10.

On the Acquisition of Native Speakers by a Language

GILLIAN SANKOFF AND SUZANNE LABERGE

This chapter deals with some changes currently taking place in the structure and use of the language known to linguists as Neo-Melanesian, Melanesian Pidgin, and New Guinea Pidgin,[1] and called Tok Pisin by its speakers. We describe in particular a number of changes in the grammatical structures used to indicate future time, and we link this change to the passage of Tok Pisin from a second-language *lingua franca* to the first language of a generation of urban New Guineans.

1. BACKGROUND OF TOK PISIN

New Guinea Tok Pisin is considered to be a descendant of the widespread South Pacific pidgin known in the nineteenth century as Beach-la-Mar (Churchill 1911)[2] and to have gained a foothold in New Britain,

This paper was first published in *Kivung* 6 (1973): 32–47. It appears here with minor editorial revisions. A preliminary version appeared in DeCamp and Hancock, eds., 1974: 73–85. We wish to thank all of those who helped in the preparation of this paper, particularly the residents of Lae who allowed us to record them and their families. Special thanks are due to Col. Harrington of the Pacific Island Regiment, who granted us access to Igam Barracks and extended many courtesies which were much appreciated; to Rev. Taylor and Rev. McCormack, for many kindnesses; and above all to the numerous residents of Igam Barracks who welcomed us in their homes. We also thank Eleanor Herasimchuk Wynn of the Language Behavior Research Laboratory, University of California, Berkeley, for assistance in compiling the data.

1. The standard source on the language has for many years been the work of Hall (1943, 1952, 1955a, 1955b), who used the term Neo-Melanesian, as did Mihalic (1957). Wurm (1971b) and Laycock (1970a) speak of New Guinea Pidgin; Mihalic (1971) and Brash (1971) of Melanesian Pidgin.

2. Churchill's book is based on a number of late nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century publications citing examples of the Beach-la-Mar "jargon." Despite the unevenness of his sources, examination of the many sentences compiled by Churchill reveals an unexpectedly close relationship with

the location of the German capital of New Guinea at one period, by the 1880s (Salisbury 1967; Laycock 1970b). The extreme linguistic diversity of New Guinea, with approximately seven hundred languages for its population of two and one half million, gave Tok Pisin a selective advantage in the colonial situation. It was, in fact, very rapidly adopted as a *lingua franca* among New Guineans having no other language in common and suddenly finding themselves in a number of new situations where communication was necessary: as laborers on plantations, crews on coastal vessels, domestic servants and other employees of government officers, and a host of other situations created by the colonial system. Most students of Tok Pisin maintain that from its beginning, it has been used primarily for communication among New Guineans rather than for communication between New Guineans and Europeans.

This very useful *lingua franca* function of Tok Pisin has been the principal reason for the way it has spread and flourished, presently numbering more than a half million speakers, more than double the number of New Guineans having any other language in common (Laycock 1970a: x; Table 5-2, p. 123). An important reason why Tok Pisin has had a selective advantage over the other languages with which one might say it has been in competition (the approximately seven hundred Papuan and Austronesian languages, German, Japanese, English) may be that it is easier to learn as a second language. Like other pidgin languages, it has been, up to the present, nobody's native language, but rather a second language for all its speakers. A language relatively easy to learn because, also like other pidgin languages, it had in comparison with natural languages a relatively limited vocabulary, relatively few grammatical categories, and a relative lack of grammatical complexity. This "relative ease of learning" contention is based not on the experience of native speakers of English in learning Tok Pisin, but on reports by many Papuans and New Guineans who have learned it as adolescents or adults.

2. Pidginization versus Creolization

Hymes (1971) has recently proposed that pidginization as a process involves reduction and simplification of language structure that can be directly related to the reduction of linguistic (communicative) function. Thus the kinds of simplifications mentioned above generally appear to

---

Tok Pisin, a large number of the words and usages being still current in the language. It should be noted that there was also some input to Tok Pisin from the speech of returned laborers from the Queensland sugar fields, and for further historical details cf. Laycock (1970b) and Salisbury (1967).

be introduced in the interests of facilitating communication in a limited range of communication situations. That is, the pidgin is not used by anyone for the whole range of communication situations in which he/she participates: everyone has his/her native language to fall back on. This relationship between functional (communicative) and structural (grammatical) aspects can be characterized as follows:

> *Invariance in form,* rather than allomorphic variation; *invariant relation between form and grammatical function,* rather than derivational and inflectional declensional and conjugational variation; *largely monomorphemic words,* rather than inflected and derived words; *reliance on overt word order;* all have in common that they minimize the knowledge a speaker must have, and the speed with which he must decode, to know what in fact has grammatically happened. (Hymes 1971: 73)

Hymes goes on to say that, conversely, creolization as a process involves expansion and complication of language structure, again directly related to the expansion of functions of the language. Using the traditional definition of a creole as a pidgin which has acquired native speakers, Labov (ms., 1971) has also recently argued that creolization involves concomitant complication of structure, because pidgins do not seem to be grammatically adequate to function as natural languages, i.e., languages with native speakers. He says:

> Full competence in a pidgin grammar is still less than competence in one's native grammar. . . . we have objective evidence that pidgins do not provide all of the features which native speakers seem to demand in a language. When pidgins acquire native speakers, they change.

The goal of our research on Tok Pisin was not only to study the structure of the language as it is presently spoken in New Guinea but also to systematically investigate its contexts of use, including the range of competence displayed by different speakers. As such, it was important for us to make a series of recordings of Tok Pisin as it is actually used, over a wide range of communication situations. We hoped to discover systematic patterning of variation with respect to grammar and use, which would indicate the directions of linguistic change in the light of changes in usage.

3. Present Day Use of Tok Pisin

During the last twenty years or so, Tok Pisin has undergone an impressive widening of its social and communicative functions. It has acquired the status of one of New Guinea's three official languages, and has been

since 1964, the date of the inception of the first House of Assembly, the predominant language used in parliamentary debates. It has acquired two new channels other than the verbal. First, it has become a language of literacy, and is used in a host of newspapers, information bulletins, and the like. Second, it is the dominant radio language, though there are broadcasts in other languages as well. More important still, it has acquired a generation of native speakers. These people are the ever more numerous urbanites, more specifically, the children who have grown up in one of New Guinea's urban communities. Their parents may be from different areas, having no language in common except Tok Pisin, which is used as the household language. Even if the parents do have a native language in common, children growing up in towns frequently have little more than a partial and passive command of it. Parents commonly say: "The children only understand simple commands like when we tell them to go and get something, and they never answer us in our own language, but only in Tok Pisin." On the basis of observations we made during June–August 1971 (principally in Lae, but also in Wewak and Port Moresby), it appears that the native speakers of Tok Pisin are, by and large, under twenty years of age, and that their numbers are growing very rapidly.

4. Native Speakers (Creolization) and Linguistic Change

The fact that Tok Pisin is presently undergoing creolization (or depidginization)[3] enables us to examine the ways in which the social and communicative functions of a language may be related to its structure. We thus attempted to discover in what respects the Tok Pisin spoken by this new generation of native speakers is different from that spoken by their (nonnative speaker) parents, in order to understand the kinds of changes that are taking place in the grammar of the language as it becomes a creole (i.e., a natural language). We hypothesized that native speakers in general tend to have little patience with or respect for a language with few grammatical categories, limited lexicon, virtually no morphophonemic reduction rules, insufficient redundancy, and little opportunity for stylistic maneuver. (These are of course *relative* characteristics; cf. also Kay and Sankoff 1973. The fact that Tok Pisin has been widely and extensively used in a great variety of communicative situations for several generations is sufficient explanation for its considerable stylistic resources, as clearly evidenced by Brash (1971), by the numerous literary works produced in the past five or six years,

3. The terms "creolization" and "depidginization" are used here synonymously.

and by listening to any fluent Tok Pisin-speaking politician. Our goal was to investigate what particular aspects of grammar appear to be changing in the language as spoken by native speakers.)

There is a great range of competence in Tok Pisin among speakers who have acquired it at different ages and different historical periods, and who use it for different communicative purposes: the newly arrived migrant in town (who at first may speak little and halting Pisin); the ex-*luluai* or *tultul*[4] in villages long used to government patrols, who may have learned their Pisin as plantation laborers in German times; the young generation of town-born children, for whom it may be a first language. Though we made recordings of all these and many more, we concentrated on families in which Tok Pisin is used as the normal language in the home. The parents were all fluent speakers of Tok Pisin, people who had lived in town for many years and who had for a long time spoken Tok Pisin rather than their native language. In looking for differences between their speech and that of their children, for whom Tok Pisin is a native language, it may be too much to expect, after only one incomplete generation, discrete, qualitative differences. Though more obvious differences might easily be found by comparing, say, new immigrants with the urban children, we wanted to specifically examine differences between *fluent* second-language speakers (the parents) and first-generation native speakers (the children). In making some preliminary comparisons, we have observed a number of tendencies which may represent ongoing changes in the language.

The children speak with much greater speed and fluency, involving a number of morphophonemic reductions as well as a reduction in the number of syllables characteristically receiving primary stress. Whereas an adult will say, for the sentence "I am going home,"

(1) Mì gó lòng háus;

a child will often say

(2) Mì gò l:áus;

three syllables rather than four, with one primary stress rather than two.

The particular phenomenon we examine in this chapter is related to a further generalization of Labov's. He says (m.s., 1971: 29):

> It is not at all obvious that a pidgin will develop obligatory tense markers when it becomes a native language. Yet this has hap-

4. Government-appointed "headman" and "interpreter" respectively, under the earlier system of administration. These officials have been replaced by a system of elected Local Government Councils.

> pened in case after case. . . . When pidgins become creoles, the system of optional adverbs gives way to an obligatory tense marker next to the verb.

After examining a corpus of tapes and transcriptions of second-language speakers of Tok Pisin collected by Gillian Sankoff during the 1960s, Labov suggested that the adverb *bai* is presently shifting to the status of a future marker. This, he said, is evidenced by:

1. its reduction from *baimbai* to *bai* (a change which has almost gone to completion, *baimbai* being rare in current usage);
2. its loss of obligatory stress;
3. its occurence with adverbs having a future meaning, e.g.,

(3) klostu bai i dai 'soon he will die';

(4) bihain bai i kambek gen 'later it will come back again'

4. its apparent tendency to be placed next to the main verb, after the subject, rather than at the beginning of the sentence or in presubject position.

We will deal with these four points in the light of our corpus of native and nonnative speakers, in order to see whether the usage of *bai* by the two generations of speakers indicates change in its grammatical function. The corpus on which the present discussion is based consists of 395 examples of *bai* in the speech of eighteen people: nine children and adolescents, between the ages of five and seventeen, and nine adults, parents of seven of the children, and between the ages of approximately twenty-five and forty-five. The children include four boys and five girls; the adults, four men and five women. Recordings were made of mealtime conversations among families, children's play, gossip, and storytelling (including the recounting of events), and our examples are drawn from all these sources.

4.1. *Baimbai* > *bai* in Historical Perspective

Among 395 cases, involving several hours of taped speech of various kinds, we found only five instances of *baimbai,* pronounced [bə'mbai] or [bə'bai]. These five cases occurred in the speech of three of the nine adults in our sample; there were no instances in the speech of any of the nine children.

Though *baimbai* is very infrequent in the ordinary conversational speech of the adults we observed, and nonexistent in the usage of the children, it is still used regularly within the speech community in some contexts, notably in radio broadcasts. Though it appears to be disappearing today, *baimbai* (< English 'by and by') was most probably the original form. Exactly when the reduction process from *baimbai*

		Approx. age	No. of cases
children	J.M.	5	20
	C.W.	6	15
	S.D.	8	47
	W.D.	11	12
	P.T.	11	21
	L.X.	11	12
	J.B.	12	25
	J.P.	15	20
	L.Z.	17	20
Total			192
adults	Mrs. M.	25–30	22
	Mr. W.	40	21
	Mrs. W.	25–30	20
	Mr. D.	35	20
	Mrs. D.	35	24
	Mr. T.	45	20
	Mrs. T.	30	24
	Mr. X.	40	20
	Mrs. Z.	35	32
Total			203
Grand Total			395

TABLE 10-1. Children and adults in the sample. Adults are parents of children with corresponding second initials.

to *bai* was initiated is very unclear from the existing documentation. Churchill (1911) contains no mention of *bai*, nor does Mihalic (1957), for over a decade the most reliable and respected source. Both of these do, however, list *baimbai*, as does Murphy (1966: 59), noted as "*adv.*, afterwards, later, in time, then (future)." Murphy, however, also lists *bai*, noted as "*conj.*, then, after, that, in order that, in consequence, so that." By 1971 (p. 63), Mihalic had added *bai*, listed with *baimbai* as being derived from English 'by and by', and having the same range of meanings (though for the 'in order to' meaning, the only example cited is that of *bai*).

Though it would seem logical that *bai* is the result of a reduction of *baimbai* (involving deletion of the first, rather than the second syllable), the two forms appear to have existed side by side for a long time. Ann Chowning (personal communication) reports that in areas of New Britain in the 1950s, *bai* was the exclusively used form, with *baimbai*

appearing later as a novel introduction. We hope that further research into historical sources will help to shed light on this problem.

It is clear that for our subjects the change has already taken place, *baimbai* having virtually disappeared from ordinary conversation. Whether it can be said that *bai* has in fact become the regular "future" marker will depend, however, on a more detailed study of time relations in the verb system as a whole. *Laik,* for example, is frequently mentioned in the literature (Murphy 1966; Mihalic 1971; Laycock 1970a) as an auxiliary indicating immediate future. Though we have not examined *laik* in any detail, we find its occurrence to be very frequent in our sample, in many cases carrying the "immediate future" meaning, as in the following example from our corpus:

(5) . . . nait, em i no inap kaikai, em *bai* pilei long graun igo igo igo nait tru nau, *bai* em i *laik* slip *bai* em *bai* kaikai.
'. . . at night he didn't eat, he would play in the dirt right up until the middle of the night, until he would be about to go to sleep, then he would eat.' (S.D.)

The speaker employs a complicated tense structure in this story, using unmarked forms (not shown in this extract) for single completed actions in the past, *bai* to indicate habitual actions in the past, and *bai* with *laik* to indicate habitual being about to do something in the past. *Ken* has also been mentioned (Wurm 1971b; Laycock 1970a) as an indicator of future time; however, its use as a future marker by Lae area residents we recorded (including people from many parts of Papua New Guinea) was not sufficiently frequent for the type of quantitative analysis which follows.

4.2. Stress

Our data on *bai* indicate that it never receives primary stress. Transcribing the stress pattern for all sentences containing *bai,* we found that we could, however, distinguish three stress levels: secondary stress, where *bai* receives full syllabic weight, analogous to stressed syllables in nouns or pronouns; tertiary stress, where *bai* still retains syllabic weight, with stress equivalent to "unstressed" syllables in nouns or adjectives, or to most prepositions. The fourth stress level involves a reduction of the vowel nucleus to [ə], or even its disappearance, so that *bai* is barely if at all distinguishable as a syllable. Examples of each of these levels appear as examples 6, 7, and 8 below:

(6) Em *bai* yu kam, *bai* yu dai. (Mrs. T.) 'You come; you'll die.'

(7) Ating *bai* klostu belo. (Mrs. D.) 'It must be nearly noon.'

(8) Suga bilong mi klostu *bai* [bə] finis nau. (C.W.) 'My sugar cane is nearly finished now.'

A tabulation of the number of cases in which *bai* receives each of the three stress levels indicates that the children show a definite tendency to place less stress on *bai* than do the adults. Figures presented in Table 10-2 show that whereas adult usage is almost evenly split between levels 3 and 2, level 2 predominating slightly, children are twice as likely to use level 3 for *bai* as level 2. Children also show a significant tendency to reduce *bai* to [bə] (level 4), a phenomenon virtually absent among the adults.

Considering the data individually we can see from the plot in Figure 10-1 that the results of Table 10-2 are not simply an artifact of aggregating the data. There is a definite slope from left to right, and from lower to higher percentages, indicating that nonnative speakers (the adults) show a much greater tendency to stress *bai* than do native speakers (the children). The use of minimal stress (level 4) was used only twice by adults (two speakers), whereas five of the nine children used it a total of twenty times.

The data on stress support the hypothesis that the grammatical function of *bai* is changing from that of an adverb to that of a tense marker, as we would expect the latter to carry less stress. As a marker, however, we might also expect *bai* to show another characteristic of markers, i.e., to exhibit high redundancy.

4.3. Redundancy

We found numerous examples of *bai* being used in sentences containing either adverbs of time such as *klostu* 'soon' (cf. examples 7 and 8 above), *bihain* 'later', and *nau* 'right now' (including immediate future), or other indications of future time. In these cases, *bai* is not semantically necessary, future meaning already being present in the adverb or adverbial phrase.

Stress level	Children	Adults
2	29.1%	51.7%
3	60.4%	47.3%
4	10.4%	1.0%
Total cases	192	203

TABLE 10-2. Differential stress on *bai* for adults and children.

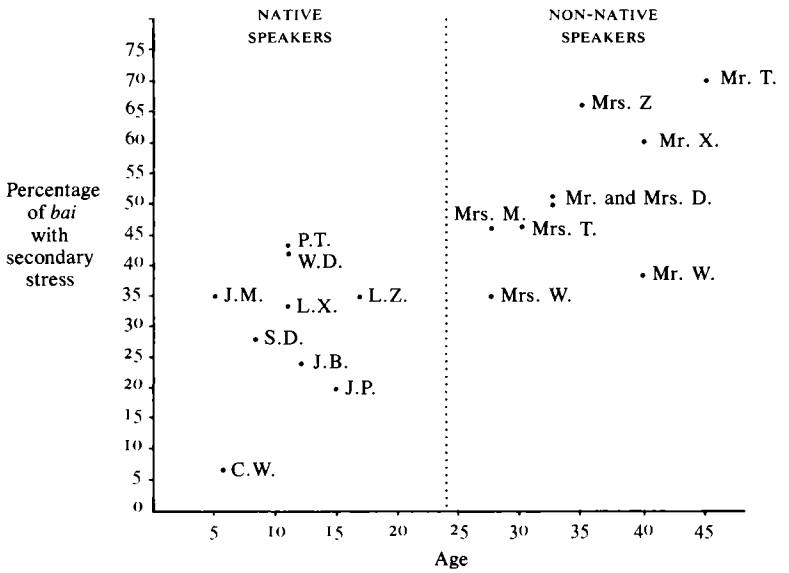

Figure 10-1. Percentage of cases of *bai* showing secondary stress for nine children and nine adults.

The redundant character of *bai* is also evident where it is used many times within a single sentence (as an alternative to the earlier system of marking a sentence, or even a longer segment, only once, usually at the beginning, for time, and using any following verbs in their invariant stem forms). The redundant, obligatory character of *bai* can be seen in the following quotation:

> (9) Pes pikinini ia *bai* yu go wok long,—*bai* yu stap ia na *bai* yu stap long banis kau bilong mi na *bai* taim mi dai *bai* yu lukautim na yu save wokim susu na *bai* yu givim long, wonem ia, stua, na *bai* ol i baim. 'You, first son, will go and work in,—you'll remain here and you'll stay on my cattle farm and when I die you'll look after it, and you'll be doing the milking and you'll send it to the, uh, store, and they will buy it.' (S.D.)

In this extract, every verb except *wokim* (qualified by the auxiliary *save*, meaning 'keep on doing') carries the marker *bai*. Application of the *bai* marker to every verb in compound sentences was extremely regular for all subjects studied, both adults and children, there being very few exceptions to this rule.

Dependent clauses in conditional constructions also appear to

take *bai* obligatorily,[5] whether the independent clause contains *sapos* 'if' or not, as in examples 10 and 11.

(10) Sapos yu no lusim mi, *bai* mi kikim yu nau. 'If you don't let me go, I'll kick you.' (J.P.)

(11) Givim man i kaikai, em *bai* i dai. 'If you give it to somebody to eat, he'll die.' (Mr. T.)

Bai seems to be redundant and obligatory for both adults and children in the present sample, and we detected no significant differences in usage with respect to these characteristics. It is probable that the older generation of speakers, people in their sixties, do use *bai* less frequently, and we plan to examine our corpus of older speakers for this phenomenon.

4.4. Position of *bai* in the Sentence

(*Baim*)*bai* functioning as an adverb of time was free to occupy many positions in the sentence. It appears, however, that the clause-initial position has traditionally been favored. Mihalic (1957: 43) puts *baim-bai* (glossed as 'in the future' or 'after a while') in a list of adverbs "to be found only at the beginning of a sentence." His 1971 edition modifies the position, putting it in a list of adverbs "found usually at the beginning of a sentence." If we interpret Mihalic's statement to include clause-initial as well as sentence-initial position, we find that all of the eleven examples of *baimbai* cited by Churchill (1911: 37) are of this type.

What is crucial in the switch to a marker function, however, is the position of (*baim*)*bai* with respect not to the sentence but to the verb. Here there appear to be three principal alternatives:

i. *bai* + NP + VP (NP = any noun phrase other than a pronoun);
ii. *bai* + pronoun + VP;
iii. *bai* + VP,

verbs normally being preceded by the predicate marker *i*. Of the eleven examples given by Churchill, four are of the first type. In our corpus, however, the frequency of this type is very low, as shown in Table 10-3. Cases where *bai* is separated from the verb phrase by more than a pronoun form only 5.9 percent of the total number of classifiable cases, twenty-two in all.

5. *Bai* indeed has broader functions than simply marking the future, as evidenced in example 6 above. An analysis of the whole tense-aspect system might show that it could be analyzed as an irrealis marker (cf. Bickerton 1975b).

	No. of cases
bai + NP + VP	22
bai + pronoun + VP	199
$\left\{\begin{matrix}\text{NP}\\ \text{pronoun}\\ \emptyset\end{matrix}\right\}$ + bai + VP	151
Total	372[a]

TABLE 10-3. Occurrences of *bai* in different positions.

[a] The twenty-three remaining cases were unclassifiable due to hesitations occurring after *bai*.

Looking at the data in detail, we can observe strong and consistent patterns of ordering with respect to the various pronouns and to the type of noun phrase involved. Table 10-4 indicates that virtually all the pronouns display a marked tendency to occur immediately adjacent to the verb phrase, with *bai* preceding the pronoun. This is the case for *mi, yu, ol, yumi, yu(tu)pela,* and *mi(tu)pela*. Of the fifteen cases where

subject NP	Order of *bai*	
	bai + $\left\{\begin{matrix}\text{NP}\\ \text{Pro}\end{matrix}\right\}$ + VP	$\left\{\begin{matrix}\text{NP}\\ \text{Pro}\\ \emptyset\end{matrix}\right\}$ + *bai* + VP
mi	78	7
yu	52	1
ol	31	1
$\left\{\begin{matrix}\left\{\begin{matrix}mi\\ yu\end{matrix}\right\}\langle tu\rangle pela\\ yumi\end{matrix}\right\}$	22	6
subtotal	183	15
em	11	47
NP	22	36[a]
∅ subj.	—	53
subtotal	33	136
Total	216	151

TABLE 10-4. Order of *bai* with respect to various types of subject NP.

[a] Five of these cases also contain a *bai* preceding the noun phrase, of the pattern *bai* + NP + *bai* + VP.

NP =	Order of *bai*			Total
	bai + NP	NP + *bai*	*bai* + NP + *bai*	
1 word	8	9	—	17
2 words	7	7	—	14
3 words	1	7	2	10
4 words	1	6	—	7
5+ words	—	2	3	5
Total	17	31	5	53

TABLE 10-5. Ordering of *bai* by number of phonological words in the subject NP.

bai was interposed between one of these pronouns and the verb phrase, eleven were found in the speech of children. *Em* is the only pronoun which tends to precede *bai*,[6] as do noun phrases.

Table 10-5 indicates that the number of phonological words in the subject noun phrase has an influence on the position of *bai*. In effect, *bai* rarely precedes a noun phrase longer than two phonological words, and when it does, the speaker frequently inserts another *bai* immediately before the verb phrase. Noun phrases composed of one or two phonological words are almost equally likely to precede or follow *bai;* longer noun phrases almost always precede *bai.*

Table 10-6 adds further clarification, showing that the relationships of Table 10-5 can perhaps be better understood in terms of grammatical conditioning. Noun phrases consisting of a single noun, a noun plus modifier, or a pronoun plus modifier can be either preceded or followed by *bai,* but more complex noun phrases are always followed by *bai.* It is interesting to note that subject noun phrases consisting of possessives (structures containing *bilong*) behave in the same way as subject noun phrases consisting of embeddings (i.e., containing surface verbs). Neither of these constructions occurs with a single preceding *bai.*

No significant differences with respect to the ordering of *bai* can be observed between the children and the adults. All speakers appear to share a rule that categorically inserts *bai* in immediate pre-VP position in the case of complex subject noun phrases, and which operates

6. The status of *em* as a pronoun that behaves similarly to the others is already dubious on other grounds. Its optional character permits its frequent omission, which accounts for the majority of Ø-subject sentences in Table 10-4. See also chapter 12 below.

Structure of NP	Order of *bai*			Total
	bai + NP	NP + *bai*	*bai* + NP + *bai*	
{mod. + Pro / ⟨mod.⟩ + N}	15	16	1	32
{mod. + Pro / ⟨mod.⟩ + N} + adv.	2	1	1	4
{N / Pro} + *bilong* + {N / Pro}	—	8	2	10
{N / Pro} + embedding	—	6	1	7
Total	17	31	5	53

TABLE 10-6. Ordering of *bai* by grammatical structure of subject NP.

with a probability of approximately 0.5 in the case of other nonpronominal subject noun phrases.

DISCUSSION

That *bai* has been undergoing a transition to the status of a future marker is supported by historical data indicating the anteriority of *baimbai,* with subsequent reduction through [bə'mbai] and [bə'bai] to *bai* ([bai] and [ba]), a process now almost gone to completion. A continuation of this process has led to further reduction (as is clear from the children in our sample) to [bə]. *Bai* has become a highly redundant, obligatory marker for fluent present-day speakers. The marker status of *bai* for the children in our sample is also indicated by the reduced stress it receives in their speech, compared with adult speech. A shift in the position of *bai* with respect to the verb also appears to have taken place in the past, though fluent second language speakers now show no difference from native speakers in this regard. Further work on the behavior of various kinds of embeddings[7] that clearly affect the *bai*-movement rule for all fluent present-day speakers, may also help to clarify the history of this change.

It is obvious that change in the status of *bai* was well under way prior to the existence of a large number of native speakers; native speakers appear to be carrying further tendencies which were already

7. E.g., relatives, as in chapter 11 below.

present in the language. We are not arguing that the presence of native speakers creates sudden and dramatic changes in a language, but rather that their presence may be one factor in influencing directions in language change.

Further, we feel that evidence presented here supports the argument that Tok Pisin is proving and will continue to prove adequate to handle whatever communicative demands are put on it, and that as these demands increase, the available linguistic resources will also increase, as they have clearly done in the past and continue to do in the present. *Olsem mitupela i bin suim yupela long dispela liklik toktok.*