *painim pis* ‘to fish’, lit. find fish, *wok didiman* ‘farmer’, lit. work farmer, or *wok gaden* ‘gardening’, lit. work garden, have been identified. However, new cultural changes occur and “additional changes include the use of reading and writing in work by weighing produce, sending messages etc., all as aids for a cash economy [...]” (Franklin 2007: 38). This might be evident in such expressions as *wok painimaut* ‘investigation/search’, lit. work find out, *wok long painim* ‘search’, lit. work along find, *wokim plan* ‘draft’, lit. work plan, or *wokim senis* ‘correction’, lit. work change. Lastly, “materialism eventually becomes an index of peer recognition [...]” (Franklin 2007: 38) – this cultural transformation is attested in the expression *painim mani* ‘earn’, lit. find money.

Compensation, as has already been stated, “is expected and extracted from “accidents”. Compensation is one of the prevalent aspects of PNG culture: “it occupies much the time and energy in many clans and societies” (Franklin 2007: 36). Since the value correlates with “accidents”, there are many circumlocutions with the components *bagarap*, *bagarapim* or *birua*, for instance, *bikpela bagarap* ‘catastrophe’, lit. big bugger-up, *man i kisim bagarap* ‘casualty’, lit. man get/take bugger-up, *bagarapim sindaun* ‘annoy’, lit. bugger-up sit down, *bagarapim nem* ‘to humiliate’, lit. bugger-up name, or *pasin birua* ‘ill-will’, lit. fashion bugger-up.

It is worth noticing that the two dominant values are predominantly caused by cultural changes induced by western cultures. However, the remaining values (i.e. ritual, food, land, education, ancestors and clan) pertain to the traditional principles which revolve around: (1) “living in harmony with nature”, (2) “maintaining clan solidarity” and (3) “recognizing the role of ancestral spirits” (Franklin 2007: 41).

Conclusions

As highlighted at the beginning of this dissertation, Tok Pisin emerged from contact with many cultures. The multilingualism and multiculturalism that developed in the Papua New Guinea community forced people to devise a common medium of communication. It was believed that Tok Pisin relied on the excessive use of circumlocutions, descriptive expressions that substitute names of objects, people or phenomena.

It is worth emphasizing that circumlocutions are not just simple word combinations. The vocabulary used in circumlocutions can be culturally significant and convey the values of the language speakers. Furthermore, circumlocutions may be created through mechanisms such as metonymy and metaphor.

Corpus tools allow the creation of frequency lists of words or phrases. For this reason, it is possible to deduce which of the language elements under study appear most frequently in a set of texts. For the purpose of this study, a corpus of newspaper texts from *Wantok Niuspepa* has been compiled. The data collected has been used to excerpt and analyze circumlocutions.

The aim of this dissertation has been to identify and analyze circumlocutions. Circumlocutions have been investigated in terms of frequency, vocabulary, grammatical structures, the values of the Melanesian world and figurative language (metonymies and metaphors). The hypotheses have been verified on the basis of the conducted research. The study reaches the following conclusions:

1. Circumlocutions contain words from English and other languages. Apart from English, most of the words come from the Tolai language. There are also lexemes from Malay, Fijian, Bariai and Samoan languages. Words from other Austronesian or Polynesian languages, or from the Gazelle Peninsula, whose exact origins cannot be determined, have also been found. Returning to European languages, some words cannot be clearly attributed with English or Portuguese origin, because they could be borrowed from German and Spanish respectively.
2. As regards the orthography of circumlocutions, it has been noted that some of them are spelt with a hyphen, like some compounds in English. In addition, some circumlocutions can be written as one word. It has been noticed that words ending in *s* and another word in circumlocution starting with the same letter overlap and are written with one letter *s* (e.g. *haus + sik* → *hausik*). In addition, a different spelling of the suffix *-pela*, that is, *-pla*, has been identified.

3. In the analysis of borrowings, it has been found that circumlocutions have their counterparts borrowed from English. It has been noticed that *projek – bikipela wok* ‘project’, *sios – haus lot* ‘church’, *edukesen – kisim save* ‘education’, *ripot – givim stori* ‘report’ and *benk – haus mani* ‘bank’ have particularly high frequencies. High frequencies of occurrences, even higher than those for circumlocutions, may suggest that these lexemes are commonly used in the language, and they may be relatively early borrowings from English that replace circumlocutions in Tok Pisin. Some English words which replace circumlocutions remain unchanged (e.g. *church – haus lotu*, *peaceful – bel isi* or *justice – stretpela pasin*). Their frequencies are much lower than those of circumlocutions. In addition, circumlocutions for which there are two or three English lexical replacements have been identified (e.g. *benk* and *beng – haus mani*, *enironment* and *envionmem – gaun na ples*, *mariwana*, *marijuana* and *maruana – spak brus*).

4. It has been found that the circumlocutions in Tok Pisin have mainly a simple structure: 311 circumlocutions with the degree of complexity of 2, 36 with the degree of complexity of 3 and 4 expressions with the degree of complexity of 4. Circumlocutions, similarly to compounds, function as nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs. Moreover, the hypothesis that circumlocutions have a compound-like structure has been confirmed. As a result of the analysis, circumlocutions have been assigned headedness. 137 circumlocutions are found to be linear, 109 left-headed, 62 right-headed, and 3 left- or right-headed circumlocutions. Additionally, it may be concluded that particular groups of circumlocutions have dominating grammatical patterns:

- (1) nominal circumlocutions [Adj N], [N N] and [N Adj],
- (2) verbal circumlocutions [V Adj], [V N] and [V Adv Prep],
- (3) adjectival circumlocutions [Adj N], [Adj Adv], [V N],
- (4) adverbial circumlocutions [PM Neg Prep N V V] and [Prep N Adj].

5. As regards the parts of speech, circumlocutions fall into different categories. The categories of nominal circumlocutions are the most numerous. They usually describe buildings and rooms, qualities, misfortunes, communication and language, but also people. The categories of verbal circumlocutions are used in relation to activities, communication, thinking, occurrence or causation. Adjectival circumlocutions function to evaluate, describe (time/size/extent), classify topics or rationalize. In the case of adverbial circumlocutions, three categories can be distinguished: referring to time, manner and degree. Some of the analyzed circumlocutions contain culturally important lexemes. There

are circumlocutions that refer to eight out of ten Melanesian values, namely, work, compensation, ritual, food, land, education, ancestors and clan.

6. As signalled, figurative mechanisms are used to form circumlocutions. Two main groups of metonymy have been noted: (1) Whole ICM and Its Part(s) and (2) Part(s) of ICM. In the first group, the following categories have been observed: Thing-and-Whole ICM, Constitution ICM, Complex Event ICM, Category-and-Member ICM and Category-and-Property ICM. In the second group, the Action ICM and Causation ICM metonymies have been identified. In the case of metaphors, the main target domains include: EMOTIONS, COMMUNICATION AND LANGUAGE, THINKING, HUMAN BODY, HEALTH, PLANTS as well as COMPANIES AND INSTITUTIONS. The presence of metonymic and metaphorical processes in circumlocutions confirms that circumlocutions are not only linguistic phenomena, but also conceptual, sociocultural, neural and bodily (Kövecses 2005: 8). This is due to the fact that circumlocutions are used to describe the reality of users from their own perspective, experience or cultural heritage.

The conclusions confirm the three features of Tok Pisin by Brash (1971: 12) that “promise well for its future and development”, namely:

- (1) “its syncretic capacity and its resultant incremental growth”,
- (2) “the imaginative life it embodies and the new forms of figurative expressions it is rapidly evolving” and
- (3) “the successful use of Pidgin by New Guineans as a creative medium”.

The analysis has shown that circumlocution in Tok Pisin is a process due to which language users are able to enrich the lexicon. However, this is not a purely word-formation process, which is based only on the grammatical rules of creating descriptive forms.

Firstly, language users change the spelling of frequent circumlocutions, which are convenient in everyday communication. Nevertheless, they renounce circumlocutions they consider to be old-fashioned and incomprehensible. For this reason, “unfashionable” circumlocutions are replaced by adaptations of English lexemes.

Secondly, circumlocutions are expressions that allow language users to transfer values important for Melanesian culture. Also, the use of metonymy and metaphor helps to conceptualize social, cultural and bodily experiences.

Finally, it is worth noting that the constant evolution of the Tok Pisin language testifies to its usefulness and, as Brash (1971: 12) writes about it, “its colour”. The changes that occur in the language should be recorded. New phenomena in the language cannot be studied solely

from a linguistics point of view. On the contrary, they should, as far as possible, be investigated from social and cultural perspectives.

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Appendix 1. Frequency list of circumlocutions

#	Expression	Degree of complexity	Word-to-word translation	Meaning(s)	Word class	Headedness	Grammatical pattern	Semantic category	AF	RF
1	haus sik	2	house sick	hospital	noun	left	N N	Buildings And Rooms	1906	521,58
2	go pas long	2	go ahead along	lead/conduct (e.g. study, research, work)	verb	left	V Adv Prep	Activity Verbs	1719	470,40
3	bikpela samting	2	big something	interesting	adjective	linear	Adj N	Evaluative Descriptors	1682	460,28
4	wok bung	2	work meeting	collaborate	verb	left	V N	Activity Verbs	1299	355,47
5	tok orait long	2	talk alright along	concede	verb	left	V Adv Prep	Communication Verbs	672	183,89
6	amamas tru	2	happy true	rejoice	verb	linear	Adj Adv	Mental Verbs	620	169,66
7	ples balus	2	place plane	airport	noun	left	N N	Buildings and Rooms	608	166,38
8	kisim bagarap	2	get/take accident	injured	adjective	linear	V N	Miscellaneous Descriptors	598	163,64
9	bikpela hevi	2	big heavy	crisis	noun	right	Adj N	Misfortunes	571	156,25
10	gut tru	2	good true	terrific	adjective	left	Adj Adv	Evaluative Descriptors	556	152,15
11	gutpela tru	2	good true	marvellous / great	adjective	left	Adj Adv	Evaluative Descriptors	556	152,15
12	tok amamas	2	talk happy	compliment, congratulate	verb	left	V Adj	Communication Verbs	556	152,15
13	tok klia	2	talk clear	emphasise, explain, explanation	verb	left	V Adj	Communication Verbs	531	145,31
14	gutpela pasin	2	good fashion	morals	noun	right	Adj N	Qualities	527	144,21
15	i mas kamap	2	must come up	inevitable	adjective	linear	PM V V	Time Descriptors	503	137,65
§16	wok painimaut	2	work find out	investigation, research	noun	left	N N	Miscellaneous	503	137,65
17	bikpela bagarap	2	big bugger-up	catastrophe	noun	right	Adj N	Misfortunes	468	128,07
18	kamap bikpela	2	come up big	escalate, expand, grow	verb	linear	V Adj	Occurence Verbs	430	117,67
19	go bikpela	2	go big	grow up	verb	linear	V Adj	Occurence Verbs	397	108,64
20	pasin nogut	2	fashion not good	crime	noun	left	N Adj	Crime and Justice	397	108,64
21	as tingting	2	ass thought	reason, theme	noun	right	N N	Communication and Language	392	107,27
22	haus lotu	2	house religion	church	noun	left	N N	Buildings and Rooms	376	102,89
23	save gut	2	knowledge good	talent, talented	noun	left	N Adj	Qualities	372	101,80
24	pikinini meri	2	child woman	daughter	noun	left/right	N N	People	368	100,70
25	lukautim gut	2	look out good	care	verb	left	V Adj	Occurence Verbs	361	98,79
26	go lukim	2	go look	visit	verb	left	V V	Activity Verbs	349	95,50
27	kamapim gut	2	come up good	improve	verb	left	V Adj	Mental Verbs	342	93,59

28	bel isi	2	belly easy	accommodating, calm, calmness, content, peaceful, tranquil	noun	linear	N Adj	Emotions	309	84,56
29	tok promis	2	talk promise	oath, pledge, vow	verb	left	V N	Communication Verbs	305	83,46
30	sutum tok	2	shoot talk	accuse, allege	verb	linear	V N	Causative Verbs	291	79,63
31	kisim save	2	get/take knowledge	educational	adjective	linear	V N	Topic Classifiers	266	72,79
32	kirap nogut	2	get up not good	amaze, demonstrate, indignant, surprised	verb	linear	V Adj	Mental Verbs	257	70,33
33	pikinini man	2	child man	boy, son	noun	left/right	N N	People	256	70,05
34	mekim save	2	make knowledge	penalty, punish	verb	linear	V N	Communication Verbs	255	69,78
35	gutpela kaikai	2	good food	nourishment	noun	right	Adj N	Food	251	68,69
36	tok lukaut	2	talk look out	warn	verb	left	V V	Communication Verbs	240	65,68
37	tok save	2	talk knowledge	announcement, information	noun	right	N N	Communication and Language	235	64,31
38	tok sori	2	talk sorry	apology, pardon	noun	right	N N	Communication and Language	229	62,67
39	bikpela tru	2	big true	enormous	adjective	left	Adj Adv	Size/Quantity/Extent Descriptors	224	61,30
40	harim tok	2	hear talk	obey	verb	left	V N	Communication Verbs	224	61,30
41	tokaut strong	2	talk out strong	command, ephasise, persist	verb	left	V N	Communication Verbs	204	55,82
42	sik TB	2	sickness TB	tuberculosis	noun	right	N N	Health	201	55,00
43	stretpela pasin	2	straight fashion	honesty, justice	noun	right	Adj N	Qualities	199	54,46
44	tok tru	2	talk true	frank, honest, oath, truth	adjective	linear	V Adv	Evaluative Descriptors	192	52,54
45	lus tingting	2	lose thought	forget	verb	linear	V N	Mental Verbs	190	51,99
46	givim luksave	2	give look knowledge	acclaim	verb	left	V N	Occurrence Verbs	189	51,72
47	bikpela hap	2	big half	chunk	noun	right	Adj N	Quantities	187	51,17
48	mani plen	2	money plan	budget	noun	right	N N	Money and Finance	185	50,6
49	planti mani	2	plenty of money	fortune, wealth	noun	right	Adv N	Money And Finance	183	50,1
50	bikpela bung	2	big meeting	ceremony	noun	right	Adj N	Religion	182	49,8
51	strongpela tingting	2	strong thought	ambition	noun	right	Adj N	Qualities	177	48,4
52	tok save long	2	talk knowledge along	announce	verb	left	V N Prep	Communication Verbs	168	46,0
53	was gut	2	watch good	care, careful	adjective	linear	V Ad	Evaluative Descriptors	160	43,8
54	ol man na meri	2	men and women	crowd	noun	linear	PL N Conj N	People	158	43,2
55	mama i karim	2	mother carry	born	verb	linear	N PM V	Activity Verbs	152	41,6
56	wok long painim	2	work along find	search	verb	linear	V Prep V	Activity Verbs	150	41,0
57	tingting gut	2	think good	care, focus	verb	left	V Adj	Mental Verbs	145	39,7
58	pasin tumbuna	2	fashion ancestors	culture, tradition	noun	left	N N	Folklore	139	38,0

59	kamap ples klia	3	come up place clear	manifest	verb	linear	V N Adj	Activity Verbs	138	37,8
60	sindaun gut	2	sit down good	comfortable	adjective	linear	V Adj	Evaluative Descriptors	137	37,5
61	Mama Lo	2	mother law	constitution	noun	linear	N N	Politics and Policy	135	36,9
62	i no long taim i go pinis	3	not along time go finish	recent	adverb	linear	PM Neg Prep N Conj V V	Adverbs of Time	133	36,4
63	haus slip	2	house sleep	dormitory	noun	left	N N	Buildings and Rooms	129	35,3
64	tingting planti	2	think plenty	anxious, doubtful	adjective	linear	V Adv	Evaluative Descriptors	129	35,3
65	hap graun	2	half ground	territory	noun	right	N N	Topography	126	34,5
66	kisim dinau	2	get/take debt	borrow	verb	linear	V N	Activity Verbs	124	33,9
67	givim wok	2	give work	employ	verb	linear	V N	Activity Verbs	120	32,8
68	win mani	2	win money	profit	noun	linear	V N	Money and Finance	118	32,3
69	bikpela birua	2	big enemy	catastrophe	noun	right	Adj N	Misfortunes	115	31,5
70	i gat bel	2	got belly	pregnant	adjective	linear	PM V N	Miscellaneous Descriptor	115	31,5
71	maunten paia	2	mountain fire	volcano	noun	left	N N	Nature	114	31,2
72	mekim pasin	2	make fashion	behave	verb	linear	V N	Activity Verbs	114	31,2
73	tok strong	2	talk strong	command, emphasise, persist	verb	left	V N	Communication Verbs	112	30,6
74	painim mani	2	find money	earn	verb	linear	V N	Activity Verbs	109	29,8
75	kalap i go	2	jump go	infect	verb	linear	V PM V	Activity Verbs	106	29,0
76	givim skul	2	give school	instruct	verb	linear	V N	Communication Verbs	101	27,6
77	banis sut	2	fence/wall shoot	immunisation	noun	linear	N N	Health	99	27,1
78	gutpela moa	2	good more	magical, nobel	adjective	left	Adj Adv	Evaluative Descriptors	97	26,5
79	het tisa	2	head teacher	principal	noun	right	N N	Education	97	26,5
80	kisim i kam	2	get/take come	bring, fetch	verb	linear	V PM V	Activity Verbs	95	26,0
81	sik nogut	2	sick not good	contagious disease	noun	left	N Adj	Health	94	25,7
82	bel hevi	2	belly heavy	depressed, sad, upset	adjective	linear	N Adj	Evaluative Descriptors	93	25,4
83	save long wok	2	knowledge along work	experience	noun	left	N Prep N	Qualities	93	25,4
84	balus kampani	2	plane company	airline	noun	right	N N	Transport	90	24,6
85	sik kolera	2	sickness cholera	cholera	noun	right	N N	Health	90	24,6
86	lusim tingting long	2	lose thought along	forgive	verb	linear	V N Prep	Mental Verbs	89	24,4
87	bikpela tok tenkyu	3	big talk thanks	gratitude	noun	linear	Adj N V	Emotions	88	24,1
88	kirapim tingting	2	wake up thought	fascinate, remind	verb	linear	V N	Mental Verbs	87	23,8
89	mekim kamap	2	make come up	create	verb	linear	V V	Activity Verbs	87	23,8

90	wanpela tasol	2	one only	alone	adjective	linear	Adj Adj	Miscellaneous Descriptors	87	23,8
91	bikpela san	2	big sun	drought	noun	linear	Adj N	Nature	85	23,3
92	haus lain	2	house clan/group	clan, long house	noun	right	N N	People	85	23,3
93	long ples klia	2	along place clear	openly, public	adverb	linear	Prep N Adj	Adverbs of Manner	85	23,3
94	namba wan bikpela	3	number one big	principal	adjective	linear	N Num Adj	Rational Classifiers	85	23,3
95	pasim tok	2	close talk	confirm	verb	linear	V N	Communication Verbs	85	23,3
96	putim nem	2	put name	nominate, nomination	verb	linear	V N	Causative Verbs	83	22,7
97	planti kain kain	3	plenty different kinds	mix, range	noun	right	Adv N N	Quantities	82	22,4
98	kisim pe	2	get/take pay	earn	verb	linear	V N	Activity Verbs	81	22,2
99	bikpela sik	2	big sick	epidemic, plague	noun	right	Adj N	Health	79	21,6
100	sik malaria	2	sick malaria	malaria	noun	right	N N	Health	79	21,6
101	tok pait	2	talk fight	argue, argument, controversy, dispute	verb	left	V N	Communication Verbs	79	21,6
102	apim nem	2	rise/increase name	exalt	verb	left	V N	Causative Verbs	78	21,3
103	tok skul	2	talk school	advice, lecture, recommend, recommendation	verb	left	V N	Communication Verbs	76	20,8
104	het opis	2	head office	headquarters	noun	right	N N	Buildings and Rooms	74	20,3
105	hap tok	2	half talk	expression, idiom, paragraph, quotation, statement	noun	right	N N	Communication and Language	73	20,0
106	i save pulim	2	know pull	magnetic	adjective	linear	PM V V	Miscellaneous Descriptors	71	19,4
107	kam kamap	2	come come up	arrive	verb	left/right	V V	Activity Verbs	71	19,4
108	lukautim pikinini	2	look out child	babysit	verb	linear	V N	Activity Verbs	71	19,4
109	bagarapim nem	2	bugger-up name	humiliate, humiliation	verb	linear	V N	Activity Verbs	68	18,6
110	go lukluk raun long	3	go look around along	explore/visit	verb	left	V N Adv Prep	Activity Verbs	68	18,6
111	samting nogut	2	thing not good	dangerous, evil	adjective	right	N Adj	Evaluative Descriptors	64	17,5
112	tokaut klia	2	talk out clear	express	verb	left	V Adj	Communication Verbs	63	17,2
113	diwai kros	2	wood cross	cross	noun	right	N N	Religion	61	16,7
114	kalabus man	2	prison man	prisoner	noun	right	N N	Crime and Justice	61	16,7
115	painim pis	2	find fish	fish	verb	linear	V N	Activity Verbs	60	16,4
116	haus kra	2	house cry	place of mourning	noun	left	N N	Buildings and Rooms	59	16,1
117	givim han	2	give hand	handshake	noun	linear	V N	Miscellaneous	58	15,9
118	raun nating	2	around/round nothing	aimless	adjective	linear	Adv N	Miscellaneous Descriptors	58	15,9
119	wanpela tingting	2	one thought	hint	noun	right	Adj N	Communication and Language	57	15,6

120	pasin pamuk	2	fashion prostitute	prostitution	noun	left	N N	Crime and Justice	54	14,8
121	kam klostu long	2	come close to along	approach	verb	linear	V Adv Prep	Activity Verbs	53	14,5
122	soim rot	2	show road	direct, guide	verb	left	V N	Activity Verbs	52	14,2
123	wok didiman	2	work farmer	agriculture	noun	right	N N	Agriculture and Gardening	52	14,2
124	sakim tok	2	shake talk	contradic, disobey	verb	linear	V N	Communication Verbs	51	14,0
125	givim bel	2	give belly	love	verb	linear	V N	Mental Verbs	50	13,7
126	lainim gut	2	learn good	memorize	verb	left	V Adj	Mental Verbs	49	13,4
127	samting long stretim	2	thing along streighten	correction	noun	linear	N Prep V	Politics and Policy	49	13,4
128	skelim tingting	2	scale thought	conscience, negotiate, negotiation	verb	linear	V N	Communicative Verbs	49	13,4
129	raskol pasin	2	rascal fashion	crime	noun	right	N N	Crime and Justice	48	13,1
130	spak brus	2	drunk cigar/tobacco	marijuana	noun	right	Adj N	Drugs	48	13,1
131	tok piksa	2	talk picture	parable, saying, example	noun	left	N N	Communication and Language	48	13,1
132	kirapim bel	2	wake up belly	excite	verb	linear	V N	Mental Verbs	47	12,9
133	taim bilong ren	2	time belong rain	rain season	noun	left	N Prep N	Time	47	12,9
134	bikpela kar	2	big car	van	noun	right	Adj N	Transport	45	12,3
135	musik man	2	music man	musician	noun	right	N N	People	45	12,3
136	lukluk strong	2	look strong	stare	verb	left	V N	Activity Verbs	44	12,0
137	piksa nogut	2	picture not good	pornography	noun	left	N Adj	Miscellaneous	44	12,0
138	save long rit na rait	3	knowledge along write and read	literacy	noun	left	N Prep V Conj V	Communication and Language	43	11,8
139	wara bilong dring	2	water belong drink	fresh water	noun	left	N Prep V	Nature	43	11,8
140	bikpela opis	2	big office	headquarters	noun	right	Adj N	Buildings and Rooms	42	11,5
141	taim bilong malolo	2	time belong rest	leisure	noun	left	N Prep N	Leisure	39	10,7
142	mekim nogut	2	make not good	damage, persecute, persecution, spoil	verb	linear	V Adv	Causative Verbs	38	10,4
143	bikpela kaikai	2	big food	banquet, feast	noun	right	Adj N	Food	36	9,9
144	haus kuk	2	house cook	kitchen	noun	left	N N	Buildings and Rooms	36	9,9
145	luk nais	2	look nice	attractive, elegant	adjective	right	N Adj	Evaluative Descriptors	36	9,9
146	wok gaden	2	work garden	gardening	noun	right	N N	Agriculture and Gardening	35	9,6
147	as ples	2	base place	homeland, hometown	noun	right	N N	Topography	34	9,3
148	bekim tok	2	give back talk	answer	verb	linear	V N	Communication Verbs	34	9,3
149	man i stap long	2	man stay along	inhabitant	noun	left	N PM V Prep	People	34	9,3
150	pepa mani	2	paper money	note	noun	left	N N	Money and Finance	34	9,3

151	bikpela trabel	2	big trouble	emergency	noun	right	Adj N	Misfortunes	33	9,0
152	haus kaikai	2	house food	dining room, mess	noun	left	N N	Buildings and Rooms	33	9,0
153	taim bilong san	2	time belong sun	dry season	noun	left	N Prep N	Time	33	9,0
154	tok save olsem	3	talk knowledge in this way	announce	verb	left	V N Adv	Communication Verbs	32	8,8
155	lukim gut	2	look good	examine, observe	verb	linear	V Adv	Mental Verbs	31	8,5
156	pasim tingting	2	close thought	decide, decision	verb	linear	V N	Causative Verbs	31	8,5
157	pekpek wara	2	faeces water	diarrhoea	noun	left	N N	Health	31	8,5
158	tenpela yia	2	ten year	decade	noun	right	Adj N	Time	31	8,5
159	i save pret	2	know scared	fearful	adjective	right	PM V Adj	Evaluative Descriptors	30	8,2
160	karim i kam	2	carry come	bring	verb	linear	V PM V	Activity Verbs	30	8,2
161	karim kaikai	2	carry food	fruitful	adjective	linear	V N	Evaluative Descriptors	30	8,2
162	pasin i no stret	2	fashion not streight	injustice, unfair	noun	left	N PM Neg Adj	Crime and Justice	30	8,2
163	save amamas	2	knowledge happy	cheerful	adjective	right	N Adj	Evaluative Descriptors	30	8,2
164	bikpela bagarap tru	3	big buger-up true	disaster	noun	linear	Adj N Adv	Misfortunes	29	7,9
165	man husat i go pas long	3	man who go ahead along	chief, leader	noun	left	N Pron PM V Adv Prep	People	29	7,9
166	save go insait long	3	knowledge go inside along	pervade	verb	linear	V V Adv Prep	Activity Verbs	29	7,9
167	tok pilai	2	talk play	joke	verb	left	V N	Communication Verbs	29	7,9
168	ai wara	2	eye water	tear	noun	right	N N	Miscellaneous	28	7,7
169	givim stori	2	give story	report	verb	linear	V N	Communication Verbs	28	7,7
170	liklik wara	2	small/little water	creek	noun	right	Adj N	Nature	28	7,7
171	long wan wan mun	3	along one one moon	monthly	adverb	linear	Prep Num Num N	Adverbs of Time	28	7,7
172	marit i bruk	2	marry break	divorce	verb	linear	V PM V	Activity Verbs	28	7,7
173	taitim bun	2	tighten bone	exert	verb	linear	V N	Activity Verbs	27	7,4
174	brukim marit	2	break marry	divorce	verb	linear	V N	Activity Verbs	26	7,1
175	gat save long	2	got knowledge along	experience	noun	linear	V N Prep	Qualities	25	6,8
176	hat long painim	2	hard along find	rare	adjective	linear	Adj Prep V	Size/Quantity/Extent Descriptors	25	6,8
177	man nogut	2	man not good	criminal, villian	noun	left	N Adj	Crime and Justice	25	6,8
178	pasin bilong pait	2	fashion belong fight	aggression	noun	left	N Prep V	Qualities	25	6,8
179	raitim nem	2	write name	sign	verb	left	V N	Activity Verbs	25	6,8
180	arere long wara	2	edge along water	bank	noun	left	N Prop N	Nature	24	6,6
181	bun nating	2	bone nothing	slender, thin (of a person)	adjective	linear	N N	Size/Quantity/Extent Descriptors	24	6,6

182	givim kaikai	2	give food	feed, treat	verb	linear	V N	Activity Verbs	24	6,6
183	han bilong diwai	2	hand belong tree	branch	noun	left	N Prep N	Nature	24	6,6
184	i bihainim lo	2	follow law	lawful	adjective	linear	PM V N	Evaluative Descriptors	24	6,6
185	kilim i dai	2	kill die	extinguish, kill	verb	linear	V PM V	Activity Verbs	24	6,6
186	naispela tru	2	nice true	lovely	adverb	linear	Adj Adv	Adverbs of Degree: Amplifiers	24	6,6
187	i no save long rit na rait	3	not know along read and write	illiterate	adjective	linear	PM Neg V Prep V Conj V	Rational Classifiers	23	6,3
188	tambu meri	2	in-law woman	daughter-in-law	noun	right	N N	People	23	6,3
189	tingim gut	2	think good	care, focus	verb	left	V Adj	Mental Verbs	23	6,3
190	hetman bilong Katolik Sios long wol	4	leader belong Catholic Church along world	pope	noun	left	N Prep N Prop N	Religion	22	6,0
191	hul wara	2	hole water	well	noun	linear	N N	Miscellaneous	22	6,0
192	i wok long kam insait long	3	walk along come inside along	enter	verb	linear	PM V Prep V Adv Prep	Activity Verbs	22	6,0
193	tok win	2	talk wind	chatter, gossip, rumour	noun	left	N N	Communication and Language	22	6,0
194	brukim skru	2	break screw	kneel	verb	linear	V N	Activity Verbs	21	5,7
195	pilai laki	2	play like	bet, gamble	verb	left	V N	Activity Verbs	21	5,7
196	ples bilong stap	2	place belong stay	accommodation	noun	left	N Prep V	Buildings and Rooms	21	5,7
197	bikpela ston	2	big stone	bulder	noun	right	Adj N	Nature	20	5,5
198	kros nogut	2	cross not good	ferocious, fierce	adjective	left	Adj Adj	Evaluative Descriptors	20	5,5
199	ples nogut	2	place not good	dangerous	adjective	linear	N Adj	Evaluative Descriptors	20	5,5
200	pulim tingting	2	pull thought	persuade	verb	linear	V N	Mental Verbs	20	5,5
201	bel kirap	2	belly wake up	fascinate	verb	linear	N V	Mental Verbs	19	5,2
202	gat dinau	2	get debt	owe	verb	linear	V N	Activity Verbs	19	5,2
203	liklik prais	2	small/little price	cheap	adjective	linear	Adj N	Evaluative Descriptors	19	5,2
204	olgeta hap graun	3	all half ground	environment, land	noun	right	Adv N N	Nature	19	5,2
205	pasin birua	2	fashion enemy	ill-will	noun	left	N N	Emotions	19	5,2
206	samting bilong pait	2	thing belong fight	weapon	noun	linear	N Prep N	Crime and Justice	19	5,2
207	save harim tok	3	know hear talk	obedient	adjective	linear	V V N	Evaluative Descriptors	19	5,2
208	stap tru	2	stay true	faithful	adjective	linear	V Adv	Evaluative Descriptors	19	5,2
209	belo kaikai	2	bellow food	noon	noun	linear	N N	Time	18	4,9
210	inap long bagarapim	2	enough along bugger-up	vulnerable	adjective	linear	Adv Prep V	Evaluative Descriptors	18	4,9
211	paitim han	2	fight hand	acclaim, applaud	verb	linear	V N	Activity Verbs	18	4,9

212	pinis long skul	2	finish along school	graduate	verb	left	V Prep N	Activity Verbs	18	4,9
213	saming bilong mekim	2	thing belong make	achievement, activity	noun	linear	N Prep V	Qualities	18	4,9
214	bung toktok	2	meeting talk	discussion	noun	right	N N	Communication and Language	17	4,7
215	liklik buk	2	small/little book	booklet, pamphlet	noun	right	Adj N	Communication and Language	17	4,7
216	lusim ting	2	lose thought	forget	verb	linear	V N	Mental Verbs	17	4,7
217	namba wan saming long laip	4	number one thing along life	priority	noun	linear	N Num N Prep N	Qualities	17	4,7
218	smok nogut	2	smoke not good	marijuana	noun	linear	N Adj	Drugs	17	4,7
219	strong long mekim wok	3	strong along make work	energy	noun	linear	N Prep V N	Qualities	17	4,7
220	strongim tok	2	strengthen talk	emphasise	verb	left	V N	Communication Verbs	17	4,7
221	tok bilas	2	talk decoration	chatter, flatter, jeer, ridicule	verb	left	V N	Communication Verbs	17	4,7
222	bikpela rong	2	big wrong	crime	noun	right	Adj N	Crime and Justice	16	4,4
223	gutpela na stretpela pasin	3	good and straight fashion	integrity, ethics	noun	right	Adj Conj Adj N	Qualities	16	4,4
224	hatim bel	2	heat belly	infuriate	verb	linear	V N	Mental Verbs	16	4,4
225	i gat biknem	2	get big name	famous	adjective	linear	PM V N	Evaluative Descriptors	16	4,4
226	i stap fri	2	stay free	freedom	noun	linear	PM V Adj	Qualities	16	4,4
227	laik pait	2	like fight	aggressive	adjective	linear	V N	Evaluative Descriptors	16	4,4
228	tanim tok	2	turn talk	interpret	verb	linear	V N	Communication Verbs	16	4,4
229	tok i go pas	3	talk go a written document	foreword, introduction	noun	linear	N PM V N	Communication and Language	16	4,4
230	tok kros	2	talk cross	criticise, growl, grumble, quarrel, scold	verb	left	V Adj	Communication Verbs	16	4,4
231	wokim senis	2	work change	correction	noun	right	V N	Politics and Policy	16	4,4
232	as bilong diwai	2	base belong tree	trunk	noun	left	N Prop N	Nature	15	4,1
233	bikpela hap graun	3	big half ground	estate	noun	right	Adj N N	Buildings and Rooms	15	4,1
234	bikpela paia	2	big fire	blaze	noun	right	Adj N	Nature	15	4,1
235	bilong kisim save	2	belong get/take knowledge	educational	adjective	linear	Prep V N	Topic Classifiers	15	4,1
236	buk tambu	2	book ancestor	Bible	noun	left	N N	Religion	15	4,1
237	go long hap long	2	go along direction along	cross	verb	linear	V Prep N Prep	Activity Verbs	15	4,1
238	i no gat save	2	not get knowledge	ignorance	noun	right	PM Neg V N	Qualities	15	4,1
239	stap bel isi	3	stay belly easy	peace	noun	linear	V N Adj	Emotions	15	4,1
240	tok hait	2	talk hide	secret	noun	linear	N V	Communication and Language	15	4,1

241	graun bilong gavman	2	ground belong government	government property	noun	linear	N Prep N	Politics and Policy	14	3,8
242	i amamas nogut tru	3	happy not good true	ecstasy	noun	linear	PM Adj Adj Adv	Emotions	14	3,8
243	liklik rot	2	small/little road	track	noun	right	Adj N	Topography	14	3,8
244	stret nau	2	straight now	immediately	adverb	right	Adj Adv	Adverbs of Time	14	3,8
245	sutim bel	2	shoot belly	jeer, provoke	verb	linear	V N	Mental Verbs	14	3,8
246	taim bilong kaikai	2	time belong food	mealtime	noun	left	N Prep N	Time	14	3,8
247	tok bilas long	2	talk decoration along	mock	verb	left	V N Prep	Communication Verbs	14	3,8
248	askim long helpim	2	ask along help	appeal	verb	linear	V Prop V	Communication Verbs	13	3,6
249	bikpela pairap	2	big fire up	deafening	adjective	linear	Adj N	Size/Quantity/Extent Descriptors	13	3,6
250	givim sut long	2	give shoot along	inject	verb	linear	V N Prep	Activity Verbs	13	3,6
251	i gat wara	2	get water	damp, moist	adjective	linear	PM V N	Size/Quantity/Extent Descriptors	13	3,6
252	litimapim nem	2	lift up name	praise	verb	linear	V N	Activity Verbs	13	3,6
253	no save toktok	2	not know talk	dumb	adjective	linear	Neg V V	Rational Classifiers	13	3,6
254	planti man na meri	3	plenty of men and women	crowd	noun	linear	Adv N Conj N	People	13	3,6
255	sik long het	2	sick along head	mental	adjective	linear	N Prep N	Rational Classifiers	13	3,6
256	strongim bel	2	strengthen belly	encourage, exhort	verb	linear	V N	Mental Verbs	13	3,6
257	strongim bodi	2	strengthen body	nourish	verb	linear	V N	Activity Verbs	13	3,6
258	tingting strong	2	think strong	concentrate (mentally), convince, feel	verb	left	V Adj	Mental Verbs	13	3,6
259	wokim plen	2	work plan	draft	noun	right	N N	Communication and Language	13	3,6
260	wokim rong	2	work wrong	guilty, immoral	adjective	linear	V Adv	Evaluative Descriptors	13	3,6
261	gras nogut	2	grass not good	weed(s)	noun	left	N Adj	Nature	12	3,3
262	graun na ples	2	ground and place	environment	noun	linear	N Conj N	Nature	12	3,3
263	gris bilong graun	2	grease belong ground	fertilizer	noun	linear	N Prep N	Agriculture and Gardening	12	3,3
264	haus bung	2	house meeting	hall, conference	noun	left	N N	Buildings and Rooms	12	3,3
265	i save pairap	2	know fire up/explode	volatile	adjective	linear	PM V V	Evaluative Descriptors	12	3,3
266	kaikai bilong gaden	2	food belong garden	crop	noun	left	N Prep N	Agriculture and Gardening	12	3,3
267	larim i go	2	leave go	acquit, yield	verb	linear	V PM V	Activity Verbs	12	3,3
268	sik mun	2	sick moon	menstruation	noun	linear	N N	Health	12	3,3
269	stretim sik	2	straighten sick	cure	verb	left	V N	Activity Verbs	12	3,3
270	strongpela laik	2	strong like	ambition, eagerness	noun	right	Adj N	Qualities	12	3,3

271	tok gris	2	talk grease	flatter	verb	left	V N	Communication Verbs	12	3,3
272	blut i kapsait	2	blood capsize	bleed	verb	linear	N PM V	Activity Verbs	11	3,0
273	brukim wara	2	break water	ford, wade	verb	linear	V N	Activity Verbs	11	3,0
274	de bilong amamas	2	day belong happiness	festival	noun	linear	N Prep N	Leisure	11	3,0
275	givim susu long	2	give milk along	breastfeed	verb	linear	V N Prep	Activity Verbs	11	3,0
276	i hat moa	2	hard more	difficult	adjective	linear	PM Adj Adv	Evaluative Descriptors	11	3,0
277	kamapim gutpela tingting	3	come up good thought	impress	verb	linear	V Adj N	Mental Verbs	11	3,0
278	kukim long paia	2	cook along fire	bake, bareque	verb	left	V Prep N	Activity Verbs	11	3,0
279	mekim tok klia	3	make talk clear	explain	verb	linear	V N Adj	Communication Verbs	11	3,0
280	ol pikinini na tumbuna long bihain taim	4	children and acestors along time later	future generations	noun	linear	PL N N Conj Adj N	People	11	3,0
281	singsing lotu	2	song religion	hymn	noun	left	N N	Religion	11	3,0
282	smel nogut	2	smell not good	stink	noun	left	N Adj	Qualities	11	3,0
283	tok tru olsem	3	talk true in this way	assure	verb	linear	V Adv Adv	Communication Verbs	11	3,0
284	tromoim mani	2	throw money	spend	verb	linear	V N	Activity Verbs	11	3,0
285	wasman bilong sipsip	2	watch man belong sheep	shepard	noun	left	N Prep N	People	11	3,0
286	bikpela pinis	2	big finish	mature	adjective	linear	Adj V	Time Descriptors	10	2,7
287	hukim pis	2	hook fish	fish	verb	left	V N	Activity Verbs	10	2,7
288	krai sori	2	cry sorry	mourn	verb	left	V N	Activity Verbs	10	2,7
289	laik bilong bodi	2	like belong body	lust	noun	left	N Prep N	Qualities	10	2,7
290	liklik maunten	2	small/little mountain	hill	noun	right	Adj N	Nature	10	2,7
291	pasim bel	2	block belly	contraceptive	adjective	linear	V N	Rational Classifiers	10	2,7
292	pret nogut tru	3	afraid not good true	dread, terror	noun	linear	Adj Adj Adv	Emotions	10	2,7
293	skelim na stretim	2	school and straighten	criticise	verb	linear	V Conj V	Mental Verbs	10	2,7
294	skin diwai	2	skin tree	bark	noun	left	N N	Nature	10	2,7
295	strongpela bel	2	strong belly	encourage, exhort	verb	linear	Adj N	Mental Verbs	10	2,7
296	autim bel hevi	3	reveal belly heavy	complain	verb	linear	V N Adj	Communication Verbs	9	2,5
297	bagarapim sindaun	2	bugger-up sit down	annoy	verb	linear	V V	Activity Verbs	9	2,5
298	bikpela gaden	2	big garden	farm	noun	right	Adj N	Agriculture and Gardening	9	2,5
299	bikpela haiwara	2	big high water	deluge	noun	right	Adj N	Nature	9	2,5
300	givim susu	2	give milk	suckle	verb	linear	V N	Activity Verbs	9	2,5
301	graun malumalu	2	ground soft	mud	noun	left	N Adj	Nature	9	2,5

302	haus sel	2	house canvas	tent	noun	left	N N	Buildings and Rooms	9	2,5
303	i stap long dispela bung	3	stay along this meeting	attend	verb	linear	PM V Prop Pron N	Activity Verbs	9	2,5
304	maus manmeri	2	mouth people	agent	noun	linear	N N	People	9	2,5
305	rot bilong wokim	2	road belong work	procedure	noun	linear	N Prep V	Politics and Policy	9	2,5
306	saveman bilong lo	2	knowledge man belong law	lawyer	noun	left	N Prep N	Crime and Justice	9	2,5
307	skru bilong han	2	screw belong hand	elbow	noun	left	N Prep N	Body Parts	9	2,5
308	tanim tingting	2	turn thought	convert, influence	verb	left	V N	Activity Verbs	9	2,5
309	as bilong tok	2	base belong talk	meaning	noun	left	N Prop N	Communication and Language	8	2,2
310	bel kol	2	belly cold	at ease, reconciled	adjective	linear	N Adj	Evaluative Descriptors	8	2,2
311	haus mani	2	house money	bank	noun	left	N N	Buildings and Rooms	8	2,2
312	lek nogut	2	leg not good	cripple (disabilities)	noun	linear	N Adj	People	8	2,2
313	man i kisim bagarap	3	man take bugger-up	casualty	noun	left	N PM V N	People	8	2,2
314	mekim lukluk raun long	3	make look round along	explore/visit	verb	linear	V V Adv Prep	Activity Verbs	8	2,2
315	no inap tingim	2	not enough think of	unimaginable	adjective	linear	Neg Adv V	Miscellaneous Descriptors	8	2,2
316	no laikim tru	2	not like true	hate	verb	linear	Neg V Adv	Mental Verbs	8	2,2
317	rot bilong wokabaut	2	road belong walk about	footpath	noun	left	N Prep N	Topography	8	2,2
318	sait bilong maunten	2	side belong mountain	cliff	noun	left	N Prep N	Nature	8	2,2
319	salim toktok	2	send talk	communication	noun	right	V N	Communication and Language	8	2,2
320	singaut nogut	2	cry not good	moan	verb	left	V Adj	Activity Verbs	8	2,2
321	sit bilong paia	2	faeces belong fire	ash	noun	linear	N Prep N	Miscellaneous	8	2,2
322	stori tumbuna	2	story ancestor	legend	noun	left	N N	Folklore	8	2,2
323	tok nogutim	2	talk spoil	insult	verb	left	V V	Communication Verbs	8	2,2
324	toktok kros	2	talk cross	criticism (argument)	noun	left	N Adj	Communication and Language	8	2,2
325	banis bilong haus	2	fence/wall belong house	wall/yard	noun	left	N Prop N	Buildings and Rooms	7	1,9
326	belhat tru	2	belly hot true	furious	adjective	linear	Adj Adv	Evaluative Descriptors	7	1,9
327	bung na paitim	2	meet and fight	mob	noun	linear	N Conj V	People	7	1,9
328	dokta bilong ol meri	2	doctor belong women	gynecologist	noun	left	N Prep N	Health	7	1,9
329	dokta bilong tit	2	doctor belong teeth	dentist	noun	left	N Prep N	Health	7	1,9
330	gat planti gris	3	get plenty of grease	overweight	adjective	linear	V Adv N	Size/Quantity/Extent Descriptors	7	1,9

331	givim gutpela kaikai	3	give good food	nourish	verb	linear	V Adj N	Activity Verbs	7	1,9
332	givim pen	2	give pain	afflict, torture	verb	linear	V N	Activity Verbs	7	1,9
333	givim sut	2	give shoot	immunise, vaccinate	verb	linear	V N	Activity Verbs	7	1,9
334	graun i guria	2	ground tremble	earthquake	noun	linear	N PM V	Nature	7	1,9
335	haus holi	2	house holi	temple/sanctuary	noun	left	N N	Buildings and Rooms	7	1,9
336	i gat gris	2	got grease	fat	adjective	linear	PM V N	Size/Quantity/Extent Descriptors	7	1,9
337	i winim olgeta arapela	3	win all different	exceptional	adjective	linear	PM V Adv Adj	Evaluative Descriptors	7	1,9
338	klaut i pairap	2	cloud fire up	thunder	noun	linear	N PM V	Nature	7	1,9
339	mekim pati	2	make party	celebrate	verb	linear	V N	Activity Verbs	7	1,9
340	mekim strong	2	make strong	confirm	verb	linear	V Adj	Communication Verbs	7	1,9
341	moningtaim tru	2	morning time true	dawn	noun	left	N Adv	Time	7	1,9
342	ples long kisim vot bilong ol manmeri	4	place along give vote belong people	voting place	noun	left	N Prep V N Prep N	Politics and Policy	7	1,9
343	ples wesan	2	place sand	desert	noun	left	N N	Nature	7	1,9
344	sia king	2	chair king	trone	noun	left	N N	Miscellaneous	7	1,9
345	sik kensa bilong susu	3	sick cancer belong breast	breast cancer	noun	left	N N Prep N	Health	7	1,9
346	singsing bilong Krismas	2	song belong Christmas	carol	noun	left	N Prep N	Religion	7	1,9
347	skru bilong lek	2	screw belong leg	knee	noun	left	N Prep N	Body Parts	7	1,9
348	stori bilong tumbuna	2	story belong ancestor	myth	noun	left	N Prep N	Folklore	7	1,9
349	tumbuna meri	2	ancestor woman	grandmother	noun	right	N N	People	7	1,9
350	wok fama	2	work farmer	agriculture	noun	right	N N	Agriculture and Gardening	7	1,9
351	yusim narapela mani	3	use different money	spend	verb	linear	V Adj N	Activity Verbs	7	1,9

Appendix 2. Glossary

A

ai wara

dictionary meaning(s): tear

Examples:

- 1) *Taim mama i hagim em, Pater i pilim ai wara bilong mama i pundaun long bodi bilong em. (Wantok no. 2153)*

T: When mother hugs him, Father can feel the **tears** of the mother falling on his body.

amamas tru

dictionary meaning(s): rejoice

translation equivalent(s): elated / happy

Examples:

- 1) *Dispela prais i bikpela tru na mi amamas tru, em i tok. (Wantok no. 2208)*

T: This prize is unbelievable and I am **happy/elated/rejoiced**, he said.

apim nem

dictionary meaning(s): exalt

translation equivalent(s): represent

Examples:

- 1) *Biknem swima bilong Australia, Ian Thorpe, em wanpela bilong ol dispela top swima bilong wol husat i ritaita na bihain senisim tingting na kam bek na swim long apim nem bilong kantri bilong em. (Wanton no. 2101)*

T: Australia's famous and one of the world's top swimmers, Ian Thorpe, changed his mind after his retirement and got into the water to **represent** his country.

arere long wara

dictionary meaning(s): bank (of a river)

Examples:

- 1) *Taim yu go long Kutubu yu inap lukim planti dok i stap arere long wara Kutubu. (Wantok no. 2220)*
T: When you go to Kutubu, you will see many dogs at the Kutubu **bank**.

as bilong diwai

dictionary meaning(s): trunk

Examples:

- 1) *Na man i bihainim maus bilong meri i go lukim samting olsem 10-pela kapul i stap long wanpela as bilong diwai. (Wantok no. 2199)*
T: And the person following what the women had said saw 10 cuscus under the **trunk**.

as bilong tok

dictionary meaning(s): meaning

translation equivalent(s): reason

Examples:

- 1) *Ol saintis i tok i gat planti as bilong tok watpo graun malmalum i save bruk i go daun na bagarapim ples. (Wantok no. 2220)*
T: Scientists say that there are many **reasons** why soil erosion is happening and damaging the environment.

as ples

dictionary meaning(s): homeland, hometown, originally

translation equivalent(s): village

orthographic variation(s): as-ples, asples

Examples:

- 1) *Bikpela amamas i kamap long lukim sampela ol meri as ples i danis na soim stail bilong ol. (Wantok no. 2111)*
T: It is a joy seeing **village** ladies dancing and showcasing their beauty.
- 2) *Sampela i save kisim olsem K50 long sampela de taim ol i go salim mandarin bilong ol long maket Ruth i tok olsem Lalok em as-ples tru bilong mandarin prut long Madang provins na ol saplai blong en i save kapsait long ol maket long Madang taun olsem Mildas, Rotari pak na ol arapela liklik maket long taun. (Wantok no. 2134)*
T: Some people earn K50 from selling mandarins at the market. Ruth said that the **village** Lalok had many mandarins and supplied the Madang town markets like Mildas, Rotari Park and other smaller markets.
- 3) *Spain em i wanpela tim we olgeta tim i laik daunim ol bikos Gergia i bin daunim ol Spain long asples bilong ol long Madrid bipo. (Wantok no. 2179)*
T: Most countries support the Spanish team because Georgia has previously beaten the Spaniards in their **hometown**, Madrid.

as tingting

dictionary meaning(s): reason, theme

translation equivalent(s): objective, purpose

orthographic variation(s): as-tingting, astingting

Examples:

- 1) *Em i tok **as tingting** bilong dispela projek em long mekim awenes na skulim ol man na meri long grasrut level i ken luksave long dispela, nogut gavman westim mani long nesenel level. (Wantok no. 2019)*
T: He said the **objective** of this project is to create awareness and educate people at the grassroots level so that they can recognise this government corruption that is wasting money at the national level.
- 2) *Bikpela **as-tingting** bilong dispela salens em long ol ERT lain bilong PNG i serim ekspiriens bilong ol na tu lukluk moa long lainim nupela ol rot long sait blong abrusim birua na helpim wanpela arapela long taim bikpela birua i kamap long ol risos projek long kantri. (Wantok no. 2136)*
T: The main **reason** for this challenge is for the ERT staff from PNG to share their experiences. They can also explore new ideas regarding avoiding danger and help each other if anything happens to the resource project in the country.
- 3) *Namba wan **astingting** bilong dispela program em long bungim olgeta siti aninit long olimpik long olgeta hap long wol we ol i gat bikpela wok long mekim. (Wantok no. 2159)*
T: The main **purpose** of this program is to unite all the Olympic cities that have responsibilities to fulfil from all around the world.

askim long helpin

dictionary meaning(s): appeal

lexical replacement(s): apil

Examples:

- 1) *EM i taim nau long **askim long helpim** ovasis long ol lain husat i bungim bikpela hevi na bagarap long bikpela san o drai sisen. (Wantok no. 2159)*
T: THIS is the time to **appeal** to those overseas which have been affected by a severe drought.
- 2) *Mista Nagram i **apil** long Gavana Ati Wobiro na tripela open memba long hariap na givim mani na fandim skul fi we ol skul na institusen i ken putim ol sumtain i go long wan wan skul. (Wantok no. 2059)*
T: Mr. Nagram has **appealed** to Governor Ati Wobiro and three other open members to hurry up and give the money to fund the school fee, which then the schools and institutions can enrol the students in their respective schools.

autim bel hevi

dictionary meaning(s): complain

orthographic variations: autim bel-hevi, autim belhevi

Examples:

- 1) *Minista bilong Edukesen, Nick Kuman i bin **autim bel hevi** bilong em long Yunivesiti bilong Papua Niugini Kaunsil long disisen ol i mekim long pasim skul yia bilong 2016 we ol sumatin bai i no inap long sindaun moa long ol klas na kisim skul. (Wantok no. 2183)*
T: Minister of Education Nick Kuman **complained** about the University of Papua New Guinea Council's decision to suspend the 2016 school year in which the students were not attending classes.
- 2) *Ol KBK klen lida i **autim bel-hevi** bilong ol i go long Ramu NiCo KBK sait menesmen tim em Asisten Presiden, Zhao Regian, KBK Rejista Main Menesa, Timonty Irinaya na KBK Deputi Jeneral Menesa, Meng Deong. (Wantok no. 2093)*
T: The KBK (Kurum Bu Kari) clan leaders have **complained** about the Ramu Niko KBK site management team Assistant President, Zhao Regina, KBK Register Main Manager, Timothy Irinaya and KBK Deputy General Manger, Meng Deong.
- 3) *Ol dispela lain i **autim belhevi** bilong ol las wik insait long Ramu Nickel Projek 2015 fes kwata rivi i kamap long Madang. (Wantok no. 2123)*
T: These people **complained** last week about Ramu Nickel Project 2015 first quarter review held in Madang.

B

bagarapim nem

dictionary meaning(s): humiliate, humiliation

Examples:

- 1) *Em i tok, portal bai givimaut ol trupela toktok long stretim tingting bilong ol pablik bikos planti taim ol sosel midia i save **bagarapim nem** bilong kantri na stori nogut i save kamap long intanet. (Wantok no. 2136)*
T: It was stated that portals disseminate truthful information to the general public because of social media platforms. This misleading information is **humiliating** to the country.

bagarapim sindaun

dictionary meaning(s): annoy

translation equivalent(s): corrupt

Examples:

- 1) *Mani i save **bagarapim sindaun** bilong manmeri na mekim ol i soim giaman pasin bilong ol long narapela manmeri. (Wantok no. 1860)*
T: Money can **corrupt** the behaviour of people and make them show dishonest behaviour towards others.

balus kampani

dictionary meaning(s): airline

Examples:

- 1) ***Balus kampani** bilong PNG, Air Niugini, i kisim nupela B737-700 siris balus las wik Trinde. (Wantok no. 1978)*
T: The **airline** in PNG, Air Niugini, purchased a new B737-700 series plane last week on Wednesday.

banis bilong haus

dictionary meaning(s): wall

translation equivalent(s): yard

Examples:

- 1) *Dispela mango diwai i stap insait long **banis bilong haus** bilong mi. (Wantok no. 2209)*
T: This mango tree is growing in my **yard**.

banis sut

dictionary meaning(s): immunization

lexical variation(s): banis-sut

lexical replacement(s): immunization, imunaisesen

Examples:

- 1) *Dispela plen em long givim **banis sut** na marasin long olgeta pikinini, krismas bilong ol 6 mun i go 59 mun long Sandaun na long sampela hap bilong Is Sepik Provins. (Wantok no. 2180)*
T: The plan is to give **immunizations** and injections to all children from 6 to 59 months old in Sandaun and some parts of the East Sepik Province.
- 2) *Dispela motobaik bai helpim mi gut stret long go aut na givim **banis-sut** long ol liklik ples na komyuniti, Mista Konare i tok. (Wantok no. 1964)*
T: This motorbike will help me well to go out and give **immunizations** in small places and communities, Mr. Konare says.
- 3) *Long narapela sait, Helt Minista i wok long painim mani mak long K2 milian long fandim banis sut (**immunisation**) progrem long olgeta hap bilong kantri. (Wantok no. 2113)*
T: On the other hand, the Health Minister is working to find money for K2 million to fund the **immunization** program in all parts of the country.
- 4) *Wantaim dispela mani, ADI bai inap long mekim moa wok na bai ol i ken givim ol **imunaisesen** o banis marasin na sut long ol bebi na ol mama i ken kisim sekap na helpim. (Wantok no. 2113)*
T: With this money, ADI will be able to do more work and will be able to give **immunizations** to babies and mothers so that they can get relief and help.

bekim tok

dictionary meaning(s): answer

translation equivalent(s): respond

orthographic variation(s): bekimtok

Examples:

- 1) *Tasol ol i **bekim tok** bilong em; mipela givim yu gutpela meri bilong givim abus. (Wantok no. 2199)*
T: And they **responded** saying: we give you a good wife who can give you food.
- 2) *Meri bilong Kanage kirap na tok olsem, "Sapos papagraun i tok orait em bai yu putim dispela taiya bilong yu, nogat em bai nogat olgeta. Maski yu kliia." Na Kanage **bekimtok** "Awara Tasol!" (Wantok no. 1874)*
T: Kanage's wife said: if the landowner agrees, you'll put your tyres here, if not then it won't happen, is that understood? And Kanage **responded**: Everything is alright!

bel hevi

dictionary meaning(s): conflict, depressed, sad, upset

translation equivalent(s): concern

orthographic variation(s): bel-hevi, belhevi

- 1) *Ol **bel hevi** bilong mitupela em long taim mitupela i ting long rot we mitupela i laik bai kantri bilong mipela i mas kamap gutpela. (Wantok no. 2221)*
T: Our **concern** is that when we think about the future, our country needs to become better.
- 2) *DMPG i bin mekim ol konsaltetiv woksop bilong en long kisim tingting na **bel-hevi** bilong ol stekholda long Madang, we i makim Momase rijon, Goroka long Hailans rijon, Kokopo long Niugini Ailans rijon na Mosbi long Sauten rijon long las wik. (Wantok no. 1914)*
T: DMPG conducted consultative workshop sessions to gather the opinions and **concerns** of stakeholders in Madang, which is in the Momase region, Goroka in the Highlands region, Kokopo in the Papua New Guinea Islands region, and Mosbi in the Southern region last week.
- 3) *Ol tisa i no amamas long dispela na i bringim **belhevi** na kros i go long Madang Provinsel Edukesen opis long Jomba na i sindaun autsait long opis na laikim ol atoriti i tok stret long ol watpo dispela i kamap. (Wantok no. 2119)*
T: The teachers are not happy about this, and they have expressed their **concern** and frustration by going to the Madang Provincial Education office in Jomba and staging a sit-in outside the office, demanding that authorities address these issues.

bel isi

dictionary meaning(s): accommodating, calm, calmness, content, peaceful, tranquil

translation equivalent(s): peace

orthographic variation(s): bel-isi, belisi

lexical replacement(s): pisful, peaceful

- 1) *Sol bilong em i ken malolo gut long **bel isi** bilong oltaim, oltaim, Mista Kase i tok. (Wantok no. 2181)*
T: May his soul rests in eternal **peace**, says Mr Kase.
- 2) *Stap bilong ol MS i save mekim komyuniti na divelopa bilong ol risos projek i stap wantaim **bel-isi** na amamas bikos sekyuriti em bikipela samting tru. (Wantok no. 2111)*
T: The presence of MS creates a **peaceful** and enjoyable environment between the community and project resource developer because security is very important.
- 3) *Waitpela kala em i mak bilong **belisi** na stopim pait. (Wantok no. 2048)*
T: White colour is the symbol of **peace** and ceasing fight.
- 4) *Mipela ol pikinini bilong bihain taim i laik kamapim gutpela sindaun na ples i mas stap **pisful**. (Wantok no. 2048)*
T: We, the children of the next generation, want to create better standards of living and live **peacefully**.
- 5) *Ol pipel bilong Vanuatu bai holim wanpela **peaceful** protes mas long ol rot bilong Port Vila i go long Palamen haus tumora bilong soim wari long vailens egenesim ol meri bihain long 7-pela man i bin paitim wanpela turis woka tupela wik i go pinis. (Wantok no. 2168)*
T: The citizens of Vanuatu will hold a **peaceful** protest march along the Port Villa roads towards the Parliament House tomorrow, to show their grievances toward violence against women, after 7 men assaulted a tourist worker two weeks ago.

bel kirap

dictionary meaning(s): fascinate

translation equivalent(s): excite

Examples:

- 1) *Long dispela taim i kam ol memba bilong grup i **bel kirap** long musik, na tupela memba bilong grup, Misek Aaron na Kups Nareo i go kisim musik klas long Goroka Lutheran sios. (Wantok no. 2151)*
T: At that time, the members of the group were **fascinated** by music and two of them Misek Aron and Kups Nareo went to study music at Goroka Lutheran church.
- 2) *Askim bilong mi long gavman, em ol i noken **belkirap** long ol gutpela na switpela toktok, na i nogat wok i bihainim, Dem Carol i tok. (Wantok no. 1929)*
T: I ask the government that they should not **excite** people with good and sweet words, without action following after, said Dame Carol.

bel kol

dictionary meaning(s): at ease, reconciled

translation equivalent(s): compensation

orthographic variation(s): bel-kol

- 1) *Ol i kolim dispela pasin kastom, Nomaingu o **bel kol**. (Wantok no. 2101)*
T: They call this the custom of **compensation**.
- 2) *Olsem na Nesinol Gavmani putim K30 milien olsem **bel-kol** o kompensasin igo long ol foma provinsal asembli memba. (Wantok no. 1857)*
T: That is why the National Government has given K30 million as **compensation** to the former Provincial Assembly Member.

belhat tru

dictionary meaning(s): furious

Examples:

- 1) *Taim em i kam bek long hau, papa i **belhat tru** na kisim pawa kod na paitim meri yah nogut tru na em i dai. (Wantok no. 1994)*
T: When she returned home, her father was **furious** and so he belted her using a power cord until she died.

belo kaikai

dictionary meaning(s): noon

translation equivalent(s): lunch

Examples:

- 1) *Morobe Gavan Kelly Naru na lida bilong Kristen Demokratik pati i tokaut long dispela long taim Palamen i holim **belo kaikai** long tok gutbai long Sir Michael long las wik. (Wantok no. 2221)*
T: Morobe governor Kelly Naru and the leader of the Christian Democratic party said that the House Parliament prepared **lunch** to farewell sir Michael last week.

bikpela bagarap

dictionary meaning(s): catastrophe

Examples:

- 1) *Sapos **bikpela bagarap** i laik kamap, ol bai toksave na mipela bai toksave na ol manmeri bai ronawe i go stap long ol seifples, Kundon i tok. (Wantok no. 2088)*
T: If a **catastrophe** is going to happen, you will hear an announcement and all people shall run away to a safe place, says Kundon.
- 2) *Dispela tingting em i kamaut long ol tingting skelim bilong 2011 Pasifik **Katastropi** Risk Asesmen. (Wantok no. 2136)*
T: These decisions were made after the 2011 Pacific **Catastrophe** Risk assessment.

bikpela bagarap tru

dictionary meaning(s): disaster (negative consequence)

translation equivalent(s): epidemic

Examples:

- 1) *Ol lida bilong kantri i wari long **bikpela bagarap tru** sik TB inap kamapim. (Wantok no. 2110)*
T: The leaders of the country worry about the **epidemic** of tuberculosis.

bikpela birua

dictionary meaning(s): catastrophe

Examples:

- 1) *April 25 i makim namba 25 yia bihain long **bikpela birua** i bin kamap long Chernobyl (Senobil) i stap long kantri Yukren (Ukraine). (Wantok no. 1914)*
T: April 25 marks 25 years since the **catastrophe** at Chernobyl (Senobil) in the country of Ukraine.

bikpela bung

dictionary meaning(s): ceremony

lexical replacement(s): seremoni

Examples:

- 1) *OL LUTERAN Siosmembra bilong Isten Hailans i mekim ol wok redi nau long holim namba 28 sios sinod o **bikpela bung** bilong Lutertan Sios long neks yia. (Wantok no. 1929)*
T: The Lutheran congregation of Eastern Highlands have begun preparations to organize the 28th church **ceremony** next year.
- 2) *Em i tokaut olsem em wantaim 10-pela kaunsila bilong em i no bin stap long opening **seremoni** long las wik Fraide bikos ol i no amamas tumas long protokol long redim ol samting long opim nupela maket. (Wantok no. 2183)*
T: He admitted that 10 of his councilors and himself were not present at the opening **ceremony** last Friday, because they did not approved the protocol followed in preparation for the opening of the new market.

bikpela gaden

dictionary meaning(s): farm

Examples:

- 1) *Em i wari olsem bai mobeta sapos ol papagraun i kamapim **bikpela gaden** na ol yet i ken kisim mani, na noken larim planti bilong ol dispela mani i go aut long ol fama bilong narapla ol provins. (Wantok no. 1975)*
T: They are worried that the landowners will make a **farm** and will take all the money gained for themselves and not let the money be given to farmers in other provinces.

bikpela haiwara

dictionary meaning(s): deluge

Examples:

- 1) ***Bikpela haiwara** i kamap na bagarapim Pakistan bihain long traipela ren i pundaun na givim hevi long 3.2 milian pipel. (Wantok no. 1877)*
T: A **deluge** destroyed Pakistan after heavy rains had fallen affecting 3.2 million people.

bikpela hap

dictionary meaning(s): chunk

translation equivalent(s): section

- 1) *Em i tok odit seksen i **bikpela hap** bilong dipatmen na olsem em i mas gat mani long karimaut gut wok bilong em Tasol nau olsem em i gat mani opis nau bai inap long mekim ol wok we bipo em i no inap long mekim. (Wantok no. 1898)*
T: He said that the audit **section** is an important part of the department and needs funding to properly implement its work. Now that it has its own money office, the department can do work it previously couldn't.

bikpela hap graun

dictionary meaning(s): estate

Examples:

- 1) *O sapos yu gat **bikpela hap graun** yu ken planim kaukau o banana. (Wantok no. 2215)*
T: Or if you have an **estate** (a piece of land), you can plant a sweet potato or banana.

bikpela hevi

dictionary meaning(s): crisis

orthographic variation(s): bikpla hevi

lexical replacement(s): kraisis

Examples:

- 1) *Na dispela yet i givim **bikpela hevi** long gavman bilong Tunisia bikos ol i no nap long helpim bikpela namba bilong ol pipel. (Wantok no. 1906)*
T: And this causes a **crisis** for the Tunisian government since they are not capable of supporting a great number of people.
- 2) *Hevi blilong Klaimet senis i em **bikpla hevi** long wol na ol bikpela kantri olsem Amerika, Australia, na Japan ol arapela tu i nau wok hat tru na painim sampela gutpla rot long daunim ol ges nogut we save bagarapim atmospia o skai. (Wantok no. 2011)*
T: The climate change issue is a world-wide **crisis**. Developed countries like America, Australia, Japan and others are also committed to develop means to lower greenhouse gases, which are harmful to the atmosphere or sky.
- 3) *Misis Hatutasi i bin raitim wanpela buk pinis long wanem kain samting em i bin lukim long taim em i bin stap long **kraisis** o hevi namel long ol Bogenvil Revolusen Ami na ol PNG Difens Fos na hevi we ol liklik man, meri na pikinini na ol bisnis i bin bungim long dispela taim. (Wantok no. 2179)*
T: Mrs. Hatutasi has written a book on what she observed when she was caught up in the **crisis** or conflict between the Bougainville Revloutuionary Army and the PNG Defence Force. Her observations are focused on challenges that men, women, children and businesses faced during that time.

bikpela kar

dictionary meaning(s): van

Examples:

- 1) *Mista Andagali i tok BOD bilong TWL i mekim disisen long larim TWL seaholding papagraun kampani long baim **bikpela kar** na yusim long LNG projek na TWL i mensim wantaim 130 **bikpela kar** bilong TWL yet. (Wantok no. 2096)*
T: Mr. Andagali said the BOD of Trans Wonderland Limited (TWL) made the decision to allow TWL seaholding landowner company to purchase **vans** to be used for the LNG project, and TWL to manage their 130 **vans**.

bikpela opis

dictionary meaning(s): headquarters

Examples:

- 1) *Dispela **bikpela opis** bilong polis trefik i save kamap, em i stap insait long wanpela olupela haus bilong taim bilong Australia gavman yet. (Wantok no. 2042)*
T: The **headquarters** of the traffic police is in an old building built during the Australian Government ruling.

bikpela paia

dictionary meaning(s): blaze, flame

Examples:

- 1) *Las wik **bikpela paia** i bin kukim 4-pela stua long Tabari, namel stret long Boroko na klostu long Boroko Paia stesin. (Wantok no. 2219)*
T: Last week, a **blaze** burnt down 4 stores of Tabari at the centre of Boroko, and close to the Boroko Fire Station.

bikpela pairap

dictionary meaning(s): deafening

orthographic variation(s): bikpla pairap

lexical replacement(s): eruption / explosion

Examples:

- 1) *Em i tok **bikpela pairap** i tromoi ol i go daun long graun na paia i sut i go antap long het bilong ol diwai na ol bodi tu i flai i go antap. (Wantok no. 2168)*
T: S/He said there was an **explosion**, that threw them to the ground and the fire burned as high as the trees, and the bodies were thrown up as well.
- 2) *Komyuniti lidaman long Matupit Ailan, Benedict John, i tok **bikpla pairap** i kamap i sek sekim ol haus na brukim ol glas bilong ol haus. (Wantok no. 2088)*
T: The Community Leader of Matupit Island, Benedict John, said there was an **eruption** that caused earthquakes that shook the houses and broke the windows.

bikpela pinis

dictionary meaning(s): mature

Examples:

- 1) *Kristen komyuniti i save mekim wok misin, em i gat mak bilong Kristen komyuniti i kamap **bikpela pinis**. (Wantok no. 2096)*
T: The Christian community that engages in missionary work has the mark of a **mature** Christian community.

bikpela rong

dictionary meaning(s): crime

lexical replacement(s): kraim

Examples:

- 1) *Mista O'Neill i tok dispela em bilong lukautim ol kalabus lain i wokim ol **bikpela rong** na i go long kalabus long longpela taim. (Wantok no. 2021)*
T: Mr. O'Neill said that this was about looking after prisoners who had committed **crimes** and were serving longer sentences in prison.
- 2) *Ol komyuniti i bin wok bung wantaim na karimaut ol wok awenes, ripotim ol **kraim** o trabel na wok wantaim ol atoriti long kamapim gut pablik sefti na jastis. (Wantok no. 2011)*
T: The community has been working and carrying out awareness, reporting **crimes** or trouble and working together with authorities to create good public safety and justice.

bikpela samting

dictionary meaning(s): crisis

orthographic variation(s): bikpla samting

lexical replacement(s): impotan

translation equivalent(s): vital / risk

Examples:

- 1) *Wara na kaikai i **bikpela samting** long strongim laip. (Wantok no. 1867)*
T: Water and food are **vital / important** to sustain life.
- 2) *Tasol em i tok, olgeta poling stesin long Arawa i bin pulap stat long Mande i kam inap nau long wanem ol pipel i laik vot long dispela **impotan** ileksen long Bogenvil. (Wantok no. 2088)*
T: However, he said, every polling station in Arawa was filled with voters since Monday until today because people wanted to vote in this **important** Bougainville election.
- 3) *Dion i tok helt bilong ol manmeri i **bikpla samting** long taim das i pundaun na i bagarapim wara, gaden kaikai na ol arapela samting. (Wantok no. 2088)*
T: Dion said that people's health is at **risk** since the dust settled and contaminated rivers and destroyed food crops as well as other things.

bikpela san

dictionary meaning(s): drought

Examples:

- 1) *Vanuatu wankain olsem ol narapela ailan kantri long Pasifik i save wari long wara long ol gutpela taim na tu long ol taim bilong **bikpela san** na ples i drai. (Wantok no. 2219)*
T: Vanuatu, like many other Pacific island nations, is always concerned about water during summer and **draught** season when the place becomes dry.

bikpela sik

dictionary meaning(s): epidemic / plague

Examples:

- 1) *Dokta Dakulala i tok sik TB em i wanpela **bikpela sik** long kantri we planti pikinini i gat 14 yias i go daun (long mak bilong 30 pesen) i gat long em. (Wantok no. 2003)*
T: Dr. Dakulala says that Tuberculosis (TB) is one of the **epidemics** in the country that has ended the lives of many 14-year-old teenagers.

bikpela ston

dictionary meaning(s): bolder

Examples:

- 1) *Total i mekim sait trek driling taim bikpela ston i save dispela **bikpela ston** blokim rik o paip i go long graun long rausim oil na ges. (Wantok no. 2219)*
T: Total had carried outside track drilling when the **bolder** that blocked the rig or pipe into the ground to extract oil and gas.

bikpela trabel

dictionary meaning(s): emergency

translation equivalent(s): difficulty

Examples:

- 1) *Long Papua Niugini yumi gat **bikpela trabel** long kamapim inap kaikai, na painim gutpela kaikai bilong givim long famili. (Wantok no. 2159)*
T: In Papua New Guinea, we face **difficulties** in providing food for our families.

bikpela tru

dictionary meaning(s): enormous

Examples:

- 1) *Em i tok olsem dispela hevi bai kamap bikpela tru bihain long likwifait netsurel ges (LNG) projek i go het long givim aut mani na mani i ron insait long ikonomi bilong kantri. (Wantok no. 1874)*
T: He says that this problem will become an enormous problem later when the Liquefied Natural Gas (LNG) project continues to pay and the money stays in the country.

bilong kisim save

dictionary meaning(s): education

Examples:

- 1) *Yunivesiti em i ples bilong kisim save. (Wantok no. 2181)*
T: A university is a place of education.

blut i kapsait

dictionary meaning(s): bleed

Examples:

- 1) *Mi lukim long ai bilong mi na narapela boi i kisim katres, na **blut i kapsait**, tasol arapela ol sumatin i karim em i go daun long Poroman sait, em i tok. (Wantok no. 2179)*
T: I witnessed the shooting of the boy, he was **bleeding**. Meanwhile, other students were brought down to Poroman, he said.

brukim marit

dictionary meaning(s): adultery

lexical replacement(s): divos

translation equivalent(s): divorce

Examples:

- 1) *Papamama bilong mi i divos o **brukim marit**, na papa i marit pinis na i gat wanpela pikinini. (Wantok no. 1964)*
T: My parents **divorced** and my father already got married to a new wife and has one child.
- 2) *Sampela ol samting we risets i painim i mekim ol pikinini i go stap long rot em, mekim nogut long ol pikinini, domestik vailens o sindaun bilong papamama i no gutpela na papa i paitim mama tumas, **divos** o wanpela i dai, no givim gutpela lukaut, lusim skul bikos nogat skul fi na nogat inap kaikai long haus. (Wantok no. 1938)*
T: Researchers found the reasons why children end up homeless and live on the streets. They include: mistreating children, domestic violence by the parents or father frequently beating his wife, **divorce** or the death of one of the parents, poor support and caring, withdrawal from school because of not paying the school fee and not enough food in the house.

brukim skru

dictionary meaning(s): kneel

Examples:

- 1) *Olgeta manmeri bai **brukim skru** na olgeta maus bai i tokaut olsem Jisas em i Bikpela. (Wantok no. 2119)*
T: All men will **kneel**, and all the mouths shall proclaim that Jesus is the King.

brukim wara

dictionary meaning(s): ford / wade

translation equivalent(s): cross

Examples:

- 1) *Sampela i **brukim wara** Maril na go long Mui Kone. (Wantok no. 2143)*
T: Some people **crossed** Maril and proceeded on to Mui Kone.

Buk Baibel / Buk Tambu

dictionary meaning(s): Bible

lexical replacement(s): Baibel

Examples:

- 1) *Dispela toktok i stap long **Buk Baibel** na mi bringim dispela toktok i go long Palamen bikos yumi putim bikpela **Buk Baibel** long Palamen pinis. (Wantok no. 2212)*
T: This speech is from the **Bible** and I am bringing this speech to the Parliament because we have put the **Bible** in Parliament.
- 2) *Insait long **Buk Tambu** yum i save olsem Jisas i kirapim Lasarus na bihain Lasarus i dai. (Wantok no. 1891)*
T: In the **Bible**, we know that Jesus woke Lazarus from his grave.
- 3) *Taim dispela **baibel** i stap long Yurop, em i bin kamap supa pawa long wol. (Wantok no. 2119)*
T: When this **bible** was in Europe, it had become the superpower of the world.

bun i nating

dictionary meaning(s): slender, thin

translation equivalent(s): slim / malnourished

Examples:

- 1) *Em i slip long han bilong mama tasol bodi bilong em i **bun nating** na i no strong. (Wantok no. 2214)*
T: He sleeps on his mother's hands, but his body is **slim / malnourished** and doesn't have strength.

bung na paitim

dictionary meaning(s): mob

Examples:

- 1) *Mob Violence long PNG o manmeri i **bung na paitim** na bagarapim narapela em i nogut pasin tru na i mas pinis. (Wantok no. 1982)*
T: Mob Violence in PNG or a **mob** of men and women is a very bad practice and this behaviour needs to stop.

bung toktok

dictionary meaning(s): discussion

translation equivalent(s): conference

Examples:

- 1) *TRIPLELA de konpens o **bung toktok** bilong Busu Luteran Peris long Morobe Provins i bin ron gut tasol na kamap wantaim ol sampela samting we ol sios memba i save gat wari long en. (Wantok no. 1985)*
T: The three-day **conference** of the Busu Lutheran Parish at Morobe Province has progressed well with some solutions to issues faced by church members.

D

de bilong amamas

dictionary meaning(s): festival

Examples:

- 1) *Tavur Festival em i soim planti gutpela pasin bilong Wes Nu Briten na ol lain i sindaun long hap. I luk olsem ol manmeri i amamas gut tru na no gat trabel i kamap long bagarapim dispela tripela **de bilong amamas**. (Wantok no. 2141)*
T: Tavor Festival displayed the good attitude of the people of West New Britain. And the people seemed to be very glad, and there was no disturbance in the three-day **festival**.

diwai kros

dictionary meaning(s): cross / crucifix

Examples:

- 1) *Stesin 13 na 14 long Waigani sios ol manmeri i soim pilai long taim ol Roman opisa i paitim Jisas, nilim em long diwai kros, kilim em na rausim em long **diwai kros**. (Wantok no. 2222)*
T: Station 13 and 14 in Waigani, all the men were role playing the Roman officers crucifying Jesus, they crucified and killed him, then they removed him from the **cross**.

dokta bilong ol meri

dictionary meaning(s): gynaecologist

Examples:

- 1) *Namba wan **dokta bilong ol meri** long PIH, Dokta Mathias Sapuri i tok olsem nau haus sik long PIH i gat marasin bilong kilim tripela vairus o binatang i save kamapim kensa. (Wantok no. 2090)*
T: The head **gynaecologist** from PIH, doctor Mathias Sapuri, says that PIH hospital has medicine for three viruses causing cancer.

dokta bilong tit

dictionary meaning(s): dentist

Examples:

- 1) *I gat ol jenerel medikal dokta, ol dentis o **dokta bilong tit** na ol dokta bilong ol enimal i kam long Australia, Nu Silan, Kanada, Singapo na Amerika na wok bung wantaim aninit long PPP long givim fri sevis i go long ol pipel husat i gat ol kain sik. (Wantok no. 1918)*
T: There are general medical doctors, **dentists** and veterinarians who have travelled from Australia, New Zealand, Canada, Singapore and America to work together under the guidance of the PPP to provide free medical services to individuals who require medical assistance.

G

get dinau

dictionary meaning(s): owe

Examples:

- 1) *Minista Allan i tok dipatmen i **gat dinau** long K140 milian long peim ol papagraun we dipatmen i kisim tumbuna graun na givim long gavman. (Wantok no. 2026)*
T: Minister Allan said the department **owed** K140 million for the paperwork that the department had to hand over to the government.

gat planti gris

dictionary meaning(s): overweight

Examples:

- 1) *Kamap pat o **gat planti gris** - Alkohol i gat planti gris na em i ken mekim man i go bikpela tumas na hevi tumas long bodi. (Wantok no. 2026)*
T: Becoming fat or **overweight** - Alcohol is calorific and it can cause people to become overweight.

gat save long

dictionary meaning(s): experience

Examples:

- 1) *Dia Wantok Niuspepa, mi wanpela man bipo wok olsem kiap o patrol opisa, i **gat save long** wok bilong gavman na pablik edministresen. (Wantok no. 2066)*
T: Dear *Wantok* Newspaper, I'm one of the men who worked as an administrator or patrol officer in the past, I have **experience** in the operations, functioning of the government and the public administration.

givim bel

dictionary meaning(s): love

translation equivalent(s): affair

Examples:

- 1) *Laiplain i agensim ol marit i bruk o long manmeri i wokim pasin nogut olsempaul wantaimmaritman omeri o **givim bel** long narapela i marit pinis. (Wantok no. 1930)*
T: The pastor is against divorce or infidelity in marriage and works against bad behaviour such as adultery or an **affair** with a married person.

givim gutpela kaikai

dictionary meaning(s): nourish

Examples:

- 1) *Ol i mas **givim gutpela kaikai** long ol pikinini. (Wantok no. 2167)*
T: They must **nourish** children.

givim han

dictionary meaning(s): handshake

translation equivalent(s): help

Examples:

- 1) *OTML Menesing Dairekta na Sif Eksektiv Opisa, Peter Graham i amamas long planti lain i kamap na em i tok tenkyu long ol sumatin husat i **givim han** long WED wok long dispela de. (Wantok no. 2178)*
T: TML Managing Director and Chief Executive Officer, Peter Graham, is happy about the turn out and gives his thanks to those students who **helped** during the day.

givim kaikai

dictionary meaning(s): feed / treat

Examples:

- 1) *Ol man bilong ol i save laik long slip wantaim ol na kamapim pikinini, tasol ol i no save helpim ol long lukautim na **givim** kaikai long ol pikinini i gro na kamap bikpela Misis Bogg i tok. (Wantok no. 2076)*
T: Their husbands usually sleep with them to conceive a child, but most times the husband doesn't help, support and care for the child much, and **feed** them to let them grow up, said miss Bogg.

givim luksave

dictionary meaning(s): acclaim

orthographic variation(s): givimluksave

translation equivalent(s): award / recognize

Examples:

- 1) *SIR Theophilus Faundesen i **givim luksave** long 12-pela sumatin bilong Pasifik Adventis Yunivesiti (PAU) wantaim K58,000 skol fi skolasip las wik. (Wantok no. 2042)*
T: The Sir Theophilus Foundation **awarded** 12 students from the Pacific Adventist University a scholarship grant of K58, 000 last week.
- 2) *DAL i **givimluksave** long promotim agrikalsa na skol bilong gutpela sindaun wantaim ol komyuniti long Gerehu we i karim planti ol papagraun long Koitabu na ol setelmen. (Wantok no. 1864)*
T: The DAL (Department of Agriculture and Livestock) has **recognized** the need to promote agriculture and awareness in communities from Gerehu where there are a lot of Koitabuan landowners and settlements.

givim skul

dictionary meaning(s): instruct

Examples:

- 1) *Ol bikpela save man dokta bilong sios i wok long ol bikpela Katolik kolis na Katolik yunivesiti long Australia i kam na **givim skul** long ol dispela topik long mipela. (Wantok no. 2096)*
T: The experts from Australian catholic colleges and universities came to **instruct** us on these topics.

givim stori

dictionary meaning(s): report

lexical replacement(s): ripot

Examples:

- 1) *Ol mama tu i mas soim pes long ol bikpela miting long **givim stori** bilong projek bilong ol. (Wantok no. 2199)*
T: Mothers must show up for big meetings to **report** their projects.
- 2) *Stepehn Dzedzic i **ripot** olsem Agrikalsa Minista Joe Ludwig i bin go long Indonesia long traim long stretim ol nupela wokbung o gaitlain long we ol i mas lukautim gut ol enimal. (Wantok no. 1992)*
T: Stephen Dzedzic **reports** that the Minister of Agriculture, Joe Ludwig, went to Indonesia to try to clarify the new work arrangements or guidelines on how they must take care of the animals.

givim susu

dictionary meaning(s): suckle

translation equivalent(s): breastfeed

Examples:

- 1) *Em i givim tok piksa olsem, long marit laip, meri tasol i ken karim bebi na **givim susu**, tasol long wasim klos, kukim kaikai, karim wara na paiawut em ol man tu i ken mekim. (Wantok no. 2107)*
T: He gives an example, in a marriage, only the woman can carry the baby and **breastfeed**, but with washing clothes, cooking food, carrying water, and fetching firewood, men can also help.

givim susu long

dictionary meaning(s): breastfeed

Examples:

- 1) *Orait, na em i no **givim susu long** pikinini, em i hangamapim em nating long arere bilong haus na wetim dispela man i stap. (Wantok no. 2180)*
T: Okay, so she didn't **breastfeed** the baby. She left the baby hanging beside the house while she was waiting for that man.

givim sut

dictionary meaning(s): immunize / vaccinate

Examples:

- 1) *Gutpela we bilong lukautim ol lain i noken kisim sik tetanus em long **givim sut** na marasin bilong banisim ol, nau mipela kempein long em insait long nesen long olgeta yanpela meri na bikpela meri krismas bilong ol namel long 15 na 45 wantaim ol mama i gat bel long kisim sut na marasin. (Wantok no. 2025)*
T: Another way to prevent tetanus is to **vaccinate** and make awareness nationwide targeting the women between the ages of 15 and 45, including pregnant women.

givim sut long

dictionary meaning(s): inject

translation equivalent(s): vaccinate

Examples:

- 1) *Ol i ranawe bikos i harim stori pinis olsem, long Holy Rosary praimer skul, ol i **givim sut long** ol pikinini na kisim nem na piksa bilong ol tu. (Wantok no. 2070)*
T: They ran away, because they heard that in Holy Rosary Primary School, they **vaccinate** the children, take their names and photos of them.

givim wok

dictionary meaning(s): employ

Examples:

- 1) *Em i tok gavman i luksave tu long wok kampani i wokim long **givim wok** long ol manmeri, trenim ol long kamap save man na meri long wok ol i mekim. (Wantok no. 1857)*
T: He said that the government also cares about the companies that **employ** men and women, training them to become skilled workers.

go bikpela

dictionary meaning(s): grow up

translation equivalent(s): expand

Examples:

- 1) *Yupela i bin laik skruim haus lotu i **go bikpela** na i ken pulapim moa pipel insait long beten na givim biknem i go long Bikpela. (Wantok no. 2074)*
T: You wanted to **expand** the church building so that they can accommodate more people to pray and honour the Lord.

go long hap long

dictionary meaning(s): cross

translation equivalent(s): travel

Examples:

- 1) *Ol bin intevyuvim ol ges i bin **go long hap long** PNG, na ol i givim wan wan bilong ol ol long ansaim wanpela kwesten, na ol i traim bes long givim bekim bilong ol. (Wantok no. 1992)*
T: They interviewed guests who **travelled** to PNG, and they gave each of them one question to answer, and they tried their best to respond.

go lukim

dictionary meaning(s): visit

lexical replacement(s): visit

Examples:

- 1) *Mipela laik strongim yu tupela long **go lukim** famili plening klinik klostu long yupela. (Wantok no. 2087)*
T: We encourage you both to **visit** a family planning clinic near you.
- 2) *Em i tok dispela **visit** PM i bin sainim sampela Memorandum bilong Andastanding na Agrimen (MOU) we i bin wokim bikipela biletrel rilesen. (Wantok no. 2107)*
T: S/he said that during the PM's **visit**, he signed the Memorandum of Understanding and Agreement (MOU) and that resulted in an important bilateral relation.

go lukim raun long

translation equivalent(s): visit

Examples:

- 1) *Micah i **go lukluk raun long** Singapore, we em i bin bungim Tharman Shanmugaratnam, husat i Deputy Praim Minista na Fainens Minista bilong Singapore, long toktok long skelim model bilong pablik entaprais bilong ol. (Wantok no. 1986)*
T: Micah **visited** Singapore, where he met with Tharman Shanmugaratnam, Singapore's Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Finance, to discuss their public enterprise model.

go pas long

translation equivalent(s): lead

Examples:

- 1) *Jack, (David) Muta, Lepani na Foster mas i **go pas long** dispela tim na soim rot olsem ol papa graun. (Wantok no. 1861)*
T: Jack, (David) Muta, Lepani and Foster **lead** the team the way as landowners.

gras nogut

dictionary meaning(s): weed(s)

lexical replacement(s): weed

Examples:

- 1) *Em i promis olsem bihain liklik em bai bringim ol kopi palpa masin na ol pam bilong pamim marasin long kilim dai ol **gras nogut** long kopi gaden. (Wantok no. 2058)*
T: He promises that soon he will bring coffee grinders and pumps to clear up **weeds** in the coffee fields.
- 2) *Long ol tes ol i wokim pinis, menesmen bilong ol binatang na ol **weed** o gras nogut i save gro namel long ol rais na kamapim bagarap em ol eria we ol i bin karamapim. (Wantok no. 2110)*
T: The test has been done, managing of insects, **weeds** and bad grasses that grow in between the rice have been taken care of.

graun bilong gavman

dictionary meaning(s): government property

translation equivalent(s): state land / government land

Examples:

- 1) ***Graun bilong gavman** i sot nau long ol taun na siti. (Wantok no. 2066)*
T: There is a shortage of **state land** (or **government land**) in towns and cities.

graun i guria

dictionary meaning(s): earthquake

Examples:

- 1) *Long Rabaul na Kokopo na ol ples klostu ol pipel i bin pilim strongpela **graun i guria** na i gat toktok olsem sampela bagarap i bin kamap. (Wantok no. 2121)*
T: In Rabaul, Kokopo and the nearby villages, people felt a strong **earthquake** and assumed a disaster must have occurred somewhere.

graun malumalu

dictionary meaning(s): mud

Examples:

- 1) *Nogut ol buai na daka tu i doti long **graun malumalu**. (Wantok no. 2025)*
T: The betelnut and mustard might get dirty from the **mud**.

graun na ples

dictionary meaning(s): environment

lexical replacement(s): environmen / environment

translation equivalent(s): landscape

Examples:

- 1) *Dispela em bikos klaimet i senis na i mekim **graun na ples** long hailans i senis. (Wantok no. 2047)*
T: It is because of the climate change that the **landscape** in the highlands changed.
- 2) *Dispela tupela yunivesiti em i Yunivesiti ov Papua Niugini, na Yunivesiti ov Neturel Risos na **Environmen**. (Wantok no. 1985)*
T: These two universities are the University of Papua New Guinea and the University of Natural Resources and **Environment**.
- 3) *Ramu NiCo i tok klia olsem kampani ya i bai mekim wok strong long luksave olsem nogat wanpela birua i kamap long **environment** long tete na bihain taim tu na tokim ol pipol long noken bilipim giaman tok bilong ol NGO. (Wantok no. 2026)*
T: Ramu Nico made itself clear that the company will be working hard and taking care of the **environment**, as of today and beyond, and tell the people not to believe in the lies of NGO.

gris bilong graun

dictionary meaning(s): fertilizer

Examples:

- 1) *Bihain long sampela mun, Robert i groim ol arapela gaden kaikai long givim **gris bilong graun**. (Wantok no. 2198)*
T: After a few months, Robert planted other crops and **fertilized** them.

gut tru

dictionary meaning(s): terrific

translation equivalent(s): abundantly

Examples:

- 1) *Ol kumu olsem kru-sako, kapis, anian, kerot na avokado i gro **gut tru** long dispela ples. (Wantok no. 1877)*
T: Vegetables like choko sprouts, cabbages, onions, carrots and avocados grow healthily and yield **abundantly** in this place.

gutpela kaikai

dictionary meaning(s): nourishment

translation equivalent(s): nutritious food

Examples:

- 1) *Ol i mas givim gutpela kaikai long ol pikinini. (Wantok no. 2167)*
T: Children must obtain **nourishment** / **nutritious food**.

gutpela moa

dictionary meaning(s): magical / noble

translation equivalent(s): helpful

Examples:

- 1) *Em i tok ol bikpela bung olsem Enuak Nesenak Lutheran sumatin Ista Baibel kem i gutpela moa long strongim bilip bilong ol pikinini long taim ol i liklik yet. (Wantok no. 2221)*
T: S/he said that occasions such as Annual National Lutheran Students Easter Bible Camp is especially **helpful** for young children who grow up.

gutpela na stretpela pasin

dictionary meaning(s): ethics / integrity

Examples:

- 1) *Sanap strong long soim gutpela na stretpela pasin oltaim. (Wantok no. 2048)*
T: Stand firm to always show **integrity**.

gutpela pasin

dictionary meaning(s): morals

orthographic variation(s): gutpla pasin

translation equivalent(s): hospitable

Examples:

- 1) *Dispela donesen i soim laik bilong mipela long bildim gutpela pasin long ol yangpela pipel husat bai kamap ol lida long bihain taim. (Wantok no. 2013)*
T: These donations show our concerns for the young people and to build **morals** in their lives who will become leaders in the future.
- 2) *To Baining i tokim ol spot manmeri olsem gavman i makim Is Niu Briten olsem provins bilong ol turis long kam raun lukluk, na long dispela as, em i askim ol pilai manmeri soim gutpla pasin bilong long ol turis bikos ol turis i save kisim mani i kam insait long provins. (Wantok no. 2076)*
T: To Baining told the athletes that the government has chosen East New Britain province to be a tourist destination. For this reason, he asked the athletes to be **hospitable** towards these tourists because they generate revenue into the province.

gutpela tru

dictionary meaning(s): great / marvellous

orthographic variation(s): gutpla tru / gutpelatru

Examples:

- 1) **Gutpela tru** long lukim ol narakain pipel, tasol long wankain taim, planti samting i wankain namel long ol, Zoe i tok. (Wantok no. 2121)
T: It's **great** to see these different people, but at the same time, many things remain the same between them, said Zoe.
- 2) **Rot bilong Kominikesen o kisim na salim toktok long intenet olsem pesbuk,whats up,na ol arapla moa, i gutpla tru** tasol i gat bikpla bagarap bilong en sapos man i no usim gut. (Wantok no. 2112)
T: The different ways of communication, such as receiving and sending message through the internet like Facebook, WhatsApp and many more, are **great** and helpful, but there is great danger to it if people do not use it properly.
- 3) **Wok bilong Spika long dispela taim i bin gutpelatru.** (Wantok no. 2225)
T: The speaker's role at that time was **great**.

H

han bilong diwai

dictionary meaning(s): branch

Examples:

- 1) *Wantu, taragau i plai i kam daun na kisim dispela pikinini man long tupela lek bilong en na plai i go antap na sindaun long **han bilong diwai**. (Wantok no. 2216)*
T: Suddenly, a taragau bird came down and took this babyboy in its claws and flew up and sat on a **branch**.

hap graun

dictionary meaning(s): territory

translation equivalent(s): landmark

Examples:

- 1) *Ol atoriti i ken nau lukim long mep olgeta **hap graun** long Solomon Ailan we i gutpela o bai bungim hevi long en sapos developmen i kamap long en. (Wantok no. 2216)*
T: The authorities can now see the **landmarks** of Solomon Island on the map which are good or can face a lot of issues if development takes place.

hap tok

dictionary meaning(s): expression / idiom / paragraph / quotation / statement

translation equivalent(s): technique

Examples:

- 1) *Ol samting ol i lainim tu i save strongim bodi na tingting bilong ol na i save helpim ol tu long laip. I no yumi olgeta i ken pait long ful kontek karate tasol em i gutpela long yumi ken lainim o traim wanpela **hap tok** i kam long ol we i ken hlpim long lukautim yumi tu. (Wantok no. 2016)*
T: The things they learn can also strengthen their bodies and minds and help them to live. Not all of us can master full contact karate, but it's good that we can learn or try some **techniques** that can help protect us too.

harim tok

dictionary meaning(s): obedience / obey

Examples:

- 1) *Kingdom em i olsem king i bosim kantri na bai em i lukautim ol pipel na ol pipel bai **harim tok** bilong em tasol. (Wantok no. 2076)*
T: The Kingdom is like a king ruling the country and he will protect the people and they will only **obey** his words.

hat long painim

dictionary meaning(s): rare

Examples:

- 1) *Tok tru o truth olgeta taim i no save stret na i **hat long painim**. (Wantok no. 2214)*
T: Truth is not always correct and so it is **rare**.

hatim bel

dictionary meaning(s): infuriate

Examples:

- 1) *Dispela kain toktok i bin **hatim bel** bilong planti pipel, long wanem pasin rep na kilim nating ol pipel nau i wok long go antap tru long PNG. (Wantok no. 2018)*
T: These types of words have been **infuriating** because raping and killing people is growing rapidly in PNG.

haus bung

dictionary meaning(s): conference / hall

lexical variation: haus-bung / hausbung

translation equivalent(s): campaign house

Examples:

- 1) *TOK promis long kamapim wanpela sinot **haus bung** bilong Evanjelikal Lutren Sios bilong Papua Nuigini, long Heldsbach insait long Finsafen, Lae, i no bin kamap long mak olsem gavman bilong em i tok. (Wantok no. 2217)*
T: The Synod **conference**, for the Evangelical Lutheran church for Papua New Guinea, hosted in Heldsbach, Finchafen, Lae, did not take place as promised, says the local government.
- 2) *SINGAUT i go long gavman na ol bisnis haus long wok bung wantaim long wokim ol nupela **haus-bung** o hol long Kokopo Bisnis Koles long yusim long taim bilong graduesen na ol arapela wok bilong skol. (Wantok no. 2011)*
T: We call out the government and the business houses to work together and build the **halls** for the Kokopo Business College, so it can be used for their graduation and for future events of the school.
- 3) *Taim nominesen i op, olgeta wanwan kendidet bai sanapim **hausbung** bilong ol long traim soim olsem ol i gat namba. (Wantok no. 1986)*
T: When the nominations open, all the candidates, will set up their own **campaign houses** to try to show that they have the numbers.

haus holi

translation equivalent(s): sanctuary / temple

Examples:

- 1) *Yumi bai gat bikpela wok we i nidim traipela mani long mekim **haus holi** bilong God, em ol pipel bilong God tasol. (Wantok no. 2217)*
T: But we have a great treasure for God's service, and we need it to build the **sanctuary / temple** for God.

haus kaikai

dictionary meaning(s): dining room / mess

orthographic variation(s): hauskaikai

translation equivalent(s): street food

Examples:

- 1) *Mi hangre na painim **haus kaikai**. (Wantok no. 2134)*
T: I'm looking for a **mess** because I am hungry.
- 2) *Hariap na givim toksave long pasim ol **hauskaikai** na ol manmeri husat i salim ol lempfleps long maket na arere long ol rot. (Wantok no. 1864)*
T: An immediate announcement to close **street food** should be made to those who sell lambflaps at markets and beside the roads.

haus kalabus

dictionary meaning(s): prison

orthographic variation(s): haus-kalabus

translation equivalent(s): jail

Examples:

- 1) *Mis Corby i stap nau long **haus kalabus** long Indonesia long 8-pela yia, stat yet long yia 2004. (Wantok no. 1965)*
T: Mrs. Corby has been behind the bars in **jail** in Indonesia since 2004.
- 2) *OL PIPEL bilong Madang nau i stap wantaim bikpela pret bihain long 49 kalabus lain long Beon **haus-kalabus** i bin ronawe long banis las wik Fraide. (Wantok no. 2013)*
T: People of Madang Province are now in fear of the escape of the 49 prisoners from the Beon **Jail** on Friday.

haus krai

dictionary meaning(s): place of mourning

translation equivalent(s): protesting

Examples:

- 1) ***Haus krai** bilong ol mama, man i paitim meri bilong em... Long Tabubil bikpela haus krai bilong ol mama i kamap. Kainkain pilai drama i kamap, planti ol toktok i kamap na polis tu i go sindaun wantaim ol mama long dispela haus krai. (Wantok no. 2021)*
T: Women are **protesting**, against domestic violence. There was a huge protest that comes in a form of role plays, speeches and police to show support by their presence.

haus kuk

dictionary meaning(s): kitchen

orthographic variation(s): hauskuk

Examples:

- 1) *Em i kisim wok long **haus kuk** long St Vincen na lain Tok Inlgis na bihain em i kisim namba tu wok long nait bikos em i laik sevim mani na go bek long skul. (Wantok no. 2231)*
T: He took a job at St. Vincent's **kitchen** and learnt how to speak English and then he got another job to work during night shifts because he wanted to save up and go back to school, i.e. to continue his formal education.
- 2) *Sapos Somare gayman i gat wanpela 'Kitchen o **hauskuk** Kabinet' we i save muvim gayman long PNG, orait, Mekere Oposisen tu i mas gat wanpela 'Woa Kabinet' long muvim PNG komyuniti long sapatim em long rausim dispela **hauskuk** kabinet. (Wantok no. 1876)*
T: If Somare (Grand Chief Sir Michael Thomas Somare) has a '**Kitchen** Cabinet', i.e. a core cabinet – that moves the government of the day in PNG. Then, Mekere (Late Sir Mekere Morauta) must also have an equivalent cabinet that moves the communities of PNG to support it in ousting this **kitchen** cabinet.

haus lain

dictionary meaning(s): clan, long house

orthographic variation(s): haus-lain

translation equivalent(s): community

Examples:

- 1) *Dispela sevei bai helpim long painimaut na givim tingting long ol mama long gutpela menesmen bilong liklik bisnis bilong ol long ples na **haus lain** long sait long wanem liklik sapat blong mani ol i kisim long outsait o insait long Projek. (Wantok no. 2103)*
T: The survey will help find out and will give good management advice to mothers for their small businesses back in their villages and **communities** about whatever small funding that they will receive from outside or inside the project.
- 2) *INSAIT long planti ol rurel viles na **haus-lain** long Papua Niugini, planti ol liklik pikinini i save lainim gutpela pasin long hatwok na kamapim kaikai taim ol i stap liklik yet. (Wantok no. 1874)*
T: In many rural villages and **communities** in Papua New Guinea, a lot of small children learn good habits from hard work and thrive while they are still young.

haus lotu

dictionary meaning(s): church

orthographic variation(s): haus-lotu / hauslotu

lexical replacement(s): church / sios

translation equivalent(s): community

Examples:

- 1) *Mi marit pinis long **haus lotu** na mi no nap bai marit gen tupela taim, mi pret long bel hat bilong God.* (Wantok no. 2019)
T: I already got married in a **church** so I will not get married for the second time I fear the wrath of God.
- 2) *Ol pipel bilong Tapini em ol lain bilong bel-isi na planti bilong ol i save lotu long Katolik olsem na long Tapini stesin bai yu ken lukim naispela **haus-lotu** bilong Katolik misin i sindaun antap long maunten.* (Wantok no. 1875)
T: The people of Tapini are peaceful people and many of them go to **church** as Catholics that is why at Tapini station you can see beautiful Catholic mission churches on top of the mountain.
- 3) *Ol i kisim em i go long planim em long Abassaiya Katitrel (**hauslotu**) long Kairo (Cairo) long Mande.* (Wantok no. 1938)
T: They went to bury him in Abassaiya Cathedral (**church**) in Cairo on Monday.
- 4) *Jackson Lodo em i wanpela yangpela novis long Melanesian Brotherhood misinari lain bilong Angliken Sios ol i kolim tu **Church** of Melanesia.* (Wantok no. 2097)
T: Jackson Lodo is a novice from Melanesian Brotherhood missionary from Anglican **Church** also known as the Church of Melanesia.
- 5) *Foapela bikman long gavman na **sios** i bin karim kofin bilong em i go long matmat long planim em.* (Wantok no. 1893)
T: Government and **church** leaders brought his coffin to that grave to bury him

haus mani

dictionary meaning(s): bank / treasury

lexical replacement(s): benk / beng

translation equivalent(s): community

Examples:

- 1) *NEC i bin tok Sir Salamo i bin kisim potnait mani tupela taim, i no yusim gut mani bilong kot, paulim mani bilong **haus mani** bilong wok manmeri bilong kot na kontemp sas bilong sakim kot oda bilong Jastis Sevua. (Wantok no. 1962)*
T: NEC has stated that despite receiving this fortnight twice. Salamo has engaged in fraud in relation to employees of the **bank** which has resulted in a contempt of court charge by Justice Sevua.
- 2) ***Benk** i tok em i gat bilip long go het long gutpela wok long bungim ol salens long maket na lukluk long kamapim gutpela risal long ol yia i kam. (Wantok no. 2087)*
T: The **bank** is confident in its work towards meeting challenges and receiving positive results next year.
- 3) *Dispela mani ol i putim i stap long Nesenel Maikro **beng**. (Wantok no. 1855)*
T: The money they put is staying at the National Micro **bank**.

haus sel

dictionary meaning(s): tent

orthographic variation(s): haus-sel

lexical replacement(s): tent

Examples:

- 1) *Dokta Tapo i mekim dispela toktok bikos sampela kontrakta husat bin mekim ol wok mentenens o arapela skul projek i wok long paitim dua bilong Edukesen Dipatmen long peimen bilong ol long las wik yet i kam na ol i taitim **haus sel** na kemp ausait long Edukesen opis i stap. (Wantok no. 2107)*
T: Doctor Tapo said that because there are some contractors who have done maintenance work or other school projects. He has been eagerly asking the Education Department for their payments since last week. Now they have set **tents** and are camping and waiting outside the Education office.
- 2) *Long Nu Taun eria em sampela **haus-sel** tu i stap klostu klostu na planti lain i paul long wanem hap long go sindaun na harim toktok. (Wantok no. 1986)*
T: In the New Town area, there are lot of **tents** that are set too close to each other, and a lot of people are confused as to where they will sit down to listen.
- 3) *Wanpela mama i stori long Minista Tkatchenko long taim em lusim liklik tumbuna bilong em aninit long dispela ol **tent**. (Wantok no. 2212)*
T: A mother told Minister Tkatchenko about that time when she left her grandchild in those **tents**.

haus sik

dictionary meaning(s): hospital

orthographic variation(s): haus-sik, hausik

lexical replacement(s): hospital

Examples:

- 1) *Ol **haus sik** long kantri i nidim nupela masin, moa bet bilong ol sikman na moa speselis dokta.*
(Wantok no. 2140)
T: **Hospitals** in the country need new equipment, more beds for the sick and more specialised doctors.
- 2) *Rot i bagarap na ol **haus-sik** sot long marasin na ol skul nogat ol gutpela saplais. PNG, yumi go we nau?*
(Wantok no. 1877)
T: Our roads are poorly maintained, our **hospitals** are in dire need of medicines and our schools lack required resources to function well. Papua New Guinea – where are we heading?
- 3) *Na dispela i save givim moa hevi tu long **hausik** sapos ol lain ya i stap longpela taim long hausik.*
(Wantok no. 1905)
T: There is added pressure placed on **hospitals** as a result of prolonged hospitalisation.
- 4) *Insait long sampela mun pinis ol i no bin amamas long sampela samting long olsem wanem **hospital** i save wok na ol i tok long lusim wok bilong ol long protest.* (Wantok no. 2179)
T: A few months ago, they were unhappy with how some things were being done in the **hospital** and threatened to leave their jobs and protest.

haus slip

dictionary meaning(s): hospital

orthographic variation(s): haus-slip, hauslip

lexical replacement(s): domitori

translation equivalent(s): housing

Examples:

- 1) *Hetmasta bilong Buiyon Hai skul, Dusty Imaita i tok amamas long dispela mani bai helpim tru skul, em i tok skul i bin wok long painim helpim mani long pinisim **haus slip** bilong ol skul meri husat i wok long slip pas pas insait long wanpela bilding tasol. (Wantok no. 1881)*

T: Headmaster of the Buiyon High School, Dusty Imaita, said that this money will truly help the school, he said the school has been working to find money to finish the girls' **dormitory** that is inside a building but.

- 2) *Ol komiti i kamap wantaim plen olsem long 2016 ol bai wokim kamap wanpela dabol klasrum wantaim wanpela haus tisa em kos bilong en em K500,000; long 2017 em ol bai wokim narapela dabol klasrum gen wantaim tupela haus tisa em kos bilong en em K500,000; na long 2018 tu em ol plen long wokim kamap wanpela dabol klasrum wantaim tupela haus tisa em kos bilong en em K500,000; long 2019 em ol plen long wokim kamap wanpela edministresin bilding na wanpela stoarum em kos bilong en K500,000 na long 2020 em ol plen long wokim kamap wanpela **domitori** bilong ol sumatin man na wanpela domitori (**haus-slip**) bilong ol meri sumatin em kos bilong dispela em K500,000. (Wantok no. 2181)*

T: The committees came up with a plan that in 2016 they will build a double classroom with a nurse's house that costs K500,000; in 2017 they will build another double classroom with two nurse's houses that cost K500,000; and in 2018 too they plan to build a double classroom with two nurse's houses that cost K500,000; in 2019 they plan to build an administrative building and a storage room that costs K500,000 and in 2020 they plan to build a **dormitory** for male teachers and a **dormitory** for female teachers that costs K500,000.

- 3) *Wanpela wokman long BSP long Lae i no laik autim nem bilong em long Wantok Niuspepa i tok ol lain i memba bilong Benkas Union i stop wok long soim bel kros bilong ol bikos Benk i no stretim wok kondisen bilong ol olsem, apim pe bilong ol, givim **hauslip** long ol na ol arapela samting long ol. (Wantok no. 1881)*

T: A worker at BSP in Lae who did not want to reveal his name to the *Wantok* Newspaper said that the members of the Bank Union stopped working to show the cross of banks because the Bank did not fix the working conditions of them such as, increasing their pay, giving them **housing** and other things.

- 4) *Bihain long dispela Minista i opim Menyamya Vokesenel Skul edministresen na **domitori** bilong ol sumatin meri. Memba bilong Menyamya, Benjamine Philip wantaim ol opisal bilong Morobe provinsal edministresen na distrik opis i bin stap long witnesim dispela ol bilding i op. (Wantok no. 2180)*

T: After this, the Minister opened the Menyamya Vocational School administration and **dormitory** for female students. Members of Menyamya, Benjamin Philip, along with officials from the Morobe Provincial Administration and District office were present to witness the opening of these buildings.

het opis

dictionary meaning(s): headquarters

Examples:

- 1) *Mista Akipe i tok **het opis** bilong ASPA bai stap long Angore na ol kontrakta i wok long kirapim haus we opis bilong ASPA bai stap. (Wantok no. 2190)*

T: Mr. Akipe said that ASPA's **headquarters** will be in Angore and that construction of the building that will house the ASPA office is underway.

het tisa

dictionary meaning(s): principal

orthographic variation(s): het-tisa, hettisa

Examples:

- 1) *Jenerel Edukesen Menesa bilong Treid Pasifik Oscar Iguarek i bin mekim mein Presentesen i go long **het tisa** bilong skul na bihain demo presentesen bilong ol buk na pensil i go long 10- pela sumatin bilong apa na lowa greit. (Wantok no. 2216)*
T: The general education manager for Trade Pacific, Oscar Iguarek, gave the presentation to the **principal** of the school and then the demo presentation of books and pencils to three upper and lower grade students.
- 2) ***Het-tisa** bilong skul, Joe Kapi i amamas tru long tokaut olsem tripela gret 8 sumatin bilong ol bai go mekim gret 9 bilong ol ol sekenderi skul ausait long Madang provins. (Wantok no. 2148)*
T: The **principal**, Mr. Joe Kapi, was delighted to announce that three 8 grade students will be doing their grade 9 in secondary schools outside Madang province.
- 3) *Madang Provinsal Edukesen Dairekta, Moses Sariki i tokim midia lain olsem **hettisa** bilong Kusbau praimeri skul nem bilong em Awak Abui i bin dai taim kar i bam na narapela man em praimeri skul inspekta, Jessy Koru i bin kisim bikpela bagarap long bodi bilong em. (Wantok no. 2218)*
T: Madang provincial education director, Mr. Moses Sariki, has told the media that the **principal** for Kusbau Primary school, Mr. Awak Abui, has died in the car crash. He also informed the media that the primary school inspector, Mr. Jerry Koru, has also been seriously injured in that same incident.

hetman bilong Katolik Sios long wol

dictionary meaning(s): pope

Examples:

- 1) *Nau Katolik Sios long PNG i wetim taim bai sios i mekim Bleset Peter ToRot i kamap wanpela santu, bihain long nau i dai **hetman bilong Katolik Sios long wol**, nau i dai Pop John Paul 2, i bin kam long PNG na mekim em i kamap Bleset. (Wantok no. 1961)*
T: The Catholic Church in Papua New Guinea is now waiting for the Church to canonize Blessed Peter Torot, after the death of the **pope**, the late Pope John Paul II, who came to Papua New Guinea and canonized him.

hukim pis

dictionary meaning(s): fish

Examples:

- 1) *Planti ol lain mama na ol lain bilong **hukim pis** i save karim ol pis i go salim long mes bilong Ramu NiCo (MCC) we ol lain i save baim na kukim bilong ol wok lain bilong ol. (Wantok no. 2096)*
T: Many **fishing** farms and fish hatcheries sell their fish to the Ramu NiCo (MCC) market, where they are bought and cooked for their customers.

hul wara

dictionary meaning(s): bore / well

Examples:

- 1) *Ol i lukim wanpela **hul wara** na ol i waswas pinis na ol i go antap long Tifalmin maunten. (Wantok no. 2026)*
T: They found a **well**, had bath and climbed Tifalmin Mountain.

I

i amamas nogut tru

dictionary meaning(s): ecstasy

translation equivalent(s): excited

Examples:

- 1) *Tasol sampela yia i go pinis, meri i gat bel na tupela marit i amamas nogut tru.* (Wantok no. 2171)
T: But a few years ago, a woman was pregnant and the couple was **excited**.

i bihainim lo

dictionary meaning(s): lawful

Examples:

- 1) *Mipela i bihainim lo na mekim samting stret.* (Wantok no. 2183)
T: We will be **lawful** and do things right.

i gat bel

dictionary meaning(s): bump / pregnant

Examples:

- 1) *Opis i tok ol mama i gat bel na ol pikinini bai stap long bikpela hevi.* (Wantok no. 2183)
T: The office has said that **pregnant** women and children will be greatly affected.

i gat biknem

dictionary meaning(s): famous

Examples:

- 1) *Lisat Laka, husat i gat biknem long musik indastri bilong yumi long kantri, i stap long bikpela hevi na laikim helpim bilong ol musik fen bilong em.* (Wantok no. 2183)
T: Lisait Laka, the **famous** singer in our country's music industry has a great problem and needs help from his music fans.

i gat gris

dictionary meaning(s): fat

Examples:

- 1) *Long dispela as, ol pilaia i save was gut long kaikai na wara bilong ol taim ol i trening. Klostu long taim bilong pilai, ol i no save kaikai planti ol kaikai we **i gat gris** na planti wara insait long. (Wantok no. 1985)*
T: For this reason, players pay very close attention to the type of food and drinks they consume whilst training. When they are about to play, they avoid eating food that is oily and contains high amounts of liquid/water, **greasy** food or take in a lot of fluid and food containing water.

i gat wara

dictionary meaning(s): damp / moist

Examples:

- 1) *Dispela kain saksak **i gat wara** bilong en i stap yet. (Wantok no. 2212)*
T: This type of sago is still **moist**.

i hat moa

dictionary meaning(s): difficult

translation equivalent(s): tiring

Examples:

- 1) *Wok bilong stretim olgeta ol dispela sosol luksave bilong HIV birua em **i hat moa**, bikos long kain kain kalsa long kantri na pasin bilong wanpela sais bai fitim olgeta wok pasin i lus nating. (Wantok no. 2212)*
T: It is quite **difficult / tiring** to fix or conductive all these social awareness on HIV due to the country having different cultures.

i laikim tru

dictionary meaning(s): interesting

translation equivalent(s): love

Examples:

- 1) *Fil ekstensen opisa bilong Ramu NiCo, Samuel Masawa **i laikim tru** teist bilong tapiok na banana kek Siliu i wokim. (Wantok no. 2134)*
T: Ramu NiCo field extension officer Samuel Masawa **loves** the taste of cassava and banana cake prepared by Siliu.

i mas kamap

dictionary meaning(s): inevitable

translation equivalent(s): love

Examples:

- 1) *Ating i mas gat senis **i mas kamap** nau. (Wantok no. 1941)*
T: Perhaps an **inevitable** change is needed to happen now.

i no gat save

dictionary meaning(s): ignorance / inexperienced

Examples:

- 1) *Planti milien pipel long Papua Niugini **i no gat save** long fainens na i no yusim ol sevis bilong benk, na tu i no gat insurens long banisim laip bilong ol na famili long kisim helpim long ol taim nogut. (Wantok no. 1941)*
T: Millions of people in Papua New Guinea are **inexperienced** financially and do not know how to use the services provided by the bank, and they don't have any insurance to cover their own lives or their families in the case of emergency.

i no long taim i go pinis

dictionary meaning(s): recent

orthographic variation(s): i no longtaim i go pinis

Examples:

- 1) *Na em i wok bilong gavman bilong wan wan ailan kantri long tokim ol manmeri long samting ol i mas mekim long strongim ol. Dispela em tok bilong Alekim Sisifa, Dairekta bilong Sekretariat bilong Pasifik Komyuniti Len Risoses Divisen long Samoa long kibung bilong Pasifik Ailan Kantri we i kamap long Mosbi **i no long taim i go pinis**. (Wantok no. 1911)*
T: And it was the governor's duty to give advice to the people of the islands. These were the words of Alekim Sisifa, Director of the Secretariat of the Pacific Community Lending Division in Samoa, at the **recent** Pacific Island Country Conference in Mosby.
- 2) *Mi wantaim ol wanwok bilong Ramu NiCo Menesmen (MCC) i wok raun long skelim wara na tu mekim awenes long ol manmeri long ples arere long Ramu riva **i no longtaim i go pinis**. (Wantok no. 2042)*
T: I and my colleagues from the Ramu NiCo Menesmen (MCC) were **recently** conducting a water survey and also an awareness-raising in the village on the Ramu Riviera.

i no save long rit na rait

translation equivalent(s): illiterate

Examples:

- 1) *Tasol mipela i lukim olsem planti pikinini **i no save long rit na rait** na mipela i kirap statim dispela priskul long helpim ol pikinini. (Wantok no. 1873)*
T: But we saw that many **illiterate** children that is why we started this school to help them.

i no save pinis

dictionary meaning(s): non-stop / unabated

Examples:

- 1) *Dispela sik we **i no save pinis** taim em i kisim wampela man o meri. (Wantok no. 2170)*
T: This sickness is **unabated** when it afflicts a person, either male or female.

i save pairap

dictionary meaning(s): active / voluble

Examples:

- 1) *Em **i save pairap** yet long palamen olsem na long dispela as pipel long distrik na ilektoret bilong en i save laikim em tumas na ol i gat bikpela amamas na luksave long em. (Wantok no. 1855)*
T: Because he is an **active** spokesman in Parliament, the people in his electorate and district favoured him.

i save pret

dictionary meaning(s): fearful

translation equivalent(s): afraid

Examples:

- 1) *Manmeri **i save pret** long belhat na strong bilong em. (Wantok no. 2152)*
T: The people are normally **afraid** of his anger and strength.

i save pulim

dictionary meaning(s): magnetic

translation equivalent(s): steal

Examples:

- 1) *Yu ken lukim na ken sapatim mi tok ol stil man long setelmen hia long Mosbi siti ol **i save pulim** mobail fon bilong ol mama, susa bilong yumi. (Wantok no. 2208)*
T: You can see and support my claim that the young men in this settlement in the city of Mosbi **steal** mobile phones, including ours.

i stap fri

dictionary meaning(s): freedom

lexical replacement(s): fridom

Examples:

- 1) *Ol sevis olsem helt, edukesen, wok didiman na bisnis na gutpela lo na oda we manmeri **i stap fri** na seif i no stap. (Wantok no. 2178)*
T: Services like healthcare, education, agriculture, businesses as well as effective law and order for people's **freedom** and safety is no longer present in our communities.
- 2) *VANIMO-GREEN Mema Belden Namah i tok ol polisman i no ken stopim ol raits na **fridom** bilong ol manmeri long tokaut long ol samting we ol i lukim gavman i no mekim stret. (Wantok no. 2148)*
T: The member for Vanimo Green, Belden Nama, said that police should not stop the rights and **freedom** of the people to have a sceptical view or look out for the things that they see government is not doing right.

i stap isi

dictionary meaning(s): informal / laid-back

translation equivalent(s): calm

Examples:

- 1) *Em **i stap isi** tasol na larim Tundu i holim em na kisim em i kam daun long mango diwai. (Wantok no. 2209)*
T: It stayed **calm** in the tree till Tundu took her down from the mango tree.

i stap long dispela bung

translation equivalent(s): attend

Examples:

- 1) *Planti manmeri husat **i stap long dispela bung** i bin luksave long stori insait long video na ol i bin autim ol tingting bilong ol. (Wantok no. 2064)*
T: Many people who **attended** have noted and commented on the video.

i wanpela tasol

dictionary meaning(s): lonely

translation equivalent(s): alone

Examples:

- 1) *Mi i stap insait long Papa na Papa i stap insait long mi, olsem mi stap insait long yupela bikos mi na Papa em **i wanpela tasol**. (Wantok no. 2018)*
T: I am in the father and the father is in me, just as I am in you, all because the father and I are **alone**.

i winim olgeta arapela

dictionary meaning(s): exceptional

Examples:

- 1) *Olsem, namba wan, ol i tokim mipela olsem konstitusen em i suprim lo long ples graun, na i winim olgeta arapela lo.* (Wantok no. 1885)
T: However, firstly, they have told us that the Constitution is supreme on Earth and is the **exceptional** law.

i wok long kam insait long

translation equivalent(s): enter

Examples:

- 1) *Em i tok sampela taim nau hambak pasin i wok long kam insait long laip bilong mipela.* (Wantok no. 1897)
T: He says that sometimes pride can **enter** our lives.

inap long bagarapim

dictionary meaning(s): vulnerable

translation equivalent(s): damage

Examples:

- 1) *Daiabitis inap long bagarapim lewa, ai, kitni na ol sistem bilong bodi.* (Wantok no. 2170)
T: Diabetes **damages** the heart, eyes, kidneys and the body systems.

K

kaikai bilong gaden

dictionary meaning(s): crop

lexical replacement(s): krop

Examples:

- 1) *Nupela **kaikai bilong gaden** i winim kaikai ol i katim na karim long rot na putim long san long maket. (Wantok no. 2170)*
T: Fresh **crops** are much better than those foods that went travelled long distance to be sold at market under the sun.
- 2) *Mista Benjamin i tok PNG i gat ol sans bilong kamapim grein prodaksen, laipstok na ol arapela tri **krop** olsem kopi na kokonas long apim mak bilong salim agrikalsa samting bilong em. (Wantok no. 1873)*
T: Mr. Benjamin says PNG has chance to produce grain, livestock and other three-**crop** like coffee and coconut to increase capacity and sell agricultural products.

kalabus man

translation equivalent(s): prisoner

Examples:

- 1) *MOSBI polis long Tunde dispela wik i holim pas namba 7 **kalabus man** husat i ronawe long Bomana Meksimum Sekyuriti Kalabus long Januari dispela yia. (Wantok no. 1854)*
T: MOSBI police in Tunde this week arrested the seventh **prisoner** who escaped from the Bomana Maximum Security Prison in January this year.

kalap i go

dictionary meaning(s): infect

Examples:

- 1) *Dispela i opim dua long bikhet pasin na sans long binatang bilong HIV na AIDS i **kalap i go** long moa pipel. (Wantok no. 1922)*
T: This opens the door to bad behaviours and the spread of HIV and AIDS that **infects** more people.

kam kamap

dictionary meaning(s): arrive

Examples:

- 1) *Nau PNG i amamas long lukim nupela sip i bikpela moa, i gat 5-pela dek i **kam kamap** long Pot Mosbi. (Wantok no. 2119)*
T: Currently, PNG is happy to have a new and big 5-deck ship, which has **arrived** in Port Moresby.

kam klostu long

dictionary meaning(s): approach

translation equivalent(s): service

Examples:

- 1) *Nesenel brodben bai sapatim gut wok bilong telekomunikesen na bringim intanet i kam klostu long ol manmeri. (Wantok no. 1897)*
T: The National Broadband will support telecommunication in PNG by helping to provide internet **services** for the people.

kamap bikpela

dictionary meaning(s): escalate / expand / grow

translation equivalent(s): grow up

Examples:

- 1) *Nau dispela boi kamap bikpela na i maritim ol mama bilong em yet na karim planti pikinini man. (Wantok no. 2219)*
T: Now, this boy **grew up** and married his own mothers / mother's sisters and they bore him many sons.

kamap ples klia

dictionary meaning(s): manifest

orthographic variation(s): kamap plesklia

translation equivalent(s): evident / surface

Examples:

- 1) *Ating dispela i as bilong dispela sik i kamap ples klia nau. (Wantok no. 2168)*
T: Maybe that is the reason why this sickness is **surfacing**.
- 2) *Long muv i go fowat wantaim dispela Sefti kempein, em i kamap plesklia tru olsem edukesin i mas stat long ol lain i liklik o yangpela yet. (Wantok no. 1874)*
T: To move forward with this safety campaign, it is **evident** that education must start at an early age.

kamapim gut

translation equivalent(s): improve

Examples:

- 1) *PNGSDP i wok patna wantaim ATprojek long Goroka, Isten Hailans Provins na Katolik Helt Sevis long kamapim gut ol helt stendet long provins. (Wantok no. 2026)*
T: PNGSDP is working with ATprojek in Goroka, East Highlands Province and Catholic Health Services to **improve** healthcare in the province.

kamapim gutpela tingting

dictionary meaning(s): impress

Examples:

- 1) *Dispela stadi bai i pinis long 2013 yet na PNGSDP i bilip em bai **kamapim gutpela tingting**. (Wantok no. 2016)*
T: This study will end in 2013 and PNGSDP believes it will **impress**.

karim i kam

dictionary meaning(s): bring

Examples:

- 1) *Na em i bin **kaikai hap** na em i **katim hap** na em i **karim i kam** long pukpuk meri bilong em. (Wantok no. 2223)*
T: It ate the other half, tore the other half, and then **brought** it to its female crocodile mate.

karim kaikai

dictionary meaning(s): bring

Examples:

- 1) *Petromin i bin wok klostu wantaim interOil long lukim dispela projek i **karim kaikai** na bai go het long givim moa sapot na wok klostu wantaim patna long dispela projek i ken ron gut, Sir Brown i tok. (Wantok no. 2050)*
T: Petromin worked closely with interOil to see if this project is **fruitful** and will continue to provide support and work closely with partners so that this project can run well, Sir Brown said.

kilim i dai

dictionary meaning(s): extinguish / kill

Examples:

- 1) *TB em wanpela sik we em i save **kilim i dai** planti bikpela man na meri long PNG i winim ol narapela kain sik. (Wantok no. 2168)*
T: TB is a sickness that **kills** many adult men and women in PNG, compared to other sicknesses.

kirap nogut

dictionary meaning(s): amaze / demonstrate / indignant / surprised

translation equivalent(s): criticize

Examples:

- 1) *Planti ol memba i bin **kirap nogut** long Praim Minista Somare long de em i bin makim long en olsem Independens De bilong Papua Niugini. (Wantok no. 1934)*
T: Many members **criticized** Prime Minister Somare for the decisions he made regarding Papua New Guinea's Independence Day.

kirapim bel

dictionary meaning(s): excite

translation equivalent(s): provoke

Examples:

- 1) *Tasol oposisen i go egens long kamap bilong dispela lo na i tok dispela lo i **kirapim bel** bilong ol manmeri long ol i go long kot na salensim kamap bilong em. (Wantok no. 1934)*

T: However, the opposition side has gone against the creation of this law because it **provokes** the people to challenge this law and takes it to court.

kirapim tingting

dictionary meaning(s): fascinate / remind

translation equivalent(s): encourage

Examples:

- 1) *Taim dispela Baton i bin kam long PNG, em i bin **kirapim tingting** bilong ol planti spot manmeri long ol lokel levul long traim bes bilong ol long kamap gut, na go pilai long 2014 Komonwel Gems long Glasgow long Skotlan. (Wantok no. 2051)*

T: Many PNG sportsmen and sportswomen at the local levels were **encouraged** to represent the country in 2014 Commonwealth Games in Glasgow, Scotland, when baton was announced in PNG.

kisim bagarap

dictionary meaning(s): fascinate / remind

translation equivalent(s): encourage

Examples:

- 1) *Faiv Eit bilong Manly Kieran Foran bai i no inap pilai long dispela wiken long wanem em i **kisim bagarap** long lek bilong em. (Wantok no. 2064)*

T: The five-eighth from Manly, Kieran Foran, will not play on the weekend due to his leg is **injured**.

kisim dinau

dictionary meaning(s): borrow

Examples:

- 1) *Dispela SPSS i bin kamap long 1970s we i lukimplanti ol lokal bisnis lain long kantri i **kisimdinau** long beng long kirapim ol tred stua bisnis long ol taun na distrik long PNG na i bin ron gut tru long sevim ol manmeri long pablik insait long kantri. (Wantok no. 1962)*

T: This SPSS was created in the 1970s and saw many local businesses in the country **borrow** money to help improve their trade businesses in the towns and districts of PNG and ran successfully to serve the public within the country.

kisim i kam

dictionary meaning(s): bring / fetch

translation equivalent(s): endure

Examples:

- 1) *Olsem na yumi mas amamas na go fowet long painim dispela gutpela amamas Jisas i **kisim i kam** long yumi. (Wantok no. 1897)*
T: Therefore, we must be loving and forget the anger that Jesus **endured** for us.

kisim pe

dictionary meaning(s): earn

translation equivalent(s): provide

Examples:

- 1) *Ol pipel husat i **kisim pe** long lukautim sefti, sekyuriti, na gutpela PMV sevis long siti i mas kirap long slip bikos PMV sevis nau i bagarap. (Wantok no. 1897)*
T: The people responsible for **providing** good safety, security and PMV services in the city must tighten their work.

kisim save

dictionary meaning(s): education

orthographic variation(s): kisimsave

lexical replacement(s): edukesen / eduksen

Examples:

- 1) *Mista Aigil i amamas tru olsem planti distrik na LLG opisa i wok long sindaun long ol trening na **kisim save** long ol samting we bai helpim ol i kisim sevis na developmen i go long ol ples stret. (Wantok no. 1908)*
T: Mr. Aigil is working diligently in many districts and local level governments on providing training and **education** on things that will help them get services and development to go to straight places.
- 2) *Em bai orait sapos em i go daun pastaim long junia level o lokol klap level na mekimdispela wok long **kisimsave** na ekspiens pastaim. (Wantok no. 1891)*
T: It will be alright if I go down to the junior level or local level and do this work on gaining **education** and experience.
- 3) *Ol Membra bilong palamen i save helpim ol konstitiuen bilong ol husat i gat sampela hevi long lo na oda, helt, **edukesen** na ol arapela sevis. (Wantok no. 2111)*
T: The Member of Parliament can help the constituents who have some difficulties with health, **education**, and other services.
- 4) *Mista Mullul askim ol papa graun long sapatim kampani na putim **eduksen** olsem namba wan samting long long gutpela sindaun bihain. (Wantok no. 2167)*
T: Mr. Mullul asked the grandfathers to support the campaign and prioritize **education** as the number one thing for a good future.

klaut i pairap

dictionary meaning(s): thunder

translation equivalent(s): thunderstorm

Examples:

- 1) *Long Tunde moning ol wok lain bilong Raibus Enjiniering Limited (REL) long Madang i guria stret long lukim wanpela traipela marmar diwai **klaut i pairap** long nait na i rausim skin bilong.* (Wantok no. 2178)

T: On Tuesday morning, employees of Raibus Engineering Limited (REL) in Madang, were surprised/shocked to see that the bark of a big rain tree had been removed after being struck by lightning the night before a huge raintree being stripped off by the **thunderstorm** from the previous night.

krai sori

dictionary meaning(s): mourn

Examples:

- 1) *Ol mama i **krai sori** i stap.* (Wantok no. 2231)

T: The mothers are still **mourning**.

kros nogut

dictionary meaning(s): ferocious / fierce

translation equivalent(s): furious

Examples:

- 1) *Mi **kros nogut** tru bilong PNGFA i daunim em yet long kamapim dispela kain pasin.* (Wantok no. 2038)

T: I am **furious** with the PNGFA for humbling itself to cause this scene / attitude / behaviour.

kukim long paia

dictionary meaning(s): bake / barbecue

lexical replacement(s): beik / babakyu

Examples:

- 1) *Bihain putim liklik sol na **kukim long paia**.* (Wantok no. 2227)

T: Then, add a pinch of salt and **bake / barbecue** it.

- 2) *Long sait bilong kuk, ol mama i bin bruk long tripela grup na lainim long **beik** o mekim ol keik, skon na ol kuki bisket.* (Wantok no. 1918)

T: When it comes to cooking, the mothers organized into three groups and learn how to **bake** cakes, scones and cookies.

- 3) *Long sampela yia, ol i wokim **babakyu** olsem kaikai bihain long ol Kerols singsing.* (Wantok no. 2001)

T: For some years, they barbeque after singing carols.

L

laik bilong bodi

dictionary meaning(s): lust

translation equivalent(s): desire

Examples:

- 1) *Ol i no kamap pikinini bilong God long blut bilong papamama, o long **laik bilong bodi**, o long laik bilong man. (Wantok no. 2224)*
T: They did not become God's children because of their parents, neither through **desires** nor through what other people want them to be.

laik pait

dictionary meaning(s): aggressive

translation equivalent(s): violence

Examples:

- 1) *Yumi save stap long helpim ol yangpela pipel taim ol i bungim wari na ol i **laik pait** na bagarapim ol samting? (Wantok no. 1876)*
T: Are we there to help young people in times of distress, **violence** and destruction?

lainim gut

dictionary meaning(s): memorize

translation equivalent(s): remember

Examples:

- 1) *Tisa i mas **lainim gut** ol sumatin, ol sumatin i mas skul gut, na olgeta sitisen i mas lukautim gut ol institiusen na ol asset bilong ol. (Wantok no. 2167)*
T: The teacher must **remember** to teach the students well, the students should do their best in school, and all the citizens should take good care of their institutions and assets.

larim i go

dictionary meaning(s): acquit / yield

Examples:

- 1) *LONG ol laspela de bilong em olsem Presiden bilong Amerika, Barack Obama i bin **larim i go** fri 209 kalabus pipel long Amerika. (Wantok no. 2209)*
T: During his last term as the President of America, Barack Obama **acquitted** 209 prisoners / refugees in America.

lek nogut

dictionary meaning(s): cripple / disability

translation equivalent(s): paralysis

Examples:

- 1) *Paralimpik gems, em ol lain i gat sampela hevi long bodi olsem, aipas, lek bruk, **lek nogut**, han nogut, baksait bruk na ol kain lain olsem i save pilai. (Wantok no. 2040)*

T: Paralympic games, they are players who have some physical disabilities such as, blindness, broken legs, leg **paralysis**, damaged hands, broken backs, and other such disabilities.

liklik buk

dictionary meaning(s): booklet / pamphlet

Examples:

- 1) *Bilong helpim ol Kristen manmeri, bai Wantok i putim ol sotpela toktok olgeta wik we ol save risets lain long Melanisen Institut i redim na kamapim long wanpela **liklik buk** ol i kolim long Kliarim Tingting long Posin na Sanguma, Namba 2 Edisen. (Wantok no. 2059)*

T: To help Christian men and women, *Wantok* will put short wordings every week that have been prepared by people with knowledge in research at the Melanesian Institute in a **booklet** called 'Clearing Thoughts about Sorcery and Witchcraft', second edition.

liklik maunten

dictionary meaning(s): hill

Examples:

- 1) *Ol bikman husat i bin kisim bodi bilong dai Pater Liebert taim em i pondaun long balus long Amerika na stap long funereel misa na planim bodi long **liklik maunten** klostu long Wewak Boys Town em, Koreksenel Sevis (CIS) Minista, Tony Aimu na Komisina Richard Sikani wantaim tu planti ol pren, rilijes na pipel long Wewak taun. (Wantok no. 1919)*

T: The leaders who received the body of Late Father Liebert when his body had arrived from America by airplane, attended the funeral service and witnessed the burial of Late Fr. Liebert close to a **hill** near the Wewak Boys town are, Correctional Service (CIS) Minister, Tony Aimu and Commissioner, Richard Sikani with all the friends, religions and the people of Wewak town.

liklik prais

dictionary meaning(s): cheap

Examples:

- 1) *Dispela prinsop bai operet long 1p.m. long avinun inap 9 p.m long nait long wan wan de long givim ol sumatin wantaim **liklik prais** long printim blek na wait, na poto kopi long kala na ol baining fesiliti long helpim long mekim ol asaignmen na ol narapela akedemik pepa. (Wantok no. 2123)*

T: This print shop will operate between 1 pm to 9 pm each day to provide students with **cheap** black-and-white printing, colour photocopies and binding services to help them with assignments and other academic papers.

liklik rot

dictionary meaning(s): track

Examples:

- 1) *Mista O'Neill i tok gavman i stretim planti ol **liklik rot** na strit insait long Mosbi. (Wantok no. 2136)*
T: Mister O'Neill said the government had fixed many of the **tracks** and streets in Moresby.

liklik wara

dictionary meaning(s): creek

lexical replacement(s): krik

Examples:

- 1) *Narapela wok dispela konsalten Ninkama Yoba en Asosiet i kamapim em long kisim rekot na kwaliti bilong wara long ol riva o **liklik wara** olsem Banu krik, Anangri krik, Banap na Gagayo riva. (Wantok no. 1969)*
T: The other work that the consultant, Ninkama Yoba, and Associates are doing is to record the quality of water from the rivers or **creeks** like Banu Creek, Anangri creek and Gagayo River.
- 2) *Tupela lain long ples klostu long Basamuk Rifaineri bilong Ramu NiCo i tokaut stret na raitim nem long pepa na Tok Sori olsem ol i yusim poisin rop bilong bus long paitim na wara bilong rop ya i go daun long wara i kilim indai ol liklik pis, kindam na kuka long Nanglau **krik**. (Wantok no. 2074)*
T: Two people living near Basamuk Refinery of Ramu Nico apologized and admitted formally on paper that they killed fish and prawns in the Nanglau **Creek** using a plant fluid extracts that are known to be poisonous.

litimapim nem

dictionary meaning(s): praise

Examples:

- 1) *Lotu na singsing bilong **litimapim nem** bilong God na prea bilong ol bilipman bai i kamap long 24 aua olsem rum ensin bilong kingdom bilong God. (Wantok no. 2054)*
T: Worships and praises that **praise** the name of God and prayers of the believers will become the source of power in the kingdom of God on the 24th hour.

long ples klia

dictionary meaning(s): openly / public

Examples:

- 1) *God bai sasim o glasim yumi long ol gutpela na nogut samting yumi wokim **long ples klia** na tu, taim yumi hait. (Wantok no. 1975)*
T: God will judge us based on the good and bad things we have done **openly** and in private.

long wan wan mun

dictionary meaning(s): monthly

Examples:

- 1) *Em i save gat 30 sikman na meri i slip insait long haus sik **long wan wan mun**. (Wantok no. 2159)*
T: There are usually 30 patients admitted to the hospital **monthly**.

luk nais

dictionary meaning(s): attractive / elegant

translation equivalent(s): stunning

Examples:

- 1) *Ol i save **luk nais** na klin tru wantaim ol stail klos olsem siot, trausis, sun a soks bilong ol we ol i save putim na pilai. (Wantok no. 1908)*
T: They look **stunning** when they play in their cool sporting gears such as their jersey, shorts, shoe and socks.

lukautim gut

dictionary meaning(s): care

orthographic variation(s): lukautimgut

translation equivalent(s): protect

Examples:

- 1) *Tasol planti marit man na meri i no sindaun gut, i no **lukautim gut** pikinini man i paul wantaim narapela meri. (Wantok no. 2135)*
T: However, many married couples do not live peacefully, they do not **care** for their children. Husbands cheat on their wives and have affairs with other women.
- 2) *President bilong Is Sepik Kaunsel bilong ol meri i no amamas long dispela pasin we i kamap long ol dispela meri, na i tok ol sekyuriti kampani imas **lukautimgut** ol klaien bilong ol, na i noken bagarapim rait bilong ol. (Wantok no. 1960)*
T: The President of the Sepik Women's Council is not pleased with this incident that happened to women and has said that security companies must **protect** their clients and should not violate their rights.

lukim gut

dictionary meaning(s): examine / observe

Examples:

- 1) *Yupela mas **lukim gut** Pablik Fainens Menesmen Ekt, na wanem samting dispela Ekt i tok, Dokta Tapo i tok. (Wantok no. 2063)*
T: You must **examine** the Public Finance Management Act and what it states, says Dr. Tapo

lukluk strong

dictionary meaning(s): stare

Examples:

- 1) *Na kalap stret i go long man ya sakim tok bilong em, na ai bilong kapul ya lukluk strong long ai bilong Matina. (Wantok no. 2190)*
T: And jumped straight to the man who didn't listen and the eagle **stared** into Martina's eyes.

lus tingting

dictionary meaning(s): forget

orthographic variation(s): lustingting

Examples:

- 1) *PRESIDEN bilong Papua Niugini Sositi bilong Rural na Rimot Helt i askim ol pipel husat bai sanap long 2017 ileksen long no ken **lus tingting** long toktok wantaim ol dokta na ol helt sevis long stretim wari bilong helt long kantri. (Wantok no. 2215)*
T: The President of Papua New Guinea Society of Rural and Remote Health asked the people who will be contesting for the 2017 National Election to never **forget** to talk with the doctors and the health service to fix the health issues in the country.
- 2) *Ol Maroons selekta, Des Morris, Gene Miles na Alan Smith i gat tingting long kisim bek Cooper Cronk olsem hap bek bilong ol tasol ol i no **lustingting** long Barba husat i pulim tru ai bilong ol wantaim gem bilong em. (Wantok no. 1914)*
T: The Maroons selectors, Des Morris, Gene Miles and Allan Smith, were thinking of selecting Cooper Cronk back into the team as their half back, but they did not **forget** about Barba who got their attention by the way he played.

lusim ting

dictionary meaning(s): forget

orthographic variation(s): lusimting

Examples:

- 1) *Yumi go insait nau long 2016 na yumi no ken ting tasol long ol taun na siti na **lusim ting** ol pipel husat i stap longwe long bikbus na ples tais husat i save sot oltaim long ol samting. (Wantok no. 2159)*
T: We are heading towards 2016 and we must not focus only on towns and cities and **forget** about the people who live in remote places back in the village that lack basic services.
- 2) *Em i **lusimting** long dispela samting, tasolwanpela dewantok bilong emi tokimemolsem: Yu save long dispela meri bilong Nu yia. (Wantok no. 1867)*
T: S/he **forgot** about this thing, but one day one of his/her 'one talks' told him/her: You know that this woman is yours.

lusim tingting long

dictionary meaning(s): forgive

translation equivalent(s): forget

Examples:

- 1) *Yumi mas no ken **lusim tingting long** ol lain husat i bin mekim wok pastaim long yumi, na stori bilong ol i stap wantaim yumi nau, Lefienen Jeneral Morrison i tok. (Wantok no. 2076)*
T: We must not **forget** those who worked before us, their stories must live with us, stated Lieutenant General Morrison.

M

mama i karim

dictionary meaning(s): born

Examples:

- 1) *Ol sampela moa kwesten ino go wantaim 2000 sensus em ol kwesten we i toktok long nupela pikinini **mama i karim**, ol nupela pikinini **mama i karim** na indai, ol wok stretim long sait bilong rit na rait na wane mol samting ol manmeri save yusim long ples ol i stap na slip-kirap long en. (Wantok no. 1866)*

T: Some of the questions did not go well with the 2000 census the question is about newly **born** babies and the new-**borns** that died after birth, they were fixing the things about education and what things the people a using in the village they a living in.

Mama Lo

dictionary meaning(s): constitution

lexical variation(s): mamalo

lexical replacement(s): konstitusen

Examples:

- 1) *Mista Naru i tok **Mama Lo** bilong kantri i givim tok klia olsem i gat tripela gavman i stap, em ol Eksektiv (Nesenel Eksektiv Kaunsil o NEC), Palamen (Lejislesa), na Kot (Judiseri). (Wantok no. 2185)*

T: Mr. Naru says that in the country's **constitution** there are three governments, the Executive (National Executive Council or NEC), Parliament (Legislative), and the Court (Judiciary).

- 2) *Em bai glasim **mamalo** bilong NUS na putim nupela eksekyutiv ol i votim bihainim lo i go insait. (Wantok no. 1976)*

T: It will dissolve the **constitution** of NUS and put a new executive that they will vote for afterwards into place.

- 3) *Nu Silan i no gat kostitusen - em i gat ol triti o haphap mama lo, na wanpela long ol em i Triti bilong Waitangi. (Wantok no. 2130)*

T: New Zealand does not have a constitution – it has several treaties or agreements with the Māori, and one of them is the Treaty of Waitangi.

man bilong toktok

dictionary meaning(s): talkative person

translation equivalent(s): orator

Examples:

- 1) *Mista Yama, husat i wanpela strongpela **man bilong toktok** na lida bilong Pipels Leba Pati na bipo i holim wok olsem Minista bilong Woks, i mekim dispela toktok taim em i opim wanpela yut kibung long Bagabag ailan long Sumkar distrik i no long taim i go pinis. (Wantok no. 2190)*

T: Mr. Yama, who is an **orator** and leader of the People's Liberation Party and former Minister of Works, was speaking at the opening of a youth conference on Bagabag Island in Sumkar district not long ago.

man i kisim bagarap

dictionary meaning(s): casualty

Examples:

- 1) *Tupela **man i kisim bagarap** na helikopta i kisim tupela i go long Angau hausik long kisim helpim. (Wantok no. 1867)*
T: The two **casualties** are taken by helicopter to Angau hospital for treatment.

man i stap long

dictionary meaning(s): inhabitant

Examples:

- 1) *Dispela **man i stap long** Saut Australia, na ol atoriti i kisim poto long ol kain kain dok i pulap long haus bilong en. (Wantok no. 2024)*
T: This **inhabitant** of South Australia and the authorities took pictures of dogs in his house.

man nogut

dictionary meaning(s): criminal / villain

Examples:

- 1) *Sapos **man nogut** i go pas long en, em i ken yusim gavman bihainim laik bilong em yet. (Wantok no. 1885)*
T: If **criminals** are in the system, they will surely manipulate the government to follow their will.

mani plen

dictionary meaning(s): budget

orthographic variation(s): manipulen

lexical replacement(s): budget

Examples:

- 1) *Mista O'Neill i tokaut olsem gavman i oraitim pinis bil bilong 2015 Pasifik Gems, na dispela bai lukim manimak i arere long K1 bilian i go aut bihainim baset o **mani plen** bilong kantri insait long 4-pela yia i go painim 2015. (Wantok no. 1934)*
T: Mr. O'Neill admitted that the government has already approved the bill for the 2015 Pacific Games. And this is expected to near K1 billion, following the country's 4-year **budget**.
- 2) *PRAIM Minista i tokaut long Wewak long las wiken olsem gavman bai pasim wanpela saplimentari baset long Novemba taim em i tokaut long baset o **maniplen** bilong 2011. (Wantok no. 1877)*
T: The Prime Minister had announced at Wewak last weekend that the government will pass a supplementary budget in November, while speaking about the 2011 **budget**.
- 3) *Ol bai kisim 150 nupela opisa long wan wan yia na dispela bai kostim gavman K1.9 milien. Ol vilis kot opisal bai kisim K38.8 milien long wan wan yia, stat long neks yia **budget**. (Wantok no. 2048)*
T: They will recruit 150 new officers each year and this will cost the government K1.9 million. The Village Court officials will receive K38.8 million each year, starting with next year's **budget**.

marit i bruk

dictionary meaning(s): divorce

Examples:

- 1) *Pren, mipela i luksave long wei yu inap long menesim laip bilong yu, maski **marit i bruk** wantaim man yu gat bikpela laik long en. (Wantok no. 1959)*
T: Friend, we are aware that you can manage your life even though you **divorced** your husband.

maunten paia

dictionary meaning(s): volcano

lexical replacement(s): volkeno

Examples:

- 1) *Bihain long Manam Ailan **maunten paia** i bin pairap na bagarapim olgeta hap bilong ailan long yia 2004, samting olsem 10,000 i go 12,000 man, meri na pikinini i bin lusim ailan na i go sindaun long graun bilong ol bikples nau inap long 13 yia olgeta. (Wantok no. 2216)*
T: The **volcano** on Manam Island had erupted and destroyed most of the area on the island in 2004. About 10,000 to 12,000 men, women and children have fled from the island and have settled on the mainland for about 13 years now.
- 2) *DISPELA yia, 2016, bai namba wan taim tru mak bilong kabon daioksaid ges (CO2) i abrusim 400 pats pe milien, long taim ol i sekim riding long Mauna Loa **volkeno** long Hawaii. (Wantok no. 2179)*
T: This year, 2016, will be the first time for Carbon Dioxide gas (CO2) to go over 400 parts per million according to readings checked at Mauna Loa **volcano** in Hawaii.

maus manmeri

dictionary meaning(s): create

Examples:

- 1) *Planti **maus manmeri** bilong ENB na Nu Ailan provinsal gavman, wantaim ol papa graun i stap long dispela kibung. (Wantok no. 1969)*
T: Many **leaders** from the East New Britain (ENB) and New Ireland provincial government, along with traditional landowners were present at the meeting.

mekim kamap

dictionary meaning(s): create

translation equivalent(s): bring

Examples:

- 1) *Em i tok i tru olsem dispel wok em i wanpela bikpela wok, tasol gavman i wok long wok klostu wantaim ol bisnis long **mekim kamap** gutpela senis. (Wantok no. 1969)*
T: He said it is true that this job is big, but the government is working closely with businesses to **bring** positive / good change.

mekim nogut

dictionary meaning(s): damage, persecute, persecution, spoil

translation equivalent(s): reduce

Examples:

- 1) *Tu, luksave long ol meri i gat wankain rait olsem ol man, putim ol pikinini meri long skul, daunim pasin bilong paitim na **mekim nogut** long ol meri, daunim AIDS, daunim pasin turangu na ol narapela moa. (Wantok no. 1906)*

T: And also, we must understand that women have equal rights as man. Thus, we must allow them to get educated, **reduce** gender violence, reduce AIDS, reduce free handout mentality among other things.

mekim pasin

dictionary meaning(s): behave

translation equivalent(s): rape

Examples:

- 1) *Man i bin **mekim pasin** nogut long dispela liklik gel i hait nau. (Wantok no. 1969)*

T: The man who has **raped** the little girl is now on the run.

mekim pati

dictionary meaning(s): celebrate

translation equivalent(s): feast

Examples:

- 1) *Bihain ol i **mekim pati** long pikinini bilong ol yet i mekim wok long gaden bilong lusim tingting long pikinini bilong ol na i stap nating. (Wantok no. 2219)*

T: Following the **feast** in honour of their child, they occupied themselves with gardening to forget the loss of their child.

mekim save

dictionary meaning(s): penalty / punish

orthographic variation(s): makim-save

translation equivalent(s): inform

Examples:

- 1) *Dispela 10-man tim i statim pinis ol wok painimaut long mun Epril 23, na ol i gat 2-pela wik long pinisim bipo long ol i givim ripot bilong dispela painimaut long polis long **mekim save** long ol polisman husat i asua. (Wantok no. 1967)*

T: The 10-person team finished the investigation on April 23, and they have two weeks to complete it before they give a report of the investigation to the police to **inform** the officers who were involved.

- 2) *Wanpela yangpela man bilong Mangiro, Gideon Bob, husat i givim tingting bilong em long Wantok Niuspepa i tok olsem moabeta Gavman mas kamap wantaim strongpela lo long givim **mekim-save** long ol lain husat I save kukim bus nating nating. (Wantok no. 1874)*

T: A young man from Mangiro, Gideon Bob, who shared his thoughts with the *Wantok* newspaper, said that the Government should come up with a strong law to **inform** other countries that they cannot cut down trees unnecessarily.

mekim strong

dictionary meaning(s): confirm

Examples:

- 1) *Benk i **mekim strong** long wok bisnis na mekim 38.7 pesen moa long operating profit o winmani bipo long takis long wankain taim long las yia. (Wantok no. 2204)*

T: The bank **confirms** to have made a profit of 38.7 percent after the tax than last year.

moningtaim tru

dictionary meaning(s): dawn

Examples:

- 1) *Tumora **moningtaim tru** ol i kirap na wokabaut i go long bus bilong painim rop bilong wokim bilum. (Wantok no. 2231)*

T: At **dawn**, they will walk into the bush to look for vines to make the traditional ladies' bags with.

N

naispela tru

dictionary meaning(s): lovely

translation equivalent(s): beautifully

Examples:

- 1) *Ol manmeri i kam wantaim kain kain bilas bilong ol na mekim Daiosis bilong Mendi i luk **naispela tru**.* (Wantok no. 1938)
T: People came in various traditional costumes and made the Daiosis of Mendi look **beautifully**.

namba wan bikpela

dictionary meaning(s): principal

Examples:

- 1) ***Namba wan bikpela** samting em long luksave olsem populesen bilong kantri i bikpela tumas long ol taun na siti.* (Wantok no. 2103)
T: The **crucial** thing is to notice that the towns and cities make up the largest population in the country.

no inap tingim

dictionary meaning(s): unimaginable

Examples:

- 1) *Wok ripota i ken kisim yu long ol kain ples na stap i gutpela, bungim hevi na birua na samting yu **no inap tingim** bai kamap.* (Wantok no. 2059)
T: The work of a reporter can take you to places that have unrest, trouble, enemies and generally to things that are **unimaginable**.

no laik tru

dictionary meaning(s): hate

translation equivalent(s): oppose

Examples:

- 1) *Ol i tok tu olsem Savchenko i **no laikim tru** ol lain i stap long Luhansk rijon bilong Ukraine.* (Wantok no. 2059)
T: They also said that Savchenko **opposes** people living in the Luhansk region of Ukraine.

no save toktok

dictionary meaning(s): dumb

translation equivalent(s): mute

Examples:

- 1) *Samting olsem 48 pesen bilong ol manmeri i tok, ol i lukim sampela pikinini **no save toktok** moa, ol i kamap mauspas long taim woa i stat.* (Wantok no. 2217)
T: About 48% of the people witnessed and confirmed that some children become **mute**, and no longer speak when the war started.

O

ol man na meri

dictionary meaning(s): people

Examples:

- 1) *Mi tok amamas long **ol man na meri** husat i save mekim wok olgeta de, long pinisim pasin bilong pait insait long dispela kantri. (Wantok no. 2147)*
T: I'm grateful to the **people** who have been working every day to mitigate fighting in this country.

olgeta hap graun

dictionary meaning(s): environment / land / worldwide

Examples:

- 1) *Ol pikinini long **olgeta hap graun** i bungim ol nupela kain hevi bilong taim nau, olsem long nesural disasta, pait namel long ol wanpela lain pipel na long ol bikpela sik i save kamap hariap. (Wantok no. 2110)*
T: All kids **worldwide** are facing all the new issues of current society, like natural disasters, fights between clans and major diseases.

P

painim mani

dictionary meaning(s): earn

Examples:

- 1) *Planti taim long taim bilong ren i pundaun rot i save pas na papamama save painim hat long **painim mani** long peim skul fi na ol narapela samting long helpim pikinini bilong ol i go het long skul. (Wantok no. 1875)*
T: Many times, during the rainy season the roads are difficult to pass and parents find it difficult to **earn** to pay for school fees and other things to help their children go to school.

painim pis

dictionary meaning(s): fish

Examples:

- 1) *Long wanpela taim Sikau i raun i go na em i painim ol yangpela meri i wok long **painim pis** long wara i stap. (Wantok no. 2217)*
T: One day a tree kangaroo went to the river and saw some young girls **fishing** at the river.

paitim han

dictionary meaning(s): acclaim / applaud

Examples:

- 1) *Olgeta Membra na manmeri i **paitim han** taim Sir Michael i wokabaut i go insait. (Wantok no. 2217)*
T: All members and people **applauded** as Sir Michael walked in.

pamuk meri

dictionary meaning(s): harlot

translation equivalent(s): prostitute

Examples:

- 1) *Sampela krismas i go pinis, mi bin slip wantaim wanpela **pamuk meri** na bihain mi bin kisim sik, seksueli trensmited disis (STD). (Wantok no. 2107)*
T: A few years ago, I had sex with a **prostitute** and contracted an STD.

pasim bel

dictionary meaning(s): contraceptive

Examples:

- 1) *Ripot i tok ol lain i bringim ol kondom na ol narapela rot bilong **pasim bel** i no laik long harim olsem pasin pamuk i kamap bikpela wantaim ol dispela samting. (Wantok no. 2076)*
T: Condoms and other **contraceptive** methods are reported to be a major cause of sexual abuse.

pasim tingting

dictionary meaning(s): decide / decision

Examples:

- 1) *Bipo, PNG Kastoms i no save amamasim Intanesenel Kastoms De, long kain kain as, tasol nau, ogenaisesen i **pasim tingting** long mekim kamap olgeta yia, long luksave long ol opisa bilong en long bikpela wok ol i save mekim long kantri, na long strongim ol long wok long inapim pesenal, wok, nesenel, na intanesenel ol gols na objektiv. (Wantok no. 2005)*
T: Previously, PNG Customs did not celebrate the International Customs Day for various reasons. But recently, the organization has **decided** to celebrate this event every year to recognize its officers who have done a lot of work for the country, and to encourage them in their work to achieved personal, work, national and international goals and objectives.

pasim tok

dictionary meaning(s): confirm

translation equivalent(s): decide

Examples:

- 1) *LONG wanpela taim, long wanpela viles ol i kolim Wopkona, ol yangpela meri i **pasim tok** long go long bikbus long painim ol rop bilong wokim bilum na mat na painim ol abus tu. (Wantok no. 2148)*
T: Once, in a village called Wopkona, a couple of young girls have **decided** to go to the forest in search of bush rope to weave bilum and mats and to hunt for animals as well.

pasin bilong pait

dictionary meaning(s): aggression

Examples:

- 1) *Dispela kain **pasin bilong pait** long Hela i ken kamapim bikpela birua long ol investa na long ol arapela bisnis manmeri, ol asples manmeri na long gavman propeti na pablik sevan. (Wantok no. 2190)*
T: Such attitudes of **aggression** in the Hela province can create a problem to the investors and other businessmen and businesswomen, the locals, government properties and the public servants.

pasin birua

dictionary meaning(s): ill-will

translation equivalent(s): animosity

Examples:

- 1) *I gat hatred o **pasin birua** i kamap strong tru insait long marit na famili. (Wantok no. 2208)*
T: Hatred and **animosity** have become especially strong in marriage and in the family.

pasin i no stret

dictionary meaning(s): injustice / unfair

translation equivalent(s): rape

Examples:

- 1) *Long dispela nupela samting, ol pikinini i no kisim HIV na AIDS long ol mama bilong ol, tasol long "child sexual abuse" o long pasin bilong bagarapim na mekim **pasin i no stret** long pikinini. (Wantok no. 2208)*
T: In this new thing, the children have not received HIV and AIDS from their mother, unless through "child sexual abuse" or the act of **rape** of a child.

pasin nogut

dictionary meaning(s): crime

lexical replacement(s): krait

Examples:

- 1) *Dispela kain **pasin nogut** i mas no ken kamap long ol disiplineri fos. (Wantok no. 2148)*
T: Such a **crime** must not be accepted or tolerated in the Disciplinary Forces.
- 2) *Gordons maket Polis Yunit bos, Saiden Petrina Dikin i tok ol polis i patna wantaim ol memba bilong Federel Polis bilong Australia long daunim **krait** na vailens egensim ol meri, na mekim maket i seif ples bilong ol meri long baim na salim ol samting. (Wantok no. 2066)*
T: The head of the Gordon's Market Police Unit, Sargeant Petrina Dikin, said the police had partnered with the members of the Australian Federal Police to decrease the rate of **crime** and violence against women and create a safe environment in the market for women to trade.

pasin pamuk

dictionary meaning(s): prostitution

Examples:

- 1) *I gutpela sios i mas sanap na tok strong long ol memba bai i ken legisletim lo we bai i mas tok nogat long **pasin pamuk** na seim seks marit long dispela kantri PNG. (Wantok no. 2148)*
T: It is good that the church must stand strong for the political members to legislate laws against **prostitution** and same sex marriage in the country of PNG

pasin tumbuna

dictionary meaning(s): culture / tradition

translation equivalent(s): kalsa / tradisen

Examples:

- 1) *Em i tok ol dispela turis i bin lukluk raun long ples long lainim na save moa long **pasin tumbuna** bilong ol pipel bilong provins. (Wantok no. 2062)*
T: These tourists looked around the place to learn and learn more about the **culture / tradition** of the people of the province.
- 2) *Long las wik, Solomon Ailans Minista bilong **Kalsa** na Turisim, Samuel Maneoali, i bin tokaut long dispela plen long Intanesenel Musium De. (Wantok no. 2021)*
T: Yesterday, Solomon Islands Minister of **Culture** and Tourism, Samuel Maneoali, spoke at the International Museum Day event.
- 3) *Dispela em ating bikos long anti-Katolik **tradisen** o pasin bilong ol. (Wantok no. 1865)*
T: This is because of anti-Catholic **traditions** or beliefs.

pekpek wara

dictionary meaning(s): diarrhoea

Examples:

- 1) *MALNUTRISEN em i wanpela sik we i wok long hait na kilim ol pikinini wantaim ol narapela bikpela sik olsem malaria, dairia o **pekpek wara** na numonia. (Wantok no. 2172)*
T: Malnutrition is one of the sicknesses that is silently killing children with other major sicknesses such as malaria, dysentery or **diarrhoea** and pneumonia.
- 2) *Mista Wando i tok strong moa olsem long ol pipel bai i no ken kisim sik long bel olsem **dairia** o pekpek wara, ol i mas wasim han olgeta taim. (Wantok no. 2121)*
T: Mr. Wando spoke strongly to the people that in order to prevent sicknesses associated with stomach aches such as **dysentery** and diarrhoea, they must wash their hands every time.

pepa mani

dictionary meaning(s): note

Examples:

- 1) *Mista Webb i kisim K1.6 milen pepa mani i gat nem Bogenvil kina long en. (Wantok no. 2059)*
T: Mr. Webb got K1.6 million **notes** that had Bougainville kina.

pikinini man

dictionary meaning(s): son / child

Examples:

- 1) *Nambtri **pikinini man**, Joshua em i kam insait long laip bilong mi na ol pikinini meri long yia 1990 taim mipela i kamap Kristen pinis. (Wantok no. 2019)*
T: I have a third **son**, Joshua, who came into my and my daughters' life in 1990 when we became complete Christians.
- 2) *Sir Michael i bin givim sampela eksampel olsem; **pikininiman** bilong Saiden Wallace, Patrick Wallace Jnr i bin kisim skolasip long skul long Human Risos (HR) long IBS, foapela pikinini bilong Saiden- Hewa, i kisim helpim long Praimeri na Sekenderi skul long Lae, na i bin sapotim **pikinini man** bilong Inspekta Warao long go skul long wanpela praimer skul long Pot Mosbi. (Wantok no. 2062)*
T: Sir Michael provided some examples, such as the **son** of Saiden Wallace, Patrick Wallace Jr. received a scholarship at the school of Human Resources (HR) at IBS, the fourth child of Saiden - Hewa, received assistance from the Primary and Secondary schools in Lae, and he supported the **son** of Inspector Warao to go to a primary school in Port Moresby.

pikinini meri

dictionary meaning(s): daughter

Examples:

- 1) *Taim em i toktok, ol **pikinini meri** bilong em i rausimai wara isi isi. (Wantok no. 1850)*
T: When he spoke, his **daughters** poured water softly.
- 2) *Ol i stap 4-pela de olgeta, dispela i no namba wantaim mama na pikinini kam, Marcia Hines i bin kam bipo, dispela em bai namba 3 taim em i kam long Papua Niugini, Deni Hines (**pikinini meri**) i bin kam long Papua Niugini las yia na dispela em namba 2 taim em i kam bek. (Wantok no. 1862)*
T: They stayed for 4 days altogether, this is not the number with mom and kids coming, Marcia Hines came before, this will be the third time she comes to Papua New Guinea, Deni Hines (**daughter**) came to Papua New Guinea last year and this is the second time she returns.

piksa nogut

dictionary meaning(s): pornography

lexical replacement(s): pornograpi / pornography

Examples:

- 1) *Planti samting olsem sex industry o pamuk pasin, man na meri i salim ol yet long kisim mani na ol **piksa nogut**, i skruim HIV na AIDS i go moa yet. (Wantok no. 1922)*
T: A lot of things like the sex industry, infidelity, selling sex and **pornography** is increasing HIV and AIDS
- 2) *Long **pornography** i ken kamap wantaim bikman na bikmeri o pikinini lain tu (child **ponograpi**). (Wantok no. 1874)*
T: With **pornography**, it can be of adult male, adult female and of children too (child **pornography**).
- 3) *Man i go painim **ponograpi** em i painim olsem stilman i save raun long nait. (Wantok no. 1874)*
T: A man searching for **pornography** is like a thief at night.

pilai laki

dictionary meaning(s): bet / gamble

translation equivalent(s): mock

Examples:

- 1) *Larim husat man i laik **pilai laki** wantaim God i tokim mipela sapos em i stret o nogat. (Wantok no. 1919)*
T: Let the man who likes to **mock** God will tell us if he is perfect or not.

pinis long skul

dictionary meaning(s): graduate

translation equivalent(s): complete (educational level)

Examples:

- 1) *Em i pinisim namba wan yia **pinis long skul** long Yunivesiti bilong Papua Niugini long skul bilong ekonomiks. (Wantok no. 2047)*
T: S/he has already **completed** his/her first year at the University of Papua New Guinea in the field of economics.

planti kain kain

dictionary meaning(s): mix / range

translation equivalent(s): diverse

orthographic variation(s): planti kainkain

Examples:

- 1) *Graun bilong yumi i gat **planti kain kain** mineral risos. (Wantok no. 2190)*
T: Our ground has a **range** of mineral resources.
- 2) *Madang nau igat **planti kainkain** bikpela projek na divelopmen kamap nau. (Wantok no. 2174)*
T: Madang currently has **diversed** development projects underway.

planti mani

dictionary meaning(s): fortune / wealth

translation equivalent(s): finances

orthographic variation(s): plantimani

Examples:

- 1) *Em i tok **planti mani** long kantri i gat planti hevi na gavman i wok hat tru long daunim tasol i kisim longpela taim. Em i tok dispela nupela lo bai helpim long daunim ol hevi na bikpela lukluk i stap long papagraun bai kisim bikpela sevis long maining long graun bilong ol. (Wantok no. 2058)*
T: He said that the **finances** in the country had given the government many problems and they were trying so hard to minimise this issue, but it was taking much time. He said that the new law would help minimise this problem and would look at the landowners to bring services to them by mining.
- 2) *Planti man meri i putim **plantimani** long skul bilong ol sumatin na ol sumatin i no ken pilai nabaut na mekim nabaut long skul. (Wantok no. 2058)*
T: Many people have invested **fortune** in the children's education and these students should not be playing with their learning and education.

ples balus

dictionary meaning(s): airport

orthographic variation(s): ples-balus / plesbalus

Examples:

- 1) *Piksa i soim wanpela Q400 balus bilong Qantas Link i lusim Jackson's **ples balus** long Pot Mosbi na i laik go long Cairns, Australia. (Wantok no. 2152)*
T: The picture shows Qantas Link's airplane Q400 leaving Jackson's **airport** in Port Moresby and heading to Cairns, Australia.
- 2) *PPC Singura i tok olsem dispela tupela man i bin kalap long PNG Air balus long Boram **Ples-balus** long Wewak na i bin putim kago bilong ol long ol lain long ples-balus we insait long kago em M16 gan i stap long en. (Wantok no. 2223)*
T: PPC Singura said that these two men boarded PNG Air airlines at Boram **Airport** in Wewak and placed their baggage in the baggage area and in their baggage was an M16 gun.
- 3) *Seaman bilong Moran lenona grup i salim wanpela hitman bilong ol long go sutim wanpela bikman long Jackson **plesbalus** long Mosbi na abrus na polis i sutim em. (Wantok no. 1873)*
T: The chairman of the Moran landowner group sent their hitman to shoot and kill an important person at the Jackson **airport** in Moresby but he was shot by the police instead.

ples bilong stap

dictionary meaning(s): accommodation

Examples:

- 1) *Na long famili bilong Mariia na Joseph na Pikinini bilong God i kamap man em Jisas, tupela papamama i bin kamap ol lain bilong lukautim gut na famili bai stap seif na i gat kaikai, klos, **ples bilong stap** na ol kain samting olsem. (Wantok no. 2152)*
T: And in the family of Mary and Joseph, the Son of God is born called Jesus, the parents had become his caretakers so the family can be safe and there is food and clothes and **accommodation**.

ples nogut

dictionary meaning(s): dangerous / hell

Examples:

- 1) *PLANTI manmeri long Lae siti long Morobe i save pret na tingting olsem Wes Taraka em wanpela **ples nogut** tru bikos bikhet pasin na raskol i pulap long hap. (Wantok no. 2038)*
T: Plenty people in Lae City in Morobe were afraid and thought that West Taraka was **dangerous** because of unruly behaviour and more thugs were in that place.

ples wesan

dictionary meaning(s): desert

Examples:

- 1) *Kantri Israel em pulap long bikpela **ples wesan**, i no gat wara na ol diwai na bikpela graun. (Wantok no. 2122)*
T: The country of Israel is covered by **desert**, hardly any water and less trees and good soil.

pret nogut tru

dictionary meaning(s): dread / terror

translation equivalent(s): terrified

Examples:

- 1) *Dispela driman em mi bin swim long solwara na wanpela bikpela monsta i laik daunim mi na mi **pret nogut tru**. (Wantok no. 1887)*
T: In this dream, I was swimming in the sea and a huge monster tried to swallow me and I was **terrified**.

putim nem

dictionary meaning(s): to nominate / nomination

Examples:

- 1) *Mista Lamur i tok 3-pela meri i **putim nem** bilong ol long resis long Taulil wod insait long Gesel distrik. (Wantok no. 2026)*
T: Mister Lamur said three women had been **nominated** for the race in Taulil ward in Gazelle district

R

raitim nem

dictionary meaning(s): sign

Examples:

- 1) *Sapos yu laikim ol **raitim nem** bilong yu long bilum na kala bilong yu, yu go long kraf maket long Boroko Tabari ples na painim ol dispela 4-pela long kona bilong ol. (Wantok no. 1959)*
T: If you want them to **sign** your bilum with your favourite colour, you must go to craft market at Boroko Tabari and search for those four that used to be there at that location.

raskol pasin

dictionary meaning(s): crime

Examples:

- 1) *Mista Bawa i mekim dispela toktok bihain long wanpela **raskol pasin** i kamap long dispela wik long Morata setelmen i lukim ol raskol i holim pasim kar bilong Nesenel Brotkasting Kopresen (NBC) na repim tupela wok meri. (Wantok no. 2093)*
T: Mr. Bawa said this regarding the **crime** this week at Morata settlement which saw criminals holding up a car belonging to the National Broadcasting Cooperation (NBC) and raping two female staff.

raun nating

dictionary meaning(s): aimless

translation equivalent(s): roam

Examples:

- 1) *Planti ol yangpela manmeri i **raun nating** long strit na sampela i stap nating long ples. (Wantok no. 2172)*
T: Most young people are **roaming** the streets doing nothing and others are also doing nothing in the village.

rot bilong wokabaut

dictionary meaning(s): footpath

translation equivalent(s): track

Examples:

- 1) *Long 29 Janueri 2013, 27 yangpela Damba i stat katim bus long wokim 100 kilomita **rot bilong wokabaut** long Amubullua i go long Bogo. (Wantok no. 2018)*
T: On the 29th of January 2013, 27 young villagers commenced work to clear the bush to make a 100-kilometer **track** from Amubullua to Bogo.

rot bilong wokim

dictionary meaning(s): procedure

translation equivalent(s): manner

Examples:

- 1) *Mista Salwai i tok dispela apoinmen no bihainim **rot bilong wokim** apoinmen aninit long konstitusen bilong MSG. (Wantok no. 2171)*
T: Mr. Salwai stated that the appointment was made in a manner that was not in accordance with the Constitution of the MSG.

S

sait bilong maunten

dictionary meaning(s): cliff

Examples:

- 1) *Graun long **sait bilong maunten** i bruk na bagarapim rot na ol pipel i pasim rop na i save go antap na kam daun, Wawii i tok. (Wantok no. 2026)*
T: Wawi said that due to the landslide of the **cliff** the road had been inaccessible, and locals had tied ropes to go up and down on it.

sakim tok

dictionary meaning(s): contradict / disobey

translation equivalent(s): apologize

Examples:

- 1) *Tasol meri em i **sakim tok**, na em susuim bebi pinis long susu bilong em na man i kirap nogut na em i krai na tok, o sori boi bilong mi. (Wantok no. 2171)*
T: She **apologized** for startling him after she had finished breastfeeding her baby.

salim pas

dictionary meaning(s): correspond

translation equivalent(s): send

Examples:

- 1) *Sapos nogat email, yu ken **salim pas** i go long Investigation Task Force Sweep, P. O. Box 591, Waigani, NCD. (Wanxitok no. 1938)*
T: You may **send** your details to Investigation Task Force Sweep, P.O Box 591, Waigani, NCD if there is no email.

salim toktok

dictionary meaning(s): communication

Examples:

- 1) *Stat yet long taim intanet na ol sosel netwok na ol mobail fon (olsem ol liklik kompyuta)i kam insait long dispela kantri, yumi wok long lukim bikpela senis long rot we 'modern technology' o ol nupela masin bilong **salim toktok** i go na i kam long wanpela narapela i wok. (Wxiantok no. 1992)*
T: It started when the Internet, social networks and mobile phones were introduced into the country. Today, we can see huge changes in modern technology and new gadgets used for **communication** and other purposes.

samting bilong mekim

dictionary meaning(s): achievement / activity

translation equivalent(s): means

Examples:

- 1) *Tasol sapos yu nogat inap taim na ol risos o **samting bilong mekim** dispela ol progrem na tingting bilong yu i kamap em nau bai dispela tingting i no inap kamap. (Wantok no. 1908)*
T: But if you do not have the time, resources or **means** to do so, your plans and ideas will not work.
- 2) *Na em i sans bilong lukim histori, kalsa, na **asivmen** bilong ol Aborijina na Tores Stret Ailan pipel. (Wantok no. 2130)*
T: And it is a chance to see the history, culture and **achievements** of the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders.
- 3) *Mi lukim Vagi tasol i save harim skul bilong mi na joinim narapela **aktiviti** mipela wokim long sios. (Wantok no. 2171)*
T: I saw that only Vagi listens to my advice and joins other **activities** we did at church.

samting bilong pait

dictionary meaning(s): weapon

Examples:

- 1) *Em i no ples bilong karim ol **samting bilong pait** na kilim nating narapela man, o ples we ol raskal na trabelman i ken raun long laik na kamapim trabel. (Wantok no. 2181)*
T: It is not a place for **weapons**, nor for bloodshed, nor for violence.

samting long stretim

dictionary meaning(s): correction

translation equivalent(s): correct

Examples:

- 1) *Tasol ol atoriti olsem polis na ol trenspot atoriti i no mekim wanpela **samting long stretim** dispela hevi ol skul pikinini i bungim. (Wantok no. 1929)*
T: But authorities such as the police and transport authorities are doing nothing to **correct** this heavy burden that schoolchildren are carrying.

samting i stap insait

dictionary meaning(s): contents

translation equivalent(s): necessity

Examples:

- 1) *Ol haus ya i gat pawa lait, wara-saplai na ol narapela ol **samting i stap insait** long en. (Wantok no. 1929)*
T: The houses contain electricity, water supply and all the **necessities**.

samting nogut

dictionary meaning(s): dangerous / evil

translation equivalent(s): disease

Examples:

- 1) *Moa long 600 pipel i kisim pinis antraks na 12 distrik i toksave pinis olsem, dispela **samting nogut** i kamap pinis tu long eria bilong ol insait long pipel na ol bulmakau. (Wantok no. 1929)*
T: More than 600 people have contracted anthrax and 12 districts have already informed people that the **disease** has arrived on their doorstep and is affecting its people and cattle.

save amamas

dictionary meaning(s): cheerful

translation equivalent(s): excited

Examples:

- 1) *Mi bin satatim Ragbi Lig pilai bilong mi long Hornby na mi **save amamas** long go bek gen long Leslie Park lukim ol save fes long hap, he said. (Wantok no. 2231)*
T: I started my rugby league career at Hornby and I am **excited** to go back to Leslie Park to see some familiar faces there, he said.

save go insait long

dictionary meaning(s): pervade

Examples:

- 1) *Sampela i **save go insait long** politiks long bringim benefit long ol konstituen bilong en, na i gat wan wan tasol i ken inapim dispela mak. (Wantok no. 1953)*
T: Some **pervade** to politics to bring benefits to their constituents and there is only few who can fulfil such.

save gut

dictionary meaning(s): talent / talented

lexical replacement(s): talent

Examples:

- 1) *Is Nu Briten Provinsal Gavman i promis long sapatim ol etlit long provins husat i **save gut** pilai i ken go het na resis long trek na fil resis taim ol i stadi long USA. (Wantok no. 2209)*
T: East New Britain Provincial Government promised to support the athletes in the province who are **talented** to go ahead and compete in the track and field race sport when they study in the USA.
- 2) *Na em i sore samting tru long lukim wan wan tasol long ol dispela **talent** i painim rot long luksave long driman bilong ol. (Wantok no. 1932)*
T: It is a sad situation that only a few of these **talents** found ways for their dreams to be recognized.

save harim tok

dictionary meaning(s): obedient

Examples:

- 1) *Wanpela bikhet pikinini. Em i no save harim tok. (Wantok no. 2151)*
T: A big headed kid who is not **obedient**.

saveman bilong lo

dictionary meaning(s): lawyer

Examples:

- 1) *Olsem na long surukim taim na de bilong ileksen em Gavman wantaim ol wokman bilong Iektorel Komisn na ol saveman bilong Lo mas lukluk gut insait long Mama Lo na mekim samting stret bihainim. (Wantok no. 1965)*
T: Therefore, when postponing the date for elections, the Government along with individuals who work for the Electoral Commission and **Lawyers** must carefully consult the Constitution in order to ensure that their actions are in accordance with the law.

sia king

dictionary meaning(s): throne

Examples:

- 1) *Husat i sindaun long sia king long bel bilong yu? (Wantok no. 1906)*
T: Who sits on the **throne** within you?

sik mun

dictionary meaning(s): menstruation

Examples:

- 1) *Sapos yu gat sevakel kensa bai dispela samting i kamap: Meri i lusim blut nating olsem sik mun tasol i no taim em long kisim sik mun, bihain long meri slip wantaim man o taim meri i winim 40 yia krismas. (Wantok no. 2088)*
T: If you have cervical cancer, you are likely to experience these symptoms: bleeding unexpectedly, not on your correct **menstruation** date or after sexual intercourse and after the age of 40.

sik nogut

dictionary meaning(s): contagious disease

orthographic variation(s): siknogut

translation equivalent(s): disease

Examples:

- 1) *Mista Tanakanai i tok klia olsem long aweanes olsem i nogat marasin long stopim dispela **sik nogut** bilong kokonas em Bogia Kokonas Sindrom (BSC), olsem na ol fama na ol pipel i mas putim gutpela panis olsem ol nupela kru bilong kokonas, buai, banana na tu ol arapela pam i mas noken go aut nating long Madang provins (Wantok no. 1978)*

T: Mister Tanakanai spoke clearly during the awareness that there is no medication to stop the coconut **disease** called the Bogia coconut syndrome (BSC), therefore farmers and the people must protect and keep the coconut shoots, betelnut, banana and other palms inside Madang.

- 2) *Insait long Madang provins nau yet i gat pret na tu bikpela banis i stap long daunim na stopim **siknogut** bilong kokonas ol i kolim Bogia Kokonas Sindrom long go aut long ol arapela provins long PNG. (Wantok no. 2051)*

T: There is fear in Madang and protection in place to minimize and stop the coconut **disease** called the Bogia coconut syndrome from spreading to other provinces in PNG.

sindaun gut

dictionary meaning(s): comfortable

Examples:

- 1) *Em yet wantaim ol opisa bilong Nesenel Kepitel Distrik Komisn (NCDC) i gat plen bilong kamapim gut siti we ol pipel na bisnis i ken **sindaun gut** na mekim wok bilong ol. (Wantok no. 2044)*

T: It is also with the officials of the National Capital District Commission (NCDC) that they have plans to create a good city where people and businesses can feel **comfortable** and work well.

sindaun nogut

dictionary meaning(s): moan

Examples:

- 1) *Liklik gal i **singaut nogut** tru na krai wantaim pen long skin. (Wantok no. 2147)*

T: The little girl **moaned** in agony from the pain.

singsing bilong Krismas

dictionary meaning(s): Christmas carol

Examples:

- 1) *Long dispela nait tu i bin lukim ol sampela pilai na ol gutpela **singsing bilong Krismas** we i kam gut tru wantaim stail na naispela kala tru. (Wantok no. 1950)*

T: This night, we witnessed some magnificent decorations and wonderful **Christmas carols** that came together with colourful style and beauty.

singsing lotu

dictionary meaning(s): hymn

Examples:

- 1) *Singim ol **singsing lotu** wanpela nait aninit long lait bilong karasin lam i bin kirapim bel bilong wanpela mama long go bek long sios na strongim lotu na preia laip bilong em. (Wantok no. 2003)*
T: Singing **hymns** one night under the light of a lamp had touched a woman's heart and she decided to go back to the church and commit to her prayer life and to the Christian faith.

sit bilong paia

dictionary meaning(s): ash

lexical replacement(s): es

Examples:

- 1) ***Sit bilong paia** i bagarapim ol gaden kaikai na wara bilong dring long ailan. (Wantok no. 2135)*
T: The **ash** has damaged the crops and the water supplies of the island.
- 2) *Tu, tupela kandere meri bilong Mista Jones i bin karim ol bun **es (sit bilong paia)** bilong em long planim long skul na ples em bin laikim tumas. (Wantok no. 1885)*
T: Two of Mr. Jones nieces brought his **ashes** and buried it inside the school and the place that he loved the most.

skelim na stretim

dictionary meaning(s): criticize

translation equivalent(s): fix

Examples:

- 1) *Bikos planti senis na wok i kamap, sios o kristen bilip manmeri tu mas **skelim na stretim** mama lo tu we i ken kamap klia na i ken stiaim yu (sios) long I go moa yet. (Wantok no. 1850)*
T: Because of the changes that are happening today, the church or the Christian believers must also **fix** the Main Church so that it can acts as the direction to lead to church and its people into the future.

skelim tingting

dictionary meaning(s): conscience / to negotiate / negotiation

translation equivalent(s): to consider

Examples:

- 1) *Praim Minista Peter O'Neill i tok dispela loa i orait, tasol em i askim Konstitusenal Lo Rifom Komisen long **skelim tingting** bilong pablik long en. (Wantok no. 1962)*
T: Prime Minister Peter O'Neil said that this law is fine, however, he asked if the Constitutional Law Reform Commission to **consider** the public opinion.

skin diwai

dictionary meaning(s): bark

Examples:

- 1) *Yu karim sampela malala o **skin diwai** na mekim o? (Wantok no. 2001)*
T: Do you carry a piece of wood or a piece of **bark**?

skru bilong han

dictionary meaning(s): elbow

Examples:

- 1) *Dispela em bilong wanem, Muay Thai save yusim, tupela han, tupela lek, tupela **skru bilong han** na tupela skru bilong lek long pait bilong ol. (Wantok no. 1950)*
T: This is the reason why Muay Thai fighters use both their arms, legs, **elbows** and knees when fighting.

skru bilong lek

dictionary meaning(s): ankle / knee

Examples:

- 1) *Ol i ken pait long han skru bilong han, kik long lek na **skru bilong lek** na tu holim pasim narapela paitman na tromoim em i go daun long graun. (Wantok no. 1959)*
T: They can fight using their elbow, kick using their legs and **knee** and also try to hold down a man who is involved in a fight and throw him to the ground.

smel nogut

dictionary meaning(s): stink

translation equivalent(s): stench

Examples:

- 1) *Ples we ol enamel i kaikai tasol i save silip, pekpek na pispis tu. Em i mas smel nogut! (Wantok no. 2207)*
T: Places where animals usually eat, sleep, excrete and urinate. What a **stench**!

smok nogut

dictionary meaning(s): fume / marijuana

lexical replacement(s): see **spak brus**

Examples:

- 1) *Minista Pruiatch i tok gavman i save olsem dispela senis bai i mekim ol manmeri go long arapela rot nabaut long kisim ol **smok nogut** o mekim ol kain kain bia nabaut we lo i tambu long en. (Wantok no. 2176)*
T: Minister Pruiatch said that the government knows that this change will cause people to shift to other ways to take **marijuana** or produce homebrew which is against the law.

soim rot

dictionary meaning(s): direct / guide

Examples:

- 1) *Em i tok wanpela bisnimeri long Saina i bin autim ol gutpela toktok na givim gutpela skul toktok long **soim rot** long manmeri PNG long kirapim ebisnis wantaim ol kompyuta na mobail pon. (Wantok no. 2199)*
T: A businesswoman from China has helped teach Papua New Guineans by **guiding** them on how to engage in electronic business using computers and mobile phones.

spak brus

dictionary meaning(s): marijuana

orthographic variation(s): spak-brus / spakbrus

lexical replacement(s): mariwana / marijuana / maruana

Examples:

- 1) *Bikpela tingting bilong mas em long tokaut olsem Maun Hagen Siti i mas stap fri long ol pasin bilong brukim lo olsem rep o bagarapim meri, kilim man, stil pasin, smokim **spak brus** na ol narapela pasin nogut. Insait long mas, ol meri long Baptist Meri Asosiesen i laik soim aut olsem ol i no helpim ol meri long sait bilong spirit tasol, nogat. (Wantok no. 2042)*
T: The Church is speaking out against lawlessness in Mt Hagen. Mt Hagen city must be free from unlawful acts such as rape and sexual assault against women, murder, petty theft and robbery, smoking **marijuana**, and other bad actions, etc. In its fight for law and order, the Baptist Women's Association is helping women not only spiritually but also defending women's rights.
- 2) *Em wanpela naispela stori tru long kirapim bel na salens long ol arapela yangpela husat i save raun nating nating na simuk **spak-brus** na dring stim o kontena yawa nabaut. (Wantok no. 1978)*
T: This is a good story to challenge all youths who are unemployed and resort to smoking **marijuana** and drinking alcohol or causing trouble.
- 3) *Tau i tok dispela drak i wok long laip bilong planti yangpela manmeri long dispela kantri na gavman i mas mekim moa wok awenes na givim skul toktok long ol pipel long noken smukim dispela **spakbrus**. (Wantok no. 2136)*
T: Tau says that because marijuana is widely consumed by youths in PNG, the government must look into providing more awareness about smoking **marijuana** and its effects.
- 4) *Long pinisim tok bilong bia, hombru na **marijuana**, i gat 5-pela laip na ples yumi olgeta i nap painim yumi yet long en; long taim yumi larim bia, **maruana** na hombru i stap dadi bos long laip bilong wanwan. (Wantok no. 2024)*
T: After considering the topics of beer, alcohol, and **marijuana**, there are five important points and places we all need to be aware of; when we abuse beer, **marijuana**, and alcohol, our lives can become chaotic and disordered.
- 5) *Mipela laik rausim olgeta **Marijuana** long Mekeo na larim ples bilong mipela bai i stap gut na wantaim bel isi, na mipela olgeta mas putim han long kamapim developmen long PNG, Siaman bilong Mekeo Kaunsel ov Sif, Kaunsela Anthony Auchila i tok. (Wantok no. 2026)*
T: "We want to get rid of all **marijuana** in Mekeo and leave our community safe and peaceful, and we all need to contribute to the development of PNG", said Mekeo Council of Chief Councillor Anthony Auchila.
- 6) *Tasol taim planti yangpela manmeri na lapun manmeri tu i smokim **mariwana** na dring hombru, bihain taim bilong dispela kantri bai no inap stap gut, Mista Polye i tokim ol manmeri long Kundiawa long las wik. (Wantok no. 2210)*
T: Last week, Mr Polye told an audience in Kundiawa that "an increase in the consumption of **marijuana** and home brew by youths and adults alike shows that the future of this country looks bleak."

stap bel isi

dictionary meaning(s): peace

orthographic variation(s): see **bel isi**

lexical replacement(s): see **bel isi**

Examples:

- 1) *Orait God bai i mekim yupela i **stap bel isi** tru, na long dispela pasin yupela bai i pas gut wantaim Krai Jisas, na bel na tingting bilong yupela bai i stap gut tru. (Wantok no. 2026)*
T: Okay, God will give you all **peace** and because of that you all will be brothers in Jesus Christ and your hearts and thoughts will be really focused.

stap tru

dictionary meaning(s): faithful

lexical replacement(s): faithfulness / feifful

translation equivalent(s): faithfulness

Examples:

- 1) *Sampela long ol dispela samting em wankain lav, wankain tras o bilip, rispek, na **faithfulness** o **stap tru** long man o meri bilong yu. (Wantok no. 1914)*
T: Some of these include love, trust, respect, **faithfulness** to one another.
- 2) *Mi save stap **feifful** o pas long em tasol na mi ting olsem em i laikim mi olsem na nau tingting bilong mi tupela long bai marit bihain i stap nating na wetim wanem samting bai kamap. (Wantok no. 2042)*
T: I was **faithful** and thought he loved me that is why I was thinking that both of us will marriage in future, so I wait patiently.

stori bilong tumbuna

dictionary meaning(s): myth

Examples:

- 1) *Long **stori bilong tumbuna** i kam, i soim ol wasman i save karim banis bilong olgeta lain long siti wantaim em. (Wantok no. 2058)*
T: According to a **myth**, traditional protectors carry around with them ornaments to protect those living in the city.

stori tumbuna

dictionary meaning(s): myth

Examples:

- 1) *Dispela em trupela **stori tumbuna** na planti hap long ples ol i save long dispela stori bilong Mond na Gand. (Wantok no. 2136)*
T: This is a true **legend** and most villages know the story of Mond and Gand.

stret nau

dictionary meaning(s): immediately

Examples:

- 1) *Na tu plen menesa bilong Si-Web, Ms Anaseini Vesikula Ban i mekim wankain toktok olsem gat ol disisen i wok long go olgeta de na ol projek i go **stret nau**, o bai i statim long bihain taim i bes long sains. (Wantok no. 1996)*
T: And the plan that the Minister for Si-Web, Ms Anaseini Vesikula Ban, says the same thing that decisions are being made every day and the projects are executed **immediately**, or they will start it at a later time.

stretim sik

dictionary meaning(s): cure

Examples:

- 1) *Bilong wanem, long dispela taim yumi no gat ol gutpela sekap na marasin na dokta bilong **stretim sik** kensa, olsem na yumi mas was gut long ol kain pasin olsem i nap long kilim yumi yet. (Wantok no. 2044)*
T: Because currently, we do not have good checkups, medicines and doctors to **cure** cancer. That is why we must take care of our body.

strong long mekim wok

dictionary meaning(s): energy

Examples:

- 1) *Vele i laik lukim ol manmeri i gat **strong long mekim wok** na i no stap nating o stap tarangu. (Wantok no. 2044)*
T: Vele wanted to see people with **energy** and not idle or live miserable.

strongim bel

dictionary meaning(s): encourage / exhort

Examples:

- 1) *Tasol mi save stap tu wantaim ol manmeri i save daunim ol yet na sori long ol sin bilong ol, na mi save **strongim bel** bilong ol na mekim laip bilong ol i kamap gutpela gen. (Wantok no. 2110)*
T: I also live with the people and see how they humble themselves and for the wrongs that they have done, I use to **encourage** them and make their life better again.

strongim bodi

dictionary meaning(s): nourish

Examples:

- 1) *Ol samting ol i lainim tu i save **strongim bodi** na tingting bilong ol na i save helpim ol tu long laip. (Wantok no. 2016)*
T: What they learn also **nourishes** them physically, mentally, and spiritually.

strongim tok

dictionary meaning(s): zeal

translation equivalent(s): emphasize

Examples:

- 1) *Pasto Tina i **strongim tok** bilong en long tok bilong God i stap long Buk Song 139:14, Mi pret long yu, olsem na mi save litimapim nem bilong yu. (Wantok no. 2199)*
T: Pastor Tina **emphasized** his claim by making reference to the word of God found in Psalms 139:14, I'm afraid of you, that's why I'm always praising your name.

strongpela bel

dictionary meaning(s): emphasize

translation equivalent(s): steadfastness

Examples:

- 1) *Na ol jas i nogat rot long kisim halivim long nesenel tresari long baim politikal sapot olsem Namah na O'Neill i ken mekim olsem. Samting ol Jas i save sanap strong long en bai ol i wok gut, em rispek bihainim skol ol i kisim long loa, wok bilong ol olsem ol loya, gutpela pasin bilong ol, na **strongpela bel** bilong ol, na las tru, nem bilong opis bilong Jas. (Wantok no. 1698)*
T: They have no way to get help from the National Treasury to get political support like Namah and O'Neill can. Something Judges stand firm on is that they will work well, respect follows the education they got in Law, their work as Lawyers, their good behaviour and their **steadfastness**, and lastly the name of the office of Judges

strongpela laik

dictionary meaning(s): emphasize

translation equivalent(s): steadfastness

Examples:

- 1) *Tasol em i gat strongpela laik yet long skulim ol yangpela long skol bilong Budha. (Wantok no. 2107)*
T: Yet, he still had an ambition to teach young people about Buddhism.

strongpela tingting

dictionary meaning(s): ambition

translation equivalent(s): adamant

Examples:

- 1) *Em i bin gat **strongpla tingting** long go bek long Gemani, tasol em i kisim sik na indai long Sidni long Me 31, 1931. (Wantok no. 1919)*
T: She had been **adamant** on returning to Germany but fell ill and died in Sydney on May 31st, 1931.

sutim bel

dictionary meaning(s): jeer / provoke

Examples:

- 1) *Ol i singaut long gavman bilong Not Korea long stopim dispela pasin bilong **sutim bel**. (Wantok no. 1919)*
T: They have called out to the government of North Korea to stop the attitude of **provoking** them.

sutim tok

dictionary meaning(s): accuse / allege

translation equivalent(s): blame

Examples:

- 1) *Olsem, na sapos yumi lukluk bihainim tingting antap, ating yumi olgeta i asua pinis long **sutim tok** long ol lain husat i save mekim dispela pasin. (Wantok no. 1919)*
T: If we look at the biblical views, we are not supposed to **blame** others.

T

taim bilong kaikai

dictionary meaning(s): mealtime

Examples:

- 1) ***Taim bilong kaikai**, planti manmeri tu bai amamas na kaikai wantaim, tasol taim bilong lukautim, ol mama na pikinini meri tasol i save hatwok long lukautim. (Wantok no. 1944)*
T: When it is **mealtime**, everybody is happy to participate. But when it comes to looking after the mothers and children, it is only the women that take up that responsibility.

taim bilong malolo

dictionary meaning(s): leisure

translation equivalent(s): holiday

Examples:

- 1) *Na long olgeta samting **taim bilong malolo** tu em i stap olsem dispela piksa i soim ol singsing lain long Goroka, Isten Hailans husat i bin kamap long wanpela bikpela bung long welkamim praim ministra Peter O'Neill. (Wantok no. 2107)*
T: Despite everything else happening even in the holidays. The people of Goroka in Eastern Highlands gathered in a great celebration to welcome the Prime Minister Peter O'Neil, depicted in this photo.

taim bilong ren

dictionary meaning(s): rain season

translation equivalent(s): rain

Examples:

- 1) *Long PNG, **taim bilong ren** na wet i save kamap long stat na pinis bilong yia olsem na yumi ol spotsmanmeri tu i mas save na redi long en. (Wantok no. 2058)*
T: In PNG, **rain** mostly falls at the beginning of the year and the end of the year, and so as sportsmen and sportswomen, we too must know this and be prepared.

taim bilong san

dictionary meaning(s): dry season

Examples:

- 1) *Long sampela hap bilong Madang provins, taim ol i lukim olsem mumut i kamap planti na ran painim kaikai long bus na gras nambaut em ol pipel i save tok olsem em taim bilong drai sisen o longpela **taim bilong san** i kam klostu. (Wantok no. 2229)*
T: Somewhere in Madang Province, when bandicoots are seen running around looking for food and, in the bushes, and grass, it is said by the people that it is a sign or an indication of **dry season** approaching.

taitim bun

dictionary meaning(s): dry season

Examples:

- 1) *Yu bin **taitim bun** na hat wok long karim hevi na wari bilong yu. (Wantok no. 2147)*
T: You have **exerted** and worked so hard to overcome your struggles and come this far.

tambu meri

dictionary meaning(s): daughter-in-law

translation equivalent(s): sister-in-law

Examples:

- 1) *Presiden Obama i bin go long Cuba wantaim meri na tupela pikinini bilong ol na **tambu meri** bilong em. (Wantok no. 2167)*
T: President Obama has gone to Cuba with his wife and two children as well as his **sister-in law**.

tanim tok

dictionary meaning(s): interpreter

orthographic variation(s): tanimtok

translation equivalent(s): translate

Examples:

- 1) *Sampela taim, wok bilong **tanim tok** ples em i olsem yu laik painim mining bilong wanpela tok piksa. (Wantok no. 2044)*
T: Sometimes **translating** is like trying to find the meaning of a parable.
- 2) *I gat ples we ol **tanimtok** i save wok long taim ol memba i bung na paitim toktok. (Wantok no. 2198)*
T: There is a place that the **translated** word used to be effective when members gathered and discuss things.

tenpela yia

dictionary meaning(s): decade

lexical variation(s): tenpla yia

translation equivalent(s): translate

Examples:

- 1) *Long las **tenpela yia** i go pinis, OTML i bin sapotim PNG Spot Faundesen na Olimpik Komiti long 2003 Saut Pasifik Gems i bin kamap long Fiji, Olimpik Gems i kamap long Athens long 2004, Mini Pasifik Gems i kamap long Palau long 2005, Beijing Olimpik i kamap long 2008 na London Olimpik i kamap long 2012. (Wantok no. 2130)*

T: In the last **decade**, OTML supported PNG Sports and the Olympic Committee at the 2003 South Pacific Games in Fiji, the Olympic Games at Athens in 2004, the Mini Pacific Games at Palau in 2005, the Beijing Olympic in 2008 and the London Olympic in 2012.

- 2) *Mista Kaluat i tok, stat long taim ol NiVanuatu i save go wok long NuSilan **tenpla yia** i go pinis, kantri na ol pipel i lukim pinis planti gutpela samting i kamap. (Wantok no. 2213)*

T: Mr. Kaluat said, "since the Ni-Vanuatuans started working in New Zealand a **decade** ago, the country and its people have already seen a lot of good things happened".

tingim gut

dictionary meaning(s): consideration

translation equivalent(s): heed

Examples:

- 1) *Yumi mas **tingim gut**, watpo na pikinini bilong GOD em i kam long dispela graun. (Wantok no. 2103)*

T: We must **heed**, for what reason and God had allowed His son to come on earth.

tingting gut

dictionary meaning(s): care / focus

Examples:

- 1) *Tessie Soi, meri i go pas long Friends Foundation long Pot Mosbi, i tok ol mama na papa i mas **tingting gut** long pikinini bilong ol na i noken bagarapaim laip bilong ol. (Wantok no. 2011)*

T: Tessie Soi, a woman who passed away at the Friends Foundation in Port Moresby, said that parents must **focus** on their children and not ruin their lives.

tingting planti

dictionary meaning(s): anxious / doubtful

translation equivalent(s): concerned

Examples:

- 1) *ExxonMobil i **tingting planti** long dispela hevi i kamap long memba bilong em long Komo ples balus long las Fraide. (Wantok no. 2011)*
T: ExxonMobil is **concerned** about this issue that occurred with its members at the Komo site on Friday.

tingting strong

dictionary meaning(s): concentrate (mentally) / convince / feel

translation equivalent(s): concentrate

Examples:

- 1) *Mipela i laikim yu mas **tingting strong** long skul bilong yu. (Wantok no. 2001)*
T: We want you to **concentrate** on your school.

tok amamas

dictionary meaning(s): compliment / congratulate

orthographic variation(s): tok-amamas

Examples:

- 1) *Sif Eksekutiv Opisa (CEO) bilong PNGSDP, David Sode, i bin **tok amamas** long opening bilong dispela projek. (Wantok no. 2013)*
T: The Chief Executive Officer of PNGSDP, David Sode, **congratulated** on launching this project.
- 2) *Ol dispela gutpela na strongpela draiva wantaim gutpela tingting em bikpela **tok-amamas** i go long yupela. (Wantok no. 1881)*
T: We want to **compliment** those wise and courageous drivers who have exercised sound judgement.

tok bilas

dictionary meaning(s): chatter / flatter / jeer / ridicule

translation equivalent(s): gossip

Examples:

- 1) *Long dispela taim ol ovasis lain i **tok bilas** yumi, olsem bai yumi pundaun na bagarap stret. (Wantok no. 1914)*
T: At that time, people from abroad **gossiped** about us that we are going to fall and be destroyed.

tok bilas long

dictionary meaning(s): mock

Examples:

- 1) *May i **tok bilas long** John Kerry husat i bin stap olsem US Seketeri bilong stet, long **tok bilas long** Israel gavman olsem gutpela raitwing tru long histori bilong em. (Wantok no. 2212)*
T: May **mocked** the United States Secretary. John Kerry for **mocking** the Israeli government for being the best right-wing in its history.

tok gris

dictionary meaning(s): flatter / flattery

Examples:

- 1) *Ating ol pipel bilong yumi, i no moa aipas long **tok gris** bilong ol lida bilong yumi. (Wantok no. 1948)*
T: The eyes of our people are not blinded by the **flattery** of our leaders.

tok hait

dictionary meaning(s): secret

Examples:

- 1) *Long Ista de, Krai i save stretim ol **tok hait** bilong God na plen bilong kisim bek man. (Wantok no. 2221)*
T: On Easter, Christ fulfilled God's **secrets** and his plan to take back men.

tok i go pas

dictionary meaning(s): foreword / introduction

translation equivalent(s): preface

Examples:

- 1) *Na dispela em i as tru long priemba o **tok i go pas** bilong Konstitusen, we i tok olsem... (Wantok no. 1861)*
T: So this is the root of **preface** of the constitution which states that....

tok i tru

dictionary meaning(s): truth

Examples:

- 1) *Ol meri husat i harim tasol tok bilong Angelo olsem Jisas i kirap pinis i pulap long spirit bilong Jisas no telimautim **Tok i tru**. (Wantok no. 1860)*
T: The women who heard the angel's words that Jesus has already resurrected, being filled with the Spirit of Christ did not tell the **truth**.

tok klia

dictionary meaning(s): emphasise / explain / explanation

orthographic variation(s): tok-klia / tokklia

Examples:

- 1) *Tasol mi laik **tok klia**, i gat wanpela man husat i save long em taim em liklik mangi taim em kam stap long PNG. (Wantok no. 1941)*
T: But I would like to **emphasize** that there is a man who knew him when he was a young boy living in PNG.
- 2) *Ol Pablik Rilesens Seksen bilong Kopret Afes Dipatmen bilong Ramu NiCo i go pas long redim dispela presentesen bilong ol sumatin, na i lukim ol i givim gutpela toktok na **tok-klia** long ol sumatin na tisa long wanem wok i bin kamap inap tude. (Wantok no. 2093)*
T: Ramu Nico's Public Relations Section of the Corporate Affairs Department were responsible for organizing the student presentation, which was very informative for the students and teachers and **emphasized** on the activities that took place today.
- 3) *Ol Ramu NiCo HSE opisa i givim gutpela taim long **tokklia** long ol manmeri long ol kostal ples long wanem ol proses we Kampani i yusim long stretim ol teilings o pipia pastaim long ol i tromoi i go daun long plua bilong solwara long Basamuk Be. (Wantok no. 2218)*
T: The Ramu NiCO HSE Officer spent a good amount of time in **explaining** to the people of the coastal villages on the processes used by the company to dispose of waste tailings before they are released into the stream and later the seas of Basamuk Bay.

tok kros

dictionary meaning(s): criticise / growl / grumble / quarrel / scold

translation equivalent(s): argue

Examples:

- 1) *Ol lain long maket i tok, ol dispela polis i **tok kros** long ol lain bilong maket i save larim ol man bilong salim buai i wok long stap namel long ol na salim buai. (Wantok no. 2057)*
T: People at the market said that those police **argued** with the sellers that normally let the betelnut sellers amongst them keep doing their betelnut sales.

tok lukaut

dictionary meaning(s): warn

lexical variation(s): tok-lukaut / toklukaut

Examples:

- 1) *Em i givim **tok lukaut** long ol manmeri olsem em bai tokim ol polisman long rausim dispela liklik maket sapos ol i salim buai, daka, smuk, na ol samting Siana i mekim. (Wantok no. 2151)*
T: He/she **warned** the public the s/he will tell the police to destroy the mini market if they sell betelnut, smoke and the Asian made products.
- 2) *OFIS bilong Sif Inspekta ov Mains aninit long Mineral Risoses Atoriti (MRA) i givim bikipela helt **tok-lukaut** i go long olgeta wokman meri long maining indastri long Papua Niugini long lukautim gut helt bilong ol. (Wantok no. 2231)*
T: The Office of the Chief Inspective of Mines under the Mineral Resource Authority (MRA) has given a health **warning** to the employees of the mining industry in Papua New Guinea to look after their health.
- 3) *Not Korea i **toklukaut** olsem militeri eksasais bilong USA na Saut Korea bai i kamapim nuklia bagarap. (Wantok no. 2216)*
T: North Korea has **warned** that US and South Korea military access will cause nuclear damage.

tok nogutim

dictionary meaning(s): insult

Examples:

- 1) ***Tok nogutim**, paitim na mekim nabaut na bagarapim ol meri na ol gels i go het insait long ol bas. Long ol provins long kantri, i gat sampela hap long ol haiwe we ol raskol i save wokim stil pasin na reipim ol meri pasindia. (Wantok no. 1906)*
T: Women and girls face **insults** and physical assault inside busses. In some provinces within the country, there are places along the highway that rascals use to steal and rape female passengers.

tok orait long

dictionary meaning(s): concede

orthographic variation(s): tok-orait long / tokorait long

translation equivalent(s): permission

Examples:

- 1) *Palamen i bin **tok orait long** dispela baset taim 84 memba i bin wanbel na vot long soim wanbel. (Wantok no. 2051)*
T: The Parliament **conceded** this budget to 84 members who agreed and voted to show their compliance.
- 2) *Na em wok bilong PNG Imaigresen, Leba na tu Foren Afes na Tred long sekim ol gut na givim **tok-orait long** ol i wokim bisnis long kantri bilong yumi o nogat. (Wantok no. 2000)*
T: It is the responsibility of PNG Immigration, Labour and also Foreign Affairs and Trade to verify and give **permission** on whether they can conduct business in the country or not.
- 3) *Moa long 2,200 refuji bilong Syria i kisim **tokorait long** go sindaun long Amerika inap long 4-pela yia nau. (Wantok no. 2151)*
T: Over 2,200 refugees from Syria have been granted **permission** to settle in America in 4 years.

tok pait

dictionary meaning(s): argue / argument / controversy / dispute

orthographic variation(s): tok-orait long / tokorait long

translation equivalent(s): permission

Examples:

- 1) *BIKPELA tok pait i kamap aste namel long dipatmen bilong Fainens na Nasenel Hausing Korporesen o NHC taim Pablik Akaun Komiti o PAC siaman John Hickey askim Fainens long K70 milian rent mani bilong NHC we Fainens i bin kisim long pei bilong ol pablik seven olsem rent mani. (Wantok no. 2019)*
T: There is word of a big **argument** yesterday between the department of Finance and National Housing Corporation or NHC when the Public Accounts Committee or PAC chairman John Hickey asked the Finance about NHS's K70 million rent money, which the Finance has taken from the public servants' pay as rent money.
- 2) *PLANTI askim na tok-pait i bin kamap long palamen long wanem rot mani aninit long Nesenel Agrikalsa Developmen Plen (NADP) i bin go aut. Memba bilong Finsafen, Theodore Zurenuoc, long taim palamen I sindaun long las wik Fraide i askim Minista bilong Nesenel Plening, PaulTienstein olsem moabeta wanpela autsait lain i mas kamapim wok painimaut i go insait long mani we i bin go long NADP na wanem rot tru mani ol lain i yusim. (Wantok no. 1918)*
T: Lots of questions and **arguments** raised in the parliament on how the money under the National Agriculture Development Plan (NADP) has been released. Member of Finschhafen, Theodore Zurenouc, asked the Minister for National Planning, Paul Tienstein, when they had a parliament seating last week Friday that it is better to have someone from the outside to find out where the money has gone from NDAP and how they have used the money.
- 3) *Oposisen wantaim siaman bilong PNGSDP, Sir Mekere Mourata, i tokpait hat olsem dispela i no stret. (Wantok no. 2051)*
T: The opposition and the chairman of PNGSDP, Sir Mekere Morauta, have argued strongly that this is not right.

tok piksa

dictionary meaning(s): example / parable / saying

orthographic variation(s): tok-piksa / tokpiksa

translation equivalent(s): permission

Examples:

- 1) *Na ol i givim wanpela tok piksa long samting we i bin opim ai bilong ol na ol i traim ol arapela rot mekim pipel i gat intres long kam long peris na lotu. (Wantok no. 2087)*
T: And they gave a **parable** that was an eye opener and tried other ways to get people interested to come to the parish for mass/church.
- 2) *LONG China i gat wanpela tok-piksa em ol i save tok olsem: Sapos yu laik stat wokabaut longpela rot (tausen kilomita) yu mas stat krungutim namba wan step pastaim na muv. (Wantok no. 1982)*
T: In China there is a **saying** that if you want to make a long journey (thousand kilometres) you must take the first step and move.
- 3) *Sampela tokpiksa olsem, loa i tok sapos yu laik putim raba stem bilong gavman o witnessim wanpela gavman pepa o stet dek, yu mas lukim man husat i wok long tokaut. (Wantok no. 2013)*
T: Some **examples** or law states if you want to put a government stamp or witness government documents or a state declaration. You must see someone who works at the courthouse.

tok pilai

dictionary meaning(s): joke

orthographic variation(s): tok-pilai / tokpilai

translation equivalent(s): jokingly

Examples:

- 1) *Mama ya i sekim het tasol bikos em i ting mangki ya i **tok pilai** tasol. (Wantok no. 1986)*
T: The mother shook her head because she thought the boy was only **joking**.
- 2) *Dispela stail **tok-pilai** i gat sampela mining long en tu i stap. (Wantok no. 2016)*
T: This sort of joke too has some meaning in it.
- 3) *Tambu meri bilong Kanage harim olsem na em kirap **tokpilai** long Kanage, Ankol no ken wari, faktori i no bagarap yet. (Wantok no. 2048)*
T: When Kanage's inlaw heard it, she **jokingly** told him, "uncle, do not worry, the factory is not yet spoilt"

tok promis

dictionary meaning(s): oath / pledge / vow

orthographic variation(s): tokpromis

Examples:

- 1) *Dispela **tok promis** long kantri nau i pundaun long sait? (Wantok no. 1927)*
T: Is this the **truth** about the country is now falling apart?
- 2) *Em i bin tok klia olsem kam bek bilong en, em long luksave long wanpela **tokpromis** em i mekim long siaman bilong Roosters, Nick Politis. I bin gat sampela wari olsem Williams bai lusim Roosters kontrak sapos NRL i no bin rejistaim kontrak kwik. (Wantok no. 2001)*
T: He had clearly said that his return was based on the **promise** he made to Roosters owner, Nick Politis. There was worried that Williams would lose his Roosters contract if the NRL did not register the contract quickly.

tok save

dictionary meaning(s): announcement / information

orthographic variation(s): toksave

translation equivalent(s): inform

Examples:

- 1) *Long taim i gat senis i kamap long wanpela hap bilong lo, bai i gat pablik **tok save** i kamap na pipel i ken ritim na save. (Wantok no. 2042)*
T: When a law is changed over time, the public should be **informed** so the people can read and know it.
- 2) *Em i tok maski ol i salim aut planti **toksave** bilong ol pipel i lukautim bodi bilong olyet, planti pipel i gat pasin bilong sakim tok na i no save senisim laip bilong ol stap gut na helti. (Wantok no. 2190)*
T: He says that even though they spread **information** on how the people can take care of their body, most of them do not obey and do not change their living standards for a good and healthy life.

tok save long

dictionary meaning(s): announce

lexical variation(s): toksave long

Examples:

- 1) *Na sapos ol provinsal opis i laik kamapim ol spot ektiviti long provins, ol i mas **tok save long** ol rijonal opis bilong Papua Niugini Spots Faundesen. (Wantok no. 2057)*
T: And if the provincial offices want to create sports activities within the Province, then they should **inform** the Region offices of Papua New Guinea foundation.
- 2) *I gat ol mak bilong presa bilong blut olsem 90 pesen em nogat man i save, 10 pesen em i kam long hevi long bodi o wari na dispela em yumi ken kontrolim tasol sapos em i go bikpela em olsem hevi nau na ol Nesenel Risets institut i **toksave long** ol lain long sekim blut. (Wantok no. 2018)*
T: We a limit of blood pressure like 90 percent which no one knows, 10 percent is from body weight or worried and that we can control but if the pressure raises the National Research Institute has informed the public to have a blood test.

tok skul

dictionary meaning(s): advice / lecture / recommend / recommendation

translation equivalent(s): counselling / guidance

Examples:

- 1) *Pater Chris em peris pris bilong Nanta peris wantaim kristen komyniti i bin redim ples gut tru na ol yangpela i amamas wantaim kainkain pilai bilong reli olsem singsing, felosip, talen nait, kisim **tok skul**, Yukaris na pilai spot. (Wantok no. 1875)*
T: Fr.Chris, the Parish Priest for Namta Parish organized the youths in different fun activities, song competition, fellowship programs, talent shows, **counseling / guidance**, Eucharist celebrations and sporting activities.

tok sori

dictionary meaning(s): apologize / apology / pardon

orthographic variation(s): toksori

translation equivalent(s): counselling / guidance

Examples:

- 1) *Tkatchenko i **tok sori** long ol pipel bilong Is Nu Briten, Menesmen bilong Gurias, woklain na ol pilaia bilong ol i bagarapim tingting bilong ol. (Wantok no. 2190)*
T: Tkatchenko **apologized** to the people of New Britain, the Members of Parliament of the Gurias, the workers, and the players for damaging their reputation.
- 2) ***Toksori** long yusim rong poto wantaim Basamik SLA stori long las wik. (Wantok no. 2190)*
T: **Apology** for using the wrong photo with the Basic SIA story last week.

tok strong

dictionary meaning(s): command / emphasize / persist

Examples:

- 1) *Dokta Kombra i tok strong olsem nupela greduet tisa i mas stap long perol nau. (Wantok no. 2181)*
 T: Dr. Kombra **emphasized** that the new graduate nurses must be on the front lines now.

tok tru

dictionary meaning(s): confess / frank / honest / oath / truth

Examples:

- 1) *Papamama i kros long pikinini i mas tok tru, famili i bruk bikos papa o mama i no tok tru, komyuniti i gat hevi bikos wanpela klen o traib i no tok tru na dispela i wankain long nesenel level. (Wantok no. 2214)*
 T: Parents argue that children need to be honest. Families break down because parents are not **honest**. Communities have problems because a clan or tribe is dishonest, and this is the same at the national level.

tok tru olsem

dictionary meaning(s): assure

translation equivalent(s): state

Examples:

- 1) *Mista Awesa i tok tru olsem ol papagraun grup long Simbu i putim K67 milien kleim. (Wantok no. 2110)*
 T: Mr Awesa stated the truth about the Landowner group in Simbu that have placed a K67 million claim.

tok win

dictionary meaning(s): chatter / gossip / rumour

orthographic variation(s): tok-win / tokwin

Examples:

- 1) *Tok win i wok long raun olsem MRDC i bin givim K30 milien long gavman long yusim taim ol i bin mekim kemp long Alotau long las wik. (Wantok no. 2185)*
 T: **Rumors** had been going around that MRDC had given K30 Million to the Government to use while they were camping at Alotau Last Week.
- 2) *Gavman blong Peter O'Neil i bin traim long rausim Sif Jastis long opis long ol tok-win olsem em i no mekim gut wok bilong em. (Wantok no. 1959)*
 T: The government of Peter O'Neil tried to remove the Chief Justice from his office upon **rumors** that he wasn't performing his duty well.
- 3) *I bin gat planti tokwin i raun olsem Praitim Minista Se Michael bai no inap kam bek long wok politiks. (Wantok no. 1923)*
 T: There have been **rumors** that Prime Minister Sir Michael Somare will not come back to work as a politician.

tokaut klia

dictionary meaning(s): express

translation equivalent(s): explain

Examples:

- 1) *Siti menesa i mas **tokaut klia** long mipela long olsem wanem em i save yusim ol dispela mani bipo long em i kirap nogut na askim ol rent mani long ol bisnis haus we em inap long mekim long taim pinis, em i tok. (Wantok no. 2152)*

T: The city mayor must **explain** to us how he plans to use this money before it causes harm and asks for rent money from business houses that he can make at the end, he said.

tokaut strong

dictionary meaning(s): command / emphasize / persist

Examples:

- 1) *Tasol Dokta Webster i **tokaut strong** olsem dispela bikpela K125 milien dinau em gavman bai kisim long NASFAN em ol liklik manmeri bai bekim long bihain wantaim intares na dispela i no gutpela. (Wantok no. 1918)*

T: However, Dr Webster **emphasized** that this K125 million loan the government will get from Nasfund where the few people will repay later with interest, and this is not good.

toktok kros

dictionary meaning(s): criticism

translation equivalent(s): argument

Examples:

- 1) *Ol i bungim planti pen na hevi, **toktok kros** na tu birua tu i bin stap. (Wantok no. 2013)*

T: They experienced a lot of pain and struggle as well as **arguments** and possible danger.

tromoim mani

dictionary meaning(s): spend

translation equivalent(s): invest

Examples:

- 1) *Na invesmen o troimoim mani long edukesen nau i olsem troimoim mani long kwaliti bilong lidasip tumora, Mista Teo i tok. (Wantok no. 1887)*

T: And **investing** in education today is like investing in the quality of tomorrow's leadership, said Mr. Teo.

tumbuna meri

dictionary meaning(s): grandmother

orthographic variation(s): tumbuna-meri

translation equivalent(s): relative

Examples:

- 1) *Dispela i mekim papamama bilong em i rausim em long haus na em go stap wantaim **tumbuna meri** bilong em. (Wantok no. 2050)*
T: This made the parents to throw him out of the house, hence, he is living with his **grandmother**.

- 2) *Insait long Gogodala kastom na kalsa, ol meri em bikpela samting tru, na sapos wanpela man i marit igo long lain bilong em yet long sait bilong mama o **tumbuna-meri** em ol bikman save givim bikpela sem long em long pablik na daunim em tru. (Wantok no. 1865)*
T: Women are highly respected within the Gogodala custom and culture. If a man tries to marry a **relative** from his maternal family, he will be despised by the elders in public.

W

wanpela tasol

dictionary meaning(s): alone

translation equivalent(s): only

Examples:

- 1) *Wanpela tasol em Pater Jeffrey Forale Cp i stap laip tude. Pastaim ol bin kolim em Pater Cletus Forale husat nau i Supiria bilong ol Pesinis long kantri Vietnam. (Wantok no. 1908)*
T: There is **only** one Father Jeffrey Forale CP who is alive today. Before he was known as Father Cletus Forale and is now the head of the Pesinis in Vietnam.

wanpela tingting

dictionary meaning(s): hint

translation equivalent(s): problem

Examples:

- 1) *Na taim olgeta samting I pinis na I go bek, ples bilong yumi I go bek long taim bipo we planti pipia I stap long olgeta hap. Inap gavman i stretim ol dispela hevi yumi gat bipo ol I toktok na tu sapos ol I ken kamap long wanpela tingting na askim manmeri long wokim mes klin ap, we yumi olgeta bai I tek pat na klinim ples bilong yumi. (Wantok no. 2210)*
T: Littering has become a norm in PNG so much so that rubbish is found everywhere, not just in the cities but in the villages too. The government must investigate this **problem** by asking the public to do community service. People must take responsibility for their communities and clean up.

was gut

dictionary meaning(s): care / careful

lexical variation(s): was-gut

Examples:

- 1) *Olsem na ol pipel i mas was gut tru na noken larim dispela sik i goaut long Bogia na bagarapim kokonas industri long narapela provins na PNG. (Wantok no. 2000)*
T: With that the people of Bogia must be **careful** not let this coconut sickness go out and affect the coconut industry in another Province and PNG.
- 2) *Dispela ol Kondisen bilong DEC em i putim kamap long divelopa i mas yusim wanem gutpela rot i stap na wanem kain teknoloji na enjiniering stendet long was-gut long environment. (Wantok no. 2072)*
T: The conditions set for DEC required the developer to properly use technology and engineering standards to **care** for the environment.

wasman bilong sipsip

dictionary meaning(s): shepherd

Examples:

- 1) *Gutpela **wasman bilong sipsip** em i save lusim laip bilong em yet bilong helpim ol sipsip. (Wantok no. 2181)*
T: A good **shepherd** will sacrifice his life in order to save the sheep.

win mani

dictionary meaning(s): profit

lexical variation(s): win-mani / winmani

Examples:

- 1) *Bikpela **win mani** long Ok Tedi em go aut long 10- pela yia, taim PNGSDP i bin kamap. (Wantok no. 2016)*
T: Big **profit** from OK Tedi went out in 10 years when PNGSDP was made.
- 2) *Intanesenel nikel maket prais i pundaun long US\$28.000 i go daun US\$14,000 long wan wan tan Siaman Zhao i tok long stat bilong operesen Projek i bin bungim planti hevi na planti samting i pasim rot tasol Kampani i abrusim ol dispela hevi na i bringim kamap gut Prodaksen kwaliti na redi long bringim **win-mani** long Projek. (Wantok no. 2051)*
T: International nickel price has dropped from US\$28,00 to US\$14,000 per ton. The chairman, Mr. Zhao, has said at the start of the operation that the project has faced a lot of problems and obstacles, but the company had overcome them to bring production quality and **profit** from the project.
- 3) *Gavman i tokaut olsem winmani bilong LNG bai kam insait long 2015. Na i gat planti toktok i kamap long **winmani** bilong LNG bikos gavman i no kamapim yet lo bilong Sovren Welt Fan bilong manesim mani bilong LNG. (Wantok no. 2096)*
T: The government has announced that LNG's profit will come in in 2015. There has been a lot a dispute on LNG's **profit** because the government has not made a Sovereign Wealth Fund to manage the money.

wok bung

dictionary meaning(s): collaborate

translation equivalent(s): cooperate

orthographic variation(s): wok-bung, wokbung

Examples:

- 1) *Ol sios long Papua Niugini i tok long **wok bung** wantaim gavman long kamapim developmen long kantri. (Wantok no. 2218)*
T: The churches in Papua New Guinea are willing to **collaborate/cooperate** with the government to establish development in the country.
- 2) *BIKPELA launsing seremoni long soim ol nupela kakao klon neseri na **wok-bung** namel long Ramu NiCo wantaim Kakao Kokonas Ejensi (PNGCCIL) insait long pablik-praivet patnasip (PPP) bai kamap neks mun long Basamuk. (Wantok no. 2059)*
T: The grand launching ceremony will be held next week in Basamuk to showcase several cacaos cloning nursery and the **collaboration** of Ramu Nico with Kakao Kokonas Ejensi (PNGCCIL) within the public-private partnership.
- 3) *Mobeta Not Korea i **wokbung** wantaim ol arapela kantri na stat long helpim sindaun bilong ol pipel bilong en na maski long mekim ol program bilong kamapim ol balistik na nuklia bom. (Wantok no. 2216)*
T: It would be better if North Korea **collaborates** with other countries to assist the well-being of its citizens and stop its nuclear weapon and ballistic missile programs.

wok didiman

dictionary meaning(s): agriculture

lexical replacement(s): agrikalsa / egrikalsa

translation equivalent(s): agricultural

Examples:

- 1) *EGRIKALSA o **wok didiman** i wanpela long ol bikpela sekta olsem, helt, edukesen, rot, pawa, komyunikesen na wok bisnis long sampela ol kantri. (Wantok no. 2135)*
T: The **Agriculture** sector is as important as other sectors like Health, Education, Works, Communication and Business.
- 2) *Na mipela i luksave long dispela wok bilong ol meri Papua Niugini long wok bilong **Agrikalsa** na long kamapim kaikai, em i tok. (Wantok no. 1968)*
T: We acknowledge the work done by Papua New Guinean women in the **agriculture** sector in producing food.
- 3) *Sampela bai i tok olsem bipo i gat ol patrol opisa na helt na **egrikalsa** na ol arapela gavman opisa i save lukluk raun i go long wan wan distrik na gavman stesin na sekap sapos ol wok bilong gavman i orait o nogat. (Wantok no. 2037)*
T: In the past there were patrol officers, health officers, **agricultural** officers and other government officers who were in charge of each district and government station and ensured the effective administration of government services.

wok fama

dictionary meaning(s): agriculture

Examples:

- 1) *City Mission i gat vejtebol fam bilong em long Magi Haiwe ausait long Mosbi siti we i save givim trening i go long ol yut long **wok fama** na groim ol kumu long salim na kisim mani long lukautim ol yet. (Wantok no. 2036)*
T: City Mission has its own vegetable farm on Magi Highway outside Mosby City that trains youths in **agriculture** and growing cucumbers to make a living.

wok gaden

dictionary meaning(s): gardening

Examples:

- 1) *Ol samting bilong mekim kaikai na storim kaikai em Institut i soim insait long hol na ol samting bilong mekim **wok gaden** na faming em ol soim long ausait long ol manmeri i lukim, lainim na save. (Wantok no. 1864)*
T: Institution has shown how to prepare and store food in the hall and **gardening** and farming tools are shown outside for people to see and learn.

wok bilong painim

dictionary meaning(s): search

Examples:

- 1) *RAMU Nikel kampani (NiCo) o MCC Limited i **wok long painim** ol rot bilong kamapim Sios- Praivet poroman wok long divelopim Madang Provins. (Wantok no. 1885)*
T: Ramu Nickel (NiCo) or MCC Limited is **searching** for ways to develop church-private partnership work to develop Madang Province.

wok painimaut

dictionary meaning(s): investigation / research

orthographic variation(s): wok-painimaut / wokpainimaut

translation equivalent(s): investigate

Examples:

- 1) *Wanpela kampani, Nautilus Minerals i wok long redi nau long kam mekim **wok painimaut** long solwara bilong yumi long Papua Niugini. (Wantok no. 2050)*
T: The company, Nautilus Minerals, is preparing to carry out **research** on our seas in Papua New Guinea.
- 2) *OL DOKTA bilong enimal long Nesenel Egrikalsa na Kwarantintin Atoriti (NAQIA) las wik i bin stap long Rempi viles long Not Kos Rot (NCR), Madang long mekim **wok-painimaut** long wanpela kain sik we i wok long kilim indai ol pik long dispela ples. (Wantok no. 2218)*
T: Animal doctors from the National Agriculture and Quarantine Authority (NAQIA) were in Rempi village, at North Coast Road (NCR), in Madang province last week, to **investigate** an unknown disease that was causing the death of pigs in that area.
- 3) *Mekim **wokpainimaut** na kisim husat i stap insait long polis i autim we ol dispela gan i stap. (Wantok no. 2016)*
T: Conduct an **investigation** to those that are in the police force, and they will reveal where those guns are.

wokim plen

dictionary meaning(s): gardening

Examples:

- 1) *Olsem na em i **wokim plen** bilong em olsem namel long 5- 10-pela yia, em bai givim helt kea sevis i kam long PNG na tu, ol yangpela pipel bilong Australia i ken mekim ol wok sevis insait long ol komyuniti. (Wantok no. 1875)*
T: Therefore, he did a **draft** of 5-10 years to give Health services to Papua New Guinea and for young people of Australia to come help and give service to the community.

wokim rong

dictionary meaning(s): guilty / immortal

Examples:

- 1) *Ol samting mi lainim em bilong helpim ol man i **wokim rong**, i no bilong paitim ol tasol em bilong skulim ol long gutpela samting. (Wantok no. 2107)*
T: The things that I learnt is to help people who are **immoral**, not to beat them but to teach them to do good things.

wokim senis

dictionary meaning(s): correction

translation equivalent(s): amend

Examples:

- 1) *Em i tok bikpela samting long wok bilong painim gutpela sindaun na bel isi pasin em Bogenvil Pis Agrimen na ol narapela wok bilong mama Loa olsem Pat 14 bilong Nesenel Mama Loa (ol bin **wokim senis** long en), na Ogenik Loa long Pis Biding long Bogenvil we i bin givim strong long ligel sait long Agrimen. (Wantok no. 2011)*
T: It is a great thing to find peace and harmony that Bougainville Peace Agreement and other functions of the constitution, like Part 14 of the National Constitution (as **amended**) and the Organic Law for building Peace that strengthens legal agreement

Summary in English

The purpose of this dissertation is to identify and analyze circumlocutions in Tok Pisin in a corpus of newspaper texts from the newspaper *Wantok Niuspepa*. The excerpted circumlocutions are analyzed in terms of their frequency, keywords, origins of their elements, orthographic variations and English substitutions. Moreover, the grammatical structures of circumlocutions, semantic categories, metonymies and metaphors as well as the elements of the Melanesian worldview found in circumlocutions are investigated.

To conduct the study, circumlocutions were collected from three dictionaries and two online sources. In addition, the technique of lexical bundles extraction was applied to identify circumlocutions not found in the dictionaries. Circumlocutions occurring in the corpus at least 7 times were taken into consideration. A frequency list consisting of 351 circumlocutions was compiled.

It has been found that circumlocutions in Tok Pisin have compound-like structures. They are also simple circumlocutions, only a small number of them are complex circumlocutions. Furthermore, circumlocutions contain lexemes coming not only from English, but also from Tolai, Fijian, Samoan and other languages. Moreover, circumlocutions can vary in terms of orthography. The lexemes that make up circumlocutions can be written separately, as a one word or with a hyphen. It is also worth mentioning that some circumlocutions are replaced by lexemes borrowed from English.

As regards the meanings of circumlocutions, nominal circumlocutions form 23 semantic categories and replace the names of, among others, buildings and rooms, qualities and misfortunes. Verbal circumlocutions form 5 semantic categories and are mainly used to describe actions and communicative acts. Adjectival circumlocutions form 6 semantic categories and are used to describe emotions and time. Adverbial circumlocutions form 3 categories and describe time, manner and intensity of an activity or phenomenon. The formation of circumlocutions may involve metonymy (e.g. PART FOR WHOLE) and metaphor. For metaphors, the following target domains have been identified: EMOTIONS, COMMUNICATION AND LANGUAGE, THINKING, HUMAN BODY, HEALTH, PLANTS, and COMPANIES AND INSTITUTIONS.

When analyzing elements of the Melanesian worldview, eight values have been identified in circumlocutions: work, compensation, ritual, food, education, ancestors and clan. The values of work and compensation are found to be the most significant. Nevertheless, the other values are no less important, as they emphasize living in harmony with nature and respecting ancestors.

The results of the research demonstrate that circumlocution is a linguistic phenomenon still found in Tok Pisin. Nevertheless, complex periphrases are rare. Furthermore, it would be worth noting that the formation of circumlocutions may involve metonymy and metaphor. Such expressions help to express bodily, neural and socio-cultural experiences.

Summary in Polish

Celem niniejszej rozprawy jest identyfikacja i analiza peryfraz (wyrażeń omownych) w języku tok pisin w korpusie tekstów prasowych pochodzących z gazety *Wantok Niuspepa*. Wyeksplikowane peryfrazy zostały przeanalizowane pod kątem ich częstości wystąpień w korpusie, używanych w nich słowach kluczowych, pochodzenia słów budujących peryfrazy, ortograficznego zróżnicowania peryfraz oraz pojedynczych słów pochodzących z języka angielskiego, które zastępują peryfrazy. Ponadto oprócz frekwencji przeanalizowano struktury gramatyczne peryfraz, kategorie semantyczne, metonimie i metafory oraz elementy melanezyjskiego obrazu świata występujące w peryfrazach.

Do przeprowadzenia badania zebrano peryfrazy z trzech słowników wydanych tradycyjnie oraz dwóch źródeł internetowych. Ponadto zastosowano technikę ekstrakcji zbitek leksykalnych w utworzonym korpusie, aby wyekscerpować peryfrazy nieodnotowane w słownikach. Wyselekcjonowano peryfrazy, których częstość wystąpień wynosi co najmniej 7. W ten sposób sporządzono listę frekwencyjną składającą się z 351 peryfraz.

W wyniku przeprowadzonej analizy stwierdzono, że peryfrazy w języku tok pisin mają głównie strukturę złożzeń wyrazowych oraz że są one peryfrazami prostymi, a jedynie niewielki odsetek peryfraz to peryfrazy złożone. Ponadto wykazano, że wyrażenia omowne budowane są przez leksemy pochodzące nie tylko z języka angielskiego, ale również z języków lokalnych m.in. z języka tolajskiego, fidżyjskiego i samońskiego. Co więcej, peryfrazy mogą różnić się pod względem ortografii: leksemy składające się na peryfrazy mogą być zapisywane oddzielnie, łącznie lub z myślnikiem. Warto również nadmienić, że część peryfraz zastępowana jest przez leksemy zapożyczone z języka angielskiego.

Analiza semantyczna pozwoliła ustalić, że peryfrazy rzeczownikowe tworzą 23 kategorie semantyczne oraz zastępują nazwy, m.in. budynków i pomieszczeń, właściwości oraz katastrof. Peryfrazy czasownikowe tworzą 5 kategorii semantycznych i używane są głównie do opisu czynności i aktów komunikacyjnych. Peryfrazy przymiotnikowe tworzą 6 kategorii semantycznych i używane są do opisywania emocji i czasu. Peryfrazy przysłówkowe tworzą 3 kategorie i opisują czas, sposób oraz wskazują na intensywność wykonywanej czynności lub zjawiska. Ponadto w formowaniu peryfraz mogą mieć swój udział metonimie (np. CAŁOŚĆ ZA CAŁOŚĆ) oraz metafory. W przypadku metafor zidentyfikowano następujące domeny docelowe: EMOCJE, KOMUNIKACJA I JĘZYK, MYŚLENIE, LUDZKIE CIAŁO, ZDROWIE, ROŚLINNOŚĆ oraz FIRMY I INSTYTUCJE.

W toku analizy elementów melanezyjskiego obrazu świata zidentyfikowano w peryfrazach osiem wartości: praca, kompensacja, rytuał, jedzenie, edukacja, przodkowie oraz klan. Spośród tych wartości najbardziej znaczące okazały się wartości pracy oraz kompensaty. Niemniej jednak pozostałe wartości nie są mniej ważne, ponieważ podkreślają życie w harmonii z naturą i w poszanowaniu przodków.

Na podstawie przeprowadzonych badań można stwierdzić, że peryfraz jest zjawiskiem językowym nadal często występującym w języku tok pisin. Ponadto warto byłoby zwrócić uwagę na fakt, że wyrażenia peryfrastyczne są tworzone również przy użyciu mechanizmów metonimicznych i metaforycznych. Takie peryfrazy pomagają wyrażać cielesne, neurologiczne i społeczno-kulturowe doświadczenia.

OŚWIADCZENIA

Ja, niżej podpisany oświadczam, iż przedłożona praca doktorska została wykonana przeze mnie samodzielnie, nie narusza praw autorskich, interesów prawnych i materialnych innych osób.

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data

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własnoręczny podpis

Oświadczam, że wersja papierowa pracy doktorskiej pt. Circumlocution in Tok Pisin zgodna jest z wersją elektroniczną załączoną na płycie CD, zapisaną w formacie Microsoft Word (.DOC) i Adobe Acrobat (.PDF).

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data

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podpis autora pracy doktorskiej

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podpis promotora pracy doktorskiej