Stefan Engelberg

LEXICOGRAPHY'S ENTANGLEMENT WITH COLONIALISM: THE HISTORY OF TOK PISIN LEXICOGRAPHY AS COLONIAL HISTORY

Abstract Tok Pisin is a pidgin/creole language spoken since the late 19th century in most of the area that nowadays constitutes Papua New Guinea where it emerged under German colonial rule. Unusual for a pidgin/creole, Tok Pisin is characterized by a extensive lexicographic history. The Tok Pisin Dictionary Collection at the Leibniz Institute for the German Language, described in this article, includes about fifty dictionaries. The collection forms the basis for the sketch of the history of Tok Pisin lexicography as part of colonial history presented here. The basic thesis is that in the history of Tok Pisin, lexicographic strategies, dictionary structures, and publication patterns reflect the interest (and disinterest) of various groups of colonial actors. Among these colonial actors, European scientists, Catholic missionaries, and the Australian and US militaries played important roles.

Keywords Pidgin; Tok Pisin; colonialism; history of lexicography; lexicography and war; missionary linguistics; colonial linguistics

1. Tok Pisin and the colonial history of New Guinea

Tok Pisin is a pidgin/creole language spoken in eastern New Guinea, the Bismarck Archipelago and the northern Solomon Islands. It is one of three closely related pidgin-creoles beside Bislama, spoken in Vanuatu, and Pijin in the Solomon Islands. Tok Pisin has its roots in English-based pidgin varieties of the southwestern Pacific and formed in the late 19th century under German colonial rule. Its origins are closely connected to the plantation economy in colonial Oceania and the – often forced – labor migration in the South Pacific on which this economy was based. The canefield plantations in Queensland and the mostly German-owned coconut plantations in Samoa with the pidgins developing there played a special role in this process. Workers returning from there to the Bismarck Archipelago formed the nucleus for the development and spread of Tok Pisin.[1]

New Guinea has long been inhabited by many independent and mostly very small groups of people speaking more than a thousand languages. It was not until the 19th century that European imperial powers began take an interest in New Guinea. The western part of the island was claimed by the Netherlands in 1828 and, in 1963, became part of Indonesia under circumstances contrary to international law. In 1884, Germany claimed the northeastern part of New Guinea, the Bismarck Archipelago, and the Northern Solomon Islands, and Britain took possession of southeastern New Guinea. German rule, to which also the considerable lexical influence of German on early Tok Pisin can be attributed, ended effectively in 1914 and officially in 1919. After WW I, both eastern territories of New Guinea came under Australian administration. With a brief interruption due to the Japanese occupation in WW II, Australian rule lasted until 1975, when Papua New Guinea gained independence.

[1] For the complex prehistory of Tok Pisin cf., e. g., Mühlhäusler (1978, 1979) and Baker (1993).

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Tok Pisin is nowadays one of the official languages of Papua New Guinea along with English and Hiri Motu. The majority of the population in Papua New Guinea uses it as a second language, and the number of L1 speakers is growing.

2. The Tok Pisin Dictionary Collection at the IDS

As with many pidgin languages, the bad reputation Tok Pisin had among Europeans and Australians (cf. Engelberg 2014) stood in stark contrast to its indispensability for the colonial economy, missionary work, and the exercise of power. This partly explains the extensive lexicographic history of Tok Pisin with several dozen quite comprehensive dictionaries and numerous smaller vocabularies.

Copies of about fifty Tok Pisin dictionaries have been collected at the Leibniz Institute for the German Language (Leibniz-Institut für Deutsche Sprache, IDS) where German language contact in the former German colonies has been studied (Engelberg/Stolberg 2017). The following list documents the content of this collection in chronological order.

N°	**Year**	**Reference**	**Comment**
01	1902 / 1913 [ca.]	Dempwolff, Otto ([ca.] 1902/1913): Pidgin-Englisch von Deutsch-Neuguinea. Wörterverzeichnis. – Manuscript. Archive: Universitätsarchiv Hamburg | Best. 305h: Fachbereich Asien-Afrika-Wissenschaften (Asien-Afrika-Institut), Nr. 206.	*TP > German; undated; prob. from the very early 20th c.; marginalia prob. from 1913.*
02	1913	Thurnwald, Richard (1913): Ethno-psychologische Studien an Südseevölkern auf dem Bismarck-Archipel und den Salomo-Inseln. – Leipzig: Verlag von Johann Ambrosius Barth.	*Including: word list TP > German; TP > Buin > German.*
03	1913 [ca.]	Dempwolff, Otto ([ca.]1913): Pijin. Wörterverzeichnis. [fragment A-B]. – Manuscript. Archive: Universitätsarchiv Hamburg | Best. 305h: Fachbereich Asien-Afrika-Wissenschaften (Asien-Afrika-Institut), Nr. 206.	*TP > German; undated; prob. from Dempwolff's stay in New G. in 1913.*
04	1924	Brenninkmeyer, [Pater] Leo (1924): Einfuehrung ins Pidgin-Englisch. Ein Versuch. – Typoscript, mimeographed. Kamanacham [New Britain, PNG].[2]	*Includes short thematic word lists German > TP.*
05	1926	Borchardt, Karl (1926a): Tok Boi Wörterbuch. – Typoscript, mimeographed. [Manus, Admirality Islands, PNG].	*TP > German / English.*
06	1926	Borchardt, Karl (1926b [ca.]): Kleines Woerterbuch / Deutsch – Tokboi. – Typoscript, mimeographed. [Manus, Admirality Islands, PNG].	*German > TP.*
07	1929	Blackwood, Beatrice (1929): Pidgin & English-Petets Vocabulary. Rabaul [New Britiain, PNG]. – Archive: Alexander Turnbull Library / National Library of New Zealand | Project: Miscellaneous Series microfilm | North Solomon Islands - Language | Micro-MSColl-20-2814 [=Beatrice Blackwood Papers / Pitt-Rivers Museum, Oxford University, Parks Road, Oxford, OX1 3PP / The National Library of Australia, State Library of New South Wales 1988 / Reel 9 / A. Working Papers / Box 7: N. Solomons. 1929-1930: Language.	*Dictionary English > Petets, supplemented by entries Englisch > TP.*

[2] A typewritten dictionary by Brenninkmeyer from 1925 is still missing from our collection.

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Nº	Year	Reference	Comment
08	1930	van Baar, William ([ca.]1930): Pitshen-Wörterbuch. – Typoscript, mimeographed. Mugil [New Guinea, PNG].	*German > TP.*
09	1935	Anonymous (1935): Pijin Lexikon. – Typoscript, mimeographed. Alexishafen [New Guinea, PNG].	*TP > German; also as „Wörterbuch mit Redewendungen".*
10	1937	Haslett, E . [„Maski Mike"] (1937): Pidgin English Dictionary of Common Nouns and Phrases used in Conversation with Natives in the Territory of New Guinea. – Townsville: T. Willmett & Sons (Pty.).	*TP > English.*
11	1940 [ca.]	Kutscher, [P.] ([ca.] 1940): Wörterbuch deutsch-pidgin-english. – Typoscript, mimeogr. Vunapope [New Britian, PNG].	*German > TP.*
12	1941	Command of the Military Board (1941): Handbook of Pidgin English. Aboriginal and South Sea Islands. – Melbourne: Military Board, Army Headquarters.	*English > TP.*
13	1943	Hall, Robert Anderson Jr. (1943): Melanesian Pidgin English. Grammar, texts, vocabulary. – (Special Publications of the Linguistic Society of America.) Baltimore, MD: Waverly Press. [„Identical with the Edition published for the United States Armed Forces Institute, Madison, Wisconsin."]	*TP > English; Tok Pisin lemmas rendered in phonetic spelling.*
14	1943	Helton, E. C. N. (1943): Booklet on Pidgin English as used in the mandated territory of New Guinea. With Dictionary of Nouns and Phrases. – Brisbane: W. H. Adams.	*TP > English.*
15	1943	Sayer, Edgar Sheappard (1943): Pidgin English. A Text Book, History, and Vocabulary of Pidgin English, for Writers, Travellers, Students of the English Language and Philologists. – 2. ed. Toronto: E. S. Sayer [author's edition].	*English > pidgin; unspecific mixture of several pidgins.*
16	1944	Army Education Branch, Morale Services Division, Army Service Forces (1944): Melanesian Pidgin English Language Guide. First Level. – Washington, DC: United States Government Printing Office.	*English > TP; thematically organized word lists.*
17	1945	Schebesta, [Rev. Father] Josef & [Rev. Father] Leo Meiser (1945): Dictionary of "Bisinis English" (Pidgin-English). – Revised by Leo Meiser. Typoscript, mimeographed. Alexishafen [New Guinea, PNG].	*TP > English.*
18	1949 / 1957	Dahmen, Johannes (1949/1957): Pidgin-English Dictionary. – Typoscript, mimeographed. Bundralis [Admirality Islands, PNG] / Rabaul [New Britain, PNG].	*TP > English.*
19	1950-1960	Smythe, W. E. ([ca.] 1950-1960): Pidgin Vocabulary. – Manuscript. [Manus, Admirality Islands, PNG].	*TP > English.*

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Nº	Year	Reference	Comment
20	1955-1960 [ca.]	Jäschke Ernst ([ca.] 1955-1960): Wörterkartei Deutsch – Pidgin [G-Z] – Archive: Landeskirchliches Archiv der Evangelisch-Lutherischen Kirche in Bayern | 6.7.0003 Mission EineWelt (MEW) | TB 6 Sprachwissenschaftliches und Ethnologisches | 1.2.15 Pidgin - Tok Pisin | [164] Jäschke, Ernst, Wörterkartei Deutsch - Pidgin - G-H und I-K, Signatur: 6.53./1 / [165] Jäschke, Ernst, Wörterkartei Deutsch - Pidgin - L - N; Signatur: 6.53./2 / [166] Jäschke, Ernst, Wörterverzeichnis Karten Deutsch - Pidgin - O-Z, Signatur: 6.164.	*German > TP, probably from the late 1950s; card index box A - F missing.*
21	1957	Mihalic, Francis (1957): Grammar and Dictionary of Neo-Melanesian. – Techny (Illinois): The Mission Press.	*TP > English; English > TP.*
22	1966	Murphy, John J. (1966): The Book of Pidgin English. Revised edition. – Brisbane: W. R. Smith & Paterson.	*TP > English; English > TP.*
23	1969	Balint, Andras (1969): English – Pidgin – French phrase book and sports dictionary / Inglis – Pisin – Frans tok save na spot diksineri / Anglais – Pidgin – Française dictionnaire phraséologique et sportif. – Rabaul [New Britain, PNG]: Trinity Press.	*Thematic dict. English > French > TP; alphab. dict. English >TP > French.*
24	1969	Mihalic, [Father] Francis (1969): Introduction to New Guinea Pidgin. – Milton [Queensland]: The Jacaranda Press.	*Alph. and thematic dict. Engl. > TP.*
25	1969	Steinbauer, Friedrich (1969): Concise Dictionary of New Guinea Pidgin (Neo-Melanesian) with translations in English and German. – Madang [New Guinea, PNG]: Kristen Pres Inc.	*TP > English > German.*
26	1971	Mihalic, Francis (1971): The Jacaranda Dictionary and Grammar of Melanesian Pidgin. – Milton et al. [Queensland]: Jacaranda Press.	*TP > Engl.; Engl. > TP; thematic word lists English > TP.*
27	1971	Wurm, S[tephen] A. (1971): New Guinea Highlands Pidgin: Course Materials. – Pacific Linguistics, Series D, 3. Canberra: The Australian National University.	*TP > English, ordered according to part of speech.*
28	1973	Balint, Andras (1973): Towards an Encyclopedic Dictionary of Nuginian (Melanesian Pidgin). – Kivung 6, 1-31.	*Articles (letter A) of a proposed monolingual dict. of TP.*
29	1973	Dutton, T[homas] E[dward] (1973): Conversational New Guinea Pidgin. – Pacific Linguistics, Series D, 12. Canberra: The Australian National University, Department of Linguistics, Research School of Pacific Studies.	*Word lists TP > English added to learning units.*
30	1978	Strickert, Frederick (1978): Diksenari Bilong Nupela Testamen. New Testament Dictionary in New Guinea Pidgin. – Madang [New Guinea, PNG]: Kristen Pres.	*Monolingual TP reference work (personal and place names from the Bible).*
31	1985	Dutton, Tom & Dicks Thomas (1985): A new course in Tok Pisin (New Guinea Pidgin). – (Pacific Linguistics, D-67 / Languages for intercultural communication in the Pacific area project of the Australian Academy of the Humanities, 2). Canberra: The Australian National University.	*TP > English; English > TP.*

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Nº	Year	Reference	Comment
32	1985	Murphy, John J. (1985): The Book of Pidgin English. Buk bilong Tok Pisin. – Revised ed. Bathurst: Robert Brown & Assoc.	*TP > English; English > TP.*
33	1986	Schäfer, Albrecht (1986): Pidgin-English für Papua Neuguinea. – (Kauderwelsch, 18.) Bielefeld: Peter Rump Verlag.	*German > TP; TP > German.*
34	1992	Lloyd, J. A. (1992): A Baruya-Tok Pisin-English Dictionary. – Canberra: The Australian National University, Department of Linguistics, Research School of Pacific Studies.	*Baruya > TP > English; TP > Baruya; English > Baruya.*
35	1996	Barhorst, Terry D. & Sylvia O'Dell-Barhorst (1996): Pidgin / English Dictionary as spoken in Port Moresby, Papua New Guinea – http://www.june29.com//HLP/lang/pidgin.html. (last access 01-01-2021).	*Not accessible anymore; English > TP.*
36	1996	Slone, Thomas H. (1996): Tok Nogut. An Introduction to Malediction in Papua New Guinea. – Maledicta: The International Journal of Verbal Aggression 11, 75-104.	*TP > English.*
37	1997	Kocher Schmid, Christin (1997): Terms in Neo-Melanesian for plants and animals. – http://lucy.ukc.ac.uk/rainforest/frp-website/Publications/worksheets/SHEET3/biopidg_1.html.	*Not accessible anymore; TP > English and/or Latin.*
38	1997	Thomas, Dicks R., T. R. Andi Lolo, & Nico Jakarimilena (1997): Trilingual Dictionary Tokpisin English Bahasa Indonesia. – Port Moresby: The Education and Cultural Attache of the Indonesia Embassy, and The Department of Language & Literature, UPNG, [printed by Balai Pustaka, Jakarta].	*TP > English > Indonesian.*
39	2001	Newlin, Andy (2001): Tok Pisin / Pidgin / English Online Dictionary. – http://www.tok-pisin.com/ (last access: 20-03-2022).	*TP > English.*
40	2003 / 2006	Feldpausch, Becky (Hg.) (2003/2006): Almalu kali, Eyo kali, i Walowei luk kal. Namia, Tok Pisin, and English Dictionary. – Revised for website (April 2006). Ukarumpa [New Guinea, PNG]: SIL Press. https://pnglanguages.sil.org/resources/archives/39181 (last access: 19-03-2022). [In print: Ukarumpa, New Guinea, PNG: Summer Institute of Linguistics Press 2003.]	*Namia > TP > English.*
41	2005	Ward, Stephen (2005): Clinical Clerking and Examination in Tok Pisin. A resource for English speaking health care workers in Papua New Guinea. – [Wewak, New Guinea]. http://studylib.net/doc/7538271/clinical-clerking-and-examination-in-tok (last access: 18-03-2022).	*Short word lists English > TP.*
42	2006	Burton, John (2006): Revising the Mihalic project. http://pandora.nla.gov.au/pan/67828/20120213-0001/www.mihalicdictionary.org/index-3.html [last access: 19-03-2022].	*TP > English; collaborative revision of Mihalic (1971).*
43	2006	Garnier, Nicolas (2006): Dictionnaire Français / Tok Pisin. Buk bilong ol nem long Tok Pisin na Tok Franis. – Port Moresby [New Guinea, PNG]: Alliance Française de Port Moresby & the University of Papua New Guinea.	*TP > French; French > TP.*

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Nº	Year	Reference	Comment
45	2006	Lothmann, Timo (2006): God i tok long yumi long Tok Pisin. Eine Betrachtung der Bibelübersetzung in Tok Pisin vor dem Hintergrund der sprachlichen Identität eines Papua-Neuguinea zwischen Tradition und Moderne. – Frankfurt/M.: Lang.	*TP > German.*
46	2007	Pernet, Barbara & Wolfgang Wendt (2007): Tok Pisin bilong Papua Niugini – Das Pidgin von Papua-Neuguinea. Eine Einführung. Sprachkurs in 16 Lektionen. – Neuendettelsau: Mission EineWelt Centrum für Partnerschaft, Entwicklung und Mission der Evangelisch-Lutherischen Kirche in Bayern.	*TP > German; German > TP.*
47	2008	Parker, Philip M. (Hg.) (2008): Webster's Tok Pisin – English Thesaurus Dictionary. – San Diego: ICON Group Intern.	*TP > English; English > TP.*
48	2008	Volker, Craig [general editor], Susan Baing, Brian Deutrom & Russell Jackson (2008): Papua New Guinea Tok Pisin English Dictionary. South Melbourne: Oxford University Press.	*TP > English; English > TP; new ed. in preparation.*
49	2017 ff.	Engelberg, Stefan, Christine Möhrs & Doris Stolberg (2017 ff.): Wortschatz deutschen Ursprungs im Tok Pisin. Version 1. – In: Meyer, Peter & Stefan Engelberg (2012 ff.): Lehnwortportal Deutsch. Mannheim: IDS. http://lwp.ids-mannheim.de/doc/tokpisin/start (last access: 22-03-2022).	*TP > German; dynamically published.*
50	2017 ff.	Anonym (2017 ff.): Tok Pisin English Dictionary. Tok Pisin (New Guinea Pidgin) English Bilingual Dictionary & Encyclopedia of Papua New Guinea. – https://www.tokpisin.info/ (last access: 21-03-2022).	*TP > English; English > TP; mainly an unlicensed version of Volker et al. 2008.*

Table 1: Chronologically ordered list of the dictionaries in the Tok Pisin Dictionary Collection of the Leibniz Institute for the German Language [*TP = Tok Pisin*]

Some other early dictionaries on Melanesian pidgins like Churchill (1911) and Pionnier (1913) are not listed here as they do not refer to the New Guinean pidgin variant.

3. Colonial phases and colonial actors in the lexicographic history of Tok Pisin

Lexicography prior to Papua New Guinea's independence is part of colonial history. Lexicographic strategies, dictionary structures, and publication patterns reflect the interest (and disinterest) of various colonial actors in the Tok Pisin language area. The particular case of Tok Pisin also demonstrates the role dictionaries play in a colonial society.[3]

Three main groups of colonial actors are identified as promoters and practicioners of dictionary making with respect to Tok Pisin: European scientists (section 3.1), Catholic missionaries (section 3.2), and individuals associated with the Australian and American militaries (section 3.3). Figure 1 shows how the dictionaries produced by these three groups are distributed over the time between 1900 and 1975.

[3] Contributions on parts of the lexicographic history of Tok Pisin have been made by Laycock (1977), Mühlhäusler (1985a, 1985b), and Engelberg/Stolberg (2017).

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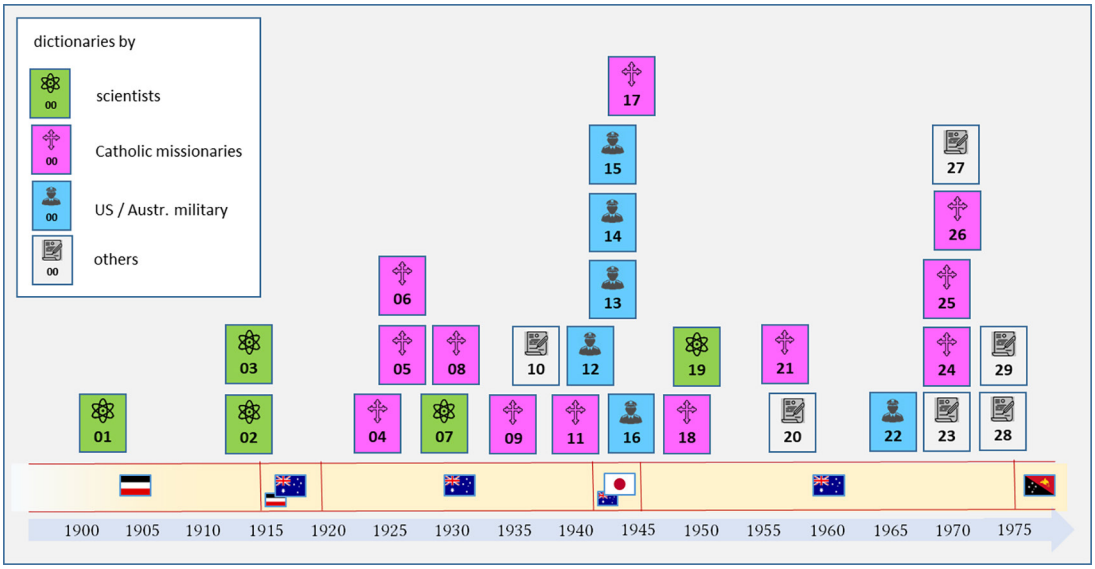

Fig. 1: Temporal distribution of dictionaries of Tok Pisin according to the main groups of lexicographers (numbers refer to table 1)

3.1 European scientists as lexicographers

Between the 1880s and 1920s, an enormous number of scientific books and articles were published in German based on research in and about German New Guinea in the fields of anthropology, linguistics, medicine, agriculture, geography, geology, and so on. However, those who conducted fieldwork were confronted with a multitude of some 800 languages spoken in what is now Papua New Guinea. When traveling, chains of interpreters were often required to ensure communication. As Tok Pisin spread within the Bismarck Archipelago in the late 19th century and further into "Kaiser-Wilhelmsland" (northeastern New Guinea) and the northern Solomon Islands, explorers and traveling scientists began to use Tok Pisin as a lingua franca. Some of them, such as Otto Dempwolff (cf. Fig. 2), Richard Thurnwald, and Beatrice Blackwood (cf. Fig. 3), began to compile small, mostly handwritten dictionaries of Tok Pisin, primarily for their own research purposes.

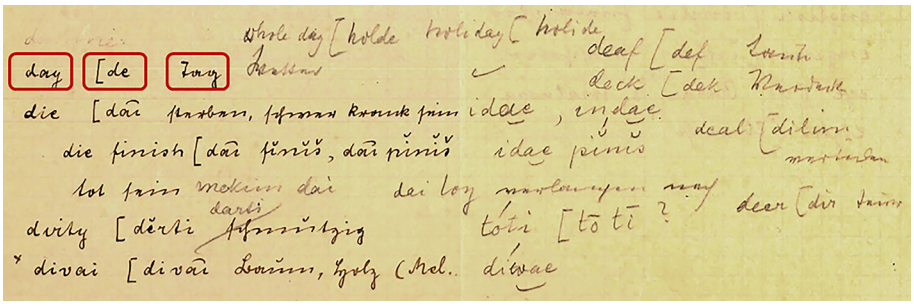

Fig. 2: Dempwolff`s ([ca.] 1902/1913) dictionary "Pidgin-Englisch von Deutsch-Neuguinea" with a microstructure comprising of a Tok Pisin lemma in etymologizing English lexicography (e. g. *day*), a phonetic representation of the lemma sign ([*de*), and a German equivalent (*Tag*)

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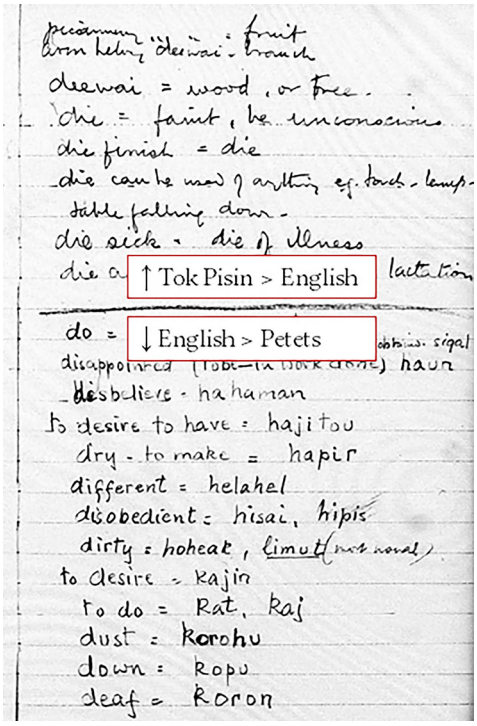

Fig. 3: Blackwoods's (1929) "Pidgin & English-Petets Vocabulary" in which the dictionary English to Petets (spoken in the Northern Solomon Islands) is preceded with a small Tok Pisin to English word list for each letter, indicating that Tok Pisin was used for communication in fieldwork

3.2 Lexicography in Catholic missions

The Catholic missions, dominated by German missionaries until World War II, switched from local languages (in part) to German and, in the late 1920s, to Tok Pisin as the mission language.

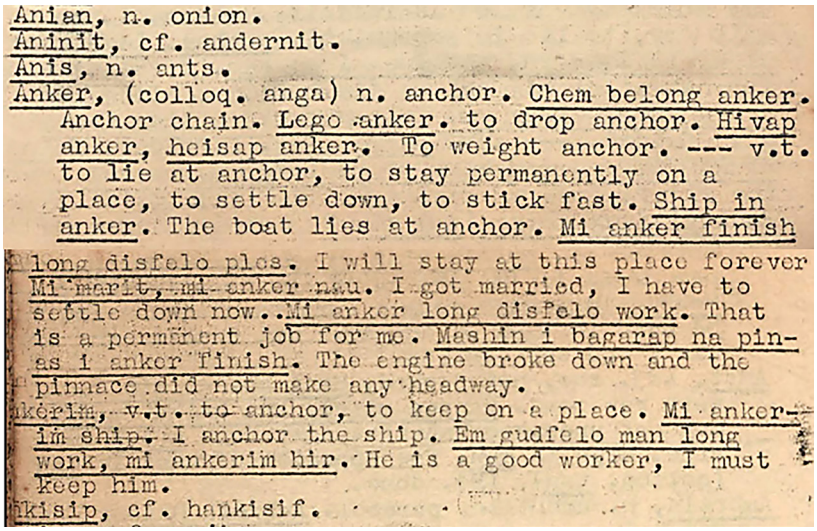

Fig. 4: Dictionary articles for Tok Pisin *anker/anka* ('Anker') and *ankerim* ('ankern') in Schebesta/Meiser's (1945) "Dictionary of "Bisinis English" (Pidgin-English)", giving an impression of the extensive microstructure containing information on word variants, collocations, multiword expressions, example sentences, and metaphoric uses

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This process was accompanied by extensive lexicographic work. However, the resulting dictionaries were not published for several decades, but only used internally by the mission. It was not until 1957 – after eight unpublished mimeographed dictionaries, some of them quite substantial – that the first dictionary by a Catholic missionary went to press (Mihalic 1957). Given the extensive activities of the missions (mission work, education, plantation operations, shipping, crafts, etc.), these dictionaries were comprehensive and they had quite a high lexicographical quality (cf. Fig. 4).

In contrast to the Catholic missions, the Protestant missions hardly dealt with Tok Pisin lexicographically. Card index boxes containing index cards for several thousand Tok Pisin lemmas (Jäschke [ca.] 1955–1960), which have recently surfaced from the archives of the Neuendettelsau Mission, represent the only lexicographic output of the Protestant missionaries in our dictionary collection.[4] This is probably mainly due to the different attitude of the Protestant missions towards the indigenous languages, which goes back to Luther's dictum that the Bible should be rendered in the vernacular languages. Thus, the Protestant missions relied more heavily on the local languages in their missionary work.[5]

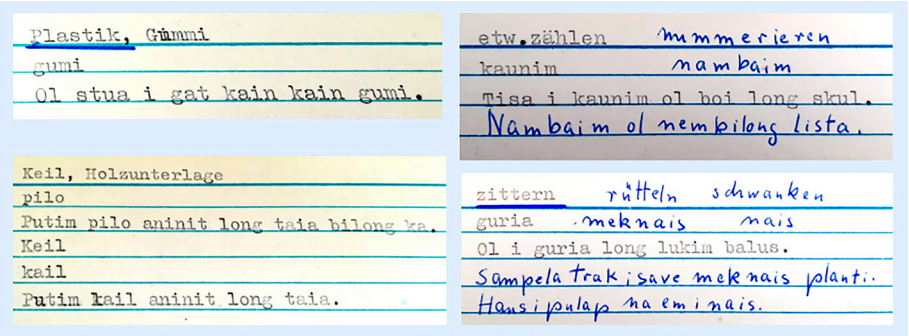

Fig. 5: Index cards from Jäschke's ([ca.] 1955-1960) lexicographic project where handwritten addenda illustrate the state of revision

3.3 Lexicography in times of war

Neither under German nor under Australian rule (after WW I) did Tok Pisin find official support. In German New Guinea, Europeans regarded Tok Pisin as a corrupted form of English, and the use of Tok Pisin was officially disapproved by the German administration. Despite this attitude, Tok Pisin was increasingly used by the local population, by settlers and traders, and even by the German administration itself. Tok Pisin thus played a crucial role in the German colony. However, attempts at a lexicographic description were neither undertaken nor supported by the German government.

Under Australian rule, attitudes did not change significantly. Australians expected Tok Pisin to be replaced by English in the long run. With the onset of WW II, however, cultural-political considerations took a back seat when social control, propaganda, and efficient communication between the military and civilians became necessary. Native speakers of English

[4] The dictionary is currently subject of a student thesis written by Melanie Drothler.

[5] For the history of the missions in New Guinea and the question of the mission language, cf., e. g., Eggert (1997) and Steffen (2001).

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associated with the Australian or U.S. military therefore produced mostly simple dictionaries mainly for military personnel (cf. Fig. 6).

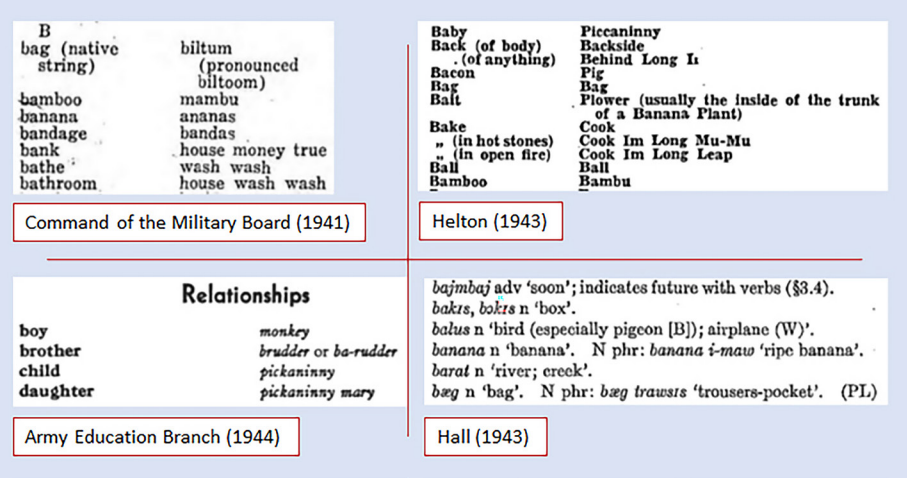

Fig. 6: Excerpts from dictionaries connected to the Australian military (Command of the Military Board 1941; Helton 1943) and to the US army (Hall 1943; Army Education Branch 1944)

After World War II, Tok Pisin was used as the language of instruction in some schools. Therefore, in the mid-1950s, the Department of Education pushed for the development of a standard orthography for Tok Pisin. The orthography approved by the Department of Education was then used in Mihalic's (1957) dictionary (Wurm 1985, pp. 170 f.).

4. Post-independence lexicography of Tok Pisin

In summary, prior to independence, Tok Pisin lexicography was practiced by expatriates in order to explore New Guinea scientifically, missionize the population, and wage a war whose causes and goals were alien to the indigenous population. However, in the wake of independence, as New Guineans more and more gained sovereignty in matters of language policy, Tok Pisin expanded its functional domains as spoken language (public life, parliament, radio) and also became more visible in its written form. The early editions of the "Wantok Niuspepa" from 1970 onwards still provide a vivid picture of this period and the role that written Tok Pisin played in this process (Wantok 2014 ff.). Rather inadvertently, missionary lexicography supported this process of regaining linguistic self-determination.

Catholic missionaries had continued to produce dictionaries, which were printed between the late 1950s and the early 1970s. In 1971, Mihalic's "Jacaranda Dictionary" was published, the scope and quality of which brought general lexicography to a standstill for a long time. After Papua New Guinea's independence in 1975, Tok Pisin lexicography was limited to dictionaries and word lists with specific functions, such as the travel dictionary by Schäfer (1985) or the etymological dictionary by Engelberg/Möhrs/Stolberg (2017 ff.), and to dictionaries and word lists of specialized language, e. g., in the fields of religion (Strickert 1978; Lothmann 2006), medicine (Ward 2005), and botany (Kocher Schmid 1997). New editions of older dictionaries (Murphy 1985), word lists in language courses (Dutton 1985; Pernet/Wendt 2007), and bilingual and trilingual dictionaries with languages from the region (Thomas/Lolo/Jakarimilena 1997; Lloyd 1992; Feldpausch 2003/2006) complete the picture. It is only in the 21st century that new general dictionaries of Tok Pisin are being published

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(Garnier 2006, and especially Volker et al. 2008). Since the 1990s, Internet lexicography has also taken hold, producing new dictionaries with mostly simple microstructure (Barhorst/O'Dell-Barhorst 1996; Newlin 2001), unlicensed digital versions of printed dictionaries (e.g., Anonymous 2017 ff., based on Volker et al. 2008), and an excerpted revision of Mihalic's work (Burton 2006).

A comprehensive history of Tok Pisin lexicography in the post-independence period has yet to be written. It would have to take into account the interaction of lexicography with educational and language policies, the role of the missions, the complex dual structure of traditional power relations and modern state institutions, and, of course, the functions of English, Tok Pisin, and the many „tokples" (indigenous languages) in Papua New Guinea. And the history of recent Tok Pisin lexicography will have to explain why post-independence lexicography is still dominated by expatriates, and why, as one reviewer asked, „the lexicographic space in this supposedly independent country is still not filled by indigenous voices".

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