Circumlocutions with the noun *peopo* 'people' in Hawai'i Creole English

KONRAD RADOMYSKI

Abstract

The purpose of this paper is to investigate the use of circumlocutions with the noun *peopo* in Hawai'i Creole English from *The Revelation of St. John Divine* in the HCE Bible. These examples are contrasted with their equivalents from King James' Bible. The main aim is to conduct a quantitative analysis of selected circumlocutions. Moreover, possible grammatical structures for circumlocutions are analysed.

Circumlocution is, in fact, an effective word formation process in Hawai'i Creole English since it allows its speakers to create new lexical items that can bridge lexical gaps in their lexicon.

Keywords

circumlocution, Hawai'i Creole English, second language acquisition

Peryfrazy *z rzeczownikiem peopo* 'people' w hawajskim języku kreolskim

Celem niniejszego artykułu jest zbadanie peryfrazy w języku kreolskim hawajskim w Apokalipsie św. Jana w Biblii. Przykłady peryfraz w tym języku są porównane z ekwiwalentami z Biblii Króla Jakuba. Głównym założeniem jest przeprowadzenie analizy ilościowej wybra-

nych przykładów. Ponadto podane zostaną możliwe struktury gramatyczne dla zbadanych przykładów peryfraz.

Peryfraza jest użytecznym procesem słowotwórczym w języku kreolskim hawajskim ponieważ umożliwia ona tworzenie nowych wielowyrazowych złożeń, które pomagają wypełnić luki w leksykonie użytkownika.

Słowa kluczowe

akwizycja języka obcego, hawajski język kreolski, peryfraza

1. Introduction

Pidgin and creole languages used to be perceived as broken and imperfect (Walczyński 2012: 27); however, many studies have challenged this approach. Pidgins and creoles transpire and are used in multicultural and multilingual settings, that is, in areas where one common mode of communication is required.

The main purpose of this paper is to present the process of circumlocution as a productive word-formation process in Hawaiian Creole English (henceforth HCE). Sadler (1974) and Mühlhäusler (1985) have investigated this process in Tok Pisin. Nevertheless, their studies are narrowed only to enumerating existing circumlocutions, neglecting the context where lengthy expressions occur.

This paper presents an analysis of circumlocutions with respect to the approach taken from the field of second language acquisition by Boreder et al. (1993). Additionally, the context for selected circumlocutions with *peopo* and a quantitative analysis are provided. Examples of circumlocutions with *peopo* are taken from the Hawai'i Creole English Bible and they are contrasted with their equivalents from King James' version of the Bible, for the reason that these versions show the closest resemblance. All the examples come from *The Revelation of St. John Divine*. The study is carried out via AntConc, version

3.5.8. The freeware enables to filter the text, select all the necessary examples and classify them.

The word *peopo* occurs throughout *The Revelation of St. John Divine* in the HCE Bible frequently. The word is used 214 times in the studied fragment. What is more, it is employed in numerous circumlocutions. For this reason, the word has been chosen for the sake of this study.

As regards Hawai'i Creole English, *The Atlas of Pidgin and Creole Language Structures Online* states that there are nearly 600,000 speakers who use this language as their mother tongue. Moreover, there are 100,000 speakers of the creole located on the US mainland. The language is used on a daily basis. Moreover, there are literary works produced in this language as well.

2. Circumlocution

According to Worden (2016), circumlocution is a communicative strategy which consists in providing a description of an object, location, idea or action instead of an exact name. Savignon (1983: 6) defines it as "the effective use of coping strategies to sustain or enhance communication". Some scholars perceive circumlocution not only as a communication technique but also as a lexical repair strategy (Paribakht 1985).

Circumlocution, according to Jourdain and Scullen (2002), is not only employed by native speakers of a language. On the contrary, this process is commonly used by non-native speakers. Dobao (2007) claims that learners of a second or foreign language come to communicative situations with limited knowledge of the language. Even advanced and proficient students may have language problems, especially in spontaneous interactions.

2.1. Circumlocution in Second Language Acquisition

Broeder et al. (1993) present a way of coining new lexical items via circumlocution which consists in the combination of two or more already existing lexemes and the combination of lexemes and one or more derivational affixes. The authors claim that composite word formation processes present in learners' mother tongues might influence head-ordering in noun-noun word formation. Thus head final preferences are held by, for instance, Swedish or Turkish speakers of English, whereas French, Arabic or Punjabi are languages where head initial may be favoured in coining new compounds. However, there are languages, such as Dutch and German, where both types of head ordering are in constant competition, therefore, these speakers of English would use both types interchangeably.

Broeder et al. (1993: 50-55) investigated three groups of people learning different languages, namely, Dutch, English and Swedish. The Dutch group consisted of Arabic and Turkish native speakers. The English group included people speaking Punjabi and Italian as their mother tongues. The last group included Spanish native speakers learning Swedish. The researchers concentrated on analysing the following structures: N+N head-final, X+N+N head-final, N+N linear, N+N head-initial and N+prep+N head-initial, where N stands for a noun, X for a modifier and *prep* for a preposition. Table 1 presents the data.

Table 1
Number of N-N compound types (Broeder et. al. 1993)

Form	Type	Dutch	English	Swedish
N+N	head-final	70%	83%	80%
X+N+N	head-final	9%	9%	–
N+N	linear	3%	1%	2%
N+N	head-initial	6%	–	9%
N+prep+N	head-initial	12%	7%	9%

The study shows that the most common type of compounds for the non-native speakers of Dutch is N+N head-final. However, the most complex lexical items are found in X+N+N head-final, N+prep+N head-initial and N+N linear structures. Examples are presented in Table 2.

Table 2

Complex N-N compounds amongst Dutch non-native speakers
(Broeder et al. 1993)

Structure	Learner's variety	Direct translation	Target variety	Direct translation
X+N+N head-final	*allemaal-kleine-kinder-feest*	all-little-children-party	*feest met allenaal kleine kinderen*	party with all little children
	auto-monteur-werk	car-mechanic-work	*werk als automonteur*	work as a car mechanic
	politie-buro-directeur	police-office director	*chef van het politieburo*	director of the police office
	andere-mensen-garage	other-people-garage	*garage van andere mensen*	other people's garage
N+prep+N head-initial	*kerk van marokko*	church of morocco	*moskee*	mosque
	sleutel can fiels	key of bike	*fielssleutel*	bike-key
	brief van werk	letter of work	*arbeidscontract*	labour contract
	fabriek van boten	factory of ships	*scheepswef*	shipyard
N+N linear	*vader-moeder*	father-mother	*ouders*	parents
	broer-zus	brother-sister	*geschwister*	siblings
	oma-opa	gradfather-gradmother	*grootouders*	grandparents

Similarly to the Dutch learners, for the learners of English, the most common type of compounds is N+N head-final. However, English non-native speakers tend to create elaborate constructions with the N+prep+N head-initial type. Examples are shown in Table 3.

Lastly, Swedish non-native speakers, similarly to the two previous groups, tend to coin new lexical items in the N+N head-final manner. However, the authors found examples of compounds which represent head-initial N+N compositions (see Table 4).

The least popular type of coining new N-N compounds is linear noun + noun. Two ways of creating noun compounds are absent from English and Swedish, namely, N+N head-initial and X+N+N head-final respectively. The remaining ways of creating circumlocutions by non-native speakers of the Germanic languages are relatively common; however, the head-final composition is the most popular.

Table 3

Complex N-N compounds amongst English non-native speakers
(Broeder et. al. 1993)

Structure	Learner's variety	Target variety
N+prep+N head-initial	*house of the burglars*	prison
	stay with the police	imprisonment
	tube of metal	metal tube
	tube of plastic	plastic tube
	telephone-box for policeman	walkie talkie

Table 4
Complex N-N compounds amongst Swedish non-native speakers
(Broeder et. al. 1993)

Structure	Learner's variety	Direct translation	Target variety	Direct translation
N+N head-initail	*moment-den-atbets*	stage-that-works	*arbeitsmoment*	stage
	huvet-polisen	head-police	*polisens-huvud*	police head
	dans-cumbia	dance-cumbia	*dans som kallas för cumbia*	dance by the name cumbia
	tabletter-vitamin	tablets-vitamin	*vitamintablets*	vitamin pills

All things considered, studies presented above prove that circumlocution is a widely common process used by non-native speakers of any language. This proves that circumlocution is an extremely useful communication strategy for learners of a second language. Dobao (2007: 7) postulates that the circumlocution strategy should be used by students of foreign languages since it helps them to achieve successful communication. In a similar vein, Salomone and Marsal (1997: 480) suggest that students using circumlocution exhibit more cognitive flexibility, that is, they express their opinions more freely, they are more creative and eager to voice their judgements.

2.2. Circumlocution in Tok Pisin

Possibilities for pidgins and creoles to develop their vocabulary are limitless. This can be achieved via circumlocution, which allows speakers to describe objects, phenomena or actions in a picturesque manner (Naro 2000: 38). An outstanding example of this process is Tok Pisin where speakers of this language have created lengthy descriptions.

Mühlhäusler (1985: 119) claims that the development of word-formation in the second language can be illustrated in the following way:

1. Jargon stage: no productive word-formation.
2. Stabilisation stage: use of circumlocution to express new ideas, a very small number of compounds at word level.
3. Early expansion stage: increase of word-level compounds. As a rule the surface structure of derived lexical item is relatively close to their putative deep structure (e.g. guttaim from gutpela taim meaning 'good time' or lukbuk from lukim buk meaning 'to read')
4. Late expansion stage: strong tendency to derive word-level rather than phrase-level lexical items, increasing discrepancy between lexical surface structures and related deep structures, lexical programmes becoming increasingly productive.

As may be inferred, circumlocution is a crucial turning point in the development of pidgins or creoles, for the reason that this process opens up new avenues for any language to enrich its vocabulary. This, in turn, gives a possibility to change circumlocutions into compounds. Tok Pisin has many circumlocutions as well as circumlocution-induced compounds in its lexical inventory.

According to Mühlhäusler (1985), many perplex circumlocutions vanish from Tok Pisin as soon as the expressions become more common. As a result, more economical lexical items enter the lexicon in their place. The first possible simplification is the substitution of a circumlocution with a borrowing from one of the languages which are in close contact with the pidgin. Examples of such a process are presented in Table 5.

Another way of simplifying circumlocutions is the substitution by a lexified equivalent. Examples of this process are presented in Table 6.

Table 5
Circumlocution substitutions in Tok Pisin (Mühlhäusler 1985: 102)

Circumlocution	Substitution	Origin	Meaning
smok bilong graun	*das*	English	dust
rot bilong wara	*baret*	Malay	ditch
kom bilong sutima kaikai i go long maus	*gabel*	German	eating fork
susu bilong duai	*gumi*	German	rubber
snek bilong wara	*maleo*	Tolai	eel
diwai bilong raitim pepa	*blaistik*	German	pencil

Table 6
Circumlocution substitutions in Tok Pisin (Mühlhäusler 1985: 122)

Circumlocution	Substitution	Meaning
lam wokabaut	*wokabautlam*	hurracane lantern
manki bilong masta	*mankimasta*	servant (male)
mekim hariap	*hariapim*	to speed someone up
hatpela wara	*hatwara*	soup, hot water
mani pepa	*papamani*	paper money
wara bilong skin	*skinwara*	sweat

Although some cases of circumlocution are replaced by more effective ways of expressing the same idea, still there are some expressions which cannot be substituted. According to Mühlhäusler (1985: 102), some circumlocutions must have become conventionalised and using, for example, a borrowing would sound unnatural. Table 7 presents examples of circumlocutions which are still used in Tok Pisin.

Taking this into consideration, even though circumlocution may be substituted by shorter and more effective communicative strategies, it is still used by Tok Pisin native speakers to express their thoughts. Sadler (1974: 24) proposes 13 word-formation processes in Tok Pisin, including 4 techniques involving circumlocution (see Table 8).

Table 7
Circumlocution in Tok Pisin (Mühlhäusler 1985: 122)

Circumlocution	Literal translation	Meaning
sit bilong binen	*shit of bee*	honey
rob bilong su	*string of shoe*	shoe lace
pekpek bilong lam	*faeces of lamp*	soot

Table 8
Techniques of creating circumlocutions in Tok Pisin
(Sadler 1974: 24)

Technique	Word class	Tok Pisin	Meaning
using *bilong* between two nouns	noun	*rop bilong blut*	vein
		gras bilong solwara	seaweed
		gras bilong hed	hair
		gras bilong fes	beard
using *i gat*	noun or adjective	*i gat sik*	patient
		i gat bel	pregnant
		i gat wara	wet pla- ce/swamp
using *long*	verb	*brukim long tamiok*	to chop
		lus long wara	to drown
using *i*	adjective	*nek i drai*	thirsty

The examples of circumlocution provided by Sadler (1974) are
isolated from their context. By way of explanation, Mühlhäu-
sler (1985) argues that Sadler's (1974) approach to studying
circumlocution is flawed since the author neglects the fact that
a circumlocution might have a different meaning when the
phrase occurs in a different context. Therefore, it is absolutely
vital to emphasise the role of the context in which a given ex-
ample of circumlocution appears (Mühlhäusler 1985: 661).

All things considered, circumlocution is a vital word-formation process. Not only does it enable non-native speakers to converse despite impaired vocabulary, but it also allows native speakers to enrich their lexicon and be more creative. The process is also a driving force in language evolution since, as has already been explained, circumlocutions may give rise to compounds which occur to be extremely useful in naming new objects, phenomena and activities.

3. Circumlocutions with *peopo* in Hawai'i Creole English: Examples

The word *peopo* 'people' is frequently used in elaborate descriptions in the HCE Bible. *People* is defined by the *On-line Cambridge Dictionary* as 'men, women, and children generally'. Examples (1)–(15) contain the headword *peopo*. Its meaning is altered in each instance since it is accompanied by a series of modifiers whose primary purpose is to narrow the meaning.

The examples are arranged in forms of tables divided into three sections. On the left side, the top box contains an example of circumlocution from the HCE Bible. Below the box, the literal translation is provided. The box on the right contains an equivalent from King James' Bible. Below the table, excerpts with the example of circumlocution from the HCE Bible and King James' Bible are provided.

Examples (1)–(3) include relative clauses where a general statement about particular people is expressed. This general statement allows to narrow the meaning of *peopo*, a more general word.

(1)

da peopo dat stay spesho fo God the people that are special to God	Saints
Da incense, dass jalike all da tings ***da peopo dat stay***	*[...] golden vials full of odors, which are the prayers of **saints**.*

spesho fo God wen aks him fo do. (p. 13)	(p. 2623)

(2)

da peopo dat not slaves	free
the people who are not slaves	
*Da Wild Animal wen make everybody, da big an da small peopo, da rich peopo an da poor peopo, da slave guys an **da peopo dat not slaves**, he wen make um get his mark on top dea right hand o on top dea forehead.* (p. 31)	*And he causeth all, both small and great, rich and poor, **free** and bond, to receive a mark in their right hand, or in their foreheads.* (p. 2636)

(3)

da peopo dat no trus	unbelieving
the people who do not trust	
*But da peopo dat no do notting cuz dey scared, **da peopo dat no trus**, dat ack pilau kine, dat kill oddas, dat fool aroun, dat make kahuna, dat go down an pray to da idol kine gods, an everybody dat bulai, dey goin go inside da sulfur lake dat stay burning. Dass wen dey mahke da second time.* (p. 51)	*But the fearful, and **unbelieving**, and the abominable, and murderers, and whoremongers, and sorcerers, and idolaters, and all liars, shall have their part in the lake which burneth with fire and brimstone: which is the second death.* (p. 2649)

Examples (4)–(13) contain relative clauses where an action is described. The description of an activity allows one to specify the class of people.

(4)

da peopo dat work fo him	servants
the people who work for him	

*God like Jesus make um clear to **da peopo dat work fo him**.* (p. 1)	*The Revelation of Jesus Christ, which God gave unto him, to show unto his **servants** […]* (p. 2615)

(5)

da peopo dat no do notting cuz dey scared	fearful
the people who do nothing because they are scared	
*But **da peopo dat no do notting cuz dey scared**, da peopo dat no trus, dat ack pilau kine, dat kill oddas, dat fool aroun, dat make kahuna, dat go down an pray to da idol kine gods, an everybody dat bulai, dey goin go inside da sulfur lake dat stay burning. Dass wen dey mahke da second time.* (p. 51)	*But the **fearful**, and unbelieving, and the abominable, and murderers, and whoremongers, and sorcerers, and idolaters, and all liars, shall have their part in the lake which burneth with fire and brimstone: which is the second death.* (p. 2349)

(6)

da peopo dat make kahuna	sorcerers
the people who make kahuna	
*Outside da town get da peopo dat dey jalike dogs, **da peopo dat make kahuna**, da peopo dat fool aroun, da peopo dat like kill oddas, da peopo dat go down an pray to da idol kine gods, an everybody dat love fo bulai.* (p. 54)	*For without are dogs, and **sorcerers**, and whoremongers, and murderers, and idolaters, and whosoever loveth and maketh a lie.* (p. 2652)

(7)

da peopo dat fool aroun	whoremongers
the people who fool around	
Outside da town get da peopo	*For without are dogs, and sor-*

*dat dey jalike dogs, da peopo dat make kahuna, **da peopo dat fool aroun**, da peopo dat like kill oddas, da peopo dat go down an pray to da idol kine gods, an everybody dat love fo bulai.* (p. 54)	*cerers, and **whoremongers**, and murderers, and idolaters, and whosoever loveth and maketh a lie.* (p. 2652)

(8)

da peopo dat like kill oddas	
the people who like killing others	murderers
*Outside da town get da peopo dat dey jalike dogs, da peopo dat make kahuna, da peopo dat fool aroun, **da peopo dat like kill oddas**, da peopo dat go down an pray to da idol kine gods, an everybody dat love fo bulai.* (p. 54)	*For without are dogs, and sorcerers, and whoremongers, and **murderers**, and idolaters, and whosoever loveth and maketh a lie.* (p. 2652)

(9)

da peopo [...] dat ack pilau kine	
the people [...] that act pilau kind of	abominable
*But da **peopo** dat no do notting cuz dey scared, da peopo dat no trus, dat **ack pilau kine**, dat kill oddas, dat fool aroun, dat make kahuna, dat go down an pray to da idol kine gods, an everybody dat bulai, dey goin go inside da sulfur lake dat stay burning. Dass wen dey mahke da second time.* (p. 51)	*But the fearful, and unbelieving, and the **abominable**, and murderers, and whoremongers, and sorcerers, and idolaters, and all liars, shall have their part in the lake which burneth with fire and brimstone: which is the second death.* (p. 2649)

(10)

da first peopo dat give demself to God an his Baby Sheep Guy	redeemed
the first people who give them-selves to God and his Baby Sheep Guy	
*Dey **da first peopo dat give demself to God an his Baby Sheep Guy**, jalike one gif.* (p. 32)	*These were **redeemed** from among men, being the first fruits unto God and to the Lamb.* (p. 2637)

(11)

all da peopo dat God's Baby Sheep Guy wen pick	chosen
all the people whom God's Sheep Guy picked	
***All da peopo dat God's Baby Sheep Guy wen pick** an tell dem fo come be his guys, dey do wat dey say dey goin do, an dey goin stay wit him.* (p. 40)	[...] *they that are with him are called, and **chosen**, and faithful.* (p. 2642)

(12)

all da peopo dat go down an pray to da idol kine gods	idolaters
all the people who go down and pray to the idol kind of gods	
***All da diffren peopos all ova da world** goin cry An feel sore inside cuz a him.* (p. 2)	[...] *and all **kindreds** of the earth shall wail because of him.* (p. 2616)

(13)

all da peopo all ova da world dat do da real bad kine stuff	abominations
all the people all over the world who do the real bad kind of stuff	

*Da wahine get one sign on top her forehead wit her name, dat nobody know befo: "Babylon, da Big Town Da Mudda fo All da Wahines Dat Fool Aroun Da Mudda Fo **All da Peopo All Ova da World Dat Do Da Real Bad Kine Stuff**.* (p. 39)	[...] *and upon her forehead was a name written, Mystery, Babylon the great, the mother of harlots and* **abominations** *of the earth.* (p. 2641)

As has already been stated, the phrases in (4)–(13) are coined by the addition of a relative clause with *dat*. Interestingly, there are two circumlocutions where the phrase with the word *guy* is used, namely, (11) and (12). By way of explanation, circumlocution (10), *God's Baby Sheep Guy*, is used. There are a few instances where there is a modifier preceding the head word, namely, examples (10)–(13).

Let us consider example (14). Even though it does not contain the word *dat*, it is an example of a relative clause. The action in this phrase is expressed by the reduced relative clause *playing plenny guitars*.

(14)

peopo playing plenny guitars	harpers
people playing plenty guitars	
Da sound I wen hear, jalike **peopo playing plenny guitars.** (p. 31)	*I heard the voice of* **harpers** *harping with their harps.* (p. 2636)

Contrary to the previous pattern, example (15) does not include any relative clause. In this case, a prepositional phrase is used in order to specify the meaning of *peopo*.

(15)

all da diffren peopos all ova da world	kindreds
all the different peoples all over the world	

All da diffren peopos all ova da world *goin cry An feel sore inside cuz a him.* (p. 2)	*[...] and all* **kindreds** *of the earth shall wail because of him.* (p. 2616)

All things considered, the process of modifying the basic meaning of the head word *peopo* consists in adding a relative clause after the noun. There are only minor exceptions where different grammatical structures might be used, namely, a reduced relative clause or a prepositional phrase. The process of circumlocution allows one to create a multiword lexeme which functions as if it were a single noun. All the examples in this section refer to particular groups of people.

4. Analysis of circumlocutions with *peopo*

As has already been stipulated, the word *peopo* comes from the English word *people*. In the creole, the word preserves the original English meaning. All the circumlocutions with *peopo* are listed in Table 9.

Table 9
Circumlocutions with the word *peopo*

Circumlocution	Number of occurrences
da peopo dat stay spesho fo God	9
da peopo dat not slaves	1
da peopo dat no trus	1
da peopo dat work fo him	2
da peopo dat no do notting cuz dey scared	1
da peopo dat make kahuna	1
da peopo dat fool aroun	1
da peopo dat like kill oddas	1
da peopo [...] dat ack pilau kine	1
da first peopo dat give demself to God an his Baby Sheep Guy	1
all da peopo dat God's Baby Sheep Guy wen pick	1

all da peopo dat go down an pray to da idol kine gods	2
all da peopo all ova da world dat do da real bad kine stuff	1
peopo playing plenny guitars	1
all da diffren peopos all ova da world	6
Total	30

The circumlocutions with *peopo* appear 30 times. This shows that only 14 per cent of all the occurrences of *peopo* are found in elaborate descriptions. The most frequent circumlocutions are *da peopo dat stay spesho fo God* and *all da diffren peopos all ova da world*.

The head word occurs with various modifiers which change its basic meaning. These words, together with the head word, are listed in Table 10.

Table 10
Word count for the circumlocutions with *peopo*

Word	Number of occurrences	Percentage
da	39	16.9
peopo	30	13.0
dat	23	10.0
all	17	7.4
God	13	5.6
fo	11	4.8
stay	9	3.9
spesho	9	3.9
ova	7	3.0
world	7	3.0
diffren	6	2.6
kine	4	1.7
to	3	1.3
an	3	1.3
no	2	0.9
work	2	0.9
him	2	0.9
do	2	0.9

baby	2	0.9
sheep	2	0.9
guy	2	0.9
go	2	0.9
down	2	0.9
pray	2	0.9
idol	2	0.9
not	1	0.4
slaves	1	0.4
trus	1	0.4
notting	1	0.4
cuz	1	0.4
dey	1	0.4
scared	1	0.4
make	1	0.4
kahuna	1	0.4
fool	1	0.4
aroun	1	0.4
like	1	0.4
kill	1	0.4
oddas	1	0.4
ack	1	0.4
pilau	1	0.4
first	1	0.4
give	1	0.4
demself	1	0.4
his	1	0.4
wen	1	0.4
pick	1	0.4
real	1	0.4
bad	1	0.4
stuff	1	0.4
playing	1	0.4
plenny	1	0.4
guitars	1	0.4
Total	231	

Despite the fact that the words *God, stay, speho, world, ova, diffren* and *kine* occur frequently, they cannot be treated as the most representative words used in the circumlocutions

because they occur only in a handful of instances. The words *da*, *dat* and *all* occur in most of the examples and they play important grammatical roles which allow HCE speakers to combine various content words into bigger clusters.

The content words are combined into phrases with the help of function words. Table 11 presents the total count of all word classes that are identified in the circumlocutions with *peopo*.

Table 11

Word class count for circumlocutions with *peopo*

Word class	Number of occurrences	Percentage
noun	66	28.6
article	39	16.9
preposition	24	10.4
relative pronoun	23	10.0
adjective	19	8.2
determiner	19	8.2
verb	16	6.9
auxiliary verb	10	4.3
conjunction	4	1.7
adverb	3	1.3
object pronoun	2	0.9
pronoun	2	0.9
gerund	1	0.4
personal pronoun	1	0.4
possessive pronoun	1	0.4
reflexive pronoun	1	0.4
Total	231	

As can be seen, the noun is the most frequent word class amongst all the listed word classes. It is due to the fact that nouns carry the most fundamental meaning for circumlocutions. Additionally, there are articles, prepositions, a relative pronoun, determiners, verbs and auxiliary verbs. Amongst these word classes, the adjective plays an important role as well, carrying some additional meaning. The remaining word

classes are used mainly to align nouns and adjectives into adequate structures.

Table 12 presents three structures which are possible for the head word *peopo*. The relative clause is the dominating one. This type of construction occurs as many as 28 times (93%), whereas a reduced relative clause and a prepositional phrase appear only once each.

Table 12

Grammatical structures of circumlocutions with *peopo*

Structure	Number of occurrences	Percentage
peopo + relative clause	28	93.0
peopo + reduced relative clause	1	3.5
peopo + prepositional phrase	1	3.5

The studied text does not present many examples of circumlocution with *peopo*. There are 15 circumlocutions; however, they are rarely used throughout the text. Table 13 presents the examples of circumlocution. The table includes their grammatical functions, their literal meanings and actual meanings.

Table 13

Circumlocutions with *peopo* in HCE: word classes

Word in HCE	Word class	Literal meaning	Actual meaning in HCE
peopo dat work fo him	noun	people that work for him	servants
peopo dat stay spesho fo God	noun	people that are special for God	saints
first peopo dat give demself to God an his Baby Sheep Guy	noun	first people that give themselves to God and Baby Sheep Guy	redeemed

all da peopo dat God's Baby Sheep Guy wen pick	noun	all the people that God's Ba-by Sheep Guy picked	chosen
peopo dat not slaves	noun	people that are not slaves	free
peopo dat no trus	noun	people that do not trust	unbelieving
peopo dat no do notting cuz dey scared	noun	people that do not do nothing cause they are scared	fearful
peopo dat make kahuna	noun	people that make kahuna	sorcerers
peopo dat fool around	noun	people that fool around	whoremongers
peopo dat like kill oddas	noun	people that like killing others	murderers
peopo playing plenny guitars	noun	people playing plenty guitars	harpers
diffren peopos all ova da world	noun	different people all over the world	kindreds
peopo dat go down an pray to da idol kine gods	noun	people that go down and pray to the idol kind of gods	idolaters
peopo all ova da world dat do da real bad kine stuff	noun	people all over the world that do the real bad kind of stuff	abominations
peopo dat ack pilau kine	noun	people that act a pilau kind of	abominable

All things considered, the phrases with the word *peopo* function as nouns. The grammatical construction that dominates in these examples is the relative clause. The head words are mostly modified by nouns and/or adjectives.

5. Conclusions

It appears that circumlocution in Hawai'i Creole English is a valuable linguistic device which enables the speakers of the creole to converse. Moreover, this communicative strategy allows HCE native speakers to bridge lexical gaps in their lexicon. The circumlocutions with *peopo* are used to achieve a greater degree of specificity and precision.

It is noteworthy that certain grammatical structures are favoured whereas other constructions do not appear to be so common. The vast majority of lexemes are coined via adding a relative clause to the head word. There are only single instances of different structures, that is, a reduced relative clause and a prepositional phrase.

This study demonstrates that the process of circumlocution is a popular means of communicating one's ideas. However, a deeper study is advised since the HCE Bible is a specific text where circumlocutions may be favoured. Thus real-life interviews with HCE speakers or a study of contemporary written texts in HCE would be vital to understanding grammatical structures of this creole.

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Konrad Radomyski
ORCID iD: 0000-0001-6824-0439
Szkoła Doktorska Nauk Humanistycznych
i Społecznych
Uniwersytet Gdański
ul. Jana Bażyńskiego 8
80-309 Gdańsk
Poland
konrad.radomyski@phdstud.ug.edu.pl