

in the analysis. Borrowings include, from Portuguese, *pikin* "child", *papá* "father", *mamé* "mother", and *sabé* "know"; from African languages, *kandá* "skin", and *wuna* "you plural"; from German, *oa* "ear"; and from Irish, *éuk* "stab" <sup>6</sup>. There remain 52 CP items which have been replaced by coining, semantic shift, or semantic extension.

Many of the nine cases of coining are either compounds or paraphrases. These include *wuman han* (woman hand) "left side", *man han* "right side", *wata mot* (water mouth) "spit", *huskain taim* (which kind time) "when", *husai* (which side) "where", *huskain man* "who", *no sap* (no sharp) "dull", and *no lon* "short". The word *éap* "eat" is included as a coining, although its origin may eventually be explained in some other way.

There are three cases of semantic shift in which a signifier occupies a new meaning, while being replaced in its original meaning by another signifier. *bif* replaces *meat*, while the meaning "beef" is expressed by *kau* < cow. *Sit* is replaced by *stop*, while the meaning "stop" is expressed by *tanap* (stand up). *Woods* is replaced by *buf*, while "bush" is expressed by *stik* < stick.

The remaining 40 cases represent semantic extension, where a signifier has replaced another while retaining its first meaning. These are *bele* "belly, guts", *biabia* < beard "beard, hair", *big* "big, wide", *bris* "breathe, blow, wind", *brok* < broke "break, split", *dem* "them, they", *drin* "drink, suck", *fain* "fine, smooth", *fedo* "feather, wing", *fo* "for, at", *fosika* "for sake of, because", *fut* "foot, leg", *gron* "ground, earth", *hib* "heave, throw", *hil* "hill, mountain", *hot* "hot, warm", *loba* "rub, wipe", *luk* "look, see", *man* "man, husband", *maf* "mash, squeeze", *memba* "remember, think", *no* "no, not", *oia* "oil, fat", *op* "up, sky", *red* "red, yellow", *slip* "sleep, lie", *smol* "small, few, narrow, thin", *stik* "stick, tree", *tok* "talk, say", *tru* "true, right", *watá* "water, lake, river, sea, wet", *wuman* "woman, wife" <sup>7</sup>.

Out of the 52 items, nine were lost because of coining, three because of semantic shift, and 40 because of semantic extension. On the basis of the study of the non-pidgin examples, the expected figures would be about 26, 26 and 1, respectively. No test of significance is required to show that semantic extension is far more important as a source of lexical loss in CP than in the four non-pidgin languages studied.

These results are interesting in a number of ways. First, they contradict a prevailing orthodoxy in the study of pidgins and creoles expressed by, for example, GOODMAN (1964: 135):

The fact ... that it is difficult to find any specific linguistic features, either historical or descriptive, which set creolized languages apart from all others, is surely a strong if not irrefutable argument that they have undergone a historical development not very different except in intensity from those undergone by a large proportion of the languages of the world.

<sup>6</sup> I am indebted to L. TODD (personal communication) for the last identification.

<sup>7</sup> There are less than 40 entries because some items represent more than one lost item on the 200 word list.