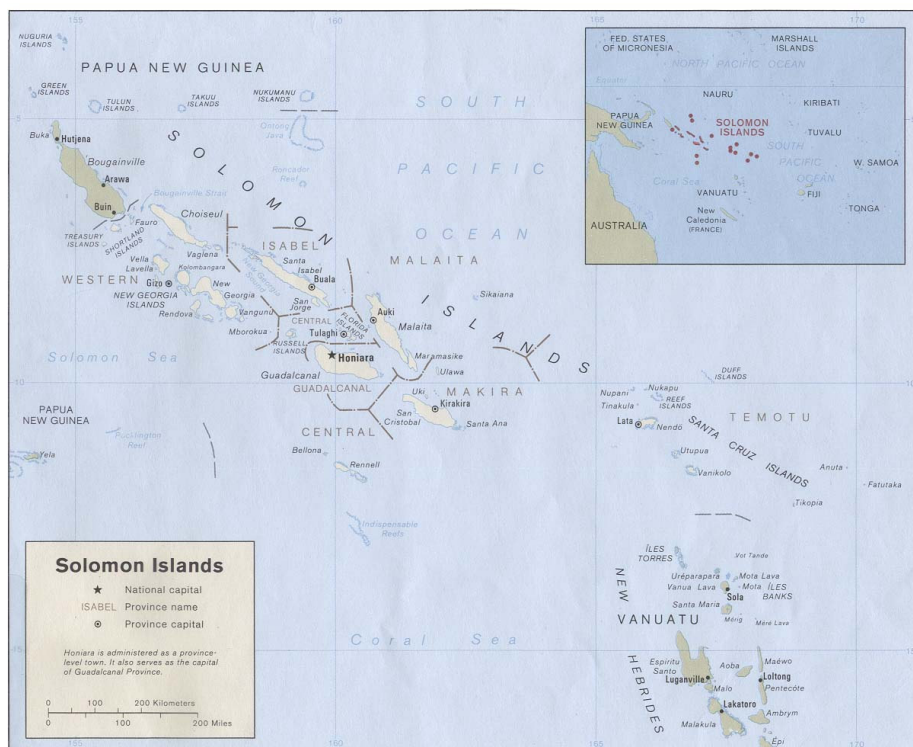


Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1 Solomon Islands

Solomon Islands Pidgin is a variety of Melanesian Pidgin currently estimated to be spoken by at least 420,000 people in the Solomon Islands, a nation whose population is about 500,000. Locally the language is known as Pijin and so I usually refer to it by this name throughout. The nation of Solomon Islands lies to the North-East of Australia. The capital, Honiara, is located at approximately longitude 160 degrees east and latitude 9 degrees south. Solomon Islands as a nation is a former British Protectorate that became independent in 1978. The indigenous population is mainly Melanesian with a few small Polynesian groups. Linguistically the nation is a complex mix of at least sixty Austronesian languages and half a dozen non-Austronesian (or Papuan) languages (Gordon 2005). I say ‘at least’ because that is the number reported by the Ethnologue, however, as an advisor to the 1999 Solomon Islands census I identified 123 language/dialect names. Eventually 93 language names were established for the census data collection. The languages so identified would not all be recognized as distinct languages by many linguists even though the speakers of these languages/dialects have some conception of their identity as varieties of languages. We can conclude that the Solomon Islands is a nation where language contact is inevitable and complex.



Map Source: http://www.intute.ac.uk/sciences/worldguide/html/1020_map.html#map2

1.2 Previous Studies of Pijin

Some time ago, Jourdan (1985b, p.1) noted in her sociolinguistic dissertation on Pijin that as far as scholars of Pacific Pidgins were concerned, hardly anything was known about Solomon Islands Pidgin. Of the works written in the fifteen years before her thesis Jourdan does refer to Simons and Young's *Pijin blong Yumi: A Guide to Solomon Islands Pijin* (Simons & Young 1978) and also to one of the Peace Corps language learning books on Pijin (Huebner & Horoi 1979b) but not the others they produced (Huebner 1979; Huebner & Horoi 1979a). She does not acknowledge the existence of a brief study done by Leah Waneatona (1981) or of Francis Bugotu's minor Masters' thesis on Pijin (Bugotu 1972). Nevertheless, it is true that in comparison to the other varieties of Melanesian Pidgin such as Tok Pisin in Papua New Guinea and Bislama in Vanuatu, little had been written at that time about Pijin. Significant works on Tok Pisin by then were (Hall 1943; Murphy 1966; Mihalic 1971; Woolford 1977; Mühlhäusler 1978; Mühlhäusler 1979; Wurm & Mühlhäusler 1985; Dutton & Thomas 1985), and similarly for Bislama there was (Guy 1975; Camden 1977; Camden 1979; Charpentier 1979).

Even though Pijin is briefly referred to in a wide variety of studies on Melanesian Pidgin and in general works on pidgin and creole languages, Jourdan's comment from the mid-1980s is still true today. Since that time only a handful of articles on various aspects of Pijin grammar have been published, while only two major works concerning Pijin have been produced. Keesing's *Melanesian Pidgin and the Oceanic Substrate* (Keesing 1988), is the first of these, but even then it is a more general work on the development of Melanesian Pidgin, though with significant reference to Pijin. The second is *Pijin: a trilingual cultural dictionary* (Jourdan 2002). This gives a great deal of detail concerning the lexicon and associated cultural information, and a brief half page of grammatical analysis.

Since this is so, the purpose of this thesis is to fill the knowledge gap concerning Pijin with a detailed analysis of the grammar of Pijin with some comparison to the other varieties of Melanesian Pidgin. I also occasionally refer to some data from the vernacular languages of the Solomon Islands for additional insights or comparison.

To answer the question, "What is the grammar of Solomon Islands Pidgin?" I use a structural description that does not rely on any one particular linguistic model or theory. In doing so, I hope that this description will be accessible to educated Solomon Islanders and facilitate the understanding amongst them that the study and development of Pijin is a worthwhile exercise.

1.3 Language Data

Language data for this study comes from a variety of sources. First, there is the chance observation of language in everyday use. I have drawn a significant number of examples from such observation. Second, there is a collection of stories and conversations. These were recorded by a young Solomon Islander for me. I was not present during these recordings. As a result I am at least certain that the variety of Pijin was not adjusted to suit an expatriate by the speakers, though I recognise it cannot be completely free from observer's paradox. The resulting corpus amounts to about 10,000 words of running text.

The task of adequately transcribing this spoken language data for the purpose of analysis is, as any field linguist knows, a challenging task. Llisterri (1996a) briefly outlines some of the issues involved. He notes that the types of dysfluencies in spontaneous speech increase “the difficulty of the transcription process and the complexity of the representation.” He also points out that “criteria to define utterances are not clear in spontaneous speech, neither in monologues nor in conversations.” Further to these he adds that “an adequate knowledge of the context and situation is needed for a correct understanding.”¹

To approach the transcription in a principled manner I have formulated some guidelines based on the Expert Advisory Group on Language Engineering Standards (EAGLES) Preliminary recommendations on Spoken Texts (<http://www.ilc.cnr.it/EAGLES96/spokentx/spokentx.html>).

Given my focus is on the grammar of Pijin and not strictly speaking on phonetics or phonological processes, I chose to use an orthographic transcription method for my spoken texts. As noted in the EAGLES policy (Llisterri 1996b), “the orthographic representation of the text corresponds to a representation of the speaker’s utterances using the standard spelling of a given language.”

In view of Llisterri’s recommendations and cautions I have used the following guidelines to transcribe my recorded Pijin data: The spoken words are usually represented in accordance with the de facto standard orthographic conventions (these are phonemically based); Truncated or reduced forms of words are represented in the transcription by non-standard spelling and a lexicon of their full orthographic counterparts is maintained; Sentence boundaries are marked by a full stop and capital letter, or if a question by a question mark;

¹ As an example of the need for context I had the following experience. While transcribing one of my recordings I hit a short and rapid utterance that I could not understand. Phonetically it was something like [hastɪndʒerɪŋ]. After pondering this for some time I realised I had to do some thinking about the context. It became clear that the speaker was talking about the sponsors of an athletics competition and I concluded it must be a company name. This led to the realisation that it was a local (possibly naïve) pronunciation of the company name ‘Hastings Deering’. This company is a known sponsor of local sports events in Solomon Islands.

Commas are used to indicate brief pauses, longer pauses and hesitations are indicated by [pause]; Direct quoted speech is placed in quotation marks; Vocalised pauses are represented. Returning now to the sources of data, the third source is a range of published and unpublished written Pijin material. This material includes a variety of discourse genre (e.g. letters, narrative, descriptive, hortatory, and procedural) and was originally authored in Pijin by Solomon Islanders. This body of text amounts to about 10,000 words.

In addition to the original works in Pijin there is also translated material amounting to some 400,000 words. A majority of this is Bible translation, but it also includes literacy books, training manuals, and most recently – articles on justice and reconciliation, and official peace agreements. I note that there are risks in relying on translated materials. Crowley critiqued Verhaar’s reference grammar of Tok Pisin on this very point saying, “it is still basically a grammar of written translated Tok Pisin rather than of the vibrant spoken language” (Crowley 1999, p.185). Verhaar (1995, p.xviii) anticipated this criticism and defended his choice of using the Bible translation with three arguments. First, the translation used was produced by translators who were “natively fluent in Tok Pisin” and they selectively chose the lect for the text. Second, the translation contains a high degree of grammatical consistency as a result of certain “assumptions about what is ‘good’ Tok Pisin”. Third, he claimed that the “biblical lect” has had a standardising influence on Tok Pisin.

Though Verhaar’s arguments may be valid, there are other issues that he overlooks in relation to the use of Bible translation texts. I identify several other risks and some benefits in relation to analysing both written original works and translated biblical material. In the first place it must be acknowledged that a corpus reliant on Bible translation will have a limited scope of domains and vocabulary. Consequently, there is much day to day language and expression that never occurs in a Bible translation. Furthermore, a full range of culturally and environmentally specific events never arise in the biblical text.

Second, there are certain expectations regarding acceptability that Bible translators must follow that can result in a “sanitised” text. A simple example of this is that the Pijin verb *bagarap* ‘ruin’ is not used by Solomon Island Bible translators for fear that those who know of its origins may be offended.

Third, the translated text may have stylistic constraints due to the lack of context as compared to say live speech. For example, in normal speech participant tracking may occur simply with pronouns and deictics, whereas in a written text with no extra-linguistic context a proportionally greater number of nouns may be required to maintain clarity regarding participants.

Fourth, some of the biblical text is highly complex in terms of logic and argumentation; therefore parts of it are rich in inter-clausal and inter-sentential relations. Such complexity is less frequent in the day to day speech of many people, thus the translators may have to create their own strategies to express this complexity.

That last risk may also become an advantage for the translated text. Since complex constructions rarely occur in ordinary Pijin the translation provides an opportunity to express these complexities. If the translators have done their task well and checked the translation for comprehension and naturalness then we can have some confidence that they have produced well-formed constructions.

Velupillai (2003, p.18) comments on a similar issue with respect to written texts:

The distinctive feature of written language is that it relies on a complex structure to ensure that the intended message gets across to the public. This usually leads to dependence on more or less intricate constructions that are less needed in spoken language. Such constructions may make the data more linearly accessible for the linguist and more consistent than the dynamicity of spoken data. However, it may also lead to additional stylistic complexity.

Another benefit of using not only translated text, but also written text in general, is that perhaps the gap between competence and performance is closed. Where spontaneous spoken language may be full of dysfluencies, the written text, whether original or translated, has been consciously or unconsciously reflected on for congruence with the intuitions that the writer or translator has about his or her language.

An additional positive from the point of view of Pijin in its complex sociolinguistic setting, is that the written text is controlled for code-switching and mixing. Writers have the opportunity to reduce or remove any code-switches from their work as they write. If my task was to study such code-switching then I would meticulously avoid the written texts.

Finally, I suggest that the use of a translated text may assist in the interpretation of any particular construction where there is ambiguity of meaning or more than one analysis possible. The source text represented by the translated text can be examined and used in the process of deciding on an interpretation or analysis.

Even though I offer these positives in regard to written and translated texts, I should add that this analysis does not simply rely on them. Apart from the corpus of recorded and written material, I have discussed Pijin linguistic issues, examples, and points of grammar with my Solomon Islands friends and colleagues (some with linguistic training).

Finally, I have used examples of my own to illustrate particular points. These examples have been checked with Solomon Islander speakers for correctness and acceptability. In reality, I

have been speaking Pijin for over 16 years, ten of those years living in Solomon Islands. During this time I have used Pijin both orally and in writing (letters, sermons, articles, training materials and translation). Just as over 90% of speakers speak Pijin as a second or third language, I consider myself to belong to this same category.

I also draw other data from existing published and unpublished writing about Pijin. It is worth noting that the examples are glossed according to the Leipzig Glossing Rules: Conventions for interlinear morpheme-by-morpheme glosses (Comrie, Haspelmath & Bickel 2004).

In terms of the 848 data examples given in the text they are identified in the gloss line according to source with a letter code as follows:

(spr)	spoken example from audio recording	17 examples
(spo)	spoken example observed, i.e., observed by me in everyday settings	94 examples
(wr)	written example, i.e., in published works, either academic or reading matter published in Pijin (not translated).	197 examples
(nt)	example from Pijin New Testament	200 examples
(ot)	example from Pijin Old Testament	57 examples
(au)	author's example, i.e., created to illustrate an issue or point and checked for acceptability	270 examples
(el)	elicited example	13 examples

Having considered the sources of data, I will now make a few comments on the variety of Pijin represented in the data. The reader should be aware that though some of the written texts have been produced by speakers from a range of provinces (sometimes unknown to me) most were authored by Malaitans. Similarly, my observations of speakers has occurred mostly in Malaita and Guadalcanal, though I have also observed in other provinces. The local translators of the biblical text have mainly been men aged between 25 and 50 from Malaita, though one was from Santa Cruz in Temotu province, and one was from Ontong Java (ethnically Polynesian). In a few places in the thesis I have noted information concerning speakers (of the data examples given) or those from whom data was elicited, such as age, gender, education and island of origin, unfortunately this information does not exist for most examples since it was not recorded at the time.

On the whole I believe that the written and spoken variety described in this grammar adequately exemplifies the variety spoken by people from Malaita. I make additional comments about variation below in §3.7.1.

1.4 Scope

I begin this study with a brief theoretical background concerning the nature and development of pidgin and creole languages. Chapter two examines various views of the historical development of Pijin through the nineteenth century and into the twentieth century. In chapter three I outline the contemporary sociolinguistic setting along with a review of recent studies on Pijin. Statistics from the 1999 Solomon Islands census are analysed in this chapter and a brief outline of the phonology of Pijin is given. Following this background material I then move to the synchronic grammatical description of Pijin. While this is essentially a grammar of Pijin, at some points in the description I endeavour to draw comparisons and contrasts with the other varieties of Melanesian Pidgin.

The description itself proceeds as if following up a hierarchy of language structures, that is, smaller units of language are described first, then larger structures which are made up of the smaller units. Therefore I begin in chapter four with the various word classes and their morphology, that is, nouns, determiners, quantifiers, adjectives, pronouns, post-nominal modifiers, prepositions, verbs, verb modifiers - including adverbs, and a variety of particles. Chapter five contains a description of the noun phrase and its constituents. In chapter six I outline the verb phrase and its constituents, the adjective phrase and its constituents, as well as the prepositional phrase and its constituents. I also outline phrase level coordination. Chapter seven describes the syntax of the predicate. Finally, in chapter eight I examine simple and complex sentences. There are also several appendices with historical documents, lexical lists and a basic Pijin – English lexicon.

1.5 Theoretical Background

The name Solomon Islands Pidgin implies that this language belongs to the category of languages known as pidgins. Such languages are generally thought to be reduced languages that result from prolonged interaction between people who have no language in common. In such interaction, groups with less social status (speakers of *substrate* languages) tend to use words from the language spoken by those with more social status (the *superstrate* language) though they do so in ways influenced by the substrate languages (Holm 1989, pp.4-5). However, as will be seen, the historical, sociolinguistic and linguistic development of Pijin seems to point to something more. That ‘something more’ is that perhaps Pijin is a creole.

Creoles are often thought of as being languages that have a pidgin as an ancestor and are spoken natively by an entire speech community (Holm 1989, p.6).

As it happens, Jourdan points us to the idea that Pijin is both a pidgin and a creole (Jourdan 1985b, pp.204-229) or rather that pidgin and creole varieties of Pijin coexist and are structurally very similar. Jourdan's dissertation discusses the murky waters of varying definitions of pidgins and creoles in relation to Pijin. In her discussion she proposes a new definition of creole when she says:

a pidgin becomes a creole NOT because it has acquired native speakers, but because both the traditional contexts of use and the traditional sociolinguistic positions of its speakers have changed.

(Jourdan 1985b, p.210)

She considered that nativisation was merely one of several aspects of creolisation. She also said that, "a creole is a pidgin that has become the main and primary language of a stable and permanent speech community." By defining a creole socially she attempts to make it possible for pidgin and creole varieties of the same language to coexist. She also seeks to show that Pijin acquired its creole status before it began to be nativised. As the historical development of Pijin is reviewed I will note in a few places where perhaps there were native speakers, children, who could have contributed to the development of Pijin and that it was not only due to innovation by adults speaking it as a second language.

Keeping that in mind, note that Mühlhäusler (1997) also discusses the issues surrounding the definitions of the terms 'pidgin' and 'creole' and the terminological arguments in creole linguistics. He gives us the following definition for pidgin languages:

Pidgins are examples of partially targeted second language learning and second language creation, developing from simpler to more complex systems as communicative requirements become more demanding. Pidgin languages by definition have no native speakers – they are social rather than individual solutions – and hence are characterized by norms of acceptability.

(Mühlhäusler 1997, p.6)

Although Pijin largely fits this definition, it does have native speakers so it may be better to adopt the Thomason and Kaufman (1988) category of 'Creolised Pidgin' for Pijin, where the language is primarily a pidgin but does have some native speakers. Of course, as Jourdan had already demonstrated in the mid-1980s, the lines are blurred since we know that in 1999 Pijin was simultaneously spoken as a native language by about 25,000 people and as a second (or third, or *n*th) language by about 300,000 people². In this way the social context of Pijin

² We have no way of knowing at this time how many people speak Pijin as a "main language" or "language-of-habitual-use".

demonstrates that it is probably wrong to make a hard and fast distinction between some pidgins and their related creole. Such a conclusion is one that Thomason (1997) recommends when she proposes “fuzzy boundaries” for the classification of contact languages. This position is also reflected in Mühlhäusler’s statement, “The functional and structural differences between a primary pidgin and its corresponding Creole may thus be minimal” (Mühlhäusler 1997, p.10).

Bearing in mind that the classification must be ‘fuzzy’ I will now look at Mühlhäusler’s typology of creoles. He distinguished three main sociolinguistic types of creoles based on criteria of sociohistorical development (Mühlhäusler 1997, p.9). Pijin, like the other varieties of Melanesian Pidgin, fits best in Mühlhäusler’s Type 3 Creole. Type 3 Creoles have the following developmental history:

JARGON → STABILIZED PIDGIN → EXPANDED PIDGIN → CREOLE

I will briefly note what the terms in this scheme mean so that there is a basic understanding to reflect on the development of Pijin³ as discussed below in chapters two and three. Jargons, according to Mühlhäusler (1997, pp.128-131), “are individual solutions to cross-linguistic communication”. These are used in restricted domains, with tactics such as the use of set utterances, pragmatic structuring according to the immediate context of communication, grammaticalization by transfer and universals. A Stabilized Pidgin is one where variability is reduced and set grammatical conventions have developed in a context where none of the languages of the people in contact serves as a target language (Mühlhäusler 1997, pp.138, 162). An Expanded Pidgin is one in which the stabilized variety has been elaborated by adults who speak it as a second language. This elaboration takes place both in the number of domains in which the language is used and in the increase in the referential and non-referential power of the language (Mühlhäusler 1997, p.163). The final stage of the development shown in the scheme is the emergence of a creole language. The expanded pidgin is used by those who have acquired it as a first language and use it in all domains of life.

Although Mühlhäusler’s scheme extends only to the emergence of a creole, he also discusses what is called “the post-creole continuum” (Mühlhäusler 1997, pp.11, 211-220). In essence when a creole remains in contact, or comes into close contact with the language from which

³ A full account of Mühlhäusler’s developmental scheme for a type 3 creole can be found in chapter 5 of Mühlhäusler (1997).

its lexicon is derived (the superstrate or lexifier language) then there is a tendency for it to change in the direction of that language. Such change is called a process of decreolisation (Holm 1989, p.9; Fasold 1990, p.183). In particular, this process of decreolisation involves not merely lexical change but phonological and/or morphosyntactic change such that the creole becomes more like the superstrate language. Where there is a post-creole continuum then the creole variety that is most different from the superstrate language is called a basilect, while the variety most like the superstrate is known as an acrolect. Any variety between these is known as a mesolect (Holm 1989, p.9). In the course of examining Pijin in its contemporary setting (chapter three) I will consider whether it is undergoing decreolisation. Having touched on some theoretical background, albeit extremely briefly, I now turn to review the historical development of Pijin.

Chapter 2 Historical Development

2.1 Nineteenth Century

The historical development of Pijin in particular is bound up with the history of Melanesian Pidgin (subsequently referred to as MP) in general. The early historical development of MP took place in the context of contact between the diverse groups living in the Pacific and foreigners who came there. Pacific Islanders, Australian Aborigines, explorers, ship crews, missionaries, whalers, sandalwood traders, pearlers, *bêche-de-mer* fishermen, traders and labour recruiters were all players in the contact situation that occurred in the Pacific Islands and Australia in the 1800s (Ross Clark 1983; Lynch 1998, pp.221-222; Tryon & Charpentier 2004). It was labour recruitment in particular that saw an increase of interaction between the players as Pacific Islanders went to work on plantations in Fiji, Queensland and Samoa.

Apart from the local geographical and social context of the Pacific, we know that some of the foreigners who came had knowledge of Pidgins from other parts of the world.

Much has been written about the very early stages of the development of MP (Baker 1987; Baker 1993; Ross Clark 1979; Crowley 1990; Keesing 1988; Keesing 1991a; Mühlhäusler 1978; Tryon 1997; Tryon & Charpentier 2004). More recent discussions have benefited from additional documentary evidence, though all are hampered by the limited evidence from the first half of the nineteenth century. In this section I will examine the work of Clark, Keesing, Baker, and Tryon & Charpentier.

2.1.1 Clark

Clark (1979) gave us the first general examination of the origins of MP. Using an analysis of various lexical features and locations of available evidence, Clark proposed the following basic scheme of development: A Nautical Jargon followed by South Seas Jargon succeeded by Sandalwood English leading to Early Melanesian pidgin, and then to present day Pacific pidgins. I will briefly review his terms.

Clark refers to a so-called Worldwide Nautical Jargon in the late 1700s as one possible way in which certain worldwide pidgin lexical items may have entered MP (such as *been* 'PAST', *by-and-by* 'FUTURE', *got* 'have', *him* '3SG', *piccaniny* 'child', *plenty* 'many', *savvy* 'know', *something* 'thing', *suppose* 'if', *too much* 'very' these occurred in various Pidgins in other

parts of the world⁴). He acknowledges, however, that this jargon has little or no evidence to prove its existence (Ross Clark 1979, p.19). The next phase he labels as South Seas Jargon, occurring in Polynesia and Micronesia up until about 1865. Clark (1979, pp.32-33) points out that this jargon was most likely some sort of ‘foreigner-talk/broken language system’. Developing out of the jargon, Clark (1979, p.36) suggests that Sandalwood English arose in the sandalwood and *bêche-de-mer* trading situations in Melanesia, occurring in New Caledonia, Loyalty Islands, and the New Hebrides (now Vanuatu) from around 1840 to 1865. As whaling, sandalwood and *bêche-de-mer* declined the plantation labour trade sprang up. Plantations in Fiji, Samoa and Queensland looked to Melanesia for workers. The first New Hebrideans went to Queensland in 1863. Later, from 1867 on, Pacific Islanders were also working on the plantations in Samoa. In the multilingual context of the plantation, Clark suggests that Early Melanesian Pidgin developed out of the Sandalwood English that he thinks many of the early recruits would have known (Ross Clark 1979, p.38). This implies that the early form of MP began developing in the plantations of Queensland, Samoa and Fiji from around 1865 on, and would have been found in the islands of origin of the labourers when they returned. However, as Siegel (1987, p.81) points out there was very little MP used in Fiji at any time and especially before 1888. He also notes that little or no MP or English is reported of the returned labourers from Fiji.⁵ On the other hand, Mühlhäusler (1978, pp.80-81) argues that a “relatively stable form of Pidgin English” came into being in the plantations of Samoa in the period from 1867 to 1879.

Since there is reasonably good documentation for this Early Melanesian Pidgin, it is fair to say that it was indeed a pidgin with regular and perhaps even stable features. It is fairly plain from the evidence that various present-day Pacific pidgins came into being from the earlier form. However, at the time when Clark wrote he was unable to say what influence the Australian pidgins had in the development of MP (Ross Clark 1979, p.43). Subsequent research has made a clear case for a strong influence. I shall outline that below. However, before looking at the Australian influence I will briefly review Keesing’s proposal since it is at odds in some respects with Clark’s.

⁴ More recently this area of study has been opened wide as Baker and Huber (2001) have examined the relationship between Atlantic and Pacific Pidgin and Creole languages. They looked at 302 lexical, functional and grammatical features in 13 English-lexicon contact languages from the Atlantic and the Pacific.

⁵ Clark (1987, p.62) has a footnote indicating that there is uncertainty concerning the use of pidgin English in Fiji at the time.

2.1.2 Keesing

Keesing's (1988) basic scheme of the history of Pijin is as follows: a Worldwide Nautical Pidgin English (WNPE) developing into a distinct Pacific Nautical Pidgin English that from the mid-1840s had become an "established and relatively expanded, stable pidgin" (p.36). This Nautical pidgin then became the linguistic input into the pidgin that further developed on the plantations starting in 1863 (p.53). Keesing considers that pidgin in the Pacific had well and truly expanded and stabilised by the late 1880s (p.89).

Due to looseness in terminology it is difficult to pin down exactly how Keesing would characterise WNPE. Baker (1993, p.7) points out that on the one hand Keesing implies it was a pidgin, but on the other that it was merely 'foreigner talk'⁶. Perhaps we cannot expect anything more definitive since there is a paucity of documentation. Probably the most significant difference between Clark and Keesing is that the latter lays a lot more emphasis on the early stabilisation and input by people from the central Pacific (Keesing 1988, p.53). Unfortunately Keesing does not have the documentary evidence to demonstrate that between 1840 and 1860 there was only one variety of an early form of MP. Baker (1993, pp.8-9) points out that although Keesing can point to central Pacific evidence for lexical and grammatical features that persist in all modern forms of MP, his examples come from different islands and "he has not shown that all or even most of them were current in any one location." Actually in contrast to Keesing we now have evidence that many features of MP have their origin not in the central Pacific but in the Australian Pidgin current in the mid-1800s (Baker 1993; Tryon 1997; Baker & Mühlhäusler 1996a; Baker & Mühlhäusler 1996b; Mühlhäusler & Baker 1996).

2.1.3 Baker

Baker (1993, pp.58-60) investigated the history of MP by looking at 107 features of MP and the time and location of their first occurrence in documents. He concluded that up to 2/3 of these features came into MP via Australian varieties of Pidgin English. Baker's account of the emergence of MP does not seek to give labels to various embryonic stages over time; rather he recounts nine factors that contributed to the formation of MP (Baker 1993, pp.54-59). These factors are summarised by Baker as follows:

- 1) Features arising from 'foreigner talk' English.

⁶ 'Foreigner talk' means stereotypical behaviour such as reduplication, repetition, special word order, special grammatical elements or reduction of grammatical elements all of which tend to occur in the speech register of people talking to others who do not know their language (Mühlhäusler 1997, pp.56, 96-102).

- 2) Features brought to the Pacific by sailors from pre-existing Atlantic or Asian pidgins and creoles.
- 3) Features acquired from local languages by sailors on exploratory voyages and diffused more widely by the latter.
- 4) Australian features which reached MP either directly from Australian Pidgin English or indirectly and less probably from other Pacific islands.
- 5) Australian features which appear to have reached Melanesia directly.
- 6) Pidgin features apparently transmitted to Melanesia from Micronesia and Polynesia.
- 7) Features taken by Melanesian recruits to Queensland.
- 8) Innovations associated with the period when Melanesians worked in Queensland.
- 9) Features first attested in MP post-dating the return of the first labourers from Queensland.

Having examined the documentary evidence, Baker (1993, p.61) argues that Keesing's proposal for a single dialect of Pacific pidgin established by the 1860s has no grounds. Although Baker agrees with Keesing that a stabilised and expanded pidgin existed in the Pacific by the late 1880s, he disagrees that this is a direct continuation of the single dialect mentioned above. Rather he proposes that the MP of the 1880s is a continuation of Australian Pidgin English spoken in Queensland at the time (Baker 1993, p.13). The importance of an Australian role was in fact recognised long ago by Schuchardt in 1883 and Codrington in 1884 (Schuchardt 1979, p.11).

I illustrate this variety of MP with a couple of quotes from Solomon Islanders. I retrieved these from the archives of the South Seas Evangelical Mission. They were reported in the ninth annual report of the Queensland Kanaka Mission, covering 1894-95. I have retained spelling and punctuation as Arthur Eustace, the missionary who wrote the stories, originally recorded them.

A Malayta Boy said, "My heart he very glad now, because seven years ago Mr. and Mrs. Eustace teach me savee Jesus; me one fellow Boy Malayta come along school then; altogether my countrymen he try pull em me, make me drink grog, me say no, me belong another way now, me belong Jesus, suppose you make me drink grog, bye and by you spoil em me; then me try pull em some fellow along school; plenty my countrymen he Christian now; me thank God he been send Miss Young, Mr. and Mrs. Eustace make me savee Jesus along heart."

Another Solomon Islander said, "One time me bad fellow plenty; me drinkem grog, me fight big fellow; close up me kill em one fellow man finish, so me lose

em twenty pounds along Court; me plenty sorry along twenty pounds; then bye and by me been hear school he stop; me no savee what name school; me think me go try him; then me hear about Jesus love em me fellow; me no savee very good first time; me come all time; bye and by me savee Jesus die for my sin; me glad when me been give em heart belong me along Jesus; that seven year ago now more.”

(Eustace 1895, p.8)

Features in the quote above that persist today in MP (albeit with non-etymological spellings) are items such as *he* ‘SUBJECT REFERENCING PRONOUN’, *savee* ‘know’, *along* ‘PREPOSITION’, *altogether* ‘PLURAL’, verb –em, *bye and by* ‘FUTURE’, *some fellow* ‘some’, the pattern adjective-*fellow* such as *bad fellow* ‘bad’, *been* ‘PAST’, *belong* ‘POSSESSIVE’, *close up* ‘nearly’, *finish* ‘COMPLETIVE’, *what name* (now *wanem* in Pijin) ‘what’. Although the English possessive pronoun *my* occurs, the first person singular subject pronouns are always in the form of the English object pronoun *me*.

2.1.4 Tryon & Charpentier

Tryon & Charpentier (2004) provide a detailed investigation of the various theories of the development of MP. They highlight the central part that trade in and out of Sydney in the 1800s played in the origins of MP. Sydney was the place at which crews from Pacific ports came into contact with the emergent New South Wales Pidgin (Tryon & Charpentier 2004, p.479). Their detailed survey of the historical data concerning ship arrivals, first occurrences of certain words, labour sources, and the European activity in the Pacific enable us to understand the context in which MP arose with an Australian influence as Baker has shown. A key conclusion drawn by Tryon and Charpentier is that there is insufficient material to decide upon the issue of precisely when MP became a stable pidgin. They say:

... some pidginists are of the opinion that Melanesian Pidgin English stabilised by the mid 1840s (Keesing), the 1860s (Clark, Crowley), or the 1880s or later (Mühlhäusler). Our reading and analysis of the written records from the 19th century suggest that the material is simply not adequate as a basis on which to make any such pronouncement. (Tryon & Charpentier 2004, p.481)

However, they nevertheless conclude that MP had attained a “fair degree of stability” by the last two decades of the nineteenth century (Tryon & Charpentier 2004, p.482)

2.1.5 An Expanded Pidgin

Apart from the stabilisation issues there is some dispute concerning how expanded MP was by the late 1880s. Mühlhäusler considered that MP had been in a stabilisation stage between 1860 and the First World War. Toward the end of the nineteenth century he believes the lexicon to have had a maximum of about 300 items, while by the First World War he posited a lexicon (for New Guinea Pidgin) that was still impoverished, having between 750 and 1000 words (Mühlhäusler 1979, pp.59-65, 221). Others have argued against this, notably Keesing (1988; 1991a), Crowley (1990; 1998a) and Clark. Crowley (1989, p.402) cites Clark's (1987) estimate⁷ of a 1000 word lexicon for MP by 1885. In his own later work, Crowley (1998a, p.66) also argues for a number similar to this specifically for Bislama. Without recounting all the detailed arguments from these authors it seems to be a fair conclusion from their evidence that MP was already expanded in lexical terms by the end of the nineteenth century (Crowley 1998a, p.62). By way of comparison, note that in the mid-twentieth century, Hall (1955, p.72) estimated the vocabulary of Pijin to be a "thousand-odd words."

The degree of expansion of late nineteenth century MP is significant for the thesis that the modern dialects of MP had a 'monolectal' origin (Keesing 1991a, p.215). Mühlhäusler (1979, p.65) points out that the link between New Guinea Pidgin and the other varieties of MP was severed in 1884. It was at that time that authorities proclaimed a German protectorate over the Bismarck Archipelago and North Eastern New Guinea. The links between Pijin and Bislama were also eroded as the labour trade ended in Queensland in 1904 and in Fiji in 1911. Links with another of the Melanesian Pidgins, Torres Strait Creole, have yet to be fully investigated to give it its place in the historical scheme (Lee 1998, pp.1-2). Therefore, after the nineteenth century, the history of Pijin departs from the general history of Melanesian Pidgin and comes to have its own particular history.

2.2 Twentieth Century

Differences in the modern varieties of MP indicate that each has undergone its own elaboration since separating. In some senses this challenges Mühlhäusler's scheme for a Type 3 Creole, noted above, where a Stabilized Pidgin precedes an Expanded Pidgin. I say this since it seems some expansion took place before stabilization. Siegel has shown that early MP had a variety of features that the different modern dialects of MP drew upon; each dialect of MP stabilized "when the labourers went back to their own islands and used this pool of features as a lingua franca among themselves" (Siegel 1998, pp.349-350). Therefore, even

⁷ Clark's 1987 work is not available to me.

though MP had undergone lexical expansion by the start of the twentieth century, it was not entirely stable as evidenced by grammatical variability. This suggests that the relationship between stabilisation and expansion is not as simple as Mühlhäusler's scheme suggests. Whatever the case, we know that Pijin is different to Tok Pisin and Bislama in certain points of grammar and the lexicon. This differentiation essentially occurred in the first part of the twentieth century (Tryon & Charpentier 2004, p.350).

These differences, in part, came about through a process of elaboration that involved the elimination of variants and the reinforcement of certain grammatical patterns due to congruence with substrate language patterns (Siegel 1998, p.348). In this section I will briefly review the setting in which that elaboration occurred for Pijin.

2.2.1 Solomon Islands Plantations

At the same time as the closure of the labour trade in Queensland and Fiji, copra plantations were developed within Solomon Islands. These were located mainly in Russell Islands, Santa Isabel, and Guadalcanal (Jourdan 1985, p.29). Many workers repatriated from overseas came to work in these plantations (Corris 1973, p.144). By 1920 it is believed that some 6000 men (predominantly Malaitan and so speaking a number of Southeast Solomonic languages) were under contract annually in the internal plantations (Alasia 1989, p.116). In total between 1913 and 1940 there were almost 38,000 labourers involved in labour migration within Solomon Islands (Siegel 1998, p.351). Bennett (1987, p.190) claims that Pijin had achieved a fairly standard form by the 1930s and was so widely known that recruiting ships were not required by law to carry interpreters at that time.

Therefore the internal plantations provided a key environment where Pijin could develop (Jourdan 1985b, p.41; Siegel 1998). Keesing (1990, p.153) notes that as the plantations developed in the first three decades of the twentieth century the planters learned Pijin, usually quite well, and used it to direct their labourers.

One feature of the internal plantations that made them different than those overseas was that repatriated men could move into permanent plantation positions and live with their families on land provided on the estates (Corris 1973, p.145). The following comment in a report on labour recruiting in neighbouring New Hebrides indirectly supports Corris' contention:

“Others recruit because the marriage ceremony has ruined them, and the young man has to go away to earn money, sometimes with and sometimes without his wife.” (Shlomowitz & Bedford 1988, pp.62 - 63).

It is possible then that there were some families living in the plantations, this context may have provided one of the first instances where children could be exposed to and learn Pijin, and perhaps contribute to its development too.

The great economic depression of the 1930s led to a decline in the copra plantations of Solomon Islands and so this context for the extension and development of Pijin all but ceased to exist at that time.

2.2.2 Christian Settlements

Corris (1973, pp.136 – 142) records some of the difficulties that workers repatriated from overseas had once they arrived home. One means of coping with life was to join a Christian settlement (or enclave as Corris called them). Most of these were on Malaita. By 1908 there were 44 such settlements. The SSEC mission station at Onepusu was one such settlement (Jourdan 1985b, p.152). Locals within their own language areas populated many of these; however others were made up of people from different groups.

At first some of the larger settlements of Christians, such as that at Gnore Fou, were unstable, owing to the diverse origins of the people who comprised them, but the end result of this fraternisation between people from different areas was to permit freer association between the people of the island [Malaita] generally. (Corris 1973, p.142)

Although there is no real way of knowing what language was used in such mixed settlements, it is not unreasonable to suppose that Pijin played at least some part. If this is true then we may have another locus in which children were able to learn Pijin.

2.2.3 Missionaries

The returned labourers brought with them knowledge of evangelical Christianity that they acquired in Queensland through the mission efforts of the Queensland Kanaka Mission. This mission was founded through efforts of the Young family who were involved in the sugar industry through the Fairymead Sugar plantation and mill in Bundaberg, North Queensland (Young 1926). The Queensland Kanaka Mission eventually developed into the South Seas Evangelical Mission (SSEM) in 1907. This mission sent missionaries to assist their converts in Solomon Islands. These SSEM missionaries generally adopted a pragmatic approach and used Pijin for their oral communication (Garrett 1992, pp.84-85). By contrast missionaries and priests with other denominations chose to use one or more of the vernacular languages from within the Solomons or elsewhere in the Pacific (Mühlhäusler 2002). Bennett (1987,

p.190) notes that some members of the Catholic mission also used Pijin, though this may have occurred later, when Pijin became more widespread (Garrett 1992, p.84)

Keesing (1990, p.153) notes that although they were pragmatic, the SSEM missionaries' use had a condescending manner about it. This is confirmed by Garrett (1992, p.84) in his comments about Florence Young's autobiography. Keesing's claim is further substantiated in that the SSEM never published any of their material in Pijin. My examination of the SSEM archives held at Robert Menzies College at Macquarie University in Sydney showed a complete lack of any written teaching or biblical material in Pijin. Nevertheless, the SSEM did use oral Pijin in its training of local pastors. As a result it is fair to conclude that mission stations and church services among the SSEM adherents would have had a strong Pijin component. Consequently in the early part of the twentieth century a domain of use for Pijin was extended for at least those connected with the SSEM. Since the stations were like village communities and church services involved entire families it seem certain that domain had children involved. Jourdan (1985b, p.209) claims that only men spoke Pijin in the pre-war period, however, she also notes that two of her respondents learned Pijin as children at an SSEM mission station in the 1920s (1985b, p.152). As evidence of the Pijin spoken by SSEM adherents before the war, I have included in appendix 1 a letter written in 1936. It is from a Guadalcanal man, Joshua Willei, to one of the SSEM missionaries, Mr. Cowie. It displays a mix of both Pijin and English grammatical features.

That the SSEM used oral Pijin and did not produce any written Pijin material may have been an effort to comply with the policy of the colonial government, which I shall examine below. By way of contrast, the SSEM did produce and use written Tok Pisin material in Papua New Guinea. In that context the language did have colonial government sanction.

2.2.4 World War 2 and Beyond

During the Second World War American soldiers in the South Pacific had some exposure to Melanesian Pidgin as they interacted with the Melanesians. There is little doubt that the soldiers had to communicate with the locals in Pijin (Jourdan 1985b, p.46). Along with that grass roots interaction there was also an interest in Melanesian Pidgin by linguists both professional and amateur. Authors like Hall (1945) and John Murphy (1966, first published in 1943) did much to champion the status of MP in general among Americans and other Westerners. Perhaps this would have helped the Americans coming to Solomon Islands during the war to have a positive attitude to Pijin.

Following the war an anti-colonial political movement known as *Maasina Ruru* arose.⁸ Jourdan (1985b, pp.30, 51 -52) points out that the use of Pijin meant the *Maasina Ruru* movement was able to unify Malaitans across barriers of religion, kin and language. In fact the movement depended on Pijin for inter-tribal harmony and communication (Bennett 1987, p.297). At the same time the attitude of the British Colonial administration officials was one of denigration of Pijin (Hall 1955). It is quite ironic that the vehicle of political unification amongst Malaitans was at the same time a means of distancing them further from the expatriate administrators who were hoping for the demise of Pijin.

2.2.5 Colonial Attitudes

That the colonial administration was anti-Pijin should be no surprise. Keesing (1990) gives us a good account of the attitudes of the government administration officials from before World War 2 until the early 1970s. In the reports that Keesing cites, Pijin is repeatedly referred to as a *lingua franca*. Through the 1940s the aim of eliminating Pijin became a strong concern of the government officials. The biennial reports on the British Solomon Islands Protectorate from 1957 through 1965 proclaim that,

Pidgin is a bar to progress in the modern world and its day is passing. English is now compulsory in all registered schools and, in a simple form, is replacing Pidgin in the main centre. (cited in Keesing 1990, p.157)

Hall (1955, p.71) reminds us of a further irony during his period of interest in Solomon Islands. While on the one hand the government was opposing Pijin, especially written Pijin, on the other they needed it for practical day-to-day communication. In fact it was required of permanent government officers that they had to be able to “converse fluently in Pidgin English.” To prove this they had to pass an examination (solely oral) in Pijin about a year or so after their arrival.

Actually Hall offered the government of the day some assistance in this regard. The archives of the British Western Pacific High Commission contain various works by Hall on Pijin, these are distinct from the things he published about Pijin. Materials discovered include:

- The script of a radio talk about Pijin that he gave in Honiara on 4 June 1954.
- A five-page typescript document called *Grammatical Notes On Neo-Solomonic ('B.S.I. Pidgin English')* dated 5 June 1954 (Hall 1954a).

⁸ *Maasina Ruru*; this movement is also called Marching Rule and Maasina Rule by various authors. However, the name *Maasina* derives from the Malaitan 'Are'are language word for 'brotherhood', and *ruru* was the local 'Are'are pronunciation of 'rule'.

- A draft publication called *Neo-Solomonic (B.S.I. Pidgin) Phrase-book and Vocabulary* (Hall & Poole 1955) whose vocabulary list has over 1200 lexical items with English glosses.
- Correspondence with a Miss K. Poole (public relations Officer of the Western Pacific High Commission office in Honiara at the time) concerning the preparation of the draft phrase book.

Hall was actually working cooperatively with Poole on the phrase book and vocabulary. For the sake of accessibility I reproduce these materials in full in appendix 1.

Several of Hall's comments in the materials are worth looking at here. It was in his radio talk in Honiara that he first publicly proposed the idea of naming the language "Neo-Solomonic". He says he invented the name so as to avoid the negative connotations associated with the name "Pidgin English" (Hall 1954b). He repeated his proposal in the grammatical notes given to the colonial authorities. This name of course was effectively buried in the colonial files and even though later in 1955 he recommended it again in his article in the *Australian Quarterly* (Hall 1955) there was no interest in the new name.

In the introduction to his grammatical notes Hall wrote:

These notes are designed to afford a kind of "linguistic first-aid" to the European who needs to acquire a knowledge of Neo-Solomonic (the "Pidgin English" of the British Solomon Islands), either to pass a governmental examination or to conduct his own affairs in dealing with the natives successfully with a minimum of friction. (Hall 1954a, p.1)

Hall considered Pijin to have two functions. The first was as a lingua franca "among the natives of the Solomons." The second was as a "means of communication between Europeans and natives." He considered the former purpose to be more important because of the multiplicity of "native languages" (Hall & Poole 1955).

Hall lamented the absence of an official orthography. He said: "The practice of writing it with English spellings (e.g. *bimeby me go 'long place belong me 'long bush*) cannot be condemned too strongly..." He then goes on to recommend an orthography very similar to what he suggested for Tok Pisin at the time (Hall 1954a, p.1).

In his cover letter that accompanied the Phrase-book and vocabulary typescript he took pains to convince the colonial government to do something about Pijin. He even tried the fear of communism as a motivation:

It is quite clear, for example, that if the "powers that be" in the BSI refuse to turn the clock forward and promulgate a reasonably accurate orthography for N-S, they will be missing a very important trick in facilitating mass

communication and elementary education, and will (as I pointed out in HANDS OFF PIDGIN ENGLISH!) be handing radical leftists a marvellous propaganda medium, gratis, free for nothing and on a silver platter.

(letter to Ms K. Poole, 1 May, 1955)

Whether the government of the day did anything other than archive the grammatical notes and vocabulary we won't know. They certainly did not implement Hall's suggestions. However, the efficient archiving of the Colonial administration has preserved the notes, vocabulary and letters for our use today. In the grammatical description below I will refer at times to Hall's material for comparison.

I draw out one other significant piece of information from the correspondence. Poole wrote on 5 October 1954 in response to Hall's suggestion that they produce a Pijin vocabulary with grammatical notes. She made the following statement:

I have spoken to John Grover and Brian Twomey about helping to collect material and they are most enthusiastic; Geoff. Dennis will also help and we may be able to get our final result checked by a Euronesian who is probably the best pidgin speaker in Honiara.

It is significant that Poole refers to a "Euronesian" and the quality of their pidgin. There is an implication that this person of mixed descent probably learned pidgin as a first language and that therefore their fluency was better than average. This is a sign perhaps that creolisation/nativisation was in process at that time.

A good deal later, in 1969, the prophesied passing of Pijin (in the earlier colonial biennial reports) was repeated in an open letter debate in Solomon Islands between Roger Keesing and Keith Payne. Payne was the Adult Education officer at the time and Keesing sought to respond to some radio broadcasts in which Payne's disdain for Pijin became quite clear. In his letter Payne proclaimed:

In thirty years, I shall probably be as dead as the Pidgin we are talking today.
But English ... will still be marching on. (Keesing 1990, p.161)

When Keesing recounted the debate in 1990, he was uncertain of Payne's health. Today, well over 30 years on from the proclamation, we know for a fact that Payne was dead wrong. It is amusing to compare Payne's prediction with Hall's. Hall too predicted that given the right economic and educational conditions English would perhaps replace Pijin. The time period he suggested this might take was "two or three hundred years" (Hall 1955, p.74) As will be seen in the next chapter, Pijin is very much alive and used by a greater proportion of Solomon Islanders than ever before.

Chapter 3 The Contemporary Situation

Although there is probably more that could be uncovered regarding the post-war history of Pijin I shall now focus on the contemporary situation, that is, the last twenty five years or so. Prior to Jourdan's sociolinguistic study of Pijin in 1985, linguists from SIL International had produced a couple of small sociolinguistic studies of language use in Solomon Islands. A brief review of their findings is useful since they are not readily accessible outside of Solomon Islands. In this chapter I also review the statistics from the 1999 population census, and briefly outline the phonology of Pijin.

3.1 Early's study of Language use and intelligibility in the Central Islands of the Western province

Early (1982) investigated various language use issues in the Western Province of Solomon Islands. One of the aims of his survey was to find out about the intelligibility and function of Pijin. The significance of this is that the Western Province was not traditionally a Pijin speaking area. The survey covered 40 locations in the Western Province where 314 people (approximately 1.3% of the province's population) in total were interviewed. In addition to interviews the respondents also took language intelligibility tests.

Early (1982, pp.11-13) reports the following findings:

- 70 – 80% of the people were able to understand Pijin at least partially (though for the Kusaghe language community this figure was apparently lower).
- Pijin had replaced Roviana as the lingua franca of the Western Province.
- People mainly expected to use Pijin when they went to Gizo (the main town of the Western Province).
- Pijin was the most favoured language for radio broadcasts.

Unfortunately Early did not report the results of his language intelligibility testing so we do not really know what "understand Pijin at least partially" means. Nevertheless it does give an indication of the pervasiveness of Pijin as a second language. Early also noted a growing use of Pijin in the religious domain.

Early observed one interesting fact in the intelligibility testing, namely, that although some respondents were not able to actually understand the story, "they could often recognize the language the story was being told in" (Early 1982, p.16). He reports 92% of respondents

being able to recognize Pijin and 86% being able to recognize English (other languages were also reported). This observation indicates a fairly sophisticated linguistic awareness on the part of Solomon Islanders.

3.2 Morgan's study of Language Usage in the Solomon Islands

Morgan (1983) reviews some observations about language use in Solomon Islands and then reports the results of a language use survey⁹. Her report also goes on to make some language development recommendations. I will only review the first two sections here. I discuss the last section below in the context of other recommendations concerning language planning.

Morgan (1983, pp.7 - 8) makes the following observations concerning Pijin:

- Pijin functions as a language of wider communication in urban areas and labour camps. In these contexts it has role in a variety of domains, such as, family life in inter-ethnic marriages, business, education, medical services, agricultural extension, government administration, radio broadcasting, and police activities. Such usage occurs where the speaker and hearer do not share a common vernacular language.
- Attitudes to Pijin vary. On the one hand people took Pijin for granted, while on the other many considered it to be broken or poor English.
- Pijin is acquired through everyday contact with others who do not share a vernacular. This means of acquisition applies both to children and to adults. Children also acquire Pijin from teachers who do not have an adequate command of English or a local language.

The language use survey that Morgan reports had a sample size of 283 respondents. These were located in Honiara and plantations in the Russell Islands. The results that primarily concern us are the self-reported comprehension and use of Pijin¹⁰. The following table from Morgan summarizes self-reported good fluency in Pijin and English.

	Honiara	Plantations
Pijin	99%	96%
English	52%	28%

“Table 12 - Subjects reporting fluency in Pijin and English” (Morgan 1983 , p.19)

⁹ The original surveys have been stored and so are still available for analysis should anyone wish to carry out further research. The area of English fluency may be particularly fruitful.

¹⁰ The survey asked questions on both comprehension and fluency but in most cases people gave identical answers for the two questions. (Morgan 1983, p.16)

Other data in Morgan's report indicate very little difference in self-reported Pijin fluency across age ranges although I note that respondents below 20 years of age were under-represented in the survey. Of course there are problems with the precision of self-reported language ability; however, the basic point of the pervasiveness of Pijin is well underscored. Since almost the whole sample indicated they are fluent in Pijin there is little to be gained from correlations between Pijin ability and education level or island of origin.

3.3 Pijin Literature and Other Media

One further area reported on by Morgan concerns reading material in Pijin. 97% of respondents said they would like books in Pijin. The background of the question on the survey is that in the early 1980s people had written very little in Pijin. This highlights the fact that Pijin had never been anything other than a language used in oral domains.

In several government departments, such as Agriculture and Health, there were a few Pijin publications known as Government fact sheets. At the time the Solomon Islands Christian Association (SICA) had only recently embarked on developing Bible translation and literacy in Pijin. A Gospel had been translated into Pijin in the mid-1970s and a dictionary was produced in 1978 (Simons & Young 1978). The significance of this is that local Church leaders were on the whole moving against the colonial attitudes to Pijin that they inherited from most of their expatriate mentors. However, it would be true to say that not everyone would have been supportive of the plans to produce Pijin Scripture. Even as recently as 1999 there were Church administrators who would constantly call the language 'Pidgin English' (possibly conveying a less than positive attitude), and were not supportive of the SICA Pijin translation work.

Since the 1980s there has been a little development of Pijin literature. Most has been done through SICA agencies in the areas of Pijin literacy materials and Bible translation. They have released various standardized spelling guides (Beimers 1999) along with poetry and storybooks. In addition to these, the New Testament was published in 1993, and the first major sections of the Old Testament (Genesis and Psalms) were published in 1998. The entire Bible in Pijin was published in July 2008.

Few others apart from SICA have been publishing in Pijin. The Jehovah's Witnesses have been producing Pijin literature for some time. One notable feature of their materials is that they use a spelling system based on English etymology rather than the de facto standard as found in the SICA material.

The US Peace Corps also published materials in Pijin in 1979. These, however, were primarily aimed at Peace Corp volunteers to help them learn and use Pijin in their community development efforts. They produced four books in their Language Handbook Series. One was a pedagogical grammar, one a culture training book, one a community development training book and the last a teacher's handbook to accompany the other three (Raymond C. Clark & Huebner 1979; Huebner & Horoi 1979b; Huebner & Horoi 1979a; Huebner 1979).

One major piece of literature in Pijin is a collection of stories concerning World War 2. This was published by the University of the South Pacific in both Pijin and in English in 1988 (White 1988). Authors have published some drama scripts, though these are not widely available. An example of these is John Craddock's "*Maasina Ruru: a socio-political drama: Solomon Islands 1942-1950*" (Craddock 1992). Apart from this piece of drama, Pijin has also been used in a lip-synchronized translated film. The Pijin version of the "Jesus Film" was produced and released in 1999 by Campus Crusade for Christ.

The final medium that is noteworthy here is a newspaper. Bennett (1987, p.321) records for us that from 1970 to 1975 the newspaper known as the "Kakamora Reporter" occasionally published articles in Pijin. In 1996 a small company was formed (mainly by 'Are'are people) to publish a weekly Pijin newspaper. The first issue of 'Solomons Grasrut' (Solomons Grassroots) was published in September 1996. Here is a quote from the editorial of the first edition:

Grasrut drim blong fes Pijin Niuspepa

Tude niufala sapta long histori blong Print Media long Solomon Aelan hemi open wetem fes fala tabloid niuspepa long Solomon Aelan Pijin langguis hemi bon.... Staka pipol olsem samfala wantok, an samfala frens hu waka wetem media olketa talem mi stret olsem niuspepa long Pijin bae no garem maket, olketa pipol bae faendem hat an bae no ridim an raetem... (Ohasio 1996)

Translation:

Grassroot dream of first Pijin Newspaper

Today a new chapter in the history of print media in Solomon Islands opened with the birth of the first tabloid newspaper in the Solomon Islands Pijin language... Lots of people, like my relatives and friends who work in the media have told me directly that a newspaper in Pijin wouldn't have a market, people would find it too hard since they don't read or write (Pijin)... (my translation)

Despite the predictions of the editor's friends the paper appeared to be successful for a number of months. Members of the public who failed to buy their copy early always missed out. However, by the end of 1996 financial difficulties forced the closure of the paper. By

way of contrast, note the stance of the Solomon Star, which is the most widely circulated newspaper in Solomon Islands. Pijin quotations are translated into English. In early 1999, a letter to the editor that was submitted in Pijin was published by the Solomon Star after being translated into English. My colleague, Lois Lee, also experienced a similar consequence with a letter she wrote in Pijin to the editor of a newspaper (Lee 1996b). Even so, an evolution is underway, since July 2007 the Solomon Star has been publishing a full page of religious material in Pijin each week.

Perhaps an informal measure of the importance of a language in the community is whether the Coca-Cola Company uses it for advertising. In 1999, for the first time, Coke advertising posters using Pijin were published: *Hem nao dringim Coca-Cola distaem*, ‘That’s it, drink Coca-Cola now’. Starting around 2005 it also became common to see cigarette advertising posters in Pijin.

With intense activity in the courts since the intervention of the Regional Assistance Mission to Solomon Islands (RAMSI) in 2003, translation and interpretation into and out of Pijin has become a crucial feature of court cases. The interpreters have a handbook that gives them a “WordBank” of legal terminology translated from English into Pijin (Grouse Bisili 2007).

3.4 “Sapos Iumi Mitim Iumi”

Jourdan’s sociolinguistic study of Pijin (titled *Sapos Iumi Mitim Iumi* - ‘If we meet each other’) gives an interesting social ‘snapshot’ of Honiara in the 1980s. The observations in her study cover a period from 1982 to 1984. Jourdan showed us that Pijin was essential to social survival in Honiara. At the time Honiara was a town of about 22, 000 people. These people originated from all over Solomon Islands and so came with a multiplicity of vernacular languages. Jourdan comments (p.88):

It is in the market that one realizes particularly well the linguistic complexity of Honiara. All the vernaculars of the town, together with Pijin and English, can be heard.

Further she writes (p.98):

In rural areas, multilingualism is latent and intermittent, and optional for most people. In all cases it is linked to the degrees of social and economic exchange between various language groups and between individuals. In Honiara, multilingualism is active, obligatory, permanent and almost constant. It permeates through daily activities as the principles of urban life and the requirements of social relations in town cut across the more traditional boundaries of social networks.

Jourdan's study showed that Pijin had become the main language of Honiara even though it had not been fully nativised (acquired by a generation of native speakers) at that time. In the 1976 census only a little over 400 people in Honiara claimed Pijin as their first language (p.125); while for the whole of Solomon Islands that census reported that there were 1527 people over five years of age who spoke Pijin as their first language (Statistics Division 1980).

The issue of Pijin language change and variation was a key focus in Jourdan's study. Her purpose was to make some claims concerning creolisation and nativisation. To assess the variation she divided up her informants into sub-groups. These groups were rural adults, urban adults, bilingual urban children (they used Pijin and a vernacular), and monolingual urban children (they used Pijin only). To examine the degree of variation between these groups Jourdan observed their phonology, their pronominal syntax, their relativisation strategies and their use of future markers (p.131). There will be interaction with these topics in the grammatical description below, at this stage though, it will suffice to note Jourdan's conclusions. She found that there was greater variation between urban and rural adults than between urban adults and urban children. The corollary of this, according to Jourdan, is that children were/are not innovators in the development of Pijin. She did, however, claim that they had a role in "streamlining language" and eliminating irregularities (pp.217, 220, 229). Jourdan sought to redefine the terms "creole" and "creolisation". She attempted to do this by showing that Pijin is the main language of the urban community in Honiara and that it was expanded and used as a language of habitual use by adults before children who spoke Pijin as their mother tongue could be involved in its creation. Thus she claimed Pijin was a creole language even though at the time it was not fully nativised.

Jourdan had at her disposal statistics from the 1976 census. Unfortunately the 1986 census did not include language questions so we have no way of knowing how the proportion of native speakers of Pijin grew through the 80s. More recent statistics have become available through the 1999 population census. Before we turn our attention to these statistics I will make some further observations concerning contemporary language use.

3.5 National Language and Literacy Survey

In 1991 and 1992 Dr. Lesley Moseley coordinated a language and literacy survey for the Solomon Islands Government Ministry of Education and Human Resource Development's National Literacy Committee (Moseley 1992). This survey is known as the National

Language and Literacy Survey (NLLS). The NLLS was a random sample statistical survey of approximately 1.5% of the population of Solomon Islands that was aged 15 years and over. The NLLS made many observations concerning language use, literacy and language domains. In addition to the observations, it made many recommendations. Following is a summary of the relevant observations and recommendations here.

NLLS observations in relation to Pijin:

- 89% of men and 77% of women said that they could speak Pijin, that is, an average of 83% of adults aged 15 years and over reported that they could speak Pijin.
- Reported domains of use: 55% of people reported they used Pijin in schools, 87% said they used it with government officials, 79% said they used it in employment, and 12% said they used it in church.
- Reported language preference by domain of use: 14% said they preferred to use Pijin in church services, 21% preferred Pijin for Women's meetings, 21% preferred Pijin as the medium of instruction in schools, 63% preferred Pijin for use in clinics, 57% preferred Pijin for use in stores, 88% preferred Pijin for use in banks, 73% preferred Pijin for use in paid work.
- Literacy in Pijin as assessed by a test: 20% of men and 12% of women were able to read Pijin. The average being 16% of adults aged 15 years and over were tested as able to read Pijin.
- Self reported literacy in Pijin: 56% of men and 45% of women claimed to be able to read Pijin. The average being 47% of adults aged 15 years and over reporting that they can speak Pijin.
- The NLLS found a number of literacy groups in operation that used Pijin, however, the numbers were inadequate for statistical purposes.

NLLS recommendations in relation to Pijin:

- Pijin should be adopted as the national language.
- Educational instruction should be in Pijin or vernaculars.
- Linguistic research into Pijin and vernaculars should be encouraged.
- Banks should consider providing written services in Pijin.

3.6 Vernacular Education in the South Pacific

In 1996 AusAID published a report on vernacular education in the South Pacific (Siegel 1996). The section on Solomon Islands reports many of the findings and recommendations of the NLLS and provides further detail on the use of Pijin. I shall briefly review these here.

Siegel (1996, p.87) reports that SICA was the first group to use Pijin as a medium for literacy instruction in the late 1970s. The readers and guidebooks produced at that time have been revised and republished in limited numbers over the last few years of the 1990s. As a follow on from the SICA initiatives, in the early 1980s the Catholic Church's Nazareth Apostolic Centre (NAC) also began teaching literacy to women using Pijin. NAC has also produced books in Pijin.

Siegel notes that the Literacy Association of Solomon Islands (LASI) was a newly formed NGO in 1992. Actually the organization existed prior to this time though in a more loosely knit fashion. I was involved in the re-formation of the group in 1992. At that time LASI was a network of organizations involved in literacy. The appointment of a coordinator set the stage for a much more coordinated effort in literacy in which Pijin has played a significant role. The value of Pijin for LASI is underscored by the fact that they consider it as one of the nation's vernaculars. Consider this statement quoted by Siegel (1996, p.90):

People do want to express themselves and their group identity... If we really want to preserve our cultures, then vernaculars (including Solomon Islands Pidgin) have an important role.

In the mid-1990s LASI embarked on a literacy project called "Literacy 2000". It had the unrealistic aim of improving the literacy rate in Solomon Islands to 90% by 2000. This program swamped LASI causing it to lose its original nature as an association of literacy organizations, however, in the process it has become the most significant single NGO for literacy using the medium of Pijin to promote literacy and train literacy teachers in many communities.

The AusAID report also noted several of the World Bank's Education Sector Overview's observations. The Overview noted that the National Literacy Committee had recommended that Pijin be designated as the language of instruction in schools. Further, the Overview itself recommended that, "the Curriculum Development Centre pilot test instructional materials developed in local languages, including Pijin" (Siegel 1996, p.96). Authorities have not implemented the recommendations, possibly because the education system is not adequately resourced or skilled to do so and because there is no fundamental recognition of Pijin as an official language by the government.

3.7 Current Pijin language use

3.7.1 Variation

Jourdan's observations concerning the necessity of Pijin for social survival are as true today as they were in the mid-1980s. The variation she noted between sub-groups in her study is also a reality today. In fact the variation between sub-groups poses a problem for this study of Pijin grammar. Namely, whose grammar will be described? The answer to this issue for this grammar is controlled somewhat by my data sources. As noted earlier, the variety represented in my data is essentially a Malaitan variety.

The question of whose Pijin grammar should be described is one that goes beyond that arising from Jourdan's (1985) study. This is because in many respects Jourdan's rural sub-group is inadequate to represent the totality of rural Pijin. In fact there are possibly more variations of Pijin in rural areas than between rural and urban Pijin. For example, Western Province varieties of Pijin show influence from Tok Pisin (e.g. the use of *ol* rather than *olketa* for plural marking in noun phrases, see §5.2.2). Temotu Province varieties exhibit an absence of subject referencing pronouns (§7.2), and the varieties of Pijin in both those provinces seem to have a lower frequency of the particle *ya* (§5.2.6.4) than say Malaita.¹¹ Another instance of variation has been observed in the Pijin of people who speak Baniata as their first language. Baniata is a language spoken on Rendova. It has trial pronouns that are used with a high degree of frequency. As a consequence a higher than usual frequency of the Pijin trial pronouns *mitrifala* and *yumitrifala* (§5.4) has been observed in the Pijin spoken by these people (Michael Dunn, pers. comm.). I recognize that these informal observations demand some further substantiation. A fruitful area of research would be to try and quantify the real variation in Pijin across different areas of Solomon Islands.

My SIL colleague, Dan Boerger (pers. comm.), has also observed people on Santa Cruz Island (Temotu Province) adjust their variety of Pijin from a local form to a more widely spoken form when communicating with outsiders (meaning Solomon Islanders not from Santa Cruz). These observations imply that, in spite of variation, people have some sort of conception of Pijin as a linguistic entity. On the whole I believe that to largely be the variety spoken by people from Malaita and Guadalcanal since they form the bulk of the population. At times I shall account for the variation observed in Pijin, though the nature of much of the data means that in general a single 'majority' variant shall be described. I hope that in the

¹¹ These generalizations are made on the basis of informal observations by myself and my SIL International colleagues over the ten year period that I lived in Solomon Islands and used Pijin every day.

process of describing the Pijin that is represented in this study, I will be describing something like the linguistic entity that Solomon Islanders conceive of as Pijin.

3.7.2 Decreolisation

The existence of Pijin side by side with English demands that we consider the issue of decreolisation. Watson-Gegeo (1987, p.28) claims that, “Urban Pijin is rapidly changing under exposure to English, and may already be decreolising”. She gives several examples of lexical change to illustrate this; some of them are as follows:

The inclusion of words in the speech of radio broadcasters and politicians such as the following: *alokeitim* ‘allocate it’, *anaonsim* ‘annouce it’, *kritisoesim* ‘criticize it’, *meintanim* ‘maintain it’.

A contrast between rural and urban Pijin expression of ideas like:

‘in the middle of the road’	‘kick those two out’
rural = <i>melewan long rod</i>	rural = ‘ <i>giraotim tufala ya</i> ’
urban = <i>long midol long rod</i>	urban = ‘ <i>kikim tufala ya aot</i> ’

Also a comparison of rural and urban terms for the same meaning, such as:

rural	urban	
<i>from</i> = <i>bikos</i>		‘because’
<i>waswe</i> = <i>wae</i>		‘why’

I make several observations on her evidence for decreolisation. In the first place, note that two of the so called urban words, *bikos* and *midol*, are recorded in Hall’s 1955 vocabulary list. Second, her examples all show usual and expected Pijin grammatical constructions. Third, the English verbs that are borrowed are adapted into Pijin with Pijin verb morphology (see §4.3.8.1). It seems therefore that she does not provide compelling evidence for decreolisation.

Jourdan argues that phonological and grammatical change must be in evidence to demonstrate that decreolisation is actually occurring. Since she does not see these processes, she actually asserts that decreolisation is not happening (Jourdan 1989). Although I disagree with Watson-Gegeo’s claim of rapid change, I believe there are some signs of change. I am not claiming that decreolisation is definitely occurring; rather that further research is required on this area. Three areas of change are worth examining.

The first area worth noting in relation to decreolisation concerns Pijin phonology (§3.9). Mühlhäusler (1997, pp.212-213) comments on several areas of the phonological restructuring of Tok Pisin that relate to the process of decreolisation. For Pijin, one significant issue is the

presence of the sound [tʃ] in the phonological inventory of some urban speakers. A number of years ago I had a discussion with Christine Jourdan about whether [tʃ] should be represented in the orthography of Pijin. She told me that one of her young Solomon Islands friends identified her as having an older speech variety, like a grandmother, because she did not use [tʃ] in her Pijin (Jourdan, pers. comm.). The presence of [tʃ] in Pijin is most likely the result of English influence since this phoneme is uncommon in the vernacular languages.

The second area to consider is the influence of English plural marking on the Pijin noun. Jourdan (1989, pp.30,32) considers this to be the area of most significance influence of English on Pijin. She interprets the plural marking to be redundant since in her data the Pijin plural marker *olketa* is present and has not been replaced by English plural marking (-es in this case). However, I have observed instances where a Pijin noun seems to be marked with English derived plural marking but no Pijin plural marking. I discuss this issue fully in the context of noun morphology in §4.1.3.2.

While not being able to draw any firm conclusions about English plural marking in Pijin, we need to take seriously whether this is a possible sign of early decreolisation. Various authors have considered the same issue in relation to Tok Pisin (Romaine 1992; Mühlhäusler 1997, pp.214-215; Siegel 1997).

The third area of change pointing to possible decreolisation is in relation to prepositions. Pijin, like the other varieties of MP, uses simple prepositions such as *long* ‘in, on, at, etc.’ and *blong* ‘of’ (§4.7.1) and also what Lee (1996a, p.398) calls “locational prepositions” (though I consider them to be locative adverbs) (§4.7.2). These are words such as *antap* ‘on top’, *andanit* ‘under’, *aotsaet* ‘outside’. Lee quoting (Huebner & Horoi 1979b, p.66) gives the following example of variation in the use of these forms, the original authors said they each have the same meaning (I agree with this claim):

- a) *Baero i stap long antap long tebol.*
 pen SRP remain PREP on.top PREP table
- b) *Baero i stap antap long tebol.*
 pen SRP remain on.top PREP table
- c) *Baero i stap long antap tebol.* } ‘The pen is on the table.’
 pen SRP remain PREP on.top table
- d) *Baero i stap antap tebol.*
 pen SRP remain on.top table
- e) *Baero i stap long tebol.*
 pen SRP remain PREP table

The structure of the prepositional phrases in examples c. and d. are rather unusual for a Melanesian Pidgin. As far as I know the patterns observed in examples c. and d. do not occur in the other varieties of MP (Crowley 1989, p.33; Verhaar 1995, p.244). Lee (1996a, p.399)

makes the observation that prepositional phrases in which the locative adverb (my term) is followed immediately by a noun (or NP) occur more frequently in the Pijin used by announcers of the Solomon Islands Broadcasting Corporation (SIBC) and that the “SIBC register often reflects considerable English influence.” My own observation bears this out as does the extremely low frequency of this construction in my data. I also note that in the mid-1950s, Hall (1954a, p.4) only describes the pattern of locative adverb followed by *long* that, he says, together form a phrase that functions as a preposition.

Therefore it seems possible that the low frequency prepositional phrase pattern

Locative-adverb NP is an example of a decreolising grammatical pattern emerging due to the impact of English prepositional constructions, e.g. on the table. In other words, the sentence d. *Baero i stap antap tebol* from the example above is perhaps a construction that belongs to a mesolectal variety of Pijin.

Lee explains that the pattern of *long* followed by locative adverb seen in example c. above reflects a pattern found in several Solomon Islands vernaculars (Lee 1996a, p.400).

Therefore, in addition to a possible decreolising influence from English, a substrate influence may also be contributing to greater variation in the form of the prepositional phrase.

3.7.3 Code-switching

One of the most obvious impacts of English on Pijin is the high degree of code switching that occurs in urban Pijin (or urban English for that matter). Jourdan also makes this observation (Jourdan 1989, p.34). The degree of code switching that one can observe depends very much on the subject matter and the social situation. In contexts where a person may be trying to convey to a listener that they know English there is a tendency for them to increase the amount of English they intersperse in their Pijin. Alternatively, if they are speaking on a topic in which the lexicon of Pijin is incomplete they will resort to English words and phrases rather than certain Pijin circumlocutions. This latter phenomenon is readily observable in church services when preachers have to convey in Pijin some point of theology that they learnt in English.

I have observed that many public servants and business employees answer their telephones in English but once it is established that the caller speaks Pijin they will switch to Pijin. The language chosen for telephone conversations may also reflect an element of power. One speaker can exert power over another through the use of English. For example, where a caller is trying to get a certain outcome in a telephone conversation, if the person taking the call is not forthcoming with the desired result when Pijin is used the caller may switch to English to

establish some greater control. Occasionally this strategy fails because the person receiving the call has inadequate command of English.

Perhaps the epitome of Pijin/English code switching or mixing is to be heard in Pijin service messages on the national radio broadcast. SIBC provides a service to the public where they can send messages to relatives or employees and the like. Such messages are always broadcast twice, once in English and once in Pijin. The radio announcers are not given translated versions of the English messages rather they are required to translate them on the spot as they announce them. The resulting quality of the Pijin is at times dubious.

Occasionally it is difficult to discern the difference between the two versions. Watson-Gegeo (1987, p.28) also made similar observations about the nature of Pijin used on SIBC, as did Jourdan (1989, p.25). Fifteen or so years on from the time their observations were made it is still not difficult to find people who disparage the quality of the Pijin on SIBC.

As a final statement concerning Pijin code-switching, I have observed that when a variety of Pijin is spoken that is controlled for avoidance of English code-switching I can usually elicit comments that that variety of Pijin is real Pijin not *hafhaf* 'mixed' or *supsup* 'soup' Pijin (soup here is an idiom for something mixed).

3.8 Vital Statistics¹²

The November 1999 Solomon Islands National population census established that, for people over 28 months of age, 81% spoke Pijin (Statistics Office, p.169).¹³ It is interesting to compare the number of Melanesian Pidgin speakers with the two neighbouring Melanesian nations, Papua New Guinea and Vanuatu. Verhaar (1995, p.1) says that there is no reliable percentage figure for the number of Papua New Guineans that speak Tok Pisin. However, Holm (2000, p.96) reporting Faraclas, says that there are some two million Tok Pisin speakers. Sumbuk, on the other hand, claims the number to be around 4.5 million or about 89% of the population (Sumbuk 2003).¹⁴ In Vanuatu, an officer of the national statistics office made the following statement concerning the 1999 census results, "The total number of the population of Vanuatu is 186,678. The number of the population using Bislama as main language at home is 8,411 (households) or 23% of the total population. 184,830 ni-Vanuatu

¹² The analysis in this section is drawn from my work for the Solomon Islands census analysis. See section 3.4 in that analysis report (de Bruijn & Beimers 2002).

¹³ Other Solomon Islands national population census data used in this section was obtained directly through my involvement with the Solomon Islands census office.

¹⁴ Smith (2002) gives no indication of the size of the Tok Pisin speaking population.

speak Bislama to communicate with each other.” (Regina Batick, email, 21 May 2003)

According to Ms. Batick, 99% of the population of Vanuatu are said to speak Bislama.

At the time of the Solomon Islands census there were a total of 306,167 Pijin speakers. Of these, 24,196 spoke it as a first language and 281,971 spoke it as a second language. As noted above this is approximately 81% of the population. This number looks similar to that determined in the National Language and Literacy Survey conducted in 1991 (Moseley 1992). That survey estimated through statistical sampling that approximately 83% of adults (those over 15 years old) spoke Pijin. However, in the 1999 census, if people under 15 years of age are not counted, then actually 92% of those over 15 years old are reported to speak Pijin. It is indeed true that Pijin is the unofficial *lingua franca* of Solomon Islands.

3.8.1 Age profile of Pijin speakers

It is revealing to look at the age profile of Pijin speakers. In Table 3.1 and Figure 3.1 the age profiles for male, female and all Pijin speakers can be seen. The most obvious thing that the age profiles reveal is that Pijin is acquired as a second language by a majority of people in their school age years. This can be deduced because in the age groups up to 19 years of age there are increasing numbers of Pijin speakers, that is, each age group up to the 15 – 19 age group has a steadily greater percentage of Pijin speakers than the age group below. This conclusion is supported by observations from the early 1980s where one sociolinguist concluded that “one of the main accomplishments in the primary schools is the acquisition of Pijin as a second language by the students” (Lee 1996b, p.191). Waneatona (1981, pp.28-31) also discusses the impact of schooling and in particular teachers with poor command of English as factor contributing to acquisition of Pijin by children.

The percentage of Pijin speakers for each age group from 20 years up is fairly steady up to the 35 – 39 group, and then it steadily declines. However, if males only are considered the decline in percentages does not commence until the 55 – 59 age group. Another way to describe this trend is that the difference in the percentage of female and male speakers increases with age in the older age groups (over 25 years of age). Up to 15 years of age there is no difference between males and females. From 15 years of age to 25 years of age the difference between male and female acquisition is very small. However, from age 25 years and up the percentage of female speakers declines markedly compared to the percentage of male speakers.

The conclusion that can be drawn from the observations on the data is that more males have been acquiring Pijin for a greater length of time than females but that over the last 20 years this difference has been minimized. In the future it will not be expected to find the gender

differences in Pijin acquisition that are seen here for the older age groups. The reasons for this are perhaps a subject worthy of further research. Factors to be investigated could include mobility and migration of women, education opportunities for women, impact of the removal of colonial influence since independence, and changing cultural attitudes to women.

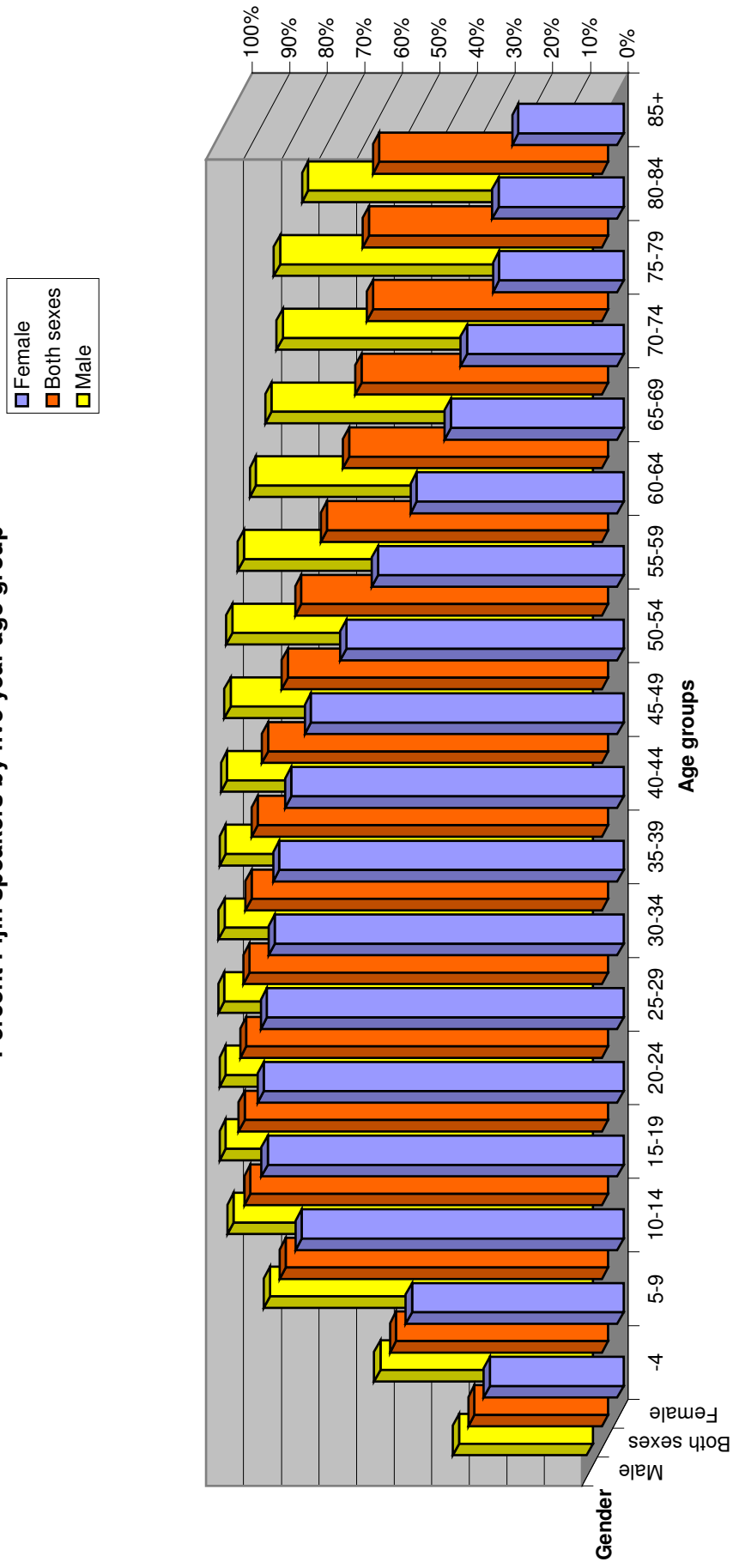
Another intriguing observation concerning Pijin speakers to be found in the census data is in relation to literacy rates. The overall self-reported literacy rate (for all ages over five years) was 64 percent. However, for those who speak Pijin (as first or second language) the self-reported literacy rate was 73 percent. In stark contrast to both the average literacy rate and the rate for Pijin speakers, the self-reported literacy rate for those who do not speak Pijin is only 10 percent. This suggests the hypothesis that children acquire Pijin while they attend school since that is where the skill of literacy is usually acquired.

Table 3.1 Pijin speakers by gender and five year age groups (absolute numbers and percent).

	All over	-4	5-9	10-14	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	50-54	55-59	60-64	65-69	70-74	75-79	80-84	85+
	28 mths																		
Both sexes	376,981	31,571	54,475	51,694	45,821	40,310	35,174	26,110	21,510	15,940	13,681	10,860	9,166	6,731	5,835	3,550	2,408	1,084	1,061
Pijin	306,167	11,228	30,722	44,323	43,594	38,971	33,842	24,907	20,394	14,854	12,373	9,254	7,481	5,035	4,019	2,328	1,506	690	646
No Pijin	65,517	18,599	22,722	6,821	1,834	1,003	987	999	963	994	1,204	1,520	1,630	1,633	1,763	1,192	872	386	395
Not stated .	5,297	1,744	1,031	550	393	336	345	204	153	92	104	86	55	63	53	30	30	8	20
Males	194,763	16,532	28,402	26,970	23,592	20,196	17,657	13,281	11,002	8,300	7,059	5,520	4,893	3,521	3,068	1,941	1,437	660	732
Pijin	163,322	5,877	16,048	23,160	22,554	19,719	17,235	13,012	10,775	8,101	6,867	5,318	4,692	3,269	2,749	1,658	1,185	549	554
No Pijin	28,768	9,721	11,820	3,512	843	319	259	177	162	153	150	162	180	234	302	268	234	105	167
Not stated	2,673	934	534	298	195	158	163	92	65	46	42	40	21	18	17	15	18	6	11
Females	182,218	15,039	26,073	24,724	22,229	20,114	17,517	12,829	10,508	7,640	6,622	5,340	4,273	3,210	2,767	1,609	971	424	329
Pijin	142,845	5,351	14,674	21,163	21,040	19,252	16,607	11,895	9,619	6,753	5,506	3,936	2,789	1,766	1,270	670	321	141	92
No Pijin	36,749	8,878	10,902	3,309	991	684	728	822	801	841	1,054	1,358	1,450	1,399	1,461	924	638	281	228
Not stated	2,624	810	497	252	198	178	182	112	88	46	62	46	34	45	36	15	12	2	9
Percentages																			
Both sexes																			
Pijin	81%	36%	56%	86%	95%	97%	96%	95%	95%	93%	90%	85%	82%	75%	69%	66%	63%	64%	61%
No Pijin	17%	59%	42%	13%	4%	2%	3%	4%	4%	6%	9%	14%	18%	24%	30%	34%	36%	36%	37%
Not stated	1%	6%	2%	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	2%
Males																			
Pijin	84%	36%	57%	86%	96%	98%	98%	98%	98%	98%	97%	96%	96%	93%	90%	85%	82%	83%	76%
No Pijin	15%	59%	42%	13%	4%	2%	1%	1%	1%	2%	2%	3%	4%	7%	10%	14%	16%	16%	23%
Not stated	1%	6%	2%	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	0%	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	2%
Females																			
Pijin	78%	36%	56%	86%	95%	96%	95%	93%	92%	88%	83%	74%	65%	55%	46%	42%	33%	33%	28%
No Pijin	20%	59%	42%	13%	4%	3%	4%	6%	8%	11%	16%	25%	34%	44%	53%	57%	66%	66%	69%
Not stated	1%	5%	2%	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	0%	3%

Figure 3.1 Percent Pijin speakers

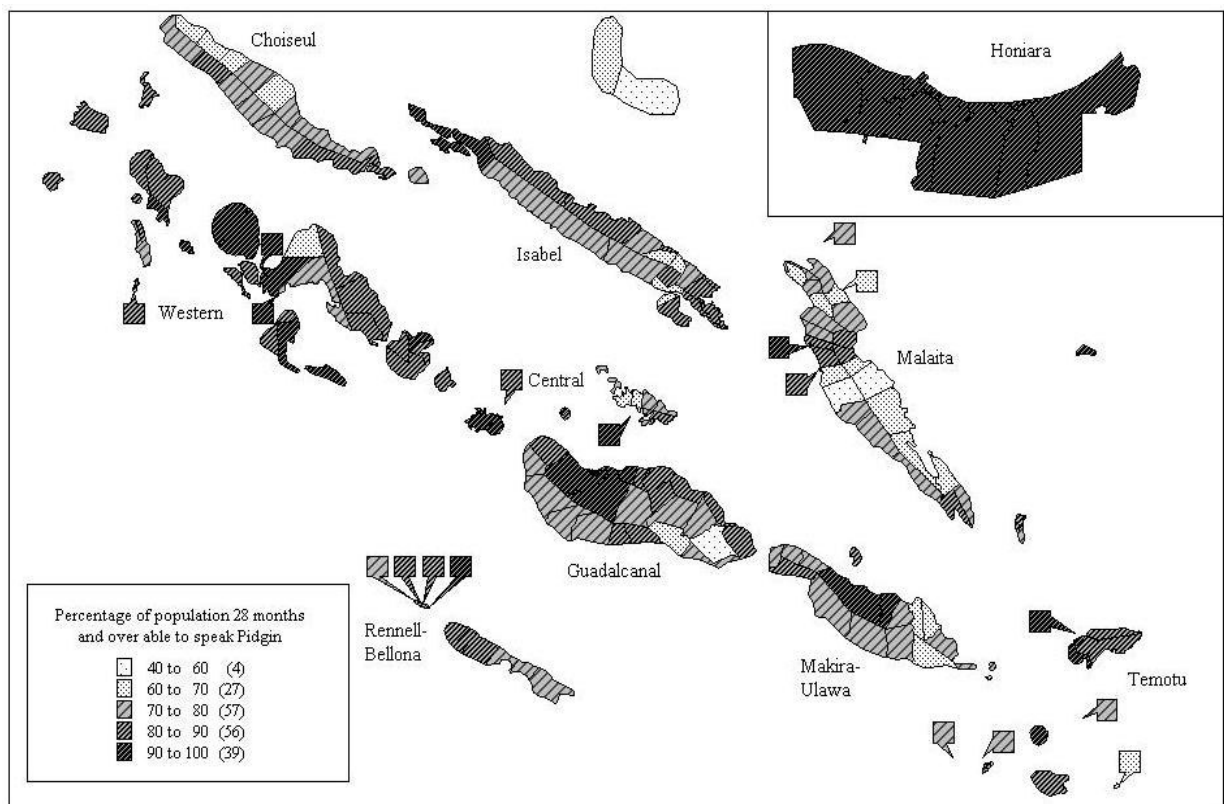
Percent Pijin speakers by five year age group



3.8.2 Distribution of Pijin

Some areas of Solomon Islands have less Pijin speakers than others. As would generally be expected those areas in contact with urban zones have more Pijin speakers than those more remote areas. Figure 3.2 shows the density of Pijin speakers in terms of percentage of speakers in each ward (a ward being a government administrative area). All wards in or adjacent to urban zones have between 90 and 100 percent Pijin speakers. There are four wards, each of them remote, that have a percentage of Pijin speakers only between 40 and 60 percent.

Figure 3.2 Percentage Pidgin speakers by Ward



Another way to look at the distribution of Pijin speakers is to consider each vernacular language and the numbers in each language group that speak Pijin. Table 3.2 shows the languages of the Solomon Islands along with the number of Pijin speakers for each language in November 1999. The languages in the table are arranged alphabetically.

Table 3.2 Population 28 months and over in November 1999, by language first learned as a child and ability to speak Pijin

	All persons	Speaking Pidgin	Not speaking Pidgin	Not stated
All languages	376981	306167	65517	5297
Pidgin	24390	24196	-	194
Alu-Mono-Fauro	3337	2787	526	24
Amba	593	537	49	7
Anuta	267	209	57	1
Are'are	17791	13609	4025	157
Arosi	6752	5433	1299	20
Asumboa	10	9	1	-
Avasö	1456	1230	221	5
Ayiwo	8399	6919	1415	65
Babatana	5610	4523	1044	43
Baeggu	5935	4003	1856	76
Baelelea	8782	6443	2217	122
Baniata	1879	1631	217	31
Bareke	399	348	49	2
Bauro	3420	2915	475	30
Bilua	8742	7700	956	86
Birao	5902	4161	1682	59
Blablanga	1773	1432	325	16
Bughotu	4048	3362	608	78
Cheke holo	10840	8181	2528	131
Dai	9	9	-	-
Dorio	2406	1744	644	18
Duke	2312	2203	84	25
Fagani	902	691	207	4
Fataleka	6703	5165	1470	68
Gae	953	763	184	6
Gao	1215	1014	175	26
Gela	11876	8967	2803	106
Ghaimuta	158	121	36	1
Ghanongga	2508	2171	320	17

	All persons	Speaking Pidgin	Not speaking Pidgin	Not stated
Ghari	7113	5585	1461	67
Gula'ala	1568	1328	194	46
Haununu	930	686	240	4
Hoava	459	336	118	5
Kahua	5165	3543	1605	17
Katazi	205	167	38	-
Kokota	530	461	67	2
Koo	4494	3623	831	40
Kushage	2395	1782	592	21
Kwaio	13249	8661	4399	189
Kwara'ae	32443	26564	5294	585
Laghu	15	14	1	-
Langalanga	6978	6358	526	94
Lau	16937	13980	2755	202
Lavukaleve	1783	1591	178	14
Lengo	13594	11143	2285	166
Longgu	1894	1587	295	12
Lungga	2767	2218	543	6
Malango	4135	3390	696	49
Marau	140	135	5	-
Marmaregho	524	401	121	2
Marovo	8094	7302	745	47
Moli	2087	1639	427	21
Nambakaenger	4276	3916	341	19
Nanggu	210	207	2	1
Ndi	3019	2375	622	22
Nea	1623	1489	128	6
Nginia	487	420	64	3
Ontong java	2367	1469	885	13
Oroha	38	37	1	-
Pileni	1142	1003	122	17
Rawo	101	95	6	-
Rennell-Bellona	3717	2757	393	41
Ririo	79	74	4	1
Roviana	9871	8394	1438	39
Sa'a	7298	6150	1037	111

	All persons	Speaking Pidgin	Not speaking Pidgin	Not stated
Santa ana	3069	2433	627	9
Savo	2415	2145	245	25
Senga	4350	3330	971	49
Sikaiana	731	708	18	5
Simbo	2701	2398	285	18
Suafa	133	81	52	-
Talise	5944	4878	976	90
Tandai-nggaria	547	511	34	2
Tanema	3	2	-	1
Tanimbili	15	15	-	-
Taumako	520	423	95	2
Tawarafa	2268	1771	492	5
Teanu	24	24	-	-
Tikopia	3324	2729	580	15
To'abaita	12572	9821	2638	113
Ughele	1202	1104	92	6
Uki ni masi	917	761	153	3
Ulawa	3304	2794	494	16
Vaghua	1960	1461	477	22
Vangunu	508	398	108	2
Vano	515	481	32	2
Varisi	5161	3650	1464	47
Zabana	2146	1960	175	11
Zazao	10	9	1	-
Chinese	321	302	18	1
English	908	715	190	3
Kiribati	4869	4240	583	46
Other language	1521	1339	175	7
Not stated	4455	2328	610	1517

3.8.3 Pijin and endangered languages

Within Solomon Islands there are a number of endangered languages. The subject of endangered languages is a deep and complex topic beyond the scope of this work. However, I will draw attention to those Solomon Islands languages whose numbers are very small (say less than 200), or whose population size has diminished since 1976, or whose population, from 1976 to 1999, grew significantly less than the average growth for all languages of 123 percent. Table 3.3 summarizes my analysis of the census data. It shows these languages and the numbers of Pijin speakers among them. For the very smallest languages, in most cases, everyone reports that they can speak Pijin. This may have an impact on the further loss of these endangered languages. Unfortunately, we are not in a position now to assess whether there is language shift to Pijin or whether the shift is to a neighbouring vernacular language; there is anecdotal evidence for both depending on the language.

Further insights into such shift and into language vitality for both the endangered and non-endangered languages could be discovered by investigating cross-tabulated census data for first language of head of household in relation to first language of those in familial relationship with the head of household. This investigation can potentially show areas in which language transmission to children is not occurring.

Table 3.3 Endangered languages and Pijin speaking ability

Language	Number of speakers	Number of speakers in 1976	Percent growth since 1976	Able to speak Pijin
Tanema	3	not recorded in 1976	NA	2
Dai	9	not recorded in 1976	NA	9
Asumboa	10	not recorded in 1976	NA	10
Zazao	10	14	-29%	10
Laghu	14	2	600% ¹⁵	13
Tanimbili	15	43	-65%	15
Teanu	22	not recorded in 1976	NA	22
Oroha	36	not recorded in 1976	NA	35

¹⁵ It is significant that Laghu was recorded in 1976 as having two speakers. The age profile in the current census indicates that there must have been two speakers plus two who spoke it but were under five years of age and so were not recorded in the census then. It is now recorded as having fifteen speakers, eleven of whom were not born in 1976. This suggests that the two remaining adult speakers made a deliberate choice to pass on their language and prevent its extinction.

Ririo	78	11	??% ¹⁶	74
Marau	134	323	-59%	129
Ghaimuta	142	1436	-90%	106
Katazi	195	111	76%	157
Nangu	206	311	-34%	204
Anuta	249	159	57%	192
Bareke	367	263	40%	318
Hoava	420	394	7%	302
Tandai-nggaria	502	359	40%	468
Sikaiana	697	483	44%	669

3.8.4 First language Pijin Speakers

One startling result from the census is the large apparent increase since 1976 in those who speak Pijin as their first language. The 1999 census found that the total number of those over 28 months of age who spoke Pijin as the first language they learned is 24196¹⁷. This makes Pijin the second largest native language in the country. The only language with more first language speakers is Kwara'ae. For comparison consider the 1976 census data (Statistics Division 1980). In 1976 there were 1527 people over five years of age reported as speaking Pijin as their first language. Currently there are 20,038 people over five years of age who speak Pijin as their first language. This is a massive 1212% increase. Of course the figures in the 1976 census could be under-reported. This may have occurred for one or two reasons. At the time of the census in 1976 there may have been stigma associated with claiming Pijin as a first language. Such a stigma would tend to cause under-reporting.

A second issue to keep in mind here is the possibility of mistaken identity. Mühlhäusler (1997, p.14) states that many “lower class Pidgin and Creole speakers are not aware that their language is a separate one.” In other words some Solomon Islanders in the 1976 census may have learned Pijin as their first language but thinking it to be English reported that in the census. This confusion of identity between English and Pijin has been observed by Jourdan (1990, p.167, 180). By way of contrast though, recall Early's observation in his

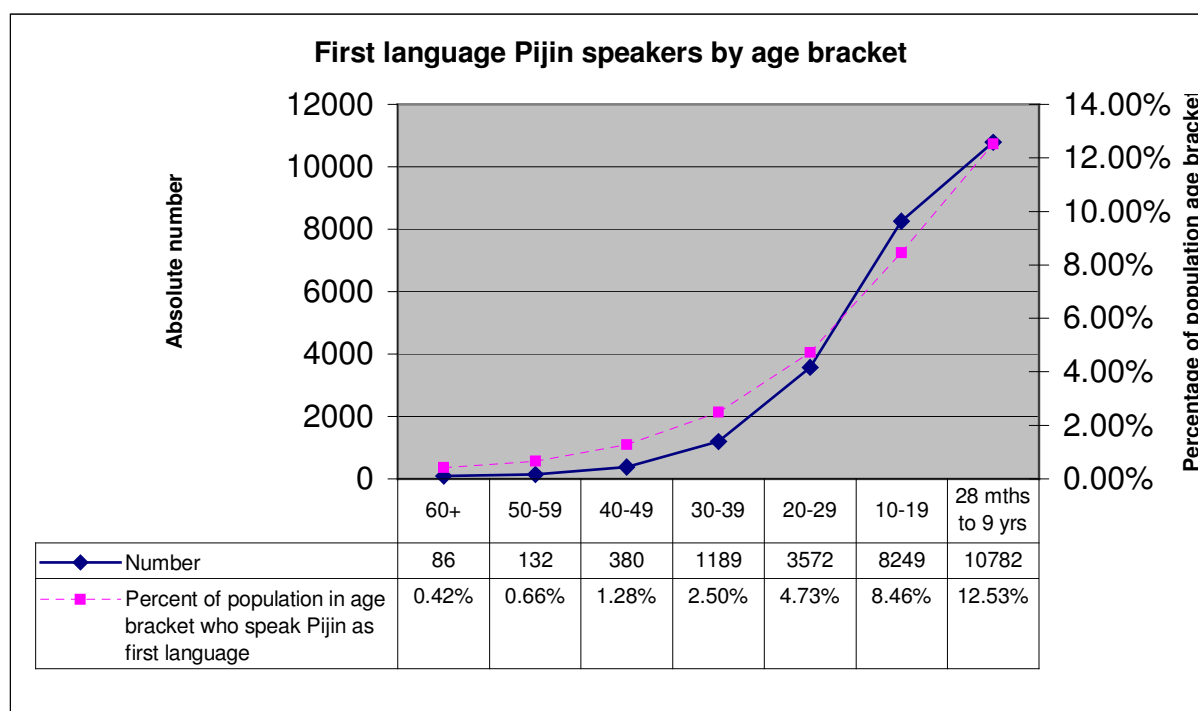
¹⁶ The age profile for speakers of Ririo in the current census indicate that the 1976 census significantly under reported the numbers of speakers. This renders the percentage increase somewhat meaningless.

¹⁷ Statements of numbers of first language Pijin speakers made in the introductory chapter are based on growth estimates since the November 1999 statistics.

sociolinguistic survey of the Western province. He reported 92% of respondents being able to recognize Pijin as distinct from other languages, including English, and 86% being able to recognize English as distinct from other languages (Early 1982, p.16). Such confusion is much less likely to have occurred in the 1999 census since there is, I believe, a wider awareness of the difference between Pijin and English. While such under-reporting may have occurred, it is doubtful that it could solely account for the massive increase seen in native speakers of Pijin.

Figure 3.3 shows the age profile for first language speakers of Pijin. The growth of Pijin in the below 30 years age groups is phenomenal. Overall the chart indicates an almost exponential growth in the number of first language Pijin speakers. Even allowing for the fact that some of the population in the 50+ age groups will have passed away, there is still an enormous growth demonstrated. This is further illustrated in the chart by the fact that only 0.42 percent of people in the 60 + age group speak Pijin as their first language while about 12.5% in the under 9 years of age group speak Pijin as their first language.

Figure 3.3 Population age profile for first language Pijin speakers.



I conclude this survey of Pijin statistics with a recommendation for further research.

Although Jourdan has done a good deal of sociolinguistic research in the area of nativisation (Jourdan 1985b; Jourdan & Keesing 1997), the rapid growth of first language Pijin speakers

remains an area worthy of further investigation by sociolinguists, in particular how the phenomenon interacts with issues such as change of attitude toward Pijin since independence (especially within the education system), ever increasing mobility, the rise of inter-ethnic marriages, and endangered language loss.

As attention is now turned from sociolinguistics to linguistics, the reader is urged to keep in mind that even though Pijin is spoken with a wide range of variation, the structural description in the following chapters seeks to delineate Pijin as it is spoken without mixing or code switching from English. If a post-Creole continuum exists then the Pijin I am describing can perhaps be thought of as the basilect. I will mention some of the variation that occurs but it is not possible to make a comprehensive study of it in this work.

3.9 Current Phonology

The phonological system of Pijin has been described in brief at different times in various places (Hall 1954a; Simons & Young 1978; Jourdan 1985b; Lee 1998; Jourdan 2002). It has also been described more fully in Jourdan (2004). Hall's description was more in terms of an orthography and comparison with English pronunciation. As noted by the other authors, the phonology of Pijin is somewhat elusive since there is so much variation possibly due to substrate language phonology and learning of English. Nevertheless, I will attempt here to give a brief account of what might be thought of as the current phonology of Pijin. I say current in the sense that the phonology described here fairly represents the Pijin phonology of a great number of speakers – realising however that there is much variation. This phonology forms the basis of the current orthography of Pijin.

Further work on the phonology of speakers for whom Pijin is their first language is an area worthy of investigation. Here I briefly outline the phonemic inventory and remark on some of the common phonological variation. In addition to the segmental phonology I consider some aspects of syllable structure, stress, and intonation patterns. This introduction is brief since it is not the main focus of the grammar.

3.9.1 Segmental Phonemes

There are 23 segmental phones in Pijin, 18 are consonantal and 5 are vocalic. I delineate these in the following sections.

3.9.1.1 Consonants

The following table summarises the segmental consonant phonemes:

Table 3.4 Pijin Consonants

	labial	alveolar	palatal	velar	labio–velar	glottal
voiceless plosives	/p/	/t/		/k/		
voiced plosives	/b/	/d/		/g/		
voiced affricate			/dʒ/			
nasals	/m/	/n/		/ŋ/		
voiceless fricatives	/f/	/s/				/h/
voiced fricatives	/v/					
lateral flap		/l/				
flap		/r/				
semivowels			/j/		/w/	

Jourdan (pers. comm.) believes that a voiceless palatal affricate [tʃ] is also a phoneme in Pijin (as spoken by some urban Solomon Islanders). Because this phoneme is not typically found in the speech of rural Pijin speakers on Guadalcanal or Malaita, or in the Pijin of a significant number of urban speakers, I do not yet consider it to be part of the inventory of phonemes.

3.9.1.2 Consonantal Phoneme Distribution

Consonantal phonemes exhibit no regular allophony (though see comments below concerning variation). Certain phonemes are observed not to occur in certain locations within a word.

The following list indicates consonantal phonemes that occur in restricted environments:

/r/ - voiced alveolar tap, occurs in all environments except word finally.

/h/ - voiceless glottal fricative, occurs word initially and rarely intervocalically.

/j/ - voiced palatal semivowel, only occurs word initially (see further discussion below in §3.9.1.7)

/w/ - voiced labial-velar semivowel, occurs in all environments except word finally.

The following list indicates consonantal phonemes that occur infrequently:

/dʒ/ - voiced alveo-palatal affricate, occurs in all environments but with a low frequency of occurrence, it is often substituted for by /d/ or /s/ (see Table 3.5 below).

/ŋ/ - voiced velar nasal, occurs word medially and word finally, and in two instances word initially (from vernacular loan).

3.9.1.3 Consonants in the Orthography

The consonantal phonemes of Pijin are represented with the following symbols in the standard orthography:

/p/ - p, /t/ - t, /k/ - k, /b/ - b, /d/ - d, /g/ - g, /dʒ/ - j,
 /m/ - m, /n/ - n, /ŋ/ - ng¹⁸, /f/ - f, /s/ - s, /h/ - h, /v/ - v,
 /l/ - l, /r/ - r, /j/ - y, /w/ - w

3.9.1.4 Consonant Variation

Although there is no systematic allophony for the consonants, many speakers do substitute some consonant sounds for other particular consonants in Pijin. Taking a look back to Hall's grammatical notes from 1954 it can be seen that he has a bigger list of consonants than what I show above, but he notes that certain sounds are often replaced with other sounds by Solomon Islander speakers. The following is a summary list of "consonant letters and digraphs" with explanatory comments from Hall (1954a, p.2): b, ch (often replaced by the sounds s or sh by Solomon Islanders), d, f (often pronounced by Solomon Islander speakers as p, or made with both lips), g, h, j (often pronounced by Solomon Islanders as s, sh, or dz), k, l, m, n, ng, p, r (often pronounced with a flap of the tongue against the upper teeth or gum ridge), s, sh (often replaced by s in Solomon Islanders' pronunciation), t, v (often replaced by b or by sound pronounced with both lips instead of upper teeth and lower lips), w. In his list, Hall described each sound by comparing it to a particular sound in an example English word. It is clear from his explanatory notes that he included phones that were not in the common phonological inventory of Solomon Islander speakers.

¹⁸ The sequence of consonants /ŋg/ is represented in the orthography as ngg.

Both Jourdan (2002, p.xx) and Simons and Young (1978, p.14) propose a similar set of possible variants among speakers for particular consonant phones. They attribute much variation to the first language of any particular speaker. I agree with their observations with some minor additions. My observations are summarised in the following table.

Table 3.5 Consonant variation

orthographic symbol	usual phoneme	variant for some speakers	example
p	[p]	[b]	<i>puteto ~ buteto</i> 'potato'
f	[f]	[b]	<i>foget ~ boget</i> 'forget'
	[f]	[p]	<i>fastaem ~ pastaem</i> 'first'
	[f]	[h]	<i>filim ~ hilim</i> 'feel'
b	[b]	[^m b]	<i>bas ~ mbas</i> 'bus'
	[b]	[v]	<i>kabis ~ kavis</i> 'green leafy vegetable'
	[b]	[p]	<i>bele ~ pele</i> 'belly, womb'
v	[v]	[f]	<i>vilij ~ filij</i> 'village'
	[v]	[w]	<i>vomet ~ womet</i> 'vomit'
d	[d]	[t]	<i>fogud ~ fogut</i> 'very'
	[d]	[ⁿ d]	<i>dak ~ ndak</i> 'dark'
l	[l]	[r]	<i>liva ~ riva</i> 'liver'
r	[r]	[d]	<i>raes ~ daes</i> 'rice'
	[r]	[l]	<i>raes ~ laes</i> 'rice'
j	[dʒ]	[s]	<i>vilij ~ vilis</i> 'village'
	[dʒ]	[z]	<i>Jon ~ Zon</i> 'John'
	[dʒ]	[d]	<i>Jeri ~ Deri</i> 'Gerry'
	[dʒ]	[di]	<i>jamp ~ diamp</i> 'jump'

orthographic symbol	usual phoneme	variant for some speakers	example
w	[w]	[^h w]	<i>wol ~ ngwol</i> 'wall'
k	[k]	[g]	<i>pikpik ~ pigpig</i> 'pig'
g	[g]	[k]	<i>giraot ~ kiraot</i> 'get out'
g	[g]	[^h g]	<i>digim ~ dinggim</i> 'dig'

Some of the variation between voiceless and voiced pairs may also relate to varying degrees of aspiration. I have not investigated the nature of aspiration associated with voiceless stops and make no further comment on it here.

3.9.1.5 Vowels

Table 3.6 indicates the segmental vowel phonemes in Pijin.

Table 3.6 Pijin Vowels

	front	central	back
close	/i/		/u/
close-mid	/e/		/o/
open		/a/	

The following summary indicates the environments in which vowel phonemes occur and notes any allophony that may exist for many speakers due to the sound environment.

The phoneme /i/ is realised by [i],¹⁹ close front unrounded vowel, it occurs in all environments.

The phoneme /e/ is realised by [e], close-mid front unrounded vowel, it occurs in all environments except for off-glides. Jourdan and Selbach (2004, p.695) say that this vowel may be lax and somewhat lowered, namely as [ɛ] in closed syllables.

¹⁹ English speakers hear this vowel variably as [i] or [ɪ].

The phoneme /a/ is realised by [a], open front unrounded vowel, it occurs in all environments.

The phoneme /o/ is realised by [o], close-mid back rounded vowel, it occurs in all environments. Jourdan (2004, p.695) says that this vowel may be lax and somewhat lowered, namely as [ɔ] in closed syllables.²⁰

The phoneme /u/ is realised by [u],²¹ close back rounded vowel, it occurs in all environments. Several authors claim that Pijin has long vowels. Keesing (1989, p.12) writing about Pijin (SIP is his abbreviation) says:

One phenomenon which has received little treatment for SIP, but which is important in the phonologies of many local languages, is a doubling of vowel length. An SIP orthography should probably distinguish a doubling of vowel length in such forms as:

trii 'tree' (vs. tri-fala 'three')

baa 'bar' (vs. wak-em 'make it')

tuu 'too' (vs. tu-fala).

Lee (1999, p.56) also considers that Pijin should have double vowels in the orthography to indicate greater vowel length. Jourdan says "Many speakers also make a phonetic distinction between long and short vowels," (Jourdan & Selbach 2004, p.695). She also says, "In monosyllabic words, there is a requirement for the syllable to be heavy, which means that the syllable must either be closed (CVC, e.g. *kam*) or that the vowel is a long one (CVV, e.g. *baa, kaa, saa, tuu*)."

The problem with asserting these so-called long vowels is that there does not appear to be evidence that they contrast with vowels of shorter duration. Keesing (1989, p.12) said immediately following the quote given above, "But these usually are contextually clear, and I have not marked them in what follows." Keesing seems to weaken his own position – since long vowels are predictable. If they are predictable then they cannot be considered phonemically significant. As far as I can determine, both by observation and through spectrographic measurement, Pijin words with apparent 'long vowels' are all open syllables that occur word finally or as a single syllable word. In my view it is not especially significant that vowels in open syllables should exhibit greater length, this is a normal phenomenon.

²⁰ The phoneme /o/ may also be realised by [ɔ̃], nasalised close-mid back rounded vowel, word finally where a final nasal has been deleted. This word final nasal deletion occurs frequently for the two prepositions *long* and *blong* but is not common elsewhere.

²¹ English speakers hear this vowel variably as [u] or [ʊ].

3.9.1.6 Diphthongs

The following table summarises the segmental diphthong .

Table 3.7 Pijin Diphthongs

	front → front	central → front	central → back	back → front	back → back
close-mid → close off-glides	[e̞i̞]				[o̞u̞]
close-mid → close- mid off-glide				[o̞i̞]	
open → close off-glides		[a̞i̞]	[a̞u̞]		

These diphthongs are represented in the orthography as follows:

[e̞i̞] - ei

[a̞i̞] - ae

[a̞u̞] - ao

[o̞i̞] - oe

[o̞u̞] - ou

Jourdan and Selbach (2004, p.695) discuss distinctions that some speakers make between the diphthongs [a̞i̞]²² and [a̞e̞], and also between [a̞u̞] and [a̞o̞]. I have not observed the distinctions she refers to. The distribution of the open → mid-close diphthongs must be limited since there are no good contrastive words. Some speakers insist that these do occur since there are such contrasts in their first language; however spectrographs that I have examined seem to indicate that there is actually minimal if any difference between the common open → close diphthongs and the putative open → close-mid diphthongs. Since the spectrographs show significant variability in the diphthongs a contrast between open → close diphthongs and the open → close-mid diphthongs is in my view almost impossible to establish.

²² The word *kaikai* 'eat or food' is seen in the standard orthography. This is an anomaly in the spelling that local speakers seem to prefer, perhaps because it is variously pronounced [ka̞e̞ka̞e̞], [kaka̞e̞] and [ke̞i̞ke̞i̞].

3.9.1.7 Semivowels

There has been some debate over the issue of whether Pijin has semivowels or not. I look first at the relationship of the vowel /i/ with the palatal semivowel /j/. My view, based on the contrasts shown in Table 3.8, and based on syllable structure, is that Pijin does have a palatal semivowel phoneme /j/ that occurs in word initial syllable onsets.

Table 3.8 Phonological data showing contrast between /i/ and /j/.

phonetic (including variation)	phonemic	orthography	gloss
[^h ia] ~ [^h ?ia]	/ia/	ia	‘ear’
[^h ja] ~ [^h ia]	/ja/	ya	‘DEM’
[jia]	/jia/	yia	‘year’
[^h ist] ~ [^h ?ist] ~ [^h ?is]	/ist/	ist	‘east’
[^h jis] ~ [^h jist]	/jist/	yist	‘yeast’

Lee (n.d.) has argued on the basis of substrate language phonologies that this contrast is exceptional since no Solomonian Austronesian languages have the palatal semivowel phoneme /j/. In other words, he argues that Pijin does not have this contrast since the substrate languages do not have the contrast.²³ This leads to the idea that there is no real contrast between the phonemes /i/ and /j/, rather that the contrast is due to a phonemically significant glottal stop, that the real contrast was between [i] and [ʔi] in the word initial position. This solution was expressed in the de-facto orthography of Pijin until August 2007 and is partially expressed in the orthography used by Jourdan (Jourdan 2002, pp.76-80). In August 2007 the letter y was re-introduced into orthography to express the phoneme /j/.²⁴ The relationship between the vowel [u] and the labio-velar semivowel [w] is less clear since there are no good contrasts available. Nevertheless, by analogy with /i/ and /j/, and because of syllable structure I suggest that they are separate phonemes /u/ and /w/. They have been recognised as such in the de-facto orthography for many years.

²³ Lee (n.d.) in part arrived at this position because of his experience with new literates learning to write Pijin in the early 80s. “Attempts to introduce writing y in *yu* ‘you (singular)’, *yangfala* ‘young’, etc. were met with strong and widespread opposition even when pronounced phonetically as [j].”

²⁴ The use of y in the orthography was endorsed as a recommendation by the Ministry of Education’s Language Policy Taskforce in August 2007.

3.9.2 Syllables, Stress, and Intonation

3.9.2.1 Syllable Structure

Before outlining the syllable structure of Pijin I once again issue a caveat. The amount of variation between speakers makes the outline of the syllable structure following somewhat tentative. The following syllable types are observed in Pijin:

V	<i>o</i>	‘or’
	<i>ae</i>	‘eye’
VC	<i>ap</i>	‘up’
	<i>eg</i>	‘egg’
VCC	<i>ask</i>	‘ask’
	<i>ijk</i>	‘ink’
CV	<i>fo</i>	‘for’
	<i>ti</i>	‘tea’
CVC	<i>net</i>	‘net’
	<i>gan</i>	‘gun’
	<i>post</i>	‘post’
CCV	<i>sta</i>	‘star’
	<i>drae</i>	‘dry’
CCVC	<i>klaem</i>	‘climb’
	<i>stap</i>	‘stay’
CVCC	<i>test</i>	‘taste’
CCVCC	<i>prist</i>	‘priest’
CCCVC	<i>strong</i>	‘strong’

Whilst all of the above syllable types have been observed, it is worthwhile knowing the kind of variation that occurs. CC clusters within and between syllables are broken up by some speakers with the addition of an epenthetic vowel (Jourdan & Selbach 2004, p.699). For example *klaem* may be pronounced *kalaem*. Consonant clusters in the coda of a syllable may also be reduced by some speakers with the deletion of the final C, for example *prist* may be pronounced *pris*. Some speakers also avoid closed syllables by adding a final vowel

following a word final consonant. With these two processes combined we may observe the following kind of variation amongst different speakers:

skul ~ sukul ~ sukulu ‘school’

or

strong ~ sitorong ~ sitorongo ‘strong’

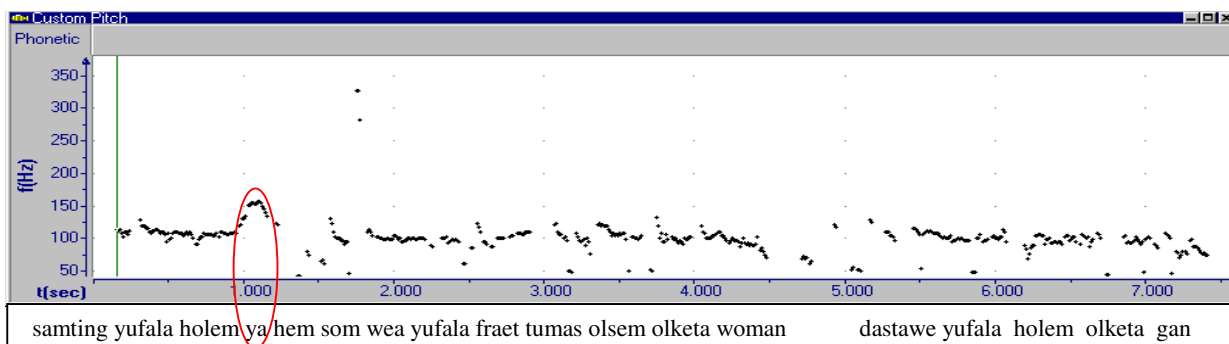
Jourdan and Selbach (2004, pp.701-703) have a useful discussion of various aspects of variation in syllable structure.

3.9.2.2 Stress

Various analyses of Pijin have provided different accounts of the stress pattern of Pijin words. Bugotu (1972, p.27) says “Stress in Pidgin English, as is true in most Melanesian native tongues, usually falls on the penultimate syllable.” The account by Simons and Young (1978, p.18) says that “stress normally falls on the first syllable of Pijin words (although there are, of course, a few exceptions).” In saying that, they allow that epenthetic vowels in consonant clusters do not cause stress to shift to any new first syllable created by epenthesis. It seems that both positions express part of the truth. This is accounted for in Jourdan’s explanation of stress placement, namely that “word stress is lexically determined, and is retained on the original syllable of the etymon, regardless of what language the word is derived from, and regardless of where on the word the stress appears” (Jourdan & Selbach 2004, p.708). Of course for words that occur neither in the substrate vernaculars nor in English (e.g. *yufala* ‘you PL’) the only part of this account that is relevant is that stress is lexically determined. In conclusion, stress is not predictable, and the stressed syllable will retain the stress even when processes of epenthesis or word final vowel paragoge occur. While stress is lexically determined, there are no instances in which stress placement creates a contrast between words.

3.9.2.3 Focus particle Intonation

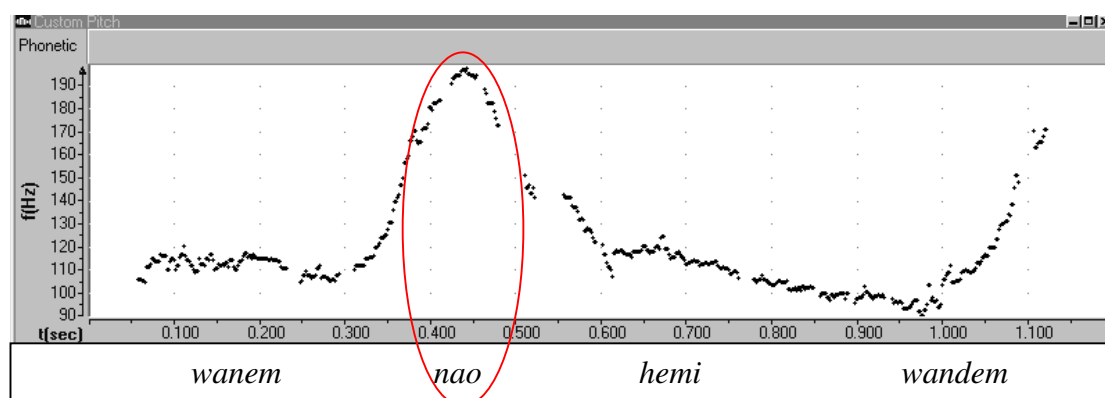
Apart from word stress, sentence intonation may also apply to some words such that they are pronounced with a higher pitch (see chapter 8 for details on sentence types). This is typified for instance with the focusing particles *nao* and *ya*. See for example the pitch contour of the statement in the following intonation graph:



‘That thing you hold shows that you are very afraid like women, therefore you have guns to fight with.’

And see for example the pitch contour of a typical question (*Wanem nao hemi wandem?*

‘What does he want?’) in the following intonation graph:



This previous example also illustrates an important difference between an interrogative sentence and a declarative one. That is, that the interrogative one has rising pitch on the final word (see section §8.1.3 and §8.1.5.2 for discussion of these sentence types).

With this brief survey of Pijin phonology, the discussion in the next chapter moves to an examination of the word classes in Pijin.

Chapter 4 Word Classes and Morphological Processes

Language is hierarchical. Small structures combine to produce ever-larger structures. This poses a difficulty in deciding where to start when describing a language such as Pijin that is quite analytic. Higher-level structures cannot be easily understood without an appreciation of their constituents, whereas lower level structures require the context in which they occur to help clarify their nature.

In my view it is helpful to know what is at the bottom of the hierarchy before getting to the upper levels. Therefore this chapter will provide an overview of all word classes and associated morphology in Pijin. It treats the classes and morphology together since this avoids repetition of the class descriptions in the context of the different morphological processes described. In subsequent chapters a cyclical approach is used to effectively understand the phrases and sentences of Pijin. By a cyclical approach I mean that I consider different structures both in overview and in relation to the details of their lower level constituents.

4.1 Nouns

Nouns in Pijin are lexical items used to denote things, concepts, places, people and rarely events or states.²⁵ This semantic description, while helpful to get a “feel” for the noun, is of course incapable of effective use in a grammar. For that purpose we must consider the functions and distribution of the noun. In these terms we can say that a Pijin noun is any word that occurs as the head of a noun phrase (NP). Within the NP, the noun can be preceded by adjectives, e.g. (1a); quantifiers including numerals, e.g. (1b) and (1c); demonstratives, e.g. (1d); and it can be followed by a small set of postnominal modifiers, e.g. (1e).

Note the following examples of nouns (in bold, with the associated modifier underlined) in Pijin:

- (1)
 a) *Wanfala bikfala **faet** hemi kam-ap.*
 one big fight 3SG.SRP come-up
 ‘A big fight developed.’ (au)

²⁵ There are approximately 1350 nouns in common use in Pijin.

b) *Samfala kokonat i fol-daon las-naet.*
 some coconut SRP fall-down last-night
 ‘Some coconuts fell down last night.’ (au)

c) *Mi baem tufala fis.*
 1SG buy.TRS two fish
 ‘I bought two fish.’ (au)

d) *Disfala man hemi sut-im nao.*
 this man 3SG.SRP shoot-TRS DEC
 ‘This man shot it.’ (au)

e) *Dok ya hemi kaikai-m finis.*
 dog DEM 3SG.SRP eat-TRS finish
 ‘The dog has eaten it.’ (spo)

It could also be said that the noun can function as the subject or object of a sentence and as the object of a proposition; though it is more correct to consider these as the functions of the NP (even if the NP just consists of a noun alone). Examples of these functions are seen in examples (2a), (2b), (2c) respectively.

(2)
 a) *Malaria hemi save kil-im man dae.*
 malaria 3SG.SRP ABIL injure-TRS man die
 ‘Malaria can kill people.’ (wr)

b) *Mi gare-m malaria.*
 1SG have-TRS malaria
 I have malaria. (spo)

c) *Yu nomoa sik long malaria.*
 You alone sick PREP malaria.
 ‘Only you are sick with malaria.’ (spo)

4.1.1 Noun subclasses

Pijin nouns belong to one of three sub-classes, count nouns, non-count nouns²⁶, or proper nouns.

4.1.1.1 Count and non-count nouns

In this section count and non-count nouns are distinguished. Only count nouns are immediately preceded in the NP by a numeral. Non-count nouns are not immediately

²⁶ I use the term “non-count noun” rather than “mass noun” since nouns that denote various abstract things (e.g. lav ‘love’) are not count nouns yet it would be incorrect to think of them as mass nouns.

preceded by a numeral. For example, a phrase like **trifala wata* ‘three waters’ is nonsense.²⁷

To numerically quantify some non-count nouns they are postposed as a complement to a quantifying noun to form a nominal (see §5.3.2).²⁸ The quantifying noun is a noun indicating some sort of container (e.g. *kap* ‘cup’, *baeg* ‘bag’), or a quantity or measure noun (e.g. *pis* ‘piece’, *haf* ‘part’, *kilo* ‘kilogram’, *lita* ‘litre’), for example:

(3)

a) *trifala kap wata*

three cup water

‘three cups of water’ (au)

b) *tufala pis kaleko*

two piece cloth

‘two pieces of cloth’ (au)

c) *tufala kilo mit*

two kilogram meat

‘two kilograms of meat’ (au)

The small subclass of nouns that may be used for this quantifying function are seen in the following table:

Table 4.1 Quantifying Nouns

Subtype	N _{quan}	Gloss
container		
	<i>baeg</i>	‘bag’
	<i>basket</i>	‘basket’
	<i>botol</i>	‘bottle’
	<i>dram</i>	‘drum’
	<i>kap</i>	‘cup’
	<i>kes</i>	‘box’
	<i>kontena</i>	‘container’
unit		
	<i>haf</i>	‘part’
	<i>pis</i>	‘piece’

²⁷ In Pijin, *wata* may also refer to a stream or river, and with the sense ‘stream’, *trifala wata* ‘three streams’ or ‘three rivers’ is acceptable.

²⁸ In fact it is the nominal that is actually counted. See §5.3.2 for a discussion of the nominal.

Subtype	N _{quan}	Gloss
measure		
	<i>fatam</i>	‘fathom’
	<i>kilo</i>	‘kilogram’
	<i>lita</i>	‘litre’
	<i>mita</i>	‘metre’

See Appendix 2 §2.1 for a list of Pijin non-count nouns as observed in my data.

4.1.1.2 Proper nouns

The third sub-class of nouns is established by the fact that Pijin proper nouns may only be modified by postnominal modifiers in the NP. Some examples with the name Peter may be seen as follows (NP underlined):

(4)

a) *Pita* *nao* *hemi* *wanfala* *gud* *man*.
 peter FOC 3SG.SRP one good man

‘Peter, he is a good man.’ (au)

b) *Hemi* *tek-em* *tufala* *buk* *blong* *Pita*.
 3SG.SRP take-TRS two book POSS Peter

‘She took two of Peter’s books.’ (au)

In rare case when determiners or quantifiers are used with a proper noun those proper nouns must be thought of as having lost their inherent definiteness (Huddleston & Pullum 2002, pp.520-521). In the following example while *Pita* is modified by *samfala* it has become a noun that denotes a set.

c) *Samfala* *Pita* *i* *stap* *long* *sios* *long* *disfala* *moning*.
 some peter SRP stay PREP church PREP this morning

‘There are several Peters in church this morning.’ (au)

4.1.2 Noun word formation

There are two transparent noun word formation processes observed in Pijin. They are compounding and reduplication.

4.1.2.1 Compounds

Like Tok Pisin and Bislama, there are quite a number of nouns in Pijin formed by compounds of various other words. In each case I verify the fact that these compound nouns are single

lexical items by their stress pattern, that is, they have only one major stressed syllable (the first) rather than two as would be expected if they were sequences of words. Furthermore, in many instances the meaning of the compound noun is different from what might be expected from a simple combination of two words.

In looking at the nouns derived by compounding, care must be taken to identify those that have in all likelihood have been taken directly from an English compound noun or noun phrase such as:

- (5)
- a) *aes-blok* 'ice block'
ice-block
 - b) *bas-fea* 'bus fare'
bus-fare
 - c) *boe-fren* 'boyfriend'
boy-friend

In contrast to examples in (5) which appear to have a direct English source, there are compounds that do not have analogous counterparts in the English superstrate. Some such compounds are formed by combining an adjective with a noun as in the following examples:

- (6)
- a) *bik-lek* 'elephantiasis'
big-leg
 - b) *grin-lif* 'sorcery'
green-leaf
 - c) *bik-mere* 'manageress'
big-woman
 - d) *raon-wata* 'lake'
round-water

One clear case of a noun compound as a word and not a phrase can be seen in the following example. The noun *biktaon* 'city' is formed as a compound from the adjective *bik* 'big' with the noun *taon* 'town'. That *biktaon* is a compound noun is confirmed by the fact that the adjective *bikfala* 'big' may precede it. This would not be possible if *biktaon* was an NP, since then the same adjective would occur twice (once plain and once with the suffix *-fala*).

- (7)
- a) *bik-taon* 'city'
big-town
 - b) *Hemi wanfala bikfala bik-taon.*
3SG.SRP one big big-town
'It is a large city.' (au)

Compounds may also be formed by combining noun with noun. In this case two patterns may be distinguished. The first pattern is N+MODIFIER, for example:

- (8)
- a) *wol-ston* 'stone wall'
wall-stone
- b) *rop-nila* 'thorny vine'
rope-nail
- c) *tok-hapi* 'commendation'
talk-happy

The second pattern is MODIFIER+N, for example:

- (9)
- a) *bus-rop* 'vine'
bush-rope
- b) *haos-gele* 'maid'
house-girl
- c) *spia-laen* 'boundary'
spear-line

There are compounds formed by combining noun with verb in the order N V, namely:

- (10)
- a) *bele-ran* 'diarrhoea'
belly-run
- b) *tok-laea* 'lie'²⁹
talk-lie
- c) *tok-haed* 'secret'
talk-hide
- d) *tok-sore* 'condolence message'³⁰
talk-sorry

Nouns may also be formed by combining verb with noun with the order V N, for example:

- (11)
- a) *sut-laet* 'torch'
shoot-light
- b) *plei-fil* 'sports' field'
play-field
- c) *spak-masta* 'drunkard'
get.drunk-boss

Whether any of these types of combinations continue to be a productive process is not determined. None of the currently identified noun compounds has any feature that would force us to conclude that it had been coined recently and Crowley (1992, pp.12-16) has shown that some of them were already present in Melanesian Pidgin from the 1870s.

²⁹ The word *tok* 'talk' could also be considered an intransitive verb.

³⁰ *sore* in this compound could perhaps be treated as the noun 'sorrow' rather than the verb 'be sorry'.

4.1.2.2 Reduplication

A few Pijin nouns have historically been derived by complete reduplication of a word root. The reduplicated base may be either a noun or verb root. These nouns are as follows:

(12)

a) <i>devol~devol</i> spirit~spirit	‘ancestral spirit’	(N+N)
b) <i>go~go</i> go~go	‘journey’	(V+V)
c) <i>haf~haf</i> half~half	‘person of mixed race’	(N+N)
d) <i>laf~laf</i> laugh~laugh	‘laughter’	(V+V)
e) <i>luk~luk</i> look~look	‘appearance’	(V+V)
f) <i>sing~sing</i> sing~sing	‘song’	(V+V)
g) <i>ting~ting</i> think~think	‘thought’	(V+V)
h) <i>tok~tok</i> talk~talk	‘speech’	(V+V)
i) <i>was~was</i> wash~wash	‘laundry’	(V+V)

This process of noun formation by reduplication may still be productive. The noun *waswas* ‘laundry’ appears to be a recent addition to Pijin. Hall and Poole (1955, p.13) list *waswas* only as an intransitive verb meaning ‘bathe’, Simons and Young (1978) do not list it in their dictionary, though the non-reduplicated form *was* is listed as meaning both ‘paddle’ and ‘wash (self)’. Jourdan lists the meanings for *waswas* as both ‘to paddle’ and ‘do laundry’ as well as the noun ‘laundry’. It seems therefore possible that the meaning ‘laundry’ is a more recent one (or it may merely mean that the noun meaning was previously unrecorded).

Apparent reduplication

There are certain nouns that appear to be formed through full reduplication yet there are no corresponding non-reduplicated bases. These nouns may have once been subject to reduplication either in the process of Pijin’s development, or in a vernacular from which the word was borrowed. These nouns may be seen in the following table:

Table 4.2 Nouns with apparent reduplication

noun	gloss	Most likely source
<i>dakdak</i>	‘duck’	English

noun	gloss	Most likely source
<i>pikpik</i>	‘pig’	English
<i>sipsip</i>	‘sheep’	English
<i>susu</i>	‘breast’	Austronesian
<i>kaikai</i>	‘eat’, ‘food’	Polynesian (Ella 1899, p.176)
<i>lavalava</i>	‘wrap around’	Samoan
<i>mama</i>	‘Father’, ‘Anglican priest’	Maringe (Isabel)
<i>ngusungusu</i>	‘carved canoe prow figurehead’, ‘one dollar coin’	Roviana (New Georgia)
<i>sa'osa'o</i>	‘perfume tree / <i>Cananga Odorata</i> ’	Kwara’ae ³¹
<i>katukatu</i>	‘sardine variety’	Kwara’ae
<i>kiokio</i>	‘kingfisher’	Toba’ita, Kwara’ae
<i>kurukuru</i>	‘pigeon’	Melanesia ³²

4.1.3 Noun morphology

Bound derivational morphology within the noun is rare, and, except for one “grey” area which I discuss in §4.1.3.2, grammatical morphology is non-existent. This means that many words may belong to the word class of noun and function in another word class with no change of form. For example, the word *angka* functions both as a noun and as a verb:

(13)

a) *Sip ya hemi garem tufala angka.*
 ship DEM 3SG.SRP have.TRS two anchor
 ‘That ship has two anchors.’ (au)

b) *Sip ya hemi angka long bei.*
 ship DEM 3SG.SRP anchor PREP bay
 ‘That ship is anchored in the bay. (au)

³¹ http://www.hear.org/pier/species/cananga_odorata.htm The Pijin *sa'osa'o* is borrowed from Kwara’ae. The apostrophe represents a the glottal stop. Even though the glottal stop is not a phoneme in Pijin it is represented to indicate that this word does not contain the diphthong /ao/.

³² For example, ‘pigeon’ in the Ririo language, from Choiseul, is *kurkur kumua*, and in the Babatana language, also from Choiseul, is *kurukuru kau* (Boe et al. 2000, p.16).

4.1.3.1 Derivation

The nominal morphology that does occur derives nouns from adjectives. This derivation occurs with the suffix *-wan*. This is not actually a nominalisation of the adjectival attribute. Crowley's description of the same structure in Bislama precisely fits the Pijin, namely:

The suffix *-wan* is added to an adjective to create a noun that expresses a thing that is characterised by the quality expressed in the original adjective. A noun derived by means of the suffix *-wan* must also refer back to something that has already been mentioned, or which the person you are speaking to already knows about.

(Crowley 2004, pp.42-43)

Note the following Pijin examples:

(14)

a) *Mi jes baem wanfala trak, hemi olo-wan an hemi blu-wan.*
 1SG just buy.TRS one truck 3SG.SRP old-NOM and 3SG.SRP blue-NOM

'I just bought a truck, it is an old one and a blue one.' (au)

b) *Tek-em kam timba ya, sot-wan ya.*
 take-TRS come timber DEM short-NOM DEM

'Bring that timber, that short piece.' (spo)

c) *Hemi marit-im wanfala gele; datfala baonsa-wan.*
 3SG.SRP marry-TRS one girl that fat-NOM

'He married a girl; that fat one.' (au)

d) *Wea nao olketa strongfala aes-blok?*
 where QN PL strong ice-block

Olketa strong-wan i stap long daon.
 PL strong-NOM SRP remain PREP down

'Where are the frozen iceblocks? The frozen ones are at the bottom.' (au)

It may be thought that the sequence adjective *-wan* is a sequence of two words rather than a forming a single lexical item. There are three pieces of evidence that nouns formed in this manner are genuinely nouns and not some sort of phrase. First, they are phonological words, the stress pattern is such that no stress falls on the syllable *-wan*. Second, *-wan* cannot otherwise behave syntactically as any other noun (as *one* does in English). This is observed most clearly in the fact that it cannot occur as a bare N. Third, it must be noted that the morpheme *wan* never occurs in isolation with the meaning of 'person' or 'thing', such meaning only occurs in the compounded nouns formed with *-wan* such as example (14c) *baonsa-wan* means 'the fat person', while in (14b) *sot-wan* means 'the short thing'. Indeed, the sense *-wan* adds in the derivation can only be borrowed "from its antecedent by 'identity-of-sense anaphora.'" (Hudson 2000, p.27)

Further, though weaker, evidence is that nouns formed in this way can be modified in an NP just like any other noun and function as a verbal subject or object. In the following example (15), the noun formed from the adjective *strong*, is *strong-wan*, which in the context of the sentences given means ‘frozen one’. The a) example shows the noun with a postnominal demonstrative, functioning as the verbal subject. The b) example has it modified by the pre-nominal plural determiner *olketa*, and it functions as the verbal object. The c) example has it modified by a numeral. The d) example has it modified by a preposed demonstrative. In none of these examples can *wan* be separated from the adjective *strong* and be considered a noun.

(15)

a) **Strong-wan** ya hemi stap yet.
 strong-NOM DEM 3SG.SRP remain yet

‘That frozen one is still there.’ (el)

b) **Hemi** kaikai-m olketa **strong-wan**.
 3SG.SRP eat-TRS PL strong-NOM

‘She ate the frozen ones.’ (el)

c) **Tufala strong-wan** i stap long aes-boks.
 two strong-NOM SRP remain PREP ice-box

‘There are two frozen ones in the refrigerator.’ (el)

d) **Doti** hemi insaet long disfala **strong-wan**.
 dirt 3SG.SRP inside PREP this strong-NOM

‘There is an impurity in this frozen one.’ (el)

Returning briefly to a relevant comment on Bislama, Crowley (1990, p.284) notes that the *-wan* construction resembles constructions involving “one” in English, and is probably a recent parallel introduction in Bislama, Pijin, and some varieties of Tok Pisin.³³

4.1.3.2 English derived plural marking

The grey area mentioned above is the case in which English derived plural marking seems to occur. Marking plural number on nouns is one area where there is some variability in Pijin. This is initially mentioned in relation to decreolisation in §3.7.2. In the following example there is apparently both plural marking with the determiner *olketa* ‘PLURAL’, and a suffix *-s* since *grup* not *grups* is the usual word for ‘group’.

(16) **Fofala** katekis, mifala nao entatein long olketa **grup-s** ya long Tarana.
 four catechist 1PL.EXC FOC entertain PREP PL **group-s** DEM PREP Tarana.

‘We four catechists entertained the groups at Tarana.’ (spr)

³³ The Bislama suffix *-wan* also seems to derive a limited number of adverbs from adjectives (Crowley 1995, p.24). This does not occur in Pijin.

Bare nouns are transnumeral, they are neutral with respect to the number of individuals they denote (Rijkhoff 2002, p.45). In other words, a bare noun may be singular or plural. For example, the following isolated sentence could have two possible translations without a context to show which one is correct:

(17) *Ros hemi gohed fo fid-im kokorako blong hem.*
 Rose 3SG.SRP continue COMP feed-TRS chicken POSS 3SG

‘Rose is feeding her chickens. / Rose is feeding her chicken.’ (spo)

The determiner *olketa* (see section §5.2.2) is a common way of showing plural number when it is necessary, various quantifiers also indicate number on a nominal referent, for example:

(18)

a) *olketa taksi* ‘taxis’ (spo)
 PL taxi

b) *samfala buk* ‘some books’ (spo)
 some book

c) *siksfala gele* ‘six girls’ (spo)
 six girl

However, there is a tendency in urban Pijin to use the English plural suffix *-s* and its allomorphs on nouns that have a plural referent (as far as can be determined the English allomorphy rules are followed). This suffix is usually redundant because the plural determiner, *olketa*, or some quantifier is also used at the same time. Compare the following possible urban variants with the previous three examples.

(19)

a) *olketa taksi-s* ‘taxis’ (spo)
 PL taxi-s

b) *samfala buk-s* ‘some books’ (spo)
 some book-s

c) *siksfala gele-s* ‘six girls’ (spo)
 six girl-s

Jourdan (1989, p.30) has data (from 1982-1984) with an example of a 12 year old boy’s speech with variation showing the use of the English plural suffix *-es*.

(20)

a) *Olketa ples ya* ‘these places’
 PL place DEM

b) *Olketa ples-es ya* ‘these places’
 PL places DEM

There are occasions when a noun carrying English plural marking is not also marked with a quantifier. In the following example addressed to a group of young men the word *boe* has

English plural marking. However, it is not clear whether the English plural ‘boys’ is a nonce borrowing or perhaps the initial two-word vocative phrase is actually an English code switch.

- (21) *Okei boe-s, yumi go nao.*
 okay boy-s 1PL.INC go EMPH
 ‘Okay boys, let’s go.’ (spo)

On the whole it is only words of obviously English origin that undergo English plural marking in Pijin. However, in some instances non-English words are also apparently marked with an English plural suffix. The Pijin word *tasiu* ‘Melanesian Brother’, is such an example that has been heard with [-z].

- (22) *Olketa tasiu-s i go long Tambilia.*
 PL Melanesian.Brother-s SRP go PREP Tambilia
 ‘The Melanesian Brothers went to Tambilia.’ (spo)

Another such word of non-English origin that may be heard with English plural marking is *pikininis* ‘children’. One possible reason for English plural marking on such Pijin words may be that these words are also used in Solomon Islands English, e.g. “All the *pikininis* will meet after the service.”

This English plural marking feature also occurs in Tok Pisin. Siegel (1997, p.191-192) discusses the use of the English plural -s and concludes that there is variability in the extent of transference of the English plural forms into Tok Pisin.

Romaine (1992, p.238) found instances in Tok Pisin where the whole plural form was borrowed rather than there being a true plural suffix on a Tok Pisin word. This appears to happen in Pijin too. The following examples from recorded data show words where the original English plural suffix is retained even though the referent is singular and marked as such by the Pijin.

- (23)
 a) *Bae mi rid-im wanfala sams.*
 FUT 1SG read-TRS one psalms
 ‘I will read a Psalm.’ (spo)

- b) *Den wanfala disaepols blong hem, Tomas, hem talem Jisas...*
 then one disciples POSS 3SG Thomas 3SG.SRP tell.TRS Jesus
 ‘Then a disciple of his, Thomas, told Jesus...’ (spo)

In both the examples above, these nouns frequently occur in religious English in the form of the collective nouns, that is, ‘psalms’ and ‘disciples’. In particular the latter seems associated

with the common English reference in preaching, “one of his disciples”. Such borrowing of plural forms has occurred in the past as evidenced by the nouns *ans* ‘ant’, *buisis* ‘bush’ and *masis* ‘matchstick’.

Such examples suggest that the presence of nouns in Pijin apparently marked with *-s* (and its English allomorphs) are due to borrowing from English (Solomon Islands variety) or code switching. The marking of Pijin nouns with English *-s* is either redundant or actually conflicts with other singular number marking.

4.2 Determinatives

Determinatives are a small closed word class of noun modifiers that indicate the definiteness or otherwise of the head noun, or clarify the reference of the head noun in relation to time or space, or to the context of the utterance. They include indefinites and demonstratives (Schachter 1985, p.40).

The following determinatives occur in Pijin: *datfala* ‘that’, *disfala* ‘this’, *eni* ‘any’, *evri* ‘every’, *nara/narafala* ‘other’ or ‘another’, *noeni* ‘none/nothing’, *wanfala* ‘a’. From the list here it will be noted that some of the determinatives appear to be suffixed with *-fala*. Two of these, *disfala* and *datfala*, only occur in a *fala* form. Detailed discussion concerning the *-fala* suffix can be found in section §4.4.2.2.

Examples and the function of determinatives as the determiner in the NP are described in section §5.2.2. Apart from their use in the NP as determiners, these may also be used as non-personal pronouns (see section §4.5.2).

4.3 Quantifiers

Quantifiers are a small closed word class that function to indicate the quantity of the head noun. The table that follows shows the quantifiers in Pijin.

Table 4.3 Quantifiers

Quantifier	Gloss
<i>lelebet</i>	‘a little’
<i>plande</i>	‘plenty’
<i>sam</i>	‘some’
<i>samfala</i>	‘some’
<i>staka</i>	‘many’

<i>tu-tri</i>	'few'
---------------	-------

Examples and the syntactic behaviour of quantifiers in the NP are described in section §5.2.3. Apart from their use in the NP as quantifiers, these may also be used as non-personal pronouns, see section §4.5.2.

These quantifiers have other uses (this is seen in part in Jourdan's classification above) that will be described in the relevant sections below. Some of them are quite diverse in function, for example, *lelebet* 'few' may be used as a postverbal modifier, a measure pronoun, prepositional modifier, and a locative modifier.

I consider numerals to be a distinct subclass of quantifier because of some unique functions that they have and because of their internal structure; the discussion now turns to them.

4.3.1 Numerals

Pijin numerals are primarily used as numeric quantifiers in the NP. As cardinal numerals they indicate specific quantity. In their basic form they are similar to adjectives since they can be suffixed with *-fala*, (see section §4.4.2.2). As will be seen in relation to the adjectives, *-fala* is considered to be semantically empty. There are, however, some restrictions on the use of the numeral *-fala* forms that will be described below. Jourdan (2002, p.xvi) considers numerals to be adjectives, however, three structural distinctions can be made that contrast them with adjectives. The first is that there is a restriction on the range of determiners that may co-occur with numerals (see §4.3.1.6). Second, they are preposed to any adjectives in the NP, while adjectives are not preposed to a numeral in the NP. Third, as will be seen in the next section, numerals do not co-occur with other quantifiers, whereas adjectives do. These structural distinctions require the numerals to be considered as a class separate from adjectives.

Numerals may be simple, composed of one word only, or complex, composed of several words.

Note the following examples where the numerals are in bold:

(24)

a) **seven** *strongfala man* 'seven strong men' (au)
seven strong man

b) **foti-faev** *kokorako* 'forty five chickens' (au)
forty-five chicken

c) **tufala** *mans* 'two months' (au)
two month

In addition to functioning as quantifiers, numerals may function as quantity pronouns (see §4.5.2.3). See the following examples:

(25)

a) *Fofala* *blong mi i go long Auki.*
 four POSS ISG SRP go PREP Auki
 ‘My four (daughters) are going to Auki.’ (au)

b) *Tenfala* *i go long Ramos.*
 ten SRP go PREP Ramos
 ‘Those ten went on the Ramos.’ (au)

In form and function Pijin numerals seem to be very similar to those in Bislama (Crowley 1995, p.21) though Crowley indicates that only numbers up to ten in Bislama take the *-fala* suffix. Compared to Tok Pisin we see a number of other differences in the form but they function in a similar manner. Mihalic (1971, pp.20-21) indicates that the *-pela* suffix in Tok Pisin is used on cardinal numbers up to twelve. As will be seen in §4.3.1.3 the *-fala* suffix occurs more widely than either of these in Pijin.

4.3.1.1 Numeral cooccurrence constraints

Numerals do not co-occur with quantifiers such as *sam* ‘some’, *samfala* ‘some’, *lelebet* ‘a little of’, *staka* ‘many’, *plande* ‘plenty’, etc., some contrasting examples follow here:

(26)

a) *Olketa* *boe kasem plande fis.*
 PL boy catch-TRS many fish
 ‘The boys caught many fish.’ (wr)

b) *Olketa* *boe kasem tenfala fis.*
 PL boy catch-TRS ten fish
 ‘The boys caught ten fish.’ (el)

but not

c) * *Olketa* *boe kasem plande tenfala fis.*
 PL boy catch-TRS many ten fish

4.3.1.2 Composite Numerals

Composite numerals less than 100 are formed in the same way as English numerals below 100. Composite numerals larger than 99 are formed in a manner similar to syntactically composite numerals in the English superstrate (Huddleston & Pullum 2002, pp.1715-1718). That is they consist of a head that is a power-of-ten word which is preceded by a multiplier, and when necessary followed by a juxtaposed addition numeral. The addition numeral may be simple or composite. For example:

(27)

a) *wan hundred seventi tu*
 one hundred seventy two

‘one hundred and seventy two’ (au)

b) *foa taosen tu hundred siksti*
 four thousand two hundred sixty

‘four thousand two hundred and sixty’ (au)

That such composite numerals follow the English numeral system so closely reflects the fact that language involving such numbers is rarely used in domains outside of mathematics and so is perhaps less subject to independent development. Furthermore, it may also reflect the fact that many local language numeral systems have been replaced by the English system.

4.3.1.3 Cardinal Numerals

Cardinal numerals from *wan* ‘one’ to *tuenti* ‘twenty’ and other non-composite numerals are usually expressed by *fala* forms when used in a noun phrase to indicate how many of the head noun there are. As a general rule non-complex numerals have *fala* forms while composite numerals do not, for example:

(28) * *foti seven-fala* ‘forty seven’
 forty seven-ADJ

Plain and *fala* forms of the numerals are considered totally synonymous. There is a tendency for urban/educated speakers to use the non-suffixed form, though, urban speakers have been observed using both forms freely. Jourdan (2002, p.143) demonstrates this with her dictionary entry for nine:

“**naen** *adj. num.card.* nine; *neuf. Usage:* Urb. Pij... *Syn: naenfala*”

The non-complex numerals are as follows:

<i>siro</i>		‘zero’
<i>wan</i>	<i>wanfala</i>	‘one’
<i>tu</i>	<i>tufala</i>	‘two’
<i>tri</i>	<i>trifala</i>	‘three’
<i>foa</i>	<i>fofala</i>	‘four’
<i>faev</i>	<i>faefala</i>	‘five’
<i>siks</i>	<i>siksfala</i>	‘six’
<i>seven</i>	<i>sevenfala</i>	‘seven’
<i>eit</i>	<i>eitfala</i>	‘eight’
<i>naen</i>	<i>naenfala</i>	‘nine’

<i>ten</i>	<i>tenfala</i>	‘ten’
<i>leven</i>	<i>levenfala</i>	‘eleven’
<i>tuel</i>	<i>tuelfala</i>	‘twelve’
<i>tetin</i>	<i>tetinfala</i>	‘thirteen’
<i>fotin</i>	<i>fotinfala</i>	‘fourteen’
<i>fiftin</i>	<i>fiftinfala</i>	‘fifteen’
<i>sikstin</i>	<i>sikstinfala</i>	‘sixteen’
<i>seventin</i>	<i>seventinfala</i>	‘seventeen’
<i>eitin</i>	<i>eitinfala</i>	‘eighteen’
<i>naentin</i>	<i>naentinfala</i>	‘nineteen’
<i>tuenti</i>	<i>tuentifala</i>	‘twenty’
<i>teti</i>	<i>tetifala</i>	‘thirty’
<i>foti</i>	<i>fotifala</i>	‘forty’
<i>fifti</i>	<i>fiftifala</i>	‘fifty’
<i>siksti</i>	<i>sikstifala</i>	‘sixty’
<i>seventi</i>	<i>seventifala</i>	‘seventy’
<i>eiti</i>	<i>eitifala</i>	‘eighty’
<i>naenti</i>	<i>naentifala</i>	‘ninety’
<i>handred</i>	<i>handredfala</i>	‘hundred’
<i>taosen</i>		‘thousand’
<i>milion</i>		‘million’

4.3.1.4 Cardinal numeral *-fala* constraints

There are several limits on the use of numeral *fala* forms. First, numerals are not expressed by *fala* forms when used for counting, for example:

(29)

a) *Wan, tu, tri, foa, faev, siks...* ‘1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6,...’

not

b) **wanfala, tufala, trifala, fofala, faefala, siksfala,...* ‘1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, ...’

Second, Lee (1999, p.94) points out that the *fala* forms are not used with numbers of dollars.

Lee's point may be observed in the following example:

(30)

a) *O masta, mi laek-em tu dola.*
Oh boss 1SG like-TRS two dollar

'Oh boss, I would like two dollars.' (spo)

not

b)* *O masta, mi laek-em tu-fala dola.*
Oh boss 1SG like-TRS two-ADJ dollar

Another example of this restriction is in relation to the price of goods, for example:

c) *Sote ya hemi faev dola.* 'That shirt is five dollars.' (wr)
shirt DEM 3SG.SRP five dollar

Note, where money is referred to in general then the term *seleni* 'money, coin' would be used and in phrases that include *seleni* a *fala* form numeral could be used, for example:

d) *Tu-fala seleni blong yu i fol-daon.*
two-ADJ money POSS 2SG SRP fall-down

'Two of your coins fell down.' (spo)

not

e)* *Tu-fala dola blong yu i fol-daon.*
two-ADJ dollar POSS 2SG SRP fall-down

'Two of your dollar coins fell down.'

Third, *fala* form numerals are not used in telling the time, for example:

(31) *Bae mi kam long foa kilok long aftanun.*
FUT 1SG come PREP four o'clock PREP afternoon

'I will come at four o'clock in the afternoon.' (spo)

Fourth, when a numeral is preposed to an adjective in an NP there is a tendency to not use the *fala* form numeral if the adjective is in the *fala* form. The third of the following three examples (in which there is no difference in meaning between the last two examples) is not impossible but less common:

(32)

a) *Jon hemi dring-im tenfala bia.*
john 3SG.SRP drink-TRS ten beer

'John drank ten beers.' (el)

b) *Jon hemi dring-im ten bikfala bia.*
 john 3SG.SRP drink-TRS ten big beer
 ‘John drank ten big beers.’ (el)

c) *Jon hemi dringim tenfala bikfala bia.*
 john 3SG.SRP drink-TRS ten big beer
 ‘John drank ten big beers.’ (el)

Fifth, when cardinal numbers are used in apposition with a pronominal phrase (see section §5.2.2.1) they obligatorily occur in the *fala* form, for example:

(33)
 a) *yufala faefala* ‘the five of you’ (au)
 2PL five
 b) *olketa tenfala* ‘the ten of them’ (au)
 3PL ten

4.3.1.5 *Wanfala* as Determiner

In section §4.2 it was seen that the numeral *wanfala* functions as a determiner. It is important to note that a distinction can be made between *wan* ‘one’ (numeral-quantifier) and *wanfala* ‘one/a/an’ (determiner). *Wanfala* is used both as the numeral ‘one’ and as an indefinite determiner, whereas *wan* is not used as an indefinite determiner. Observe the following:

(34)
 a) ***Wan*** *man hemi kasem klinik bihaen long foa kilok.*
 one man 3SG.SRP reach-TRS clinic after PREP four o'clock
 ‘One man got to the clinic after four o'clock.’ (au)

b) *Dok ya hemi baet-em wanfala man,*
 dog DEM 3SG.SRP bite-TRS one man
hem nao mifala sut-im hem long ston.
 3SG EMPH 1PL.EXC shoot-TRS 3SG PREP stone
 ‘That dog bit a man that’s why we threw a stone at it.’ (au)

4.3.1.6 Numeral-Determiner Collocation Constraints

Although numerals function as quantifiers in the NP there appear to be collocation constraints concerning the range of determiners that may be preposed to a numeral in an NP. Only the following determiners have been observed to co-occur with a numeral in an NP: *olketa* ‘DEFINITE’, *nara* ‘the other’, *evri* ‘every’, *disfala* ‘this’. Some examples follow (NP is underlined and the determiner and numeral are in bold).

(35)
 a) ***Disfala trifala*** *man ya nomoa* *olketa gohed fo waka wetem mi.*
 this three man DEM only 3PL continue COMP work with-TRS 1SG
 ‘Only these three men continued to work with me.’ (wr)

b) *Nara faefala gele ya i stap yet.*

other five girl DEM SRP stay yet

‘The other five girls still remain.’ (wr)

c) *Hemi siusim wan-fala long evri fofala man ya.*

3SG.SRP choose-TRS one-ADJ PREP every four man DEM

‘He chose one out of every four of those men.’ (wr)

d) *Olketa faefala boe i go long Honiara.*

DEF five boy SRP go PREP Honiara

‘The five boys went to Honiara.’ (au)

4.3.1.7 Ordinal Numerals

Ordinal numerals are derived in two ways. First, by compounding the word *mek* ‘make’ with any plain form cardinal numeral. Strictly speaking, ordinal numerals are not quantifiers, that is, they do not indicate the quantity of the head noun. The syntactic behaviour of an ordinal numeral is like that of an adjective, though like the numerals it is preposed to any adjectives in the NP. Ordinal numerals identify the head noun of the NP as a specific part of a countable set.

Some examples of ordinal numbers derived with *mek* are as follows:

(36)

a) *mek-tri dota blong hem*

ORD-three daughter POSS 3SG

‘his third daughter’ (au)

b) *datfala mek-tu wael animol ya*

that ORD-two wild animal DEM

‘that second wild animal’ (nt)

This formation of ordinal numerals seems to be unique among the varieties of Melanesian Pidgins, neither Tok Pisin nor Bislama use this process.

Second, ordinal numbers may also be derived by compounding the word *namba* ‘number’ with a numeral. This process is also observed in Bislama (Crowley 2003, pp.177-179) and in Tok Pisin (Verhaar 1995, p.171), though Verhaar treats them as nominal phrases rather than compounds. In Pijin this method only appears to be used for numbers up to ten, for example:

(37)

a) *namba-tri* ‘third’

b) *namba-eit* ‘eighth’

c) *namba-tu pikinini gele*

number-two child girl

‘the second female child’ (au)

There are a couple of supplementary forms in addition to the derivation processes so far described. The ordinal ‘first’ also has the additional form *fas* (from English ‘first’) and ‘second’ also has the additional form *sekon*.

Ordinal numerals may also function as nouns, for example,

- (38) *Mek-eit* *ya hemi stap longwe.*
 ORD-eight DEM 3SG.SRP remain there
 ‘The eighth is over there.’ (au)

4.4 Adjectives

Adjectives in Pijin function in two primary ways. First, they are used attributively, to modify nouns (further details are provided in §5.2.4). Where an adjective serves to modify a noun this is indicated syntactically by the adjective being preposed to that noun. Some examples are as follows:

- (39)
- a) *olketa ravis singsing*
 PL bad song
 ‘bad songs’ (au)
- b) *eni-kaen bikfala masin*
 any-kind big machine
 ‘all sorts of big machines’ (wr)
- c) *klinfala wata blong yumi*
 clean water POSS 1PL.INC
 ‘our clean river’ (wr)
- d) *olketa smol samting*
 PL small thing
 ‘small things’ (wr)

Second, adjectives are used predicatively. Where the adjective functions predicatively it is located in the Predicate of the sentence and modifies the subject (see §8.4.2), for example:

- (40)
- a) *Laef blong yumi hemi gudfala.*
 life POSS 1PL.INC 3SG.SRP good
 ‘Our life is good.’ (wr)
- b) *Disfala timba ya hemi drae.*
 this timber DEM 3SG.SRP dry
 ‘This timber is dry.’ (au)

c) *Sam hemi kros.*

Sam 3SG.SRP cross

‘Sam is angry.’ (spo)

d) *Olketa riva blong yumi i doti nao.*

PL river POSS 1PL.INC SRP dirty EMPH

‘Our rivers have become dirty.’ (wr)

4.4.1 Adjectives as Nouns

In addition to the two primary functions noted above, adjectives may also function as nouns, for example:

(41)

a) *longfala* ‘length’

b) *bikfala* ‘size’

c) *yangfala* ‘youth’

In the following description of the construction of a canoe, the length and size of the canoe are clearly referred to by two adjectives that can only be interpreted as noun since they are followed by modifying preposition phrases:

(42) *Mak-em wanem nao longfala blong kanu ya,*

mark-TRS what QN length POSS canoe DEM

an hao nao bikfala blong hem.

and how QN bigness POSS 3SG

‘mark the length of the canoe and the size of it’ (wr)

In relation to these nouns of size, speakers have also been observed to use the plain adjectives as well as the *fala* form. In addition to my observation, Jourdan (2002, p.123) records both the adjectival and nominal meanings for *long*, that is, ‘long’ and ‘length’.³⁴

The following examples show some other adjectives used as nouns:

(43)

a) *Bat olketa plande yangfala wea i drop-aot nao....*

but PL many youth REL SRP drop-out EMPH

‘But the many youth that have dropped out of school....’ (wr)

b) *...waka tugeta wetem evri gudfala waes an save blong yumi...*

work together with.TRS every good wisdom and knowledge POSS 1PL.INC

‘...work together with all our good wisdom and knowledge ...’ (wr)

c) *...toktok blong mi hemi som-aot hapi blong mi.*

talk POSS 1SG 3SG.SRP show-out happiness POSS 1SG

‘... my words show my happiness.’ (wr)

4.4.2 Morphological characteristics of Adjectives

Adjectives in Pijin fall into three subcategories on the basis of morphological behaviour. In the first subcategory there are those that can take the nominalising suffix *-wan* and have a *fala* form. In the second there are those that can only take the suffix *-wan*. The third category contains a small number of adjectives that do not have a *fala* form and may not be suffixed with *-wan*. Crowley (2003 p.20) describes a very similar situation for Bislama adjectives.

4.4.2.1 *-wan*

Nearly all adjectives may be nominalised with the suffix *-wan*. The process of nominalisation is described above in the section on nouns (§4.1.3.1). A couple of nominalised adjectives are seen in the following sentences:

(44)

a) ...*olketa bikfala bulumakao wetem olketa yang-wan wea olketa fat fogud*
 PL big cow with.TRS PL young-NOM REL PL.SRP fat very
 ‘... the big cows and the young ones that are really fat.’ (ot)

b) *Jisas Kraes hemi fas-wan an hemi las-wan long evri-samting.*
 Jesus Christ 3SG.SRP first-NOM and 3SG.SRP last-NOM PREP every-thing
 ‘Jesus Christ is the first and the last in everything.’ (nt)

The adjectives suffixed with *-wan* are not observed to simultaneously be suffixed with *fala*, for example:

(45)

a) *strong* ‘strong’
 b) *strong-fala* ‘strong’
 c) *strong-wan* ‘strong one’
 d) **strong-fala-wan* ‘strong one’

In this respect Pijin has a contrast to developments in Bislama. Indications are that Bislama speakers are increasingly using *-wan* and *-fala* together (Crowley 2003 p.25; Crowley 2004, p.43).

One might expect *nambawan* to behave as a nominal since it appears to have the *-wan* suffix, however this is not the case as seen in the following example. This is due no doubt to the fact that *nambawan* is an adjective derived from the English adjective phrase “number one” meaning best or foremost.

³⁴ This same use of *-fala/-pela* for nominals of size is found in Tok Pisin (Faraclas 1988, p.130) and in Bislama (Crowley 1995, p.24). Crowley says Bislama speakers exhibit the same variability as Pijin speakers do when it comes to the using *-fala* for nominals of size.

(46) *Hemi faend-em wanfala nambawan kol ples long botom tri ya.*
 3SG.SRP find-TRS one excellent cold place PREP bottom tree DEC
 ‘He found an excellent cool place at the bottom of the tree.’ (wr)

4.4.2.2 Adjectives containing *fala*

The adjectival suffix *-fala* is found throughout Melanesian Pidgin. Its counterparts are *-pela* in Tok Pisin and *-fala* in Bislama. As will be shown below, *-fala* is no longer a productive suffix in Pijin. Consequently, rather than talking about adjectives taking the *-fala* suffix, adjectives are described as having alternate forms. About a third of all adjectives in Pijin have a plain form and a *fala* form. While virtually all the adjectives that have the *fala* form have matching single syllable forms, not all single syllable adjectives have a matching *fala* form.

The discussion that follows only considers *-fala* in relation to adjectives; its other occurrences are noted elsewhere (such as with numerals, pronouns and demonstrative determinatives). Various authors have claimed without good evidence that *-fala* entered Pijin from Chinese Pidgin English (Waneatona 1981, p.20; Keesing 1988, p.113).

Keesing (1988, p.113) has claimed that the suffix *-fala* was in regular use by the 1880s and that those who spoke Oceanic languages expanded its use. Crowley (1989, p.407) argues against the notion that there was an Oceanic substrate pattern from which *-fala* could be derived. There is now ample evidence that the pattern of “Adjective-*fala*” came into Pijin from the Australian Aboriginal pidgins (Baker 1993, p.44; Baker & Mühlhäusler 1996b, p.558; Koch 2000, pp.30-35, 40).

The lack of clarity regarding its function, and variability regarding its use in Pijin tends to support Crowley’s case that it has been irregular for a long time. In fact, in the last fifty years we have comments about *-fala* in Pijin from several analysts that portray difficulty in accounting for the irregularity.

In the section on adjectives in his unpublished grammar notes, Hall (1954a, p.3) refers to the suffix that he wrote as *-fela*. He says:

Adjectives normally, if of one syllable, take the suffix *-fela* and precede the noun they modify: e.g. *gudfela kaikai* “good food”. ... However, under European influence, many natives omit the suffix *-fela* more or less consistently, and one may hear *dis man* or even *big haus, hot water* [sic].

Some twenty years after Hall, Bugotu (1972, pp.52-54) also discusses this suffix.³⁵ He refers to it as the particle *pala* that is attached to words to indicate “some kind of adjectival attribute or quality with the noun concerned.” Significantly he tries to deal with the issue of the irregularity of *-fala* when he says, “Older speakers of Pidgin English would prefer to include ‘*pala*’ invariably for certain adjectives, but younger speakers tend to be more flexible.”

The younger speakers of Bugotu’s day are now, we presume, the older speakers that Jourdan (2002, p.46) refers to. She makes the following statement regarding *-fala*: “Note: Older speakers and rural speakers tend to use the suffix more often than young and urban speakers.”

With this observation from the 1990s and the commentary concerning *-fala* from the 1950s, 1970s, we are perhaps able to observe language change in progress with the suffix gradually falling into disuse. However, such a view should be tested and this testing is beyond the scope of this study.

4.4.2.3 *-fala*: a form without function

Possible functions for *-fala* must be examined in view of its variable and possibly declining use. Simons and Young (1978, p.156) made the following claim concerning adjectives (they used the term qualifier for what are here called adjectives): “Some qualifiers may be intensified by adding the suffix *-fala*...” Unfortunately, they produced no evidence for this claim.

Jourdan (2002, p.46) makes a similar statement to Simons and Young for the function of *-fala* when she says, “In general, it can be used whenever emphasis or affect is needed.” She follows this with several examples, the fourth of which is as follows: “*Mi lukim wanfala bikfala trak long rod*. ‘I saw a very big truck on the street.’” The translation she provides for this example is, I suggest, somewhat problematic. It implies that *bikfala* means ‘very big’. The only way that this would be possible is for the speaker to stress the pronunciation of *bikfala* by raising the pitch and increasing the length of the vowel in the adjective root *bik*. Orthographically it might be something like, *Mi lukim wanfala biiiiikfala trak*... ‘I saw a very big truck...’ Having said all that, it is equally possible to stress a plain adjective with the same effect, namely: *Mi lukim wanfala biiiiik trak*... ‘I saw a very big truck...’ In other words, it can be argued that it is not the *-fala* that intensifies the meaning, rather it is the suprasegmental features of increased vowel pitch and length applied by the speaker.

³⁵ Bugotu was from Guadalcanal (Bugotu 1972, p.26). In his mother tongue, Tadhimboko, he would not have had a distinction between [f] and [p], this would account for his use of *-pala* rather than *-fala*.

If a speaker were to use other lexical or syntactic means to intensify the meaning they might use the intensifying adverb *barava* ‘really’ or they might produce a relative clause with the postposed intensifier *fogud* ‘really’, or even use a combination of both, for example:

(47)

a) *Mi luk-im wanfala barava bikfala trak long rod.*
 1SG look-TRS one really big truck PREP road

‘I saw a very big truck on the street.’ (au)

b) *Mi luk-im wanfala trak long rod wea hemi bikfala fogud.*
 1SG look-TRS one truck PREP road REL 3SG.SRP big very

‘I saw a truck on the street that was very big.’ (au)

c) *Mi luk-im wanfala trak long rod wea hemi barava bikfala fogud.*
 1SG look-TRS one truck PREP road REL 3SG.SRP really big very

‘I saw a truck on the street that was very very big.’ (au)

I believe that the functions for *-fala* as proposed by either Jourdan or Simons and Young have not been observed. To all intents and purposes it appears that the plain forms of the adjectives and the *fala* forms mean the same thing. Consider the following two sentences; both appear to have an identical meaning:

(48)

a) *Waswe, hemi strong boe ya?*
 QN 3SG.SRP strong boy QN

‘Is he a strong boy?’ (au)

b) *Waswe, hemi strongfala boe ya?*
 QN 3SG.SRP strong boy QN

‘Is he a strong boy?’ (au)

The following example from Huebner and Horoi (1979b, p.83) further supports my contention that *-fala* is redundant when it comes to modifying the meaning of adjectives.

They have the following data:

(49)

a) *Mi kil-im tufala bigfala sak.*
 1SG kill-TRS two big shark

b) *Mi kil-im tufala big sak.*
 1SG kill-TRS two big shark

Both are glossed, ‘I killed two big sharks.’ (wr)

Some language data from the Pijin New Testament also supports the contention that *-fala* is semantically empty. With a translated text it should be possible to see if there is any nuance of meaning from the source text that the translators have tried to convey in their use

of Pijin forms available to express that nuance. In example (50) *niu* and *niufala* both just mean ‘new’. There is no indication of intensification of any sort in the source text behind *niufala*, while in example (51) *gud* and *gudfala* both merely convey the meaning ‘good’ from the source text (Bible references are included to index the source text.)

(50)

a) *Mifala laek-em tumas fo save abaot-em disfala niu tising...*
 1PL.EXC like-TRS very COMP know about-TRS this new teaching...
 ‘We really want to know about this new teaching...’ (Acts 17:19)

b) *Evri tisa blong lo hu hemi falo-m niufala tising...*
 every teacher POSS law REL 3SG.SRP follow-TRS new teaching
 ‘Every teacher of the law who follows new teaching...’ (Matthew 13:52)

(51)

a) *Nao Josef hemi wanfala gudfala man ya.*
 DISC joseph 3SG.SRP one good man EMPH
 ‘Joseph was a good man.’ (Matthew 1.19)

b) *Disfala bik-man hemi wanfala gudfala man ya.*
 this big-man 3SG.SRP one good man EMPH
 ‘This leader was a good man.’ (Matthew 7.4)

c) *Yufala mas luk-aot-em wanfala gud man...*
 2PL must look-out-TRS one good man
 ‘You must search for a good man...’ (Matthew 10.11)

In this respect then Pijin is different from Bislama. Crowley (1987, pp.42-44; 1995, p.24), attributes two functions to the *-fala* suffix in Bislama when he says, “it can be used to indicate that a quality is especially characteristic of the referent of the noun... It can also be used to indicate that a noun phrase has a definite rather than an indefinite reference.”

In looking for functional uses for *fala* adjectives in Pijin a couple of pragmatic instances have been discerned in which the *fala* form may serve to clarify meaning, for example:

(52)

a) *Hemi wanfala bikfala man.* ‘He is a large man.’ (spo)
 b) *Hemi wanfala bikman.* ‘He is a leader.’ (spo)

This is not to say that the NP *bik man* ‘large man/adult’ does not occur (see for example (55a). Indeed, when it occurs it has a different stress pattern from the compound noun *bikman* ‘leader’. The contrastive stress pattern makes the distinction between NP and compound noun even without the *fala* form, however, since Pijin speakers are always overcoming ambiguity, the use of the *fala* form is a clearer way of making the distinction seen in example (52).

A further example may be seen in the use of the *fala* form to distinguish *long* ‘PREPOSITION’ from the adjective and nominal *long* or *longfala* ‘long/length’. The preposition *long* is

extremely common (over 22,000 occurrences in my data). Even though these homophones are different word classes, it is interesting to note that the adjective *longfala* ‘long’ does not occur in its related plain form in the data. Furthermore, the noun *longfala* ‘length’ rarely occurs in the related plain form in the data. In the first example following, it is unequivocally used as a noun and unambiguous since it is followed by the possessive preposition.

(53)

a) **Long** *blong hem an waed blong hem an hae blong hem,*
length POSS 3SG and width POSS 3SG and height POSS 3SG
trifala evri-wan barava semsem nomoa.
three all-NOM really identical only

‘Its length and its width, and its height are all really just the same.’ (ot)

b) *Taem yu mak-em longfala blong kanu ya,...*
time 2SG mark-TRS length POSS canoe DEM,...

‘When you have marked the length of the canoe,...’ (wr)

The final issue to discuss here in relation to the function of *-fala* is a proposal made by Bugotu (1972, p.54). He claims there is a class of ‘adjectival bases’ that do not take the ending ‘*pala*’ (as he calls it). His suggestion was that these “characteristically occur as *predicate adjectives* while the class to which ‘*pala*’ is normally affixed usually qualify nouns.” Unfortunately, Bugotu weakens his own generalisation when he says, “the pattern cannot however be said to be systematic in the many varieties of Pidgin English in the Solomons.” Indeed he gives examples of adjectives that he says do not take the ‘*pala*’ suffix that included *hoti* ‘hot’, *siki* ‘sick’, and *darae* ‘dry’. However, there is evidence in Hall (1955), significantly predating Bugotu, that both *hot* ‘hot’ and *drae* ‘dry’ did indeed take the suffix and were used to modify nouns in noun phrases.

His suggestion, however weak, points toward the issue concerning the status of adjectives in Pijin. Much later, Jourdan (2002, p.xvi) makes the same sort of distinction that Bugotu made in saying that the words capable of taking *-fala* are the only ones to be considered as adjectives. This issue will be discussed section §4.4.3.

4.4.2.4 Non-suffix taking adjectives

There are a small number of adjectives that may not be suffixed with *-wan*, and do not have *fala* forms. The adjectives in this subcategory are all polysyllabic, they are also compounds.³⁶

To illustrate this note the following adjectives may not be suffixed:

(54)

- | | |
|--------------------|---|
| a) <i>bolhed</i> | ‘bald’ |
| b) <i>naesbola</i> | ‘attractive’ (borrowed from Fiji English) |
| c) <i>nogud</i> | ‘bad’ |

4.4.2.5 Syntactic and Morphological summary

Adjectives in Pijin are characterised by several criteria. All adjectives meet the following two syntactic criteria:

- **Attributive**:- the adjective can be preposed to a noun with an attributive function.
- **Predicative**:- the adjective (in an adjective phrase) can head the Predicate of the sentence such that it functions to modify the subject as in the following pattern:
NP *hemi* Adj... ‘... NP he/she/it is Adj...’

As seen above there are two morphological criteria that ‘adjectives’ in Pijin can be tested for. Note though that not all adjectives will meet these two criteria. These two criteria are:

- ***-wan***:- the adjective can be suffixed with *-wan* to make it a nominal.
- ***-fala***:- the adjective has a *fala* form.

See Appendix 2 §2.4 for a comprehensive list of adjectives indicating how each adjective meets these two morphological criteria.

4.4.3 Adjectives or stative verbs?

Anyone familiar with Jourdan’s Pijin dictionary (Jourdan 2002) or her brief description of Pijin morphology and syntax (Jourdan 2004) may be surprised that I describe a significant open class of adjectives for Pijin. Indeed the presence of adjectives in Pijin is something of a debated topic. Keesing (1988, p.73, 109, 113; 1989, p.19, 24-25) claims that certain words that we might think of as adjectives are actually stative verbs in Pijin. He argues this because he believes that the substrate languages have had an effect on the classes of words in Pijin. Substrate languages such as Kwaio and 'Are'are, according to Keesing, do not have a clear

³⁶ Note that some polysyllabic adjectives do have *fala* forms, e.g., *yalo/yalofala* ‘yellow’, *isi/isifala* ‘easy’, and *kleva/klevafala* ‘clever’. Thanks to Brett Baker for pointing out that these adjectives that do not have *fala* forms are compounds. See Appendix 2 §2.3 for a listing.

word class “adjective”; rather they use stative verbs to convey adjectival meaning. Table 4.4 shows the list of Pijin words that Keesing (1989, p.24) gives as examples of statives.

Table 4.4 Keesing’s examples of statives.

<i>strong(-fala)</i>	‘be strong’
<i>gud/gudfala</i>	‘be good’
<i>smol/smolfala</i>	‘be small’
<i>isi/isifala</i>	‘be easy’
<i>lesi</i>	‘be unwilling’
<i>had</i>	‘be difficult’
<i>nogud</i>	‘be bad’
<i>fraet</i>	‘be afraid’
<i>hot</i>	‘be hot’
<i>bik/bikfala</i>	‘be big’
<i>kolsap</i>	‘be near’
<i>farawe</i>	‘be far’
<i>waet</i>	‘be white’
<i>red</i>	‘be red’
<i>etc.</i> ³⁷	

These are stative verbs according to Keesing (1988, pp.73, 109, 113; 1989, p.19, 24-25) because like Oceanic statives they occur in the VP following a subject-referencing pronoun (SRP, see §7.7 for full details) and any associated tense, mood, and aspect particles, and they may also modify nouns directly. It is true, no doubt, that when Pijin adjectives are used predicatively, they follow a SRP and are capable of being marked by the same tense, mood and aspect particles as verbs are marked by. However, that, in and of itself, is not sufficient reason to accept Keesing’s position. Holm, for instance, says of creoles, “the occurrence of preverbal markers before adjectives is not convincing proof of their verbal status since preverbal markers often occur directly before other syntactic categories; thus they do not specify verbs but rather predicates” (Holm 2000, pp.211- 212).

The pre and post-verbal markers of Pijin that indicate tense, mood and aspect (TMA), along with negation and adverbials may be used on nouns and noun phrases in the predicate as well as adjectives. Since adjectives are under question here, the presence of a noun in a predicate

³⁷ By etc. I presume Keesing meant other colour terms.

shows that the presence of TMA markers, negation and adverbs on the predicate cannot be used to prove that words that occur in the predicate must be verbs. The examples in (55) are all clear cases of NPs in the predicate (the TMA markers, negative and adverbs are shown in bold and the nouns or noun phrases in the predicate are underlined).

(55)

a) *An mi **no** bik man **yet**.*
and 1SG NEG big man yet

‘And I was not an adult yet.’ (wr)

b) *San hemi barava saen fogud so hemi hot de **fogud ya**.*
sun 3SG.SRP really shine very so 3SG.SRP hot day very DEC

‘The sun was really shining so it was a very hot day indeed.’ (wr)

c) *...bikos plen hemi **no** flae hae tumas from hemi klaod **tumas**.*
because plane 3SG.SRP NEG fly high very from 3SG.SRP cloud very

‘... because the plane was not flying very high since it was very cloudy.’ (wr)

d) *...bikos hemi win an klaod **fogud**.*
because 3SG.SRP wind and cloud very

‘... because it was very windy and cloudy.’ (wr)

e) *Waef blong mi hemi **bin** dokta bat distaem hemi lus-im waka ya.*
wife POSS 1SG 3SG.SRP PST doctor but now 3SG.SRP leave-TRS work DEM

‘My wife was a doctor but now she has left that job.’ (au)

f) *Haos ya hemi fol-daon an hemi **barava** pisis evribet **nao**.*
house DEM 3SG.SRP fall-down and 3SG.SRP really piece totally EMPH

‘That house fell down and it completely and totally fell to pieces.’ (nt)

g) *Jon hemi **no** tisa distaem.*
John 3SG.SRP NEG teacher now

‘John is not a teacher now.’ (au)

The fact that Pijin nouns can occur in the predicate and be marked with TMA particles, the negative and adverbs is one reason why Keesing’s analysis of adjectives as stative verbs cannot be readily accepted, otherwise logic would suggest that nouns too be classed as stative verbs.

Jourdan (2002, p.xvi) partially follows Keesing in her dictionary. It seems partial because she does retain a small closed class of adjectives. Words considered by Jourdan to be adjectives may be seen in Table 4.5. There is some uncertainty in what she says is the defining character of adjectives, namely that they can take the suffix *-fala*. It seems there is uncertainty since some of the words in her dictionary labelled as adjective do not have *fala* forms. For instance, there is no evidence in my data or observations that the adjectives *metrik* ‘metric’, *nambaten*

‘worst’, and *praevet* ‘private’ have a *fala* form. In addition to this, my data shows that some fifty or more adjectives do have *fala* forms, yet most of these have not been labelled as adjectives by Jourdan.

Apart from her set of adjectives, Jourdan treats as statives all the words listed in Table 2.5 in Appendix 2. However, it seems that her analysis presents difficulties. It is notable too that some of the words she includes in her class of adjectives were labelled as statives by Keesing.

Table 4.5 Jourdan’s closed adjective class.

<i>bik</i>	large
<i>blak</i>	black
<i>blu</i>	blue
<i>braon</i>	brown
<i>grin</i>	green
<i>gud</i>	good
<i>hom</i>	traditional
<i>yalo</i>	yellow
<i>long</i>	long
<i>metrik</i>	metric
<i>nambaten</i>	worst
<i>papol</i>	purple
<i>praevet</i>	private
<i>red</i>	red ³⁸
<i>sot</i>	short
<i>tol</i>	tall

The issue is clouded by the fact that there are many multifunctional words in Pijin (as expected for a pidgin or creole language). That is, many Pijin words may function in a variety of word classes without any change of form. Since this is true, it is important to ask the question whether a word when used for more than one function changes class according to that function.

³⁸ Jourdan did not include the colour orange among the adjectives, rather, she lists it as a stative.

The examples in the following Table show how the word *strong* could possibly be assigned to multiple classes according to how it functions:

Table 4.6. Multifunctionality of *strong*.

Example	Function	Pijin word class normally thought of as fulfilling the function
<i>Hemi strong.</i> 'He is strong.'	Predicate in stative clause	stative verb (but in my analysis it is an adjective used predicatively)
<i>Hemi wanfala strong man.</i> 'He is a strong man.'	Modifier in noun phrase	adjective
<i>Hemi lusim strong blong hem.</i> 'He lost his strength.'	Possessed element of possessive phrase	noun

From the examples in Table 4.6 we might conclude that the Pijin word *strong* should be listed in a lexicon of Pijin with three word classes, namely, noun, verb and adjective. An alternate view would be that the Pijin word *strong* belongs to only one of these classes and that it is also used for functions not normally associated with that class. How can this issue be resolved? The issue is actually one common to pidgin and creole languages since multifunctionality is a typical feature of these language types (Holm 2000 pp.108, 135).

The assignment of words to a particular class in Pijin seems to be mainly based on functional criteria because there are limited structural grounds. This results in an apparently circular logic that creates a problem in keeping class and function separate. However, where there are no structural grounds, a word itself must have an inherent property that indicates what class it belongs to and so what functions it can fulfil. If this were not so, then all open class words should be able to fulfil all functions provided the semantics allowed it. Since all open class words cannot be used at will for all functions, there must be inherent class restrictions. In other words, the class to which any particular Pijin word belongs must actually control how that word may function. This is important as we consider whether there are adjectives in Pijin.

Dixon's work on adjectives (Dixon 1982, pp.11-12) discusses a similar issue when considering English words that belong to more than one part of speech. He asserts that speakers have fairly strong intuitions about which class is more "basic" for any particular word. He suggests that the lexical items of a language fall into a number of "semantic types"

(Dixon 1982, p.9). He assumes that each semantic type has a basic connection with a single part of speech (here my term “word class” means the same as Dixon’s “part of speech”). In addition he says that any particular type may, by extension, be connected with other classes too. The connection between semantic type and word class is language specific.

In Dixon’s terms then, Keesing seems to consider Pijin lexical items that function as both modifiers of nouns and predicates as basically verbal, whereas I consider them to be basically adjectival. Are these two different positions merely opinions, or is there some way of determining the basic “semantic type” of any particular word in Pijin?

I noted above that not all open class words in Pijin could be freely assigned to any word class. This restriction provides the key to our dilemma. We saw above that *strong* appears to be able to operate as verb, noun or adjective, however, what about *fraet* ‘fear’?

Keesing included the word *fraet* ‘be afraid, fear’ in his list of words that were “statives” with the semantic force of an adjective. However, a noun phrase such as **wanfala fraet man* ‘a frightened man’ is not acceptable in Pijin. The stative intransitive verb *fraet* cannot be used as a constituent in an NP to modify the head, that is, it cannot be used attributively. Therefore it fails to meet one of the syntactic criteria for an adjective (as described above). In Dixon’s terms it seems that *fraet* is of the “semantic type” verbal and because of this in Pijin it cannot be used attributively, whereas *strong* is of the “semantic type” adjectival and so can be used attributively and for other syntactic functions.

The issue with *fraet* not being able to be used attributively is not restricted to that word alone. In my analysis there are many Pijin words that belong to the class “stative intransitive verb” (statives in Keesing’s terms). These can never be used as a constituent of an NP to modify the head. In fact of the some 410 intransitive verbs in Pijin, some 80 could be regarded as stative on semantic grounds and none of them can be used attributively (as might be expected). Yet recall that Keesing (1988, p.73, 109, 113; 1989, p.19, 24-25) claims that certain words that we might think of as adjectives are actually stative verbs in Pijin. It would seem that his analysis cannot be accepted since it would result in incorrect predictions regarding the class of stative verbs overall.

The illustration above demonstrates then that the connection between class and function is not entirely circular. According to my data, those lexical items in Pijin that are primarily verbal may never be used attributively, while those lexical items in Pijin that are primarily adjectival may perform other syntactic functions (predicative use and for some lexical items nominal use) apart from their primary attributive function.

The discussion will now focus on Jourdan's analysis. Jourdan (2002) presents a total of some 150 words that are so-called statives. All of these words may be used predicatively. These are listed in Table 1.5 in Appendix 2. Of these so-called statives, approximately 115 may be used attributively while some 35 may not. That is, 35 out of 150 statives may not be preposed to modify the head noun in an NP. Therefore, my analysis considers these 35 to be intransitive verbs while all the others are considered to be adjectives. It seems counter-intuitive for Jourdan to label a class as inherently verbal when a majority of the members of that class function in a non-verbal way.

Since Jourdan posits a closed class of adjectives we can further assess her analysis with some typological considerations as discussed by Schachter (1985, pp.15-20). He says:

The expression of adjectival meanings through verbs in languages with closed adjective classes typically involves relativisation to express the equivalent of a modifying adjective.

He also says,

A further point to be noted about languages with closed adjective classes is that, in some of these languages, adjectives occur *only* as modifiers, and do not occur as predicates at all.

Since neither of these two generalisations is true for Pijin, further doubt is cast on Jourdan's analysis.

Furthermore, Schachter indicates that "adjectival-verb" languages (in our case Pijin according to Keesing) "seem to be like languages with closed adjective classes in the way they use verbs to express adjectival meaning." This failure of Pijin to conform to the generalisations noted above also calls into question Keesing's analysis in the sense that many Pijin verbs cannot be used to express adjectival meaning.

To summarize the arguments here, while it is true that all Pijin words that belong in the word class "adjective" can be used predicatively, I assert that this does not make them stative verbs; rather they remain adjectives. It is clear from the initial description above that it is a characteristic of Pijin adjectives that speakers use all of them attributively and predicatively. It can be maintained that they remain in the word class "adjective" even when functioning in the predicates of sentences since there is no descriptive or explanatory value in saying they change class in such instances. Indeed, nouns too function in the predicates of sentences yet no-one would claim that they change class. As for stative intransitive verbs, it is a characteristic of theirs that speaker do not use them attributively, that is, they cannot be preposed to modify the head noun of a noun phrase.

4.5 Pronouns

The pronominal system of Pijin has a degree of complexity that is associated with the fact that it is an expanded pidgin.³⁹ Languages often distinguish between a variety of pronoun types, for example, English is usually said to have personal, possessive, reflexive, demonstrative and indefinite pronouns. In Pijin I cannot distinguish such a variety of types on morphological or syntactic grounds. I distinguish two types of pronoun in Pijin; personal pronouns and non-personal pronouns. Both these pronoun types characteristically may function as the head of an NP (see §5.4).

There is also another type of pronoun called a subject referencing pronoun. These have a subject indexing function in the predicate. They do not function as the head of an NP. These are discussed in detail in the context of the Predicate in chapter 7 (§7.7).

4.5.1 Personal Pronouns

Personal pronouns reference first, second, and third person. They also reference number, namely singular, dual, trial, and plural. I note though that the trial forms are far less common than the others, since many speakers use the plural for referencing pronominal number equal to or greater than three. Even the dual forms are absent from the speech of some speakers who have a simple singular/plural contrast.

The first person non-singular pronouns have inclusive and exclusive types. The inclusive types include the addressee(s) in their reference, while exclusive types do not include the addressee(s) in their reference. Also note that the pronouns do not mark gender distinctions and do not have possessive forms.

Table 4.7 Pijin Pronouns

<i>Person</i>	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Dual</i>	<i>Trial</i>	<i>Plural</i>
<i>I inclusive</i>		<i>yumitufala</i>	<i>yumitrifala</i>	<i>yumi</i>
<i>I exclusive</i>	<i>mi</i>	<i>mitufala</i>	<i>mitrifala</i>	<i>mifala</i>
<i>2</i>	<i>yu</i>	<i>yutufala</i>	<i>yutrifala</i>	<i>yufala</i>
<i>3</i>	<i>hem</i>	<i>tufala</i>	<i>trifala</i>	<i>olketa</i> ⁴⁰

³⁹ The developmental history of the Pijin pronoun system and its relationship to substrate languages has been thoroughly discussed by Keesing (see 1988, pp.133 - 209).

⁴⁰ Jourdan (2002, p.34) includes *de* as a third person plural pronoun, attributing it however, to older speakers from Malaita who learned their Pijin pre-World War II. She gives the example: *Samfala karem kago an evriting wea de wandem*. 'Some carried cargo and other things they wanted.' I have observed a Malaitan colleague of mine, a man in his late 60s, use it occasionally in free variation with *olketa*. In his case it may more be an example of code-switching rather than a true Pijin pronoun. It is fairly transparent that *de* is derived from English 'they'. I do not consider it to be part of the typical current pronoun system.

In contrast to Bislama, there are no special collective forms for third person dual and trial such as occur there, namely, *tugeta* ‘two of them at once’ and *trigeta* ‘three of them at once’.

4.5.1.1 Phonetic variation of personal pronouns

Some of the personal pronouns have a multiplicity of phonetic forms. Jourdan (2002, p.xxi) notes some of the variation heard in urban speech forms. She gives the following examples of some pronoun forms

3rd person plural *olketa oketa okta otta ot*

1st person plural exclusive *mifala mifaa mia*

To this latter the form *mifla* can also be added. In more general terms it has been observed that all personal pronouns with the *fala* ending may have that ending contracted to *fla*, giving, for instance, both *yufala* and *yufla* forms for 2nd person plural. Smith (2002, pp.76-81) discusses similar reduction and variation in the pronouns of Tok Pisin. The fact that the standard orthography is used for data examples does not mean that such contracted forms are uncommon or rejected as wrong.

4.5.1.2 Do personal pronouns have morphemic elements?

In Table 4.7 above a number of pronouns appear to be divisible into morphemic elements. Many non-singular pronouns have the ending *-fala*. The Pijin numerals *tu* ‘two’ and *tri* ‘three’ also occur in the dual and trial pronoun forms. Also note the combination of *mi* ‘1SG’ and *yu* ‘2SG’ in the first person inclusive *yumi*.

While these morphemic components appear to contribute to the pronoun system with a certain degree of semantic transparency, it is not true that they are the essential components from which the pronoun system is now totally ‘built’.⁴¹ The ending *-fala* seems to contribute plural meaning for a pronoun, for example, note the pair *yu* ‘2SG’ and *yufala* ‘2PL’. However, there are other plural pronouns that do not have a *-fala* ending. For instance, the third person plural is not formed by adding a plural ending to the third singular pronoun (**hemfala*). In the history of Melanesian Pidgin such a form has indeed been observed but obviously has not survived (Keesing 1988, pp.137-9). Indeed, as Keesing (1988, p.139) indicates, from a historic point of view we can readily identify the morphemes from which the pronoun system was created but not why certain forms endured while others did not.

⁴¹ Since the pronoun system is fairly transparent in terms of the morphemes observed I do not subdivide the morphemes in the interlinearised examples.

4.5.2 Non-personal Pronouns

Apart from the personal pronouns, Pijin has an additional subclass of pronouns, namely, non-personal pronouns. These non-personal pronouns are as follows:

Table 4.8 Non-personal pronouns

<i>datfala</i> ⁴²	‘that’
<i>datwan</i>	‘that’
<i>disfala</i> ⁴³	‘this’
<i>diswan</i>	‘this’
<i>enisamting</i>	‘anything’
<i>eniting</i>	‘anything’ (urban)
<i>eniwan</i>	‘anyone’
<i>evrisamting</i>	‘everything’
<i>evriwan</i>	‘everyone’
<i>lelebet</i>	‘a little’
<i>noenisamting</i>	‘nothing’
<i>noeniwan</i>	‘no-one’
<i>plande</i>	‘many’
<i>samfala</i>	‘some’
<i>samting</i> ⁴⁴	‘something’
<i>samwan</i>	‘someone’
<i>staka</i>	‘many’

The non-personal pronouns are subdivided into three categories, namely, demonstrative pronouns, indefinite pronouns and quantity pronouns. I now briefly discuss and exemplify these.

⁴² The form *datfala* is rarely used as a pronoun, the derived form *datwan* is much more common.

⁴³ The form *disfala* is rarely used as a pronoun, the derived form *diswan* is much more common.

⁴⁴ Note that *samting* may also mean ‘thing’ and in that sense it is not an pronoun but a noun.

4.5.2.1 Demonstrative Pronouns

The two demonstrative pronouns are *diswan* ‘this’ and *datwan* ‘that’. They are clearly morphologically related to the demonstrative determiners *disfala* ‘this’ and *datfala* ‘that’. They are derived from the bound morphemes *dis-* and *dat-* with the suffix *-wan* (compare §5.2.2 and §4.1.3.1). The determiners *disfala* ‘this’ and *datfala* ‘that’ may also be used as pronouns, though this is rare.

Note the following examples:

(56)

a) *Dis-wan* ya nao niufala kontrak wea baebae mi talem go long olketa.
 this-NOM DEM EMPH new agreement REL FUT 1SG tell-TRS go PREP 3PL

‘This is the new agreement that I will tell them.’ (nt)

b) *Yufala mas baem dat-wan.*
 2PL must buy.TRS that-NOM

‘You must buy that.’ (au)

c) *Olketa i talem baebae olketa i duim disfala o datfala*
 3PL SRP tell-TRS FUT 3PL SRP do-TRS this or that
fo yumi, bat evritaem no-eni-samting hemi hapen nomoa.
 for 1PL.INC but always no-any-thing 3SG.SRP happen only

‘They claim they will do this or that for us, but always nothing happens.’ (wr)

I underscore the non-personal nature of these pronouns by the observation that it is rare for a demonstrative pronoun to refer to a person.

4.5.2.2 Indefinite Pronouns

Pijin indefinite pronouns⁴⁵ are a semantic subtype of pronouns whose members indicate indefinite reference (Haspelmath 1997, p.11). In semantic terms they cannot reference definite antecedents. It will become apparent that the indefinite pronouns are derived from various determinatives (see section §4.2) with the suffix *-wan*, or by being compounded with *samting*. The indefinite pronouns are as follows:

indefinite pronoun	gloss
<i>enisamting</i>	‘anything’
<i>eniting</i>	‘anything’
<i>eniwan</i>	‘anyone’
<i>evrisamting</i>	‘everything’
<i>evriwan</i>	‘everyone’

⁴⁵ See Simons and Young (1978, pp.158-159) and Bugotu (1972, p.45) for other accounts of indefinite pronouns.

<i>noenisamting</i>	‘nothing’
<i>noeniwan</i>	‘no-one’
<i>samting</i>	‘something’
<i>samwan</i>	‘someone’

Following are some examples of indefinite pronouns (in bold):

(57)

a) *Yu mas no kil-im **eni-wan** dae.*

2SG must not injure-TRS any-one die

‘You must not kill anyone.’ (nt)

b) *Bat trifala i no talem **eni-samting** long hem.*

but 3TRL SRP NEG tell-TRS any-thing PREP 3SG

‘But the three of them did not tell anything to him.’ (wr)

c) *Bat maet **sam-wan**hemi sei mi laea an mi trik-im yufala nomoa.*

but perhaps some-one 3SG.SRP say 1SG lie and 1SG trick-TRS 2PL alone

‘But maybe someone said I just lied and tricked you(pl).’ (nt)

d) *...maet mi save garem **samting** moafo raet-em abaot-em hem.*

perhaps 1SG ABIL have-TRS something more for write-TRS about-TRS 3SG

‘... maybe I’ll be able to write something else about him.’ (nt)

e) *Brata! **No-eni-samting** long aes nao!*

brother no-any-thing PREP fridge EMPH

‘Gosh! There is nothing (left) in the fridge!’ (Jourdan 2002, p.151)

f) *From hem bik-ren, **no-eni-wan** long maket nao.*

from 3SG big-rain no-any-one PREP market EMPH

‘Because of the downpour there is no one at the market.’ (Jourdan 2002, p.152)

The compound nature of these indefinite pronouns is worth reflecting on. Schachter (1985, p.30) points out that indefinite pronouns in many languages are “rather transparently analysable as consisting of two morphemes, one expressing the meaning of indefiniteness, the other meaning ‘person’ or ‘thing’” The indefinite pronouns of Pijin appear to fit this pattern. However, the fact that some of them are historically derived from English makes it somewhat difficult to be certain. Take for instance the indefinite pronoun *samwan* ‘someone’, it seems to contain the morphemes *sam* and *wan*, though *wan* in Pijin does not possess the kind of meaning that that Schachter suggests, namely ‘person’. However this may not be significant, Haspelmath (1997, p.29) shows that indefinites may also be derived from the numeral ‘one’. Yet, it might also be said that the form *samwan* exists simply because that was the indefinite pronoun adopted from the superstrate English.

On the other hand, some of the indefinite pronouns are not simply adopted from English but are formed as Haspelmath (1997, p.28) has shown from an ontological category noun and an indefinite marker.⁴⁶

One good example of this is *enisamting* ‘anything’. Interestingly, *enisamting* is now in competition with the form *eniting* ‘anything’. The latter seems to be a recent innovation from English. Jourdan (2002) does not list it, I have observed it only a handful of times, but others consider it to be contemporary (M. Gale, pers. comm.).

Now to one other word that could perhaps be considered an indefinite pronoun. Verhaar (1995, p.367) proposes *arapela/narapela* ‘other’ as indefinite pronouns in Tok Pisin. This analysis, along with the fact that *narafala* ‘other/another’ is a determinative, suggests it should be included here with Pijin indefinite pronouns. This notion is rejected. From a semantic point of view, it is not really possible to consider *narafala* as having indefinite reference, rather it indicates specific identity reference. Furthermore, in the following example, the fact that it can be modified by *samfala* excludes it from the category pronoun.

(58) *Samfala narafala i stap long aes boks.*
 some other SRP stay PREP ice box
 ‘Some others are in the fridge.’ (spo)

4.5.2.3 Quantity Pronouns

Quantifiers (see §4.3) may also be used as pronouns. When speakers use such quantifiers as nominals they I consider them to be pronouns since they are not observed to take pronominal modifiers. The quantifiers used in this manner are labelled as quantity pronouns. The quantity pronouns are *lelebet* ‘a little’, *plande* ‘many’, *samfala* ‘some’, and *staka* ‘many’.

I make the observation here that the use of the determiner *olketa* ‘DEFINITE-PLURAL’ as a pronoun (*olketa* ‘3PL’) parallels this relation between quantifiers and quantity pronouns.

Some examples follow:

(59)
 a) *Jon hemi talem-aot lelebet moa.*
 John 3SG.SRP tell.TRS-out a.little more
 ‘John told a bit more.’ (au)

b) *Bat plande long olketa pipol ya olketa biliv long hem.*
 but plenty PREP PL people DEM 3PL.SRP believe PREP 3SG
 ‘But many of those people believed in him.’ (nt)

⁴⁶ The relationship between two different meanings of *samting*, i.e. as indefinite pronoun ‘something’, and as generic noun ‘thing’ may be worthy of investigation in the light of the fact that there is often a diachronic process in which the generic noun for ‘thing’ develops into the indefinite pronoun for ‘something’ (Haspelmath 1997, pp.182-183).

c) **Samfala** long olketa i no falo-m disfala toktok.
 some PREP 3PL SRP not follow-TRS this talk

‘Some of them do not follow this teaching.’ (nt)

d) **Samfala** save tok-hapi long mifala, an **samfala** save tok-nogud long mifala.
 some HAB talk-happy PREP 1PL.EXC and some HAB talk-bad PREP 1PL.EXC

‘Some approve of us and some criticise us.’ (nt)

e) **Staka** long olketa yanga i duim dis-wan finis.
 lots PREP PL youth SRP do-TRS this-NOM finish

‘Lots of the youth have done this already.’ (wr)

f) **Mi** garem **staka**.
 1SG have.TRS lots

‘I have lots.’ (au)

4.5.3 Subject Referencing Pronouns

There is another class of pronouns known as subject referencing pronouns (SRP). This class is typified by the words *i* and *hemi*. They do not function as heads of NPs. Further details and discussion of this class may be found in §7.2 and §7.7. The SRP is the first constituent of the Predicate. For example (SRP bold):

(60)

a) **Olketa** pikinini **i** ran long haos ya.
 PL child SRP run PREP house DEM

‘The children ran to the house.’ (au)

b) **Jon** **hemi** go long taon.
 John 3SG.SRP go PREP town.

‘John went to town.’ (spo)

4.6 Postnominal Modifiers

4.6.1 Postnominal modifiers

The postnominal modifiers (PM) are postposed to the N they modify in the NP (see §5.2.6). The following particles, and words may function as postnominal modifiers:

ba ‘RECOGNITIONAL DEMONSTRATIVE’;

ya ‘DEMONSTRATIVE’;

ya ‘EMPHASIS’;

moa ‘more’, ‘also’;

nao ‘FOCUS’;

nating ‘nothing, insignificant, lacking something’;

nogud ‘bad’ (this adjective also occurs pre-nominally, and since it is the only one in postnominal use it is not labelled as a post-adjective);

nomoa ‘EMPHASIS’, ‘only’;

olsem ‘like that’;

seleva ‘alone’;

tu ‘too, also’ (focusing modifier).

Examples of these from the data make more sense in the context of the explanation about their syntactic use in the NP, therefore relevant examples and further discussion may be found in section §5.2.6.

4.7 Prepositions

Prepositions are those words or word complexes which precede an NP in a prepositional phrase (PP) and function as the head of such PPs. The structure and functions of the PP are described in section §6.3. Pijin is described as having simple prepositions (§4.7.1), adverbs functioning as prepositions (§4.7.2), complex prepositions (§4.7.3) and verbal prepositions (§4.7.4).⁴⁷

4.7.1 Simple Prepositions, *long*, *blong* and *fo*

There are three simple prepositions in Pijin; *long*, *blong* and *fo*. The first two also occur in Tok Pisin and Bislama.

4.7.1.1 *Long*

Long is the most common and generic of the simple prepositions. It usually takes the form [lo] or [lɔ̃] in normal speech. It functions as the head word in a PP (§6.3.1). It can be translated at least by the following English prepositions; ‘to’, ‘from’, ‘for’, ‘of’, ‘at’, ‘on’, ‘in’, ‘about’, and ‘by’. Or it can be said that it indicates at least the following notions: location, goal, source, path, place of origin, time, duration, instrument, and indirect object. In other words, *long* covers most relations in space and time. In view of this highly generalised use, rather than introduce specific meaning glosses in the various examples, I use the abbreviation PREP to show that it has a prepositional type of relator function.

⁴⁷ Lee (1996a) proposed a division of Pijin prepositions into three types. These are “simple”, “verbal” and “nominal” (see §4.7.2 for a discussion of this issue).

The preposition *long* always has an overt obligatory object NP immediately following it in the PP. Some examples of *long* are as follows:

(61)

a) *Hemi kam long disfala ples ya long namba seven long Oktoba.*
 3SG come PREP this place DEM PREP number seven PREP October
 ‘He came to this place on the seventh of October.’ (wr)

b) *Nao olketa kam-baek long soa*
 DISC 3PL come-back PREP shore
 ‘Then they returned to shore.’ (wr)

c) *So yumi evri-wan long Solomon Aelan mas tingting strong.*
 so 1PL.INC every-one PREP Solomon Islands must think strong.
 ‘So all of us in the Solomon Islands must think carefully.’ (wr)

d) *Mifala tingting strong long olketa nius abaot-em faea.*
 1PL.EXC think strong PREP PL news about-TRS fire
 ‘We thought hard about the news of a fire.’ (au)

4.7.1.2 *Blong*

The preposition *blong* indicates close relationship and especially possession. It often takes the form [blo] or [blō] in normal speech. It serves as the head of a PP (§6.3.1). It is mainly translated by the English preposition ‘of’. Apart from a possessive meaning it may also typify a N as being something/someone that especially has the characteristic indicated by the modifying prepositional phrase (see §5.3.1 and example 63c). Although it has these multiple uses, rather than introduce specific meaning glosses in the various examples, I use the abbreviation POSS since it usually has a possessive type of relator function.

The preposition *blong* always has an obligatory overt object noun phrase following it. For example:

(62)

a) *Wea nao baero blong yu?*
 where QN pen POSS 2SG.
 ‘Where is your pen?’ (spo)

b) *Hemi pikinini blong mi.*
 3SG.SRP child POSS 1SG
 ‘He is my child.’ (spo)

c) *Hem nao taem blong prea.*
 3SG FOC time POSS prayer
 ‘It is time for the church service.’ (spo)

d) *Olketa Japan kashol-em wanfala man, nem blong hem Maelangi.*
 PL Japan catch-TRS one man name POSS 3SG Maelangi
 ‘The Japanese captured a man named Maelangi.’ (wr)

4.7.1.3 *Fo*

The preposition *fo* functions as the head word of a PP (§6.3.1) that indicates purpose, beneficiary, or characteristic. As with the other two simple prepositions it requires an object NP, however it may also have a clausal object (§8.3.3). It is mainly translated by the English prepositions ‘to’ and ‘for’. The range of semantic relationships indicated by *fo* are somewhat reminiscent of ‘for’ in English, so rather than introduce a complicated set of function glosses in the various examples, I use the English gloss ‘for’ to show that it has this kind of relator function. This preposition is also used as a complementiser (see §8.3).

Examples of the prepositional use of *fo* are marked in bold in the following examples. The first example also contains *fo* functioning as a complementiser.

(63)

a) *Mi wande-m fo giv-im las toktok blong mi*
 1SG want-TRS for give-TRS last talk POSS 1SG

fo *yu ya dota blong mi.*
 for 2SG FOC daughter POSS 1SG

‘I want to give my last advice to you my daughter.’ (wr)

b) *Yu no save kam-baek fo eni kompensessin.*
 2SG NEG ABIL come-back for any compensation

‘You can’t come back for any compensation.’ (wr)

c) *Hu nao olketa wak-em gaden fo hem?*
 Who QN 3PL work-TRS garden for 3SG

‘Who are they making a garden for?’ (wr)

d) *Bifoa, mi wanfala manfo waka.*
 Before 1SG one man for work

‘Before, I was a workaholic.’ (au)

Cognate forms of this preposition do not occur in Tok Pisin or Bislama; however, Torres Strait Creole has a parallel form *po* (Lee 1996a, pp.384, 387).

4.7.2 Adverbs functioning as prepositions

I have observed Pijin to use some of its locative and temporal adverbs as prepositions. As a rule these are the same adverbs used in complex prepositional phrases (see next section). An adverb used in this way functions as the head of a PP (§6.3.2). As with the simple prepositions it requires an obligatory overt object NP following it. Some examples of adverbs used as prepositions (in bold) are as follows:

(64)

a) *Bikos hemi stap insaet bele blong mi.*
 Because 3SG.SRP remain inside stomach POSS 1SG

‘Because it was in my stomach.’ (wr)

b) *Tufala dig-im hol an bere-m devol ya insaet hol ya.*
 2DU dig-TRS hole and bury-TRS devil DEM inside hole DEM

‘The two of them dug a hole and buried that devil in the hole.’

(cited in Lee 1996a, p.399) (my translation)

Lee (1996a) describes these adverbs as “nominal prepositions” or “locational prepositions”.

He made the following comments concerning their occurrence in PPs:

The nominal prepositions are characterised by having the potential of standing alone or being preceded and/or followed by *long*. Most of them are locational in nature. (Lee 1996a, p.384)

Rather than categorising these words as Lee does (as nominal prepositions) I consider them to be adverbs because they primarily function as time or place adverbials in sentences. In fact speakers use them far more commonly as adverbs of place or time than as prepositions. Lee did, however say, “These locational words could be viewed as a subclass of nouns or perhaps adverbials.” (Lee 1996a, p.398).

4.7.3 Complex Prepositions

It has been thought that when a locational or temporal adverb is combined with a following preposition *long*, a complex preposition is formed.⁴⁸ Both Tok Pisin and Bislama are also said to have complex prepositions (Verhaar 1995, pp.244-249; Crowley 1990, pp.259-261; Crowley 2004, pp.137-139). The complex preposition appears to function as the head of a prepositional phrase. The actual analysis of complex prepositions is discussed in §6.3.2. Here I simply note that because of the inclusion of the locative adverb with the simple preposition *long*, complex prepositional phrases are quite specific in their meaning.

Following are just two illustrative examples:

(65)

a) *Bat Pita hemi stap nomoa aotsaet long geit.*
 but Peter 3SG.SRP remain only outside PREP gate

‘But Peter just stayed outside of the gate.’ (nt)

b) *Hemi mek-noes tumas bihaen long yumi ya.*
 3SG.SRP make-noise very behind PREP 1PL.INC EMPH

‘She made a lot of noise behind us.’ (nt)

⁴⁸ In 1954 Hall gave the following description of complex prepositions, “There are a number of combinations of adverb + the preposition *long*, forming phrases which in their turn serve as prepositions: e.g. *antap long* ‘on top of, above’; *andarnit long* ‘below, underneath’; *insaid long* ‘inside of’; etc.” (Hall 1954a, p.4)

4.7.4 Verbal Prepositions

Verbal prepositions are a small set of semantically specific prepositions that are marked with the transitive verb suffix *-em* and its alternates (§4.8.3.1). They function as the head of verbal preposition phrases (§6.3.3). The following words serve as verbal prepositions: *abaot(em)* ‘about’; *agensim* ‘against’; *falom* ‘along, according to’; *kasem* ‘until’; *raonem* ‘around’; *wetem* ‘with, by means of’; *winim* ‘beyond (comparison)’.⁴⁹

There is one verbal preposition for which the transitive suffix *-em* is optional, this is *abaot(em)*. Both Lee (1996a) and Keesing (1988, pp.122, 181-182; 1989, pp.47-48) consider there to be a close connection between the verbal prepositions of Pijin and prepositional verbs of the vernaculars of Solomon Islands. For instance, Keesing (1988, p.182) gives the following pair of examples (first Pijin then Kwaio):

(66)

a) *Mifala put-um pis tri ya agensem doa.*
 1PL.EXC put-TRS piece tree DEM against.TRS door
 ‘We put that log against the door.’

b) *Meru aru-a mee ‘ai no’ona fono-si-a sinamaa*
 SRP.1PL.EXC put-it piece tree DEM against-TRS-it door
 ‘We put that log against the door.’

All verbal prepositions except for *abaot(em)* also function as transitive verbs. The best way to understand this is to give some comparisons of their use as verb on the one hand and as preposition on the other. In the next three pairs of examples the **a)** examples contain verbal prepositions functioning as a verb would in the head of the predicate; the **b)** examples contain the same verbal prepositions functioning simply as prepositions.

(67)

a) *Taem olketa kasem soa,...*
 When 3PL reach.TRS shore
 ‘When they reached the shore,...’ (nt)

b) *Yu go~go kasem brij...*
 2SG REDUP~go until.TRS bridge
 ‘You keep going until the bridge...’ (au)

(68)

a) *Jon hemi win-im resis ya.*
 John 3SG.SRP win-TRS race DEM
 ‘John won that race.’ (au)

⁴⁹ Keesing (1988, p.181) includes *antapem* ‘on top of’ as a rare but possible verbal preposition (he calls them prepositional verbs). I have not observed this word and it does not occur in my data. He also includes *korosim* ‘across’ (his spelling of *krosim*) as a rare but possible verbal preposition. This word occurs once in my data but functions as a verb. Lee (1996a, p.392) also includes *krosim* as a verbal preposition but gives no examples.

b) *Hemi olo win-im mi.*

3SG old more-TRS 1SG

‘She is older than me.’ (au)

(69)

a) *Jak hemi wetem brata blong hem ya.*

Jack 3SG.SRP with.TRS brother POSS 3SG FOC

‘Jack is with his brother.’⁵⁰ (au)

b) *Jak hemi go long Auki wetem brata blong hem.*

Jack 3SG.SRP go PREP Auki with.TRS brother POSS 3SG

‘Jack went to Auki with his brother.’ (au)

4.7.4.1 *From and olsem*

There are two more prepositions to be considered, namely, *from* ‘from (source and reason)’ and *olsem* ‘like, as’. Some examples of their use are as follows:

(70)

a) *Mi garem graon olsem yufala.*

1SG have-TRS ground like.TRS 2PL

‘I have land like you.’ (wr)

b) *Kaikai blong yumi hemi no save garem poesen from DDT.*

Food POSS 1PL 3SG.SRP NEG ABIL have-TRS poison from DDT

‘Our food cannot have poison in it from DDT.’ (wr)

Lee (1996a, pp.394 - 396) argues that these two prepositions belong in the class of verbal prepositions. He does so for four reasons:

1. On the basis of form, that is, they end in *-m* which looks like the transitive suffix. He argues that just as two English derived verbs ending in *m* have been reanalysed in Pijin as verbs with a transitive suffix, so this seems to have occurred for *from* and *olsem*. If this analysis is correct then we must accept that they have bound roots just as *agensim*, *kasem* and *wetem* also have bound roots.
2. The behaviour of these two prepositions is like that of the verbal prepositions rather than like that of the simple prepositions. Recall that simple prepositions must have an obligatory object following, whereas verbal prepositions may be stranded or have their objects deleted through identity with another constituent. This is the case for both *from* and *olsem*, for example:

⁵⁰ Lee (1996a, p.395) says *wetem* is not used as a verb in Pijin, though it seems to be a verb in this clause. It could, however, also be interpreted as Predicate headed by a PP (see §7.4.4).

(71)

a) *Yu go-aot from.*

2SG go-out from-TRS

‘You get out of here!’ or ‘You get out from him!’ Note, Lee (1996, p.396) gives this example and says it occurred in an exorcism.

b) *Tufala kaikai-m pudding an olketa samting olsem.*

3DL eat-TRS pudding and PL thing like-TRS

‘The two of them ate pudding and things like that.’ (wr)

3. Lee considers that because some of the substrate languages have a verbal preposition like *from* that it is quite reasonable to treat Pijin *from* as a verbal preposition.

4. Since *from* and *olsem* are semantically specific this aligns them more with the verbal prepositions than with the simple prepositions, the latter being semantically generic.

Although agreeing with Lee’s conclusion, it seems the case is stronger for the preposition *from* than for *olsem*. The difficulty with *olsem* is that it has such a multiplicity of functions (adverbial, post-nominal modifier, subordinator, complement marker, and preposition) that in some cases it is not clear cut what its function is. While Lee’s second point, the strandability of *from* and *olsem*, is probably the strongest point, I observe that sentences with examples of *from* or *olsem* that are stranded are very uncommon.

4.8 Verbs

Pijin verbs are lexical items used to denote events and states. As with the noun, while this semantic description may help to convey a notion for the verb, it is of course incapable of effective use in a grammar. In light of this, I note that verbs function as the head of a verb phrase (VP) (see section §6.1). Verbs may be preceded by a subject referencing pronoun, a negative particle, a limited number of adverbs, and various tense, mood, and aspect markers. The verb may also be followed by a variety of adverbs. While I provide full details of these constituents and their syntax in subsequent chapters, they are briefly illustrated in the following examples:

(72)

a) *Yufala i ran long taon graon.*

2PL SRP run PREP town ground

‘You run at Town Ground.’ (au)

b) *Jon hemi no ran long resis.*

John 3SG.SRP NEG run PREP race

‘John didn’t run in the race.’ (au)

c) *Olketa save ran long bus.*
 3PL HAB run PREP bush
 ‘They usually run in the jungle.’ (au)

d) *Mifala ran yet.*
 1PL.EXC run still
 ‘We are still running.’ (au)

e) *Jak hemi ran olowe.*
 Jack 3SG.SRP run always
 ‘Jack runs all the time.’ (au)

4.8.1 Intransitive verbs

Verbs in Pijin are essentially intransitive.⁵¹ These intransitive verbs do not take a following object and are not suffixed with the transitive marking suffix. Some examples of intransitive verbs are:

(73)
 a) *Lora hem slip nao.*
 Laura 3SG.SRP sleep EMPH
 ‘Laura is asleep.’ (au)

b) *Sip ya hemi angka finis.*
 ship DEM 3SG.SRP anchor finish
 ‘The ship has anchored.’ (au)

c) *Jon hemi kaikai tumas.*
 John 3SG.SRP eat very
 ‘John overeats.’ (au)

4.8.1.1 Obligatorily Intransitive verbs

While many intransitive verbs may form the basis for transitive verbs through derivation (that is they are suffixed with the transitive suffix), there are some intransitive verbs from which a transitive verb cannot be derived, that is, they cannot be suffixed with the transitive suffix. Therefore I consider them to be obligatorily intransitive.⁵² There are about 180 obligatorily intransitive verbs in the data; these are listed in Appendix 2 §2.2. Several examples follow:

⁵¹ There are approximately 400 intransitive verbs in common use in Pijin. About 80% of these express events while the other 20% express states.

⁵² Keesing (1989, p.25) calls these verbs obligatory intransitives.

(74)

a) *mek-ful* 'humiliate'
make-foolb) **mek-ful-um*c) *stanbae* 'ready'
stand.byd) **stanbaem*

4.8.1.2 Compound Intransitive verbs

Speakers form a significant number of intransitive verbs by compounding. They form intransitive verb compounds by adding a variety of other lexical items to an existing intransitive verb. These may be either another intransitive verb, or an adjective, or some sort of locational particle or preposition, or even a noun. There is one rare example of an adjective plus noun forming an intransitive verb (see below). Some of the forms seem to be taken directly from English; others have obviously been formed through language internal processes. Crowley (2002, pp.14-15, 219-220) points out the importance of distinguishing compounds from serial verbs. He does not treat Bislama compound verbs similar to those below as serial verb constructions (see §6.1.3.1 and §6.1.3.2 for further discussion of serial verb constructions). The stress pattern on compounds is one piece of evidence that causes me to treat them as compound words and not sequences of two words. In all cases the stress falls on only one syllable of the compound words (usually the first syllable). Other evidence, where available, for choosing to treat certain words as compounds rather than serial constructions is noted in some of the following sub-sections.

Intransitive verb plus intransitive verb

In the following verb-verb compounds other lexical items cannot be interposed between the two verbs without impacting on the meaning. Crowley (2002, pp.219-220) discusses similar forms in Bislama.

(75)

a) *here-save* 'comprehend'
hear-knowb) *luk-save* 'recognise'
look-knowc) *mek-redi* 'prepare'
make-readyd) *stap-haed* 'hidden'
remain-hidee) *tok-giaman* 'lie'
talk-lief) *tok~tok-haed* 'talk secretly'
REDUP~talk-hide

g) tok-suea 'swear'
talk-swear

Intransitive verb plus adjective

The following verb compounds forms seem like verbs followed by a manner adverb. They are distinguished as compounds as opposed to “verb - adverb” constructions because in each case the adverbial item is not movable whereas an independent adverb would be movable.

(76)

- a) fil-kros* 'angry'
feel-cross
- b) kari-hevi* 'burdened (verb)'
carry-heavy
- c) luk-naes* 'attractive'
look-nice
- d) save-gud* 'know well'
know-good
- e) ting-hae* 'respect'
think-high
- f) ting-hevi*
think-heavy
'consider carefully' / 'be committed to'
- g) tok-fani* 'joke'
talk-funny
- h) tok-had* 'scold'
talk-hard
- i) tok-hae* 'praise'
talk-high
- j) tok-hapi* 'approve'
talk-happy
- k) tok-nogud* 'be rude'
talk-bad
- l) tok-praod* 'boast'
talk-proud
- m) tok-smol* 'whisper'
talk-small
- n) tok-strong* 'warn'
talk-strong
- o) trae-had* 'make an effort'
try-hard

Intransitive verb plus locational/directional

(77)

- a) *flae-daon* 'flydown'
fly-down
- b) *klae-ap* 'climb'
climb-up
- c) *krae-aot* 'cryout'
cry-out
- d) *lei-daon* 'lie down'
lay-down
- e) *spred-aot* 'spreadout'
spread-out
- f) *stap-baek* 'remain'
remain-back
- g) *tane-raon* 'turnaround'
turn-round
- h) *tek-saet* 'side with'
take-side

(note: *tek* is a bound root)***Intransitive verb plus noun***

(78)

- a) *go-soa* 'disembark'
go-shore
- b) *tek-win* 'inhale' (note: *tek* is a bound root)
take-wind
- c) *pok-nous* 'interfere' (note: *pok* is a bound root)
poke-nose
- d) *sek-han* 'shake hands'
shake-hand
- e) *mek-noes* 'be noisy'
make-noise

Intransitive formed by adjective plus noun

In one case an adjective combines with a noun to form an intransitive verb.

- (79) *bik-maos* 'yell, boast'
big-mouth

It is notable that this particular word is 'old'. Crowley (1992, p.13) includes the word *bikmaos* in his list of pre-1884 morphologically complex items. This may account for the fact that there are no other intransitive verb compounds formed this way.

Causative Intransitive Verbs

The word *mek* 'make' is probably the most consistently used as an initial morpheme in the intransitive verb compounds, while the second part of the compound may be drawn from any

class or even bound morphemes that occur nowhere else in Pijin. In all such cases the intransitives appear to be causative in nature. Some further examples are:

(80)

a) *mek-fan* 'jest'
make-fun

b) *mek-ful* 'humiliate'
make-fool (note: ful derived from English 'fool' but occurs nowhere else in Pijin)

c) *mek-ravis* 'litter / insult'
make-rubbish

d) *mek-redi* 'prepare'
make-ready

e) *mek-save* 'warn, persecute'
make-know

f) *mek-sua* 'confirm'
make-sure (note: sua derived from English 'sure' but occurs nowhere else in Pijin)

Another way of looking at the words formed with *mek* is that they may be causative verbs derived with a causative forming prefix *mek-*. However, since the word *mek* 'cause, make' exists as an independent word as well as a root in the transitive verb *mekem* 'make (something)', and because a productive process of compound formation occurs, it seems more appropriate to treat the words containing *mek* as compounds.

4.8.2 Motion verbs

The Pijin intransitive verb category has a subset of items that are motion verbs. The two basic verbs of motion are *kam* 'come' and *go* 'go', however, others also exist.

4.8.2.1 Motion verbs as directional markers, serial verbs or verb compound?

One thing that marks the motion verbs as a special category is that they seem to be used as serial verbs in the VP following a head verb to indicate the direction of an action. For example:

(81)

a) *tek-em kam*
take-TRS come
'bring it' (spo)

b) *tek-em go*
take-TRS go
'take it' (spo)

This pattern of motion verb following main verb raises a question about the structural nature of *kam* and *go* in the VP. I consider them to be serial verbs in the VP. Crowley (2002, pp.232-233) also considers them to be serial verbs expressing directional serialization. I discuss this in §6.1.3.

An alternative view is that with the main verb they may form verb compounds. Even though these are written as separate words in the orthography of Pijin, they may fit the pattern of a compound verb plus direction indicator (§4.8.2.2) as in:

- c) *tek-em-aot*
 take-TRS-out
 ‘remove (something)’ (spo)

However, I reject an analysis that treats them as compound verbs because an object NP may be interposed between the main verb and the motion verb, for example:

- (82)
- a) *Bae mi tek-em kam dokta.*
 FUT 1SG take-TRS come doctor
 ‘I will bring the doctor.’ (au)
- b) *Bae mi tekem dokta kam.*
 FUT 1SG take-TRS doctor come
 ‘I will bring the doctor.’ (au)

4.8.2.2 Motion Verb Compounds

Speakers may compound Pijin motion verbs with a direction indicator. In general, the verbs that these direction indicators join to are *kam* and *go* but others may also be involved. The direction indicators are: *aot* ‘out’, *ap* ‘up’, *baek* ‘back’, *daon* ‘down’, *raon* ‘round’. These direction indicators belong to a variety of categories, but in the case of these compounds they appear to have become lexicalised. There is one case where a compound has, in fact, lost its direction aspect. This is the verb *kamap*. *Kamap* signifies the meaning of ‘become’, or ‘happen’, or ‘appear’. This same use also exists in Tok Pisin, however, Bislama seems to use a simple *kam* for the meaning of ‘become’ (Crowley 1995, p.108)

Some examples of compound motion verbs are as follows:

- (83)
- a) *go-aot*
 go-out
 ‘to move out from somewhere away from the speaker’
- b) *go-ap*
 go-up
 ‘to move in an upward direction away from speaker’
- c) *kam-aot*
 come-out
 ‘to move out from somewhere in the direction of the speaker’

d) *kam-baek*

come-back

‘to return in direction of the speaker’

e) *kam-daon*

come-down

‘to move in a downward direction toward the speaker’

f) *ran-aot*

run-out

‘run in outward direction from source’

g) *ran-daon*

run-down

‘run in downward direction’

Several pieces of evidence support the idea that these are lexicalized compounds and not sequences of two words. First, the stress pattern on these compounds is as would be expected for a single word, that is, there is only one stressed syllable in the compound words. Second, one of the direction indicators, *ap* ‘up’ only ever occurs following a motion verb or is suffixed by transitive suffix (i.e. *apem* ‘lift’). This indicates that it may not be an independent morpheme. Third, unlike in the sequence of main verb - motion verb (§4.8.2.1), an object NP is not observed to be interposed between the verb and its direction indicator. Fourth, these compound motion verbs behave as single units in that a directional marker can follow them; in the following example the motion verb *kam* ‘come’ follows the compound motion verb *randaon*:

(84) ...*wata wea hemi ran-daon kam long ae blong hem...*
 water REL 3SG.SRP run-down come PREP eye POSS 3SG

‘tears that ran down from her eyes...’ (nt)

Fifth, these compound motion verbs themselves can be used as directional markers (§4.8.2.1). In the following example *godaon* serves as a directional marker to the verb *torowem* ‘throw (something)’:

(85) *Yufala torowe-m go-daon net ya moa.*
 2SG.PL throw-TRS go-down net DEM more

‘Throw down the net again.’ (nt)

4.8.3 Transitive Verbs

Transitive verbs in Pijin are usually derived through the addition of a transitive suffix to an intransitive verb. When derived in this way they may take an object. Some examples of transitive verbs are as follows:

(86)

a) *Hemi sut-im dok blong hem.*
 3SG.SRP shoot-TRS dog POSS 3SG
 'He shot his dog.' (au)

b) *Olketa kuk-im raes ya.*
 3PL cook-TRS rice DEM
 'They cooked that rice.' (au)

4.8.3.1 Transitive Verb Morphology

The form of the transitive suffix in Pijin is governed by rules of progressive vowel harmony (compare Jourdan & Selbach 2004, pp.706-707). In Pijin the vowel(s) of the verb root affect the quality of the vowel in the suffix. It is probably foolhardy to generalise since there is so much variation in the pronunciation of Pijin words. Nevertheless note the distribution of forms from Lee (1996a, p.391):

-m follows a stem final vowel except for *duim*, and some speakers use *-em* following non-close vowels /a/ and /o/, it may also be expressed as *-rem* following stems that in the English source word ended in [ar] where the [r] is deleted.

For example:

ansa – ansa-m – ansa-rem 'answer'

daeva – daeva-m 'dive'

falo – falo-m ~ falo-em 'follow'

nila – nila-m 'nail'

-em follows consonant final stems with non-close vowels /e/, /a/, /o/, /ao/, /ae/.

For example:

draon – draon-em 'drown'

gad – gad-em 'guard'

hang – hang-em 'hang'

mek – mek-em 'make'

kot – kot-em 'prosecute'

laek – laek-em ‘like’

-im follows consonant final stems with close vowel /i/, and /u/ where the /u/ is not preceded by the consonant /h/ or a bilabial consonant, and following stems that have a final /s/.

For example:

bild – bild-im ‘build’

dig – dig-im ‘dig’

lift – lift-im ‘lift’

sut – sut-im ‘shoot’

-um in some cases follows stems where the vowel is /u/ and the consonant preceding the vowel is bilabial or /h/.

For example:

huk – huk-um ‘hook’

muv – muv-um ‘move’

The vast majority of occurrences of the transitive suffix when attached to a consonant final stem are either *-em* or *-im*. Since this is so, I suggest that there are two basic processes that affect the vowel of the transitive suffix.

The first process takes the underlying form of the transitive suffix to be **/-im/**. The vowel of the transitive suffix is lowered if it follows a preceding non-high vowel provided there is no interference from an intervening strident consonant (in Pijin /s/ is the only strident consonant). In other words there is in Pijin vowel height harmony for the transitive suffix.

The second process covers cases where there is no stem final consonant. In these cases the vowel of the transitive suffix is deleted if it immediately follows a stem final vowel.

Unfortunately these two processes do not account completely for all the variation that occurs in the transitive suffix. The presence of **-um** varieties of the suffix suggests that apart from vowel height harmony there may be some vowel harmony in terms of roundness as well. But the variation observed (for instance Lee 1981, pp.40-44) prevents any more specific conclusion than this.

4.8.3.2 Transitive verbs with bound roots

In many cases speakers add the transitive suffix to an intransitive verb to produce the transitive form. However, there are also transitive verbs that have bound roots. This means

the suffix cannot be removed to produce an acceptable Pijin intransitive verb. Keesing (1989, p.26) calls these obligatory transitives. For example:

(87)

- a) ***talem*** 'tell (something)'
- b) ***baem*** 'buy (something)'
- c) ***bitim*** 'beat (something)' (e.g. beat a drum)

The roots in bold in the above examples do not occur independently in Pijin with a related intransitive meaning.

4.8.3.3 Compound transitives

Transitive verbs may be compounded with other lexical items. These may be direction particles, intransitive verbs, adjectives and prepositions. In the following examples, I will hyphenate between the morphemes:

(88)

- a) *faend-em-aot* 'discover (something)'
- b) *here-m-save* 'comprehend (something)'
- c) *hole-m-strong* 'grip (something)'

The following example shows that these verbs are transitive and so do take an object:

- (89) *Yufala go an faend-em-aot haomas bred nao yufala gare-m.*
 2PL go and find-TRS-out how.much bread EMPH 2PL have-TRS
 'Go and find out how much bread you have.' (nt)

In some cases the order of the suffix and compounded item is variable with no change in meaning

(90)

- a) *sear-em-aot* 'share it out'
- b) *sear-aot-em* 'share it out'

This variation may give a clue as to the unusual occurrence of the transitive suffix as an apparent infix in the following intransitive verb that must have been taken directly from colloquial English:

(91)

- a) *bagarap* 'ruined'

Giving the transitive form:

b) *baga-rem-ap* ‘ruin (something)’

c) *Wata hemi baga-rem-ap enjin blong trak ya.*
 water 3SG ruin-TRS-up engine POSS truck DEC
 ‘Water ruined the truck’s engine.’ (spo)

The following form does not occur in Pijin:

d) * *bagarap-em*

Note that Bislama has the same form as Pijin while Tok Pisin has *bagarapim*.

4.8.3.4 Double suffixation

In some cases the transitive suffix occurs twice. Lee (1998, pp.77-78) discusses this phenomenon comparatively with the other varieties of Melanesian Pidgin. He suggests that this particular pattern is old since it occurs in all varieties of Melanesian Pidgin.

The double suffixes only occur in conjunction with compounded directional particles *ap* ‘up’ and *aot* ‘out’. So far there is no evidence that they occur with other compound items such as *daon*, *wei*, or *raon* (Lee 1998, p.77).

(92)

- a) *ful-um-ap-em / ful-um-ap* ‘fill (something)’
- b) *klae-m-ap-em / klae-m-ap* ‘climb (something)’
- c) *tae-m-ap-em / tae-m-ap* ‘tie (something)’
- d) *tek-em-aot-em / tek-em-aot / tek-aot-em* ‘take (something) out’

In virtually all cases no significant difference in meaning between the single and double suffixed form has been observed, though Jourdan (2002, p.236) gives the word *taemap* as a stative verb meaning ‘tied’.

4.8.3.5 Causative transitives

Causative transitive verbs in Pijin are often formed by affixing the transitive suffix to intransitive verbs. Some examples of causatives formed from intransitive verbs are:

(93)

- a) *boela-m* ‘boil it’
- b) *fas-im* ‘attach it’

In his discussion on causative verb formation, Comrie (1985a, p.345) notes that “the kinds of relations found in deriving verbs from adjectives are often very similar to those found in deriving verbs from (especially stative) verbs.” This is true for Pijin. Speakers often form causative transitive verbs by affixing the transitive suffix to an adjective. Some 18 out of 160

or so adjectives are capable of being suffixed in this manner. They may be seen in the following table:

Table 4.9 Derivation of causative verbs from adjectives

Adjective	Gloss	Derived verb	Gloss
<i>ben</i>	'bent'	<i>benem</i>	'bend (something)'
<i>dip</i>	'deep'	<i>dipim</i>	'deepen (something)'
<i>drae</i>	'dry'	<i>draem</i>	'dry (something)'
<i>emti</i>	'empty'	<i>emtim</i>	'empty (something)'
<i>flas</i>	'flashy'	<i>flasim</i>	'decorate (something)' (archaic use)
<i>haeap</i>	'elevated'	<i>haemapem</i>	'elevate (something)'
<i>hot</i>	'hot'	<i>hotem</i>	'heat (something)'
<i>kliā</i>	'clear'	<i>kliarem</i>	'clean (something) or make (something) clear'
<i>klin</i>	'clean'	<i>klinim</i>	'clean (something)'
<i>levol</i>	'level'	<i>levolem</i>	'level (something)'
<i>marit</i>	'married'	<i>maritim</i>	'perform a marriage ceremony'
<i>slak</i>	'slack'	<i>slakem</i>	'slacken (something)'
<i>slou</i>	'slow'	<i>sloum</i>	'slow (something) down'
<i>stret</i>	'straight'	<i>stretem</i>	'straighten (something)'
<i>strong</i>	'strong'	<i>strongim</i>	'strengthen (something)'
<i>suit</i>	'pleasant or sweet'	<i>suitim</i>	'flatter someone / sweeten (something)'
<i>taet</i>	'tight'	<i>taetem</i>	'tighten (something)'

4.8.3.6 Unmarked transitive verbs

Unmarked transitive verbs are those that serve as transitive verbs but do not have the formal marking of the transitive suffix. In Pijin there are a few verbs that are not marked with the transitive suffix yet may take a direct object NP. They are the words *kaikai* 'eat' (very rarely), *save* 'know' (very rarely)⁵³, and *torowe* 'throw away'. For example,

⁵³ In the data *save* NP(direct object) occurs only three times while *save* (ADV) *long* NP occurs some 1250 times.

(94)

a) ...*sapos dongki ya hemi kaikai olketa lif blong tri ya.*
 if donkey DEM 3SG.SRP eat PL leaf POSS tree DEM
 ‘if the donkey eats the leaves of that tree.’ (ot)

b) *Yufala mas torowe olketa god ya blong olketa narafala kantri,...*
 2PL must throw.away PL god DEM POSS PL other country
 ‘You must throw away those idols that belong to other countries,...’ (ot)

By way of comparison, Bislama seems to have a set of unmarked transitives Crowley (2003, p.19). He treats *singaot* ‘call’ as both an intransitive and a transitive verb, his example of it as a transitive verb is as follows:

(95)

a) *Man ya i stap singaot mi.*
 ‘The man is calling me.’

The Bislama example (95a) above would not occur in Pijin because *singaot* ‘call’ is only intransitive. It would have to be marked with a transitive suffix to achieve a similar meaning, namely:

b) *Man ya hemi gohed fo singaotem mi.*
 ‘The man is calling me.’ (au)

In another example, Crowley (2003, p.156) shows that *luk* ‘look at’ behaves as a transitive verb:

(96)

a) *Yumi no save luk man ya olsem wan jif from hem i stap mekem rabis fasin olsem ya.*
 ‘We cannot regard that man as a chief because he behaves so badly.’

Such a use of *luk* ‘look’ would not occur in Pijin since it is strictly intransitive.

4.8.3.7 Verbs with the suffix *-se*

There are two verbs marked with the suffix *-se* that have direct objects which are complements of thought or speech, they are the uncommon word *talemse* ‘claim’, and the more widely used one *tingse* ‘think’, for example:

(97) ... *mi ting-se hem yu nomoa, bat wea, nomoa nao.*
 1SG think-COMP 3SG 2SG only but where not EMPH
 ‘... I thought it was you, but no.’ (Jourdan, 2002, p.245)

Some data suggests that *tingse* and *talemse* are part of a bigger set of verbs containing the suffix *-se*. However, speakers generally attribute them to influence from Bislama.

Since the two accepted forms are complement taking verbs, it appears that the suffix *-se* functions as a complementiser for speech or mental activity. In his discussion of *se* in Bislama, Crowley notes that the use of *se* in Bislama is one feature where Bislama particularly differs from Pijin and Tok Pisin. The Bislama uses of *se* are as follows: introduces the complement of a speech act, introduces a nominal complement, introduces a subordinate clause following a main clause verb of mental activity, and it may mark the sentential subject of a stative verb (Crowley 1990, pp.268-270). The first and third of these uses that Crowley describes for *se* in Bislama are related to the function of the suffix *-se* in Pijin. However, in Pijin *-se* derives complement taking verbs that introduce the complements of speech and complements of mental activity. Since the suffix *-se* in Pijin never occurs separate from the verb⁵⁴ (it is unstressed) as it does in Bislama it seems to have grammaticalized. Some examples follow:

(98)

a) *Samfala talem-se olketa no save long mifala,*
 some tell.TRS-COMP 3PL no know PREP 1PL.EXC

bat evriwan i save long mifala nomoa.
 but everyone SRP know PREP 1PL.EXC only

‘Some claimed they did not know us, but everyone really knew us.’ (nt)

b) *Hemi had tumas fo eniwan*
 3SG.SRP hard very for anyone

hemi talem-se dis-wan hemi no tru ya.
 3SG.SRP tell.TRS-COMP this-one 3SG.SRP no true EMPH.

‘It is very difficult for anyone to claim that this isn’t really true.’ (nt)

c) *Waswe, yufala ting-se mi du-im rong samting ya?*
 QN 2PL think-COMP 1SG do-TRS wrong thing QN

‘Do you think I did the wrong thing?’ (nt)

d) *Mi ting-se yu go long Honiara.*
 1SG think-COMP 2SG go PREP Honiara.

‘I thought you went to Honiara.’ (au)

4.8.4 Verb Reduplication

One morphological feature of Pijin is that verbs are subject to a process of both full and partial reduplication. This should be no surprise since, “Reduplication is widely encountered as a morphological process today in all three varieties of Melanesian Pidgin” (Crowley 1990, p.307). The reduplication that takes place in Pijin is varied and has varying semantic effects. Bugotu (1972, p.42)) gives a couple of comparisons of reduplication between Pijin and two

⁵⁴ The suffix *-se* is undoubtedly related to the independent verb *sei* ‘say’.

of the local languages he spoke, and then says, “Pidgin English it appears has acquired this morphophonological habit directly from the Melanesian native tongues.”

Although reduplication is not functionally insignificant, there does not appear to be any **consistent** significance attached to the reduplication of the verb. In some instances the reduplicated form has a meaning related to the root; most commonly this will be that the reduplicated form expresses continuous aspect for the verb. As will be seen below this morphological process is more productive in the area of partial reduplication (§4.8.4.2). In other instances the meaning of the reduplicated form is synonymous with the root, while in others the “root” is bound. Even so, the process still operates as evidenced by the recent verb *mekameka* ‘profiteer’, see also example (107d). See Table 4.10 for the most common fully reduplicated verbs. (See §4.1.2.2 for detail concerning reduplication of nouns).

4.8.4.1 Full Reduplication

There is a small but significant amount of full reduplication among the verbs. Table 4.10 shows the most common fully reduplicated verbs of Pijin and their non-reduplicated counterparts where they exist. In cases where there is no non-reduplicated counterpart, I consider the reduplicated forms on the whole to have been formed either in the process of Pijin’s development, or in a vernacular from which the word was borrowed. I say “on the whole”, since the word *mekameka* ‘profiteering’ is a recent vocabulary addition with no vernacular source.

Table 4.10 Fully reduplicated intransitive verbs

Root	Gloss	Reduplicated verb	Gloss
<i>here</i>	‘hear, sounds like’	<i>here~here</i>	‘hearing’
<i>kea</i>	‘care for’	<i>kea~kea</i>	‘be careful’
<i>kil</i>	‘injure’	<i>kil~kil</i>	‘injuring’
<i>laf</i>	‘laugh’	<i>laf~laf</i>	‘laughing’
<i>luk</i>	‘look’	<i>luk~luk</i>	‘look’
		<i>meka~meka</i>	‘profiteer’
		<i>nok~nok</i>	‘knock’
		<i>os~os</i>	‘flatter’
		<i>rama~rama</i>	‘copulate’
		<i>rave~rave</i>	‘deceive’
<i>plei</i>	‘play’	<i>plei~plei</i>	‘make love’

<i>sek</i>	'shake'	<i>sek~sek</i>	'shaking, fearing'
<i>sing</i>	'sing'	<i>sing~sing</i>	'singing'
<i>tok</i>	'talk' (may connote impertinent speech)	<i>tok~tok</i>	'talk, talking'

4.8.4.2 Partial Reduplication

In addition to full reduplication, some verbs are subject to partial reduplication. Such reduplication indicates three different possible meanings: intensity of action, repetition; or continuity of an action. By partial reduplication I mean that the verb has all or part of its first syllable reduplicated, for example:

- (99) *save* 'know' → *sa~save* 'really know'
 (100) *weitem* 'wait' → *we~weitem* 'go on waiting'
 (101) *raoa* 'argue' → *ra~raoa* 'continuously quarrel'

Occasionally the reduplication does not involve the entire first syllable. This occurs where the first syllable has a consonant cluster in its onset, in such cases speakers only reduplicate the first consonant of the syllable.

- (102) *stap* 'stay' → *sa~stap* 'staying'
 (103) *spel* 'rest' → *se~spel* 'resting'

Furthermore, if the first syllable contains a diphthong then it is common for speakers to reduplicate the first component of the diphthong, for example:

- (104) *haed* 'hide' → *ha~haed* 'hiding'

These two processes may also combine as seen in the following examples:

- (105) *klaem* 'climb' → *ka-klaem* 'climbing'
 (106) *preisim* 'praise' → *pe~preisim* 'praising'

It appears that sometimes the reduplication involves a vowel that is not the same as the vowel in the root. In such cases it is most likely the copying of an epenthetic vowel that is no longer pronounced. This is no doubt another aspect of variation between speakers. Consider the following example from Lee (1998, p.78):

- si~smol* 'small (frequently distributive)'

Simons and Young (1978, p.22) note that the stress falls on the second syllable in words that undergo reduplication, though as mentioned earlier Jourdan's explanation of stress retention (§3.9.2.2) seems to be a more helpful approach (Jourdan & Selbach 2004, p.708).

4.8.4.3 Crowley on Reduplication in Melanesian Pidgin

Various types of reduplication also occur in Tok Pisin and Bislama. Crowley (1990, pp.307-320) gives an extensive account of these. In his discussion he also makes various observations concerning reduplication in Pijin.

He says that there is a small group of transitive verbs in the three varieties of Melanesian Pidgin which derive intransitive forms by means of reduplication. In his Table 5.42 (I have partially reproduced that table here) he suggests the following pairs of transitive – intransitive verbs for Pijin:

<i>lukim</i>	'see'	<i>lukluk</i>	'look'
<i>singim</i>	'sing'	<i>singsing</i>	'sing'
<i>tingim</i>	'think of'	<i>tingting</i>	'think'
<i>pusim</i>	'push'	--- ⁵⁵	---

Crowley's analysis of Pijin here is not quite complete since there is a non-reduplicated intransitive in Pijin to match each of the transitives listed, and those non-reduplicated intransitives have the meanings listed by Crowley for the reduplicated forms. Taking into account this fact and the reduplicated forms noted in Table 4.10 above, I conclude that full verb reduplication in Pijin does not necessarily derive intransitive verbs from transitives, but creates additional forms of intransitive verbs from already existing forms, and that those so produced often have the same basic meanings though they may be intensified or have continuous aspect. With regard to function, he attributes only the grammatical function of "habitual aspect" to the process of reduplication in Pijin (Crowley 1990, pp.313, 318). I have observed that reduplication can indicate habitual aspect, but as mentioned above, it may also indicate continuous aspect.

What have others said about Pijin reduplication? Keesing (1989, p.29) says that reduplication of verbs indicates continuation or repetition of an action. Jourdan (2002, p.xvi) says of

⁵⁵ Note that in his table Crowley omitted the Pijin intransitive *puspus* 'copulate' (which also occurs in Tok Pisin and older Bislama).

reduplication that it indicates “intensity, duration or repetition of an action.” Huebner and Horoi (1979b, p.93) give the following pairs of examples to demonstrate that reduplication indicates continuous or repetitive action:

(107)

a) *Dog ya hemi krae olowe long melewan naet.*
 dog DEM 3SG.SRP cry always PREP middle night

‘The dog cried all night long.’ (wr)

b) *Dog ya hemi ka~krae olowe long melewan naet.*
 dog DEM 3SG.SRP REDUP~cry always PREP middle night

‘The dog cried and cried all night long.’ (wr)

c) *Pikinini hemi ran olowe insaet long haos.*
 child 3SG.SRP run always inside PREP house

‘The child always runs around inside the house.’ (wr)

d) *Pikinini hemi ran~ran olowe insaet long haos.*
 child 3SG.SRP REDUP~run always inside PREP house

‘The child always runs and runs around inside the house.’ (wr)

Huebner and Horoi (1979b, p.93) also suggest that reduplication can signify intensity of the action, as in the following example:

(108) *Jon hemi la~laek-em Susan.*
 John 3SG.SRP REDUP~like-TRS Susan

‘John likes Susan very much.’ (wr)

4.9 Verb modifiers

4.9.1 Adverbs

Adverbs in Pijin are those lexical items that modify all types of constituent other than the noun (whether that constituent is a word or something larger). Their roles in the VP, AdjP, Predicate, and sentence are discussed in §6.1.4, §6.2.1, §7.3.4, and §8.1.5.3 respectively.

From a semantic point of view there are manner adverbs, time adverbs, and locative adverbs. The following table outlines the most common adverbs and placement within the VP and AdjP.

Table 4.11 Adverbs

Word	Gloss	Notes
<i>bae</i>	‘FUTURE’	see §4.9.2 below
<i>barava</i>	‘really’	occurs only preceding the V see §8.3.4.1
<i>evribet</i>	‘completely’	occurs preceding and following the object NP occurs following predicative adjective (old fashioned, in 2007 only old speakers were observed using this. Even some 40 year olds were unfamiliar with this word.)
<i>finis</i>	‘finish’	preceding and following the object NP occurs following predicative adjective
<i>fogud</i>	‘very’	preceding and following the object NP occurs following predicative adjective
<i>yet</i>	‘still’	preceding and following the object NP occurs following predicative adjective
<i>kuiktaem</i>	‘quickly’	preceding and following the object NP occurs following predicative adjective
<i>lelebet</i>	‘slightly’	preceding and following the object NP occurs following predicative adjective
<i>moa</i>	‘more’	preceding and following the object NP occurs following predicative adjective

Word	Gloss	Notes
<i>nating</i>	‘purposelessly’, ‘freely’	preceding and following the object NP occurs following predicative adjective
<i>nomoa</i>	‘only’, ‘alone’	preceding and following the object NP occurs following predicative adjective
<i>olobaot</i>	‘freely’, ‘everywhere’	preceding and following the object NP occurs following predicative adjective
<i>olowe</i>	‘always’	only follows the object NP occurs following predicative adjective
<i>oltaem</i>	‘continually’	occurs sentence initially, occurs following the object NP
<i>tu</i>	‘too’	preceding and following the object NP occurs following predicative adjective
<i>tugeta</i>	‘together’	occurs following the object NP
<i>tumas</i>	‘very’	preceding and following the object NP occurs following predicative adjective

Some adverbs are illustrated in the following examples:

(109)

a) *Yumitufala save kaikai tugeta.*

IDUAL.INC ABIL eat together

‘The two of us can eat together.’ (au)

b) *Olketa no save spoelem mifala evribet.*

3PL NEG ABIL ruin-TRS 1PL.EXC completely

‘They cannot completely ruin us.’ (nt)

c) *an hemi barava som-aot klia...*

and 3SG.SRP really show-out clear

‘and he showed exceptionally clearly...’ (nt)

d) *Man ba hemi save giaman olowe long yu .*

man RDEM 3SG.SRP HAB lie always PREP 2SG

‘That guy we know, always lies to you.’ (el)

e) *Oltaem mifala save kaikai-m raes.*

always 1PL.EXC HAB eat-TRS rice

‘We eat rice all the time.’ (au)

f) *Dadi blong yu bae kam tumoro.*

father POSS 2SG FUT come tomorrow

‘Your father will come tomorrow.’ (spo)

g) *Rosmeri hemi mek-em gaden longwe.*

Rosemary 3SG.SRP make-TRS garden there

‘Rosemary is making a garden over there.’ (au)

h) *Balun hemi flae antap.*

balloon 3SG.SRP fly on.top

‘A balloon is flying above.’ (spo)

The adverb *bae* requires a little more attention, so I now discuss it in detail.

4.9.2 *Bae*

The most common adverb is the future marker *bae*.⁵⁶ The future marker variously occurs as *bae*, *baebae*, *babae*, *bambae*, and *baembae*. Jourdan (2002, p.12) says that the simple form *bae* is used more commonly by younger urban speakers, whereas other forms predominate elsewhere. Her claims are underpinned by her sociolinguistic research (Jourdan 1985a; Jourdan & Selbach 2001). She says,

In our 1983 corpus, *bambae/baebae/babae* still made up almost half of all *bae* occurrences in the speech of adults, while they had already almost disappeared from the speech of the children (5 occurrences out of 509). Ten years later, the speech of children did not contain a single occurrence of disyllabic *bae*, in 555 occurrences. (Jourdan & Selbach 2001, p.6).

Keesing (1985, pp.115-120) considers *bae* to have been incorporated within what he called the verb phrase as a tense-aspect marker. However, I do not consider the future marker to be a constituent of the Predicate.⁵⁷ Notwithstanding a few rare cases in which the future marker follows a SRP and so is interposed between the SRP and the verb (I discuss these below), I consider that the future marker is simply a temporal adverb. In many cases, it is positioned either clause or sentence initially, though it is also observed to occur following the subject NP when one occurs. Note the following examples:

(110)

a) *Bae olketa devol~devol blong olketa lukim.*
 FUT PL REDUP~spirit POSS 3PL look-TRS

‘Their ancestor’s spirits will see it.’

(Jourdan 1985a, p.84)

⁵⁶ I use *bae* as a shorthand to refer to all forms of the future marker.

⁵⁷ What Keesing called the verb phrase, I call the Predicate (see chapter 7).

- b) *Jon bae hemi go neks Tiusde.*
 John FUT 3SG.SRP go next Tuesday
 ‘John will go next Tuesday.’ (au)

Where a subject NP does not occur then the future marker occurs immediately preceding the SRP (true for both sentences and subordinate clauses), for instance:

(111)

- a) *Bae hemi kam-baek long Ramos tu*
 FUT 3SG.SRP come-back PREP Ramos two
 ‘He will come back on the Ramos 2.’ (au)

- b) *Baebae yufala no save long wataem nao baebae mi kam...*
 FUT 2PL.SRP no know PREP when FOC FUT 1SG.SRP come
 ‘You(pl) will not know when I will come...’ (nt)

- c) *Olketa sei baebae hemi no save babule nao.*
 3PL say FUT 3SG.SRP no ABIL pregnant EMPH
 ‘They say she will not be able to get pregnant.’ (nt)

- d) *Jisas hemi save long olketa hu baebae i no biliv,*
 Jesus 3SG.SRP know PREP 3PL REL FUT SRP no believe
 ‘...Jesus knows those who will not believe.’ (nt)

Of course without a subject NP there is no surface difference between the analysis that takes *bae* as a sentence initial constituent, and Keesing’s analysis that considers *bae* as the first constituent of the VP, or in my terms, the Predicate (Keesing 1985, pp.115-120; 1988, pp.182-187).

This ambiguity of analysis requires some discussion. Jourdan (1985a, pp.84-87) identifies various patterns with regard to the position of *bae* relative to NPs, Pronouns, and the head V of a Predicate. I review these with the intent to see whether they can provide any clarity for this issue. These patterns are seen in the table as follows:

Table 4.12 Combinations of *bae* and NPs and Pronouns

Jourdan’s category	pattern	notes
A	bae+PS+V	PS means either a free pronoun or a SRP.
B	bae+NP+V	NP in this table means a noun phrase headed by a noun.
C	NP+bae+SRP+V	

Jourdan's category	pattern	notes
D	FP+bae+SRP+V	FP in Jourdan's terms means a focal pronoun, that is, an NP unequivocally headed by a pronoun.
E	NP+bae+V	
F	PS+bae+V	PS means either a free pronoun or a SRP.
G	bae+NP+SRP+V	
H	bae+V	subject elided

In her data, she categorises together the patterns labelled A and B (clause or sentence initial *bae*) and these constituted almost 80% of occurrences of *bae* in her data. Also clause initial, is pattern G, this form accounting for a little over 2% of occurrences. Those patterns C and D together, accounted for slightly over 8% of occurrences in her data. Patterns E and F together accounted for a little over 7% of occurrences of *bae* in her data. Of these, only those of pattern F (2.3% of occurrences in her data) in which the PS is unequivocally a SRP (rather than a focal pronoun) would require that *bae* be treated as occurring within the Predicate (I establish elsewhere that SRPs are the first constituent of the Predicate, see §7.2).

My observation is that there are a few extremely rare cases in which the future maker follows a SRP and so is interposed between the SRP and the verb. In my data, in out of more than 4600 tokens of the future marker, there are only eight occurrences in which *bae* occurs in pattern F.⁵⁸ Of those eight, only two cases have *bae* unequivocally following an SRP. I show these two in the following pair of examples. Example (112a) below is the second of a pair of co-ordinate clauses in the complement of *abaotem* 'about', and example (112b) is a subordinate relative clause.

(112)

a) ...*an hao hemi baebae lusim disfala wol.*
 and how SRP FUT leave-TRS this world
 '... and how he will depart from this world.' (nt)

b) ...*olketa hu i baebae bon kam long laen blong hem,...*
 3PL REL SRP FUT born come PREP clan POSS 3SG
 '... those who will be born into his clan, ...' (ot)

⁵⁸ The frequency of the pattern PS+bae+V in my data is much lower than that observed by Jourdan. This may be because seemingly redundant subject pronouns are less likely to be omitted in written text. Such omissions are I believe the main source of the patterns E and F (see also Jourdan 1985a, p.90). I also note that the pattern: NP+SRP+bae+V is not listed by Jourdan.

Since neither of these is in an independent sentence, it would appear that while the future marker in the majority of cases occurs preceding the Predicate, variation to the structure of the Predicate in relation to *bae* may occur when the Predicate is a constituent of a non-independent sentence.

Of most concern to the issue as to whether *bae* is a Predicate constituent or not is the fact that it often occurs preceding a subject NP (whether headed by N or Pro) and so is excluded from the Predicate. Keesing (1985, pp.107-109) approaches the future marker on the basis of the structures he observes in Southeast Solomonian languages. Building on the observation that future is “marked with an affix attached to the subject-referencing pronoun” (Keesing 1985, p.107) he considers that the Pijin future marker is a VP constituent (Predicate in my terms). The fact that it may occur outside the Predicate preceding the subject NP is explained as a topicalisation of the modality indicated by *bae*. He says:

I suspect that what is happening, when these speakers who seem to be calquing closely on their native languages in equating *bae(bae)* with a future-marker place it in a slot preceding a noun or pronoun subject, represents a topicalisation by fronting. (Keesing 1985, p.118)

Jourdan (1985a, p.87) rightly recognises the difficulty in saying that *bae* in the position preceding an NP is fronted. The fact that it is the most common position for *bae* in the clause according to both Jourdan’s research and my data, would, I suggest that there is no fronting of the modality indicated by *bae* at all.⁵⁹ That being so I do not believe that we must treat *bae* as a Predicate constituent. Instead, I suggest that the patterns in the use of *bae* observed in the data are the result of speaker idiosyncrasy relating to the choice of a variety of options available in Pijin. Thus the various forms of the future marker must be considered to be forms of a temporal adverb that has a degree of freedom with respect to its placement preceding the Predicate, but not as part of the Predicate.

This view is supported by Jourdan and Selbach’s conclusion from their diachronic research in *bae*:

We can now say with considerable certainty that, in Solomon Islands Pijin, the phonological reduction of adverbial *bambae* to *bae* is not being accompanied by a syntactic shift into an obligatory tense marker in preverbal position. (Jourdan & Selbach 2001, p.24)

⁵⁹ Keesing can speak of the modality indicated by *bae* since he considers it a marker of irrealis mode not merely a future marker.

4.9.2.1 Is *bae* an irrealis marker?

Keesing has said,

In the Solomons, then, for at least half a century *bae*(*bae*) seems to have been fully grammaticalised as the equivalent to the marker of future/irrealis or non-accomplished mode in substrate languages, fitting into a canonical position immediately preceding the subject-referencing pronoun within the verb phrase. (Keesing 1985, p.120)

It is the putative irrealis or non-accomplished mode function of *bae* that I now consider (I am ignoring his statement about *bae* and the verb phrase since that is not under discussion here).

Realis modality relates to events that a speaker believes to be actualised or realised, and an irrealis modality relates to events that the speaker believes have not been actualised. In the sense that future events have yet to be actualised, statements about them could be considered to be irrealis. (Roberts 1994, p.5)

Jourdan (2004, p.714) suggests that *bae* is an irrealis marker when it is used in “association with the irrealis particle *sapos*”. She gives the following example to illustrate this:

(113) *Sapos hem hotsan, bae yumi go suim long si.*
 if 3SG sunny FUT 1PL.INC go swim PREP sea
 ‘If the weather is good we will go swim in the ocean.’ (wr)

I believe, however, that there is nothing in this example to indicate anything other than a simple future marked by *bae* in the second proposition of the conditional sentence. The marker *bae* does not convey an irrealis modality in the sense of a hypothetical conditional, that modality is dependent on the conditional particle *sapos* in the first proposition. I suggest that the marker *bae* functions simply to indicate a sequential event in the future. I primarily hold this position, since *bae* is not absolutely necessary for the meaning of the utterance.

With a slight alteration, a near identical text to Jourdan’s example without *bae* would be:

(114) *Sapos hem hotsan, yumi go suim long si.*
 if 3SG sunny 1PL.INC go swim PREP sea
 ‘If the weather is good, we’ll go swim in the sea.’ (au)

To drop the *bae* from the sentence does not make it ungrammatical, nor does it make the second proposition any less hypothetical or irrealis. If a similar thing was done to the *will* modal in the English free translation it makes for an unacceptable or perhaps marginally acceptable sentence.

Taking the second proposition from Jourdan’s example alone as follows:

(115) *bae yumi go suim long si.*
 FUT 1PL.INC go swim PREP sea
 ‘we will go swim in the ocean.’ (wr)

It could be expected that the proposition will be realised in the future. Here then it is only irrealis in the sense that all future events can be said to be irrealis.

I suggest that we can further substantiate the nature of *bae* by considering a past hypothetical as in the following sentence in which both clauses are non-actualised and there is no sign of the future marker:

(116) *Sapos polis i bin kipim Keke long prisin,*
 if police SRP PST keep.TRS Keke PREP prison
ating trabol hemi no kamap bikfala.
 maybe trouble 3SG.SRP not become big
 ‘If the police had kept Harold Keke in prison, perhaps the trouble would not have escalated.’ (spo)

Compare this with the following example. Keesing (1988, p.186) claims that the irrealis function of *baebae* is clear in the following example:

(117) *olketa sevem mifala, bikosi mifala rimemba,*
 3PL.SRP save-TRS 1PL.EXC because 1PL.EXC remember
ating Diapan baebae hemi spoel-em mifala
 maybe Japanese FUT 3SG.SRP destroy-TRS 1PL.EXC
 ‘They saved us; because we can recall it seemed that the Japanese were going to destroy us.’ (Keesing’s translation)

Keesing’s translation conveys an irrealis modality; however, as for the Pijin speech itself, I would suggest that the irrealis modality relies on the adverb *ating* (as in example (116) rather than future marker. More likely in my view however, is that the third clause of the sentence is actually a complement of thought rather than an irrealis hypothetical, and that in the complement *baebae* simply indicates future. An alternate translation as follows indicates this interpretation:

‘They saved us; because we remember thinking, “perhaps the Japanese will destroy us.”’

In both Jourdan’s and Keesing’s examples I see no benefit in saying that *bae/baebae* marks an irrealis modality rather than simply marking future. Roberts (1994) considers the complexity of irrealis marking on verbs in both Austronesian and Papuan languages (the linguistic context for Pijin). What is clear from his work is that irrealis marking has a wide range of functions in those languages. Rather than so-called irrealis marking in Pijin being associated with a variety of contexts such as future, hypothetical conditionals, purpose

clauses, complements of predicates expressing *want*, and negative purpose clauses, it seems *bae* is only **necessarily** associated with future. So it seems there is no value in labelling it irrealis.

There remains one further issue that leads me to reject an irrealis reading for *bae*. The relation of *bae* to a typical creole tense mood aspect (TMA) system (Bakker, Post & van der Voort 1995) indicates that *bae* in fact should not be interpreted as a irrealis mode marker but as a future tense marker.

That a creole TMA system is relevant to the discussion here is supported by the view that expanded pidgins such as Pijin have “properties similar to those of true creoles” (Bakker, Post & van der Voort 1995, p.248). In the prototypical creole TMA system it is said that a preverbal morpheme marks irrealis events. This morpheme usually follows a morpheme that marks anterior tense (past tense relative to some point in time that is not necessarily the speech event time). The morpheme in Pijin that may perhaps be considered to mark anterior tense is *bin* (I discuss this in §7.3.3.2). The preverbal morphemes in a typical TMA system usually “occur in all possible combinations, always in the same order, and yielding predictable results” (Bakker, Post & van der Voort 1995, p.250). Thus an irrealis morpheme should be able to combine with an anterior tense morpheme. I have not observed this in Pijin. The marker *bae* cannot be considered a preverbal morpheme within a VP, and it **never** combines with the preverbal TMA marker *bin*. I would argue that it never combines with *bin* because they are both temporal markers, even though they occur in different positions, one preceding the Predicate and one within the Predicate. I suggest then that the marker *bae* is not an irrealis marker.

4.9.2.2 The future without *bae*

To conclude this section on the future marker, it is important to note that overt future time marking with *bae* is not necessarily obligatory for sentences with future reference. Speakers also indicate future time with other constituents such as sentence initial time adverbials, for example:

(118)

a) *Neks mans Jon hemi save kam long hia.*
 next month John 3SG.SRP ABIL come PREP here

‘Next month John will be able to come here.’ (au)

b) *Tumoro nomoa yumi go.*
 Tomorrow only 1PL.INC go

‘It is tomorrow that we will go.’ (Jourdan 2004, p.714)

4.9.3 Preverbal Markers

There are three different classes of preverbal markers. See section §7.3 for full details concerning their place and function in the Predicate.

First, deontic markers, *mas* ‘must’ and *sud* ‘should’, for example:

- (119) *Yu mas tekem kam leta ya.*
 2SG must take-TRS come letter DEM
 ‘You must bring the letter.’ (au)

Second, negative markers, *no* ‘not’ and *nating* ‘never’, for example:

- (120) *Yumi no garem eni kumara.*
 1PL.INC not have-TRS any sweet.potato
 ‘We do not have any sweet potato.’ (spo)

Third, the tense, mood, and aspect markers, *jes* ‘just’, *bin* ‘PAST’, *save* ‘ABILITY, HABITUAL’, *kan* ‘unable’, *kanduit* ‘unable’, and *kanot* ‘unable’. Some examples follow:

- (121)
 a) *Mifala jes kaikai nomoa.*
 1PL just eat only
 ‘We have just eaten.’ (au)
 b) *Mifala bin kaikai.*
 1PL PST eat
 ‘We have eaten.’ (au)
 c) *Waswe, yu save salem karasin long hia?*
 QN 2SG HAB sell.TRS kerosine PREP here
 ‘Do you ordinarily sell kerosine here?’ (spo)

4.10 Interrogative Pro-forms

There are a number of interrogative pro-forms in Pijin (Schachter 1985, pp.34-35). Speakers use these to form questions in two ways. First, the interrogative plus the topicalisation particle *nao* occurs at the beginning of a clause or sentence. Second, the interrogative may be located in the clause in the place of the questioned constituent. See §8.1.3 and §8.1.5.2 for full details and examples.

Table 4.13 Interrogative pro-forms

<i>waswe</i>	‘why’, or introduces a yes-no question
<i>wanem</i>	‘what’
<i>hu</i>	‘who’

<i>wea</i>	‘where’
<i>wat</i>	‘what’ (urban use)
<i>wataem</i>	‘when’
<i>watkaen</i>	‘of what kind’
<i>hao</i>	‘how’
<i>haomeni</i>	‘how many’ (urban use)
<i>haomas</i>	‘how much’, ‘how many’

It is also worth noting that in a conversation the interrogative pro-forms may occur independently as short utterances. For example, *Wanem?* would be used to clarify something just spoken; or for instance *Hao?* or *Waswe?* may be used as greetings. These sentence fragments constitute an important use of the interrogative pro-forms.

4.11 Coordinators and Subordinators

This section surveys the various coordinators and subordinators such as relative clause markers, complement markers, and adverbial subordinators.

4.11.1 Relative Clause Markers

There are two relative clause markers in Pijin: *wea* and *hu* (homophonous with interrogative pro-forms). The former is the most widely used, the latter is used only with human subjects, and is more recent having come into common use within the last 15 years. Speakers use both of these forms as interrogative pro-forms (as noted in the previous section). I show in §8.5.1 that neither of these markers is a relative pronoun. Note the following two examples:

(122)

a) *Hemi laek-em haos wea olketa mek-em.*
 3SG.SRP like-TRS house REL 3PL make-TRS

‘He likes the house that they built.’ (au)

b) *Bae mi pei-m eniwan hu hemi waka-had.*
 FUT 1SG pay-TRS anyone REL 3SG.SRP work-hard

‘I will pay anyone who works hard.’ (au)

4.11.2 Complement markers

Pijin has four complement markers or complementisers, namely: *wea*, *dat*, *olsem*, and *fo*. The complementisers *wea* and *dat* mark complements of speech, thought, hearing, communication, and perception. The preposition *olsem* functions as a complementiser to

indicate complements of direct speech or thought. The preposition *fo* functions as a complementiser to indicate verbal complements. These are further described in §8.3. Note the following examples:

(123)

a) *Olketa pipol i talem wea hemi sut-im man ya.*
 PL people SRP tell.TRNS COMP 3SG.SRP shoot-TRS man DEM

‘People say that he shot that man.’ (spo)

b) *Yu mas rimemba dat bae mi kam visit-im yu.*
 2SG must remember COMP FUT 1SG come visit-TRS 2SG

‘You must remember that I will visit you.’ (au)

c) *So mi tok olsem, “Mi laek-em yu.”*
 DISC 1SG talk COMP 1SG like-TRS 2SG

‘So I said, “I like you.” (au)

d) *Olketa trae-had fo win-im hem.*
 3PL try-hard COMP win-TRS 3SG

‘They really tried to beat him.’ (au)

4.11.3 Coordinators

A wide variety of constituents may be coordinated with the following three coordinators: *an* ‘and’, *bat* ‘but’, *o* ‘or’. These three express the notions of addition, contrast and alternation respectively. The coordinators *an* and *o* are also used in word and phrase coordination (see §6.4), and along with *bat* they are also used for sentential coordination (see §8.2). Provided that two or more constituents are of the same type, they may be coordinated. I do not give examples here, rather see §6.4 and §8.2.

4.11.4 Subordinators

Pijin has a number of subordinators that mark adverbial clauses within sentences. These subordinators are as follows: *bifoa* ‘before’, *bikos* ‘because’, *dastawe* ‘therefore’, *fo* ‘for’, *from* ‘because, because of’,⁶⁰ *go-go* ‘until, after a while’, *olsem* ‘like’, *sapos* ‘if’, *taem* ‘when’, and *so* ‘so, therefore, then’. I do not give examples here, rather see §8.4.

4.12 Connective Adverbs

Speakers use a variety of words and even phrases in a sentence initial position to maintain the flow of a discourse when they speak. Many of these words have other functions, though in this case I consider them to function as connective adverbs. The following sample of such discourse particles is not meant to be exhaustive since speakers seem to creatively use

language for such discourse purposes. See §8.7 for some further details. Some examples of connective adverbs are as follows: *an* ‘and’, *bihaen* ‘later’, *dastawe* ‘therefore’, *den* ‘then’, *finis* ‘when that was done’, *nao* ‘then, RESUMPTION OF NARRATIVE FOLLOWING REPORTED SPEECH’, *okei* ‘okay’, *oraet* ‘okay’, *ya* ‘yes, EMPH’, *so* ‘so’, etc.

4.13 Interjections and Vocatives

Interjections in Pijin are marked by the fact that they occur independently, and with a specific intonation, high tone then falling. Some such interjections are:

<i>Maewat!</i>	my word
<i>Maekrangge!</i>	by crikey
<i>Ei!</i>	expresses surprise
<i>Ii!</i>	expresses surprise
<i>Sei!</i>	expresses surprise
<i>Sss!</i>	expresses disapproval or shock
<i>Sst!</i>	to attract attention
<i>Oloketa!</i>	expresses surprise

Speakers create vocatives in Pijin from nouns and pronouns by the addition of the suffix -o.

For example:

<i>frendo</i>	hey friend!
<i>Hamo</i>	Ham! (called out to a man named Ham)

This concludes my survey of word classes and morphological processes in Pijin. The discussion now moves to focus on the noun phrase.

⁶⁰ This subordinator function of the preposition *from* is becoming less acceptable according to some speakers, they prefer *bikos*.

Chapter 5 The Noun Phrase and Its Constituents

This chapter describes the noun phrase (NP) and its constituents. It describes two subtypes of NP, those headed by a noun and those headed by a pronoun. NPs headed by a noun may be either simple, containing only words as constituents, or complex, containing phrases and clauses as constituents. Complex NPs containing clauses as constituents are dealt with in chapter 8 in the section on relative clauses (§8.5). NPs headed by a pronoun may be unitary, being a bare pronoun, or complex in the same manner as those headed by an N. In the process of describing these phrases, I further clarify the functions of the relevant word categories given in chapter 4.

5.1 Overview

NPs in Pijin function primarily as arguments, i.e. as subject in sentences, objects in verb phrases (see §6.1.1) and prepositional phrases (see §6.3). An NP may also function as the head of a Predicate. The functions of the NP will be described in chapters 6 and 7 as verb phrase and predicate structure is investigated. This section focuses on the internal structure of the NP and the constituents within that structure. The simple form of the Pijin NP (I deal with more complex NPs below) may be diagrammed in the following phrase structure rule:

$$\text{NP} \rightarrow (\text{D}) (\text{Q}) (\text{AdjP})(\text{N}) \text{N} (\text{PM})$$

The simple NP has an obligatory noun as head. The NP head has a number of dependents. Four modifiers which are optional and occur in a fixed order, namely, an initial determiner (D), then a quantifier (Q), then an adjective phrase (AdjP), and then a pre-head noun modifier (N) may precede the NP head. Certain modifiers, and discourse particles (labelled as postnominal modifiers – PM) may follow the head of the simple NP.

In section §5.4 it will also be seen that a pronoun can head an NP. NPs headed by a pronoun have certain unique characteristics; therefore I describe them separately.

In the first place, the analysis examines the pre-head constituents of the simple NP. I describe and explain these constituents in the order in which they occur in the NP. The pre-head constituents also occur in complex NPs headed by Ns, thus whatever I discuss in this section also applies to the complex NPs. Following these, the description will turn to the post-head constituents.

Before looking at the analysis, I will illustrate the NP with a variety of examples. In its minimal form an NP may just consist of a bare noun. In the following examples, for those in which the NP is given in context, the NP is marked in bold.

(124)

a) *olketa man*
 PL man
 ‘men’

b) *disfala dog*
 this dog
 ‘this dog’

c) *samfala raes*
 some rice
 ‘some rice’

(125)

a) *Dadi hemi sut-im olketa pikpik ya.*
 father 3SG.SRP shoot-TRS PL pig DEM
 ‘Father shot those pigs.’ (au)

b) *Disfala gudfala paenapol hemi raep.*
 this good pineapple 3SG.SRP ripe
 ‘This good pineapple is ripe.’ (au)

c) *Mami hemi go long gaden.*
 Mother 3SG.SRP go PREP garden
 ‘Mother went to the garden.’ (spo)

5.2 Simple NPs

5.2.1 Bare Nouns as NPs

I indicated in the overview above that we may consider a bare N alone to be an NP. This is of course an uncontroversial view; however, it is also justified since a bare N may be coordinated⁶¹ with an NP containing a determiner, as in the following examples:

(126) *Tufala kaikaim puding an olketa samting olsem.*
 3DUAL eat.TRS pudding and PL thing like.TRS
 ‘The two of them ate pudding and things like that.’ (wr)

(127) *Olketa sut-im pikpik an samfala narafala animol.*
 3PL shoot-TRS pig and some other animal
 ‘They shot pigs and some other animals.’
 or ‘They shot a pig and some other animals’ (wr)

⁶¹ I examine various examples of coordination in Pijin in §6.4.

The semantics of bare nouns, in fact any NP with no determiner, are not completely clear.⁶² Whether they are definite or indefinite is highly context dependent. For example, *dadi* in example (125a), and *gaden* in example (125c) are both definite (that is, identifiable) for the hearer, whereas *puding* and *pikpik* in the last two examples have a generic or indefinite reference.

5.2.2 NP Determiner and Determinatives

The leftmost constituent of the NP is the determiner (D). Like Huddleston & Pullum (2002, p.330) I differentiate between the notion of determiner, a function in the NP, and determinative, a word category. While all determinatives fulfil the D function in NPs, other categories of word also fulfil that function. The following table illustrates the various categories that may function as D in the NP.

Determiner	Gloss	Example NP	
Determinatives			
<i>datfala</i>	‘that’	<i>datfala man</i>	‘that man’
<i>disfala</i>	‘this’	<i>disfala man</i>	‘this man’
<i>eni</i>	‘any’	<i>eni man</i>	‘any man’
<i>evri</i>	‘every’	<i>evri man</i>	‘every man’
<i>nara</i> <i>narafala</i>	‘other/another’	<i>nara man</i>	‘the other man’
<i>no-eni</i>	‘no/nothing’	<i>no-eni man</i>	‘no man’
Pronouns			
<i>olketa</i>	‘PLURAL’	<i>olketa man</i>	‘men’
	‘DEFINITE’	<i>olketa trifala man</i>	‘the three men’
<i>yufala</i>	‘2PL’	<i>yufala yanggele</i>	‘you young girls’
<i>mifala</i>	‘1PL.EXC’	<i>mifala trifala boe</i>	‘we three boys’
Numeral			
<i>wanfala</i>	‘a’	<i>wanfala man</i>	‘a man’

⁶² By way of comparison, Baptista (2002, pp.30-35) shows that NPs lacking determiners in Cape Verdean Creole also have a high degree of interpretational variability.

As can be seen from the table, the D of the NP is a grammatical role in the NP in which a wide range of semantic functions are expressed, namely, deixis, universal quantification, negation, plural marking, definiteness, indefiniteness, and person deixis.

Perhaps most interesting are the pronouns that function as D. Huddleston and Pullum (2002, p.374) re-categorise English pronouns as personal determinatives in this function. I see no need to say that pronouns functioning as D in the NP undergo a change of category. Pijin actually has a wide range of pronouns that can fill this position in the NP, though care must be taken to distinguish them from pronoun – NP appositions (see next section). I have not observed the third person singular pronoun (*hem*) in this role. The following examples illustrate pronouns functioning as Ds.

(128)

a) *Nao mifala trifala boe mifala luk-im hem.*
 DISC 1PL.EXC three boy 1PL.EXC.SRP look-TRS 3SG
 ‘Okay, we three boys saw it.’ (wr)

b) *Yufala yang-gele mas go long skol.*
 2PL young-girl must go PREP school
 ‘You young girls have to go to school.’ (wr)

5.2.2.1 Pre-Noun pronouns that are not determiners

There are some instances in which a pronoun occurs preposed to an N yet it is not a D. These instances fall into two categories, they are either inclusory constructions, or pronouns in apposition with an NP.

Inclusory constructions

The following examples illustrate the inclusory construction:

(129)

a) *Wanfala manis bifo mitufala hasban blong mi go holide...*
 one month before 1DL.EXC husband POSS 1SG go holiday
 ‘One month before my husband and I went on holiday...’ (wr)

b) *Mitufala Jim bin ran-em kos long Honiara.*
 1DL.EXC Jim PST run-TRS course PREP Honiara
 ‘Jim and I ran a course in Honiara.’ (au)

The person deixis of the dual exclusive pronoun could be said to be both first person and third person combined. The NP, (*hasban blong mi*, and *Jim* respectively) associates only with the third person component of the pronoun. Examples of this type are what have been called “inclusory constructions” (Lichtenberk 2000). Lichtenberk notes that such inclusory constructions are common in Austronesian languages. In particular he investigates them in

Toqabaqita [tɔʔa^mbaʔita], a Solomon Islands language. One such example from his paper is as follows:

Kamareqa doqora-ku meki lae ma-i qusungadi.
 1DU(EXCL) brother-1SG.PERS 1DU(EXCL).FUT go VENIT-at tomorrow

‘I and my brother will go tomorrow.’

The Pijin translation of the Toqabaqita is: *Mitufala brata blong mi bae go tumoro.*

For comparison, I note a similar example from the creole spoken in Northern Australia (Kriol spoken at Ngukurr):

Minbala Michelle bin go.
 I.du <name> PST go

Me and Michelle went. (Singer 2001, p.9)

Lichtenberk calls the pronouns in these constructions (*mitufala* in the Pijin example) “inclusory pronouns”. In his analysis such pronouns identify a total set of participants. Furthermore, the following lexical NP (the “included NP” in his terms) identifies a subset (either *hasban blong mi* or *Jim* in our initial examples) of this set of participants. Lichtenberk, reflecting recent studies on this construction, says this type of construction has “the inclusory pronoun as its head and the lexical noun phrase as its modifier” (Lichtenberk 2000, p.1). Whether this is also the appropriate analysis for Pijin is difficult to determine. A substitution test such as follows does not help distinguish it structurally from an NP with a pronoun determiner. In the following example a pronoun alone substitutes the inclusory construction of example (129) without doing violence to the dual reference.

(130) *Mitufala bin ran-em kos long Honiara*
 1DL.EXC PST run-TRS course PREP Honiara

‘The two of us ran a course in Honiara.’ (au)

Such a similar substitution would also be valid for an NP with a pronoun determiner. My main reason for not treating the pronoun in the inclusory construction as a determiner is the fact that I believe it carries some of the lexical content of the NP. There is no indication of a first person referent in the included NP (*Jim*), so we know that the pronoun conveys that referent. This means that pronouns in inclusory constructions cannot be considered to be Ds in the same way as other pre-N pronouns.

The structure of Toqabaqita inclusory constructions may shed some light on the varying degrees of acceptability of these constructions in Pijin. I have never observed rejection of inclusory constructions involving first and second person non-singular pronouns preposed to

the included NP, however, instances involving third person plural pronouns and different ordering results in varying judgements concerning acceptability. Lichtenberk (2000, p.9) indicates that alternate ordering of constituents is possible in Toqabaqita inclusory constructions in subject position. The order may be as we have so far seen [INCLUSORY PRONOUN, LEXICAL NP], or it may be [LEXICAL NP, INCLUSORY PRONOUN] both with synonymous meaning. I have not observed this second ordering in Pijin. To illustrate the second ordering in Toqabaqita note:

Ma Ulufaalu kera?
and U. 3PL

‘And (what about) Ulufaalu 'n 'em?’ (sic) (Lichtenberk 2000, p.28)

This alternate ordering is observed in the Pijin of some speakers in conjunction with *olketa* ‘3PL’, for example:

(131)

a) *Andi olketa*
Andy 3PL

‘Andy and those with him’ (au)

b) *Olketa Andi*
3PL Andy

‘Andy and those with him’ (au)

Some speakers reject inclusory constructions involving 3PL pronouns, others will only accept those in which the pronoun follows the lexical NP (as in (131a), while a few accept both varieties. It is reasonable to assume that acceptability is based on the presence and structure of inclusory constructions in a speaker’s first language, though I have not tested this. Rejection of the normal order for inclusory constructions in relation to *olketa* is most likely a result of the ubiquitous use of *olketa* as the plural determiner in the NP, therefore it is not available for use as an inclusory pronominal.

Pronoun appositions

I have just considered one construction in which pre-head pronouns do not function as determiners, the other kind of construction observed is that of the pronoun – noun appositions, such as in the following examples:

(132)

a) *Yumi olketa mami an dadi i no bon-em olketa pikinini ya...*
1PL.INC PL mother and father SRP NEG birth.TRNS PL child DEM

‘We mothers and fathers did not have the children...’ (wr)

b) *So yufala ya, wetem yu Benjamin, yufala evriwan*
 so 2PL EMPH with.TRS 2SG Benjamin 2PL everyone
i barava save nao wea mi Josef tru nao ya.
 SRP really know PERF REL 1SG Joseph true EMPH EMPH

‘So you and Benjamin, you all really know that I truly am Joseph.’ (ot)

c) *Long taem ya, mi disfala king ya, baebae mi ansa-rem olketa olsem,...*
 PREP time EMPH 1SG this king EMPH FUT 1SG answer-TRS 3PL like

‘At that time, I the king, I will answer them like this,...’ (nt)

It seems that the examples above (though not the second NP containing *yufala* in (132b)) are not NPs with pronoun determiners, but pronouns with an NP in apposition. Huddleston and Pullum (2002, p.374) claim (for English) that only first and second person plural pronouns can act as Ds. However, the syntactic tests they use for English are not available for Pijin, nor are the criteria entirely suitable. If only first and second person plural pronouns can be considered to be Ds, then following their line of reasoning, all Pijin NPs using the third person plural pronoun, *olketa*, as a D would have to be treated as pronoun – NP appositions, a very unlikely scenario given the fact that this pronoun determiner is a major means for indicating plurality in an NP. The primary criterion in the case of Pijin is as follows: if there is a D in the NP following the pronoun I consider it to be in apposition to the pronoun. These NPs are supplemental. A second criterion is intonational separation, that is, intonation sets off the supplemental NP from the pronoun.

However, in the follow two examples, taken from recorded speech not just written text, there is no intonational break between the pronoun and the following NP.

(133)

a) *Oo, bae mifala wake-m lelebet kaikai fo yufala olketa katekis,...*
 oh FUT 1PL.EXC make-TRS a.little food to 2PL PL catechist

‘Oh, we will make a bit of food for you catechists,...’ (spr)

b) *Olketa long dea mek-em dans fo mifala olketa katekis.*
 3PL PREP there make-TRS dance for 1PL.EXC PL catechist

‘Those there made a dance for us catechists.’ (spr)

The lack of intonational break injects a degree of ambiguity regarding the status of the pronouns. In these examples speakers could omit the plural D *olketa* with no real change in meaning, in that case the pronouns would have to function as Ds indicating not only person deixis but also the plurality of the NPs. In fact the speaker does that in the very next sentence following (9b), namely:

(134) *So fest grup mifala katekis fastaem ya.*
 So first group 1PL.EXC catechist first DEC

‘So the first group, we catechists went first.’ (spr)

5.2.2.2 Determiner Co-occurrence Constraints

Ds rarely co-occur in an NP. In the previous section it was observed that occasionally a pronoun preposed to the D *olketa* in an NP may perhaps be analysed as a D. Apart from this possible co-occurrence, I note that *nara* / *narafala* ‘other’ is observed to follow three different Ds, namely *olketa*, *eni*, and *evri* as in the following examples (NP underlined):

(135)

a) ...*an* *baebae* *olketa nara deferen pipol nao* *i* *garem* *paoa* *ya*.
 and FUT PL other different people EMPH SRP have.TRS power DEM
 ‘... and other different people will have that ability.’ (nt)

b) ..., *mifala* *no* *garem* *eni nara wei fo falo-m*.
 1PL.EXC not have.TRS any other way INF follow-TRS
 ‘..., we do not have any other way to follow.’ (nt)

c) *God hemi* *bles-im* *yu* *win-im* *evri nara woman* *moa*,...
 god 3SG.SRP bless-TRS 2SG win-TRS every other woman more
 ‘God is blessing you more than every other woman,...’ (nt)

From these examples it might be thought that *nara* ‘other/another’ should be considered to be a different kind of constituent and not a D. One analysis treats it as an adjective (Jourdan 2002, p.145). The analysis of *nara* / *narafala* is rather ambiguous. On the one hand *nara* might be considered to be a D because sometimes it occurs preposed to a numeral in an NP. Since numerals are preposed to adjectives (see §5.2.3), *nara* ‘other’ in this context may not be considered to be an adjective. In the following examples *nara* should probably be interpreted as a D.

(136)

a) *Taem* *nara tenfala disaepol ya* *olketa here-m* *dis-wan* *nomoa*,...
 time other ten disciple DEM 3PL hear-TRS this-one only
 ‘When the other ten disciples just heard this,...’ (nt)

b) *Hemi* *luk-im* *narafala tufala brata* *moa*.
 3SG.SRP look-TRS other two brother too
 ‘He also saw the other two brothers.’ (nt)

On the other hand *nara* / *narafala* might be considered to be an adjective because it may also occur following a numeral in an NP, for example:

(137) *An* *trifala narafala grup* *ya* *baebae* *olketa falo-m* *olsem* *tu*.
 And three other group DEM FUT 3PL follow-TRS like too
 ‘And the three other groups will follow like that too.’ (wr)

The basic category of *nara* / *narafala* may not readily be resolved, that is, whether it is primarily an adjective that may function as a determiner, or whether it is a determinative that may function as an adjective. What is known though is that adjectives are not preposed to

numerals in an NP, so *nara* in the following example must be treated as functioning as a D that co-occurs with the D *olketa*, since both occur preposed to a numeral:

- (138) *Bat Pita hemi stanap nao wetem olketa nara levenfala aposol va,...*
 but Peter 3SG.SRP stand EMPH with.TRS PL other eleven apostle DEM
 ‘But Peter stood with the other eleven apostles,...’ (nt)

5.2.2.3 Interpreting *olketa*

The determiner *olketa* primarily indicates plural number in an NP. In certain cases it also appears to indicate definiteness. Lyons (1999) discusses the essential meaning of definiteness. His initial position is that definiteness involves either indentifiability or inclusiveness or both, however, he finds this to be unsatisfactory since the two notions are independent (Lyons 1999, p.14-15). After an extensive survey of definiteness, Lyons concludes,

No one has shown conclusively that a version or mutation of either indentifiability or inclusiveness accounts adequately for all definite uses. Some uses still seem to yield only one or the other characterization. (Lyons 1999, p.274)

He then goes on to suggest that there is a distinction between grammatical definiteness and semantic pragmatic definiteness. Consequently he proposes that definiteness in a strict sense is not a semantic or pragmatic notion but a grammatical category. He also notes that “the correspondence between a grammatical category and the category of meaning it is based on is never one-to-one” (Lyons 1999, p.275).

With this in mind I believe that *olketa* does not grammatically encode definiteness in Pijin.

Consider the following:

- (139)
- a) *Taem eni sip hemi go long raf si, **olketa man** long sip i toraot.*
 time any ship 3SG.SRP go PREP rough sea PL man PREP ship SRP vomit
 ‘When any ship sails a rough sea, men on the ship vomit.’ (au)
- b) *Taem mi kam-baek from Malaita, **olketa man** long sip i toraot.*
 time 1SG come-back from Malaita, PL man PREP ship SRP vomit
 ‘When I returned from Malaita, the men on the ship vomited.’ (au)

In the first example *olketa man* is semantically indefinite (neither identifiable nor necessarily inclusive) as judged by the context, (it could of course be read as generic, a meaning that is often associated with definite articles, but this does not in my view negate the value of the

example). In the second example above, the same NP is semantically definite since the men are identifiable. In neither case is there grammatical encoding to show the readings.

In the following example (the context being a man who seeking to buy pigs arrives at a market not knowing if any pigs are for sale or not), the NP object of the intentional verb (*lukaotem* ‘looking for’) is indefinite and non-specific and contains the determiner *olketa*:

- (140) *Mi lukaotem olketa pikpik fo mekem fist.*
 1SG look.out-TRS PL pig COMP make-TRS feast
 ‘I am looking for pigs to make a feast.’ (au)

Consider also the following examples whose indefinite and non-specific NPs containing *olketa* are underlined:

- (141)
- a) *Bikos Masta blong yumi hemi save lukaotem olketa stretfala pipol...*
 Because Lord POSS 1PL.INC 3SG.SRP HAB look.out-TRS PL straight people
 ‘Because our Lord looks for righteous people...’ (nt)
- b) *Bifoa ya, yufala olsem olketa sipsip wea olketa go lus finis.*
 before EMPH 2PL like-TRS PL sheep REL 3PL.SRP go lost finish
 ‘Previously, you were like sheep that were lost.’ (nt)
- c) *Olketa dog i save kaikai-m ravis tumas.*
 PL dog SRP HAB eat-TRS rubbish very
 ‘Dogs always eat rubbish.’ (au)

As a determiner with non-count nouns *olketa* seems to indicate definiteness in the following examples:

- (142)
- a) *Mi putum finis olketa petrol long sip ya.*
 1SG put-TRS finish PL petrol PREP ship DEM
 ‘I have put the petrol on the ship.’ (spo)
- b) *Waswe, yu here-m olketa nius wea i kam from Malaita?*
 QN 2SG hear-TRS PL news REL SRP come from Malaita
 ‘Did you hear the news that came from Malaita?’ (au)
- c) *Olketa giv-im olketa kaikai fo mi.*
 3PL give-TRS PL food for 1SG
Bisket, enikaen kaen long kantin, olketa giv-im fo mi.
 biscuit any.kind kind PREP canteen 3PL give-TRS for 1SG
 ‘They gave the food to me. Biscuits, all sorts of them from the canteen, they gave them to me’ (spr, female, late teens)

In this regard I note that Lyons (1999, p.11) says,

Definiteness, at least with plural and mass noun phrases, involves not uniqueness but inclusiveness What this means is that the reference is to the totality of the objects or mass in the context which satisfy the description.

Semantically these NPs are definite, but speakers judge that they would be equally meaningful and definite if the *olketa* was omitted. It is difficult to say therefore that inclusiveness is simply conveyed by the use of *olketa* preposed to a non-count N. Nevertheless, it may be that *olketa* is functioning as a universal quantifier in the context of non-count nouns (similar to *evri* ‘every/all’). Lyons (1999, p.11) suggests a relation between English *the* and *all*, with the latter being a more emphatic universal quantifier in the context of plural and mass nouns.

The following examples show the determiner *olketa* preposed to a quantifier in two NPs. The idea that it is functioning as a universal quantifier also seems to be applicable in these.

(143)

a) *Hem nao nem blong **olketa** eifala boe blong Naho...*
 3SG EMPH name POSS PL eight boy POSS Naho

‘Those are the names of the eight boys of Naho...’ (ot)

b) *Bat **olketa** plande yangfala wea i dropaot nao...*
 but PL many youth REL SRP dropout EMPH

‘But the many youth that have dropped out...’ (wr)

That *olketa* does not unambiguously indicate definiteness is no surprise given the pervasive use of the demonstrative particle *ya* (see section §5.2.6.3) to indicate anaphoric definiteness and as a general demonstrative.

5.2.3 NP Quantifier

The next leftmost constituent of the NP is the quantifier (Q). Various kinds of quantifiers fill this position. The members of this category, including numerals, are discussed in §4.3. The following examples illustrate some Qs (the NP is underlined, and the Q is in bold):

(144)

a) *Bae mi stap **lelebet** taem.*
 FUT 1SG stay a.little time

‘I will stay a little while.’ (spo)

b) ***Plande** pipol nao i hipap long haos blong mi.*
 plenty people FOC SRP gather PREP haos POSS 1SG

‘Plenty of people gathered at my house.’ (spo)

c) *An hemi gare-m **fofala** gele.*
 and 3SG.SRP have-TRS four girl

‘And he has four girls.’ (au)

d) *Yu mas weit long samfala aoa bifo sip ya hemi save go.*
 2SG must wait PREP some hour before ship DEM 3SG.SRP ABIL go
 ‘You must wait several hours before the ship can go.’ (au)

e) *Olketa gare-m staka kaekae distaem.*
 3PL have-TRS lots food now
 ‘They have lots of food now.’ (au)

f) *Tu-tri man nomoa i stap long hia.*
 few man only SRP stay PREP here
 ‘Just a few men stay here.’ (au)

g) *Staka samting long wol ya hemi bagarap.*
 many thing PREP world DEF 3SG.SRP ruined
 ‘Lots of things in the world are damaged.’ (au)

It has been observed that the Qs, *plande* ‘many’ and *lelebet* ‘a little’, may be intensified by the adverbial modifier *barava* ‘really’. Since this is limited to a single adverb I would suggest that it does not warrant positing a quantifier phrase. An example follows:

(145) *Hemi giv-im barava plande samting long pikinini blong hem.*
 3SG.SRP give-TRS INTENS plenty thing PREP child POSS 3SG
 ‘She gave very many things to her child.’ (au)

So far all examples illustrating the NP containing a Q have been bare NPs, that is, they do not contain an initial D. The following examples show some NPs containing both a Q and a D (both in bold).

(146)

a) *Dis-wan hemi gudfala moa win-im*
 this-NOM 3SG.SRP good more win-TRS
olketa plande gudfala samting long Ijip.
 DEF many good thing PREP Egypt
 ‘This is better than the many good things of Egypt.’ (ot)

b) *Bat olketa plande yangfala wea i dropaot nao,...*
 but DEF many youth REL SRP dropout EMPH
 ‘But the many youth that have dropped out...’ (wr)

c) *Hemi luk-im nara tufala brata moa.*
 3SG.SRP look-TRS other two brother too
 ‘He also saw the other two brothers.’ (nt)

d) *Hemi giv-im hem wanfala long evri tenfala samting*
 3SG.SRP give-TRS 3SG one PREP every ten thing
wea hemi tek-em long faet.
 REL 3SG.SRP take-TRS PREP fight
 ‘He gave him one in every ten things that he took from the battle.’ (ot)

e) *An yufala mas no tek-em eni lelebet seleni wetem yufala...*
 an 2PL must not take-TRS any little money with-TRS 2PL
 ‘And you must not take any small amount of money with you...’ (nt)

f) *So nomata disfala lelebet samting ya nomoa*
 so even this little thing DEM only

bat hemi bikfala samting ya.
 but 3SG.SRP big thing EMPH

‘So even though it is just this really small thing, but it is a big thing.’ (wr)

5.2.4 Adjectives

The next constituent of the NP is a pre-head adjective phrase (AdjP). The internal structure of the AdjP when it functions as a modifier of the NP (discussed in this section) is slightly different from when it functions as the head of a Predicate (discussed in §7.2).

I have observed multiple adjectives to occur preposed to the head N. Since this raises its own issues, I outline the syntax of the AdjP and multiple adjectives below.

In the following examples the NP is underlined and the pre-head AdjP is in bold.

(147)

a) *Wanfala blu trak hemi stap long haos ya.*
 one blue truck 3SG.SRP stay PREP house DEM

‘A blue truck is at the house.’ (au)

b) *Wanfala barava olfala trak hemi stap long haos ya.*
 one really old truck 3SG.SRP stay PREP house DEM

‘A really old truck is at the house.’ (au)

5.2.4.1 Adjective modification

The following phrase structure rule accounts for the internal structure of the AdjP:

AdjP → (Adv) Adj (Adv)

The AdjP post-head adverb does not occur when the AdjP functions as an NP modifier, therefore rather than discussing post Adj head adverbs here I do so in §6.2.

In the AdjP the pre-head degree adverb may function as a specifier of the adjective. AdjPs have only two pre-head adverbs that vary the degree of the attribute realised by the adjective. The first is the intensifying adverb, *barava* ‘really’, while the second is a mitigating adverb, *lelebet* ‘a little’ (also functions as quantifier). See the following examples (AdjP underlined, specifier adverb in bold):

(148)

a) *Yufala sei halo long barava gudfala fren blong mi Epaenetas.*
 2PL say hello PREP really good friend POSS 1SG Epaenetas

‘Say hello to my really good friend Epaenetas.’ (nt)

b) *Hem nomoa lelebet sot stori blong mi.*
 3SG only a.little short story POSS 1SG

‘That’s it, my fairly short story.’ (wr)

- c) *So hemi kil-im dae olketa barava strongfala yang-man blong olketa.*
 so 3SG.SRP injure-TRS die PL really strong young-man POSS 3PL
 ‘So he killed their really strong young men.’ (ot)

5.2.4.2 Disjunctive adjective modification

In addition to the kind of adjective modification produced by an adverb preposed to the adjective, a constituent that actually follows the head N modifies some preposed adjectives. The following example demonstrates this disjunctive adjective modification.

- (149) *Mi barava tok olsem krangge man tru nao ya.*
 1SG really talk like-TRS crazy man tru EMPH EMPH
 ‘I have talked like a very crazy man.’ (nt)

The adjective *tru* ‘true’ whilst postposed to the head N, actually functions as an adverb to intensify the adjective *krangge* ‘crazy’. If this NP was the predicate of a verbless sentence then we could interpret *tru* as a post verbal modifier, however, the NP is the prepositional object of *olsem*; therefore *tru* must be considered to modify the adjective. Such modification is not common, nor have I endeavoured to represent it in the simple phrase structure rule introduced in the overview.

5.2.4.3 Multiple Adjectives

A small number of NPs have more than one pre-head adjective. I have observed a normal maximum of two pre-head adjectives in the data. Some examples of the NP with two adjectives are as follows:

- (150)
 a) *Samfala long olketa longfala red kaleko blong yumi*
 some PREP PL long red cloth POSS IPL.INC
 ‘Some of our long red cloth’ (au)
 b) *Hemi faend-em wanfala nambawan kol ples long botom tri ya.*
 3SG.SRP find-TRS one excellent cold place PREP bottom tree DEM
 ‘He found an excellent cool place at the bottom of the tree.’ (wr)
 c) *...wea hemi stop-em nara bikfala hevi samting olsem fo kasem mi.*
 REL 3SG.SRP stop-TRS another big heavy thing like-TRS for reach-TRS 1SG
 ‘...that prevents any other big difficult thing like that from getting to me.’ (wr)

When multiple adjectives occur, an adverbial specifier is only observed to occur before the left most adjective in the NP, as in the following example:

- (151)
 a) *An barava bikfala hevi ren hemi kam.*
 and really big heavy rain 3SG.SRP come
 ‘And really big heavy rain came.’ (au)

I have not tested whether the adverb intensifies both adjectives or just the first.

While the data provides examples with a maximum of two adjectives in the NP, phrases with three or four adjectives can be elicited. A group of eleven men aged from 25 to 70 from a variety of provinces in Solomon Islands provided the following examples of multiple adjectives when asked to see if they could produce acceptable phrases. The entire group made grammaticality judgements on the phrases suggested. They judged the following examples as acceptable.

(152)

a) *Mi pei-m wanfala niufala long waet kaleko yestade.*
 1SG pay-TRS one new long white cloth yesterday.

‘I bought a new long white piece of cloth yesterday.’ (el)

b) *Mi faend-em olketa bikfala braon bolhed man long klasrum.*
 1SG found-TRS PL big brown bald man PREP classroom

‘I found the big brown bald men in a classroom.’ (el)

c) *Mi luk-im wanfala sot fat olfala bolhed man.*
 1SG look-TRS one short fat old bald man

‘I saw a short fat old bald man.’ (el)

5.2.4.4 Adjective Order

In the context of multiple adjectives in the NP, the issue of ordering must be addressed. I tentatively suggest the normal ordering of adjectives and preposed noun modifiers (see next section) when they occur together in the NP. I say tentative because there is limited data from which to draw conclusions.

For the purposes of generalising an adjective order, the adjectives are grouped according to Dixon’s semantic types (Dixon 2004, pp.3-5) as follows:

1. DIMENSION: *bik* ‘big’, *smol* ‘small’, *long* ‘long’, *tol* ‘tall’, *sot* ‘short’, *waed* ‘wide’, *dip* ‘deep’, etc.
2. AGE: *niu* ‘new’, *yang* ‘young’, *olo* ‘old’, etc.
3. VALUE: *gud* ‘good’, *nogud* ‘bad’, *naes* ‘nice’, *ravis* ‘bad’, *stret* ‘right’, *tru* ‘true’, etc.
4. COLOUR: *blak* ‘black’, *waet* ‘white’, *red* ‘red’, etc.
5. PHYSICAL PROPERTY: *had* ‘hard’, *sof* ‘soft’, *hevi* ‘heavy’, *raf* ‘rough’, *strong* ‘strong’, *klin* ‘clean’, *hot* ‘hot’, *saoa* ‘bitter/sour’, *drae* ‘dry’, etc.
6. HUMAN PROPENSITY: *joles* ‘jealous’, *hapi* ‘happy’, *kaen* ‘kind’, *kleva* ‘clever’, *praod* ‘proud’, *waes* ‘wise’, *krangge* ‘stupid’, etc.
7. SPEED: *fas* ‘fast’, *kuik* ‘quick’, *slou* ‘slow’.
8. DIFFICULTY: *isi* ‘easy’, *had* ‘hard’.

In the following table a number of NPs have been taken from my data (the small number reflects the very limited occurrence of multiple adjectives) and aligned according to the semantic type of the adjectives and the order of those adjectives. From this table then a tentative adjective order is proposed. Note though that I have not observed adjectives of the semantic types ‘human propensity’, ‘speed’, and ‘difficulty’ in combination with other adjectives.

Table 5.1 Adjective ordering in the NP

Age	Dimension	Value	Colour	Physical property	Preposed attributive Noun	N
<i>yangfala</i> ‘young’					<i>wido</i> ‘widow’	<i>woman</i> ‘woman’
	<i>smolfala</i> ‘small’				<i>mere</i> ‘female’	<i>sipsip</i> ‘sheep’
	<i>smolfala</i> ‘small’		<i>waetfala</i> ‘white’			<i>frut</i> ‘fruit’
	<i>longfala</i> ‘long’		<i>red</i> ‘red’			<i>kaleko</i> ‘cloth’
<i>niufala</i> ‘new’			<i>waet</i> ‘white’			<i>kaleko</i> ‘cloth’
		<i>gudfala</i> ‘good’	<i>waet</i> ‘white’			<i>kaleko</i> ‘cloth’
		<i>nambawan</i> ‘excellent’	<i>waet</i> ‘white’			<i>kaleko</i> ‘cloth’
		<i>nambawan</i> ‘excellent’		<i>kol</i> ‘cold’		<i>ples</i> ‘place’
<i>olfala</i> ‘old’		<i>ravis</i> ‘bad’				<i>wei</i> ‘way’
<i>olfala</i> ‘old’		<i>ravis</i> ‘bad’				<i>trak</i> ‘truck’
	<i>bikfala</i> ‘big’			<i>drae</i> ‘dry’		<i>eria</i> ‘area’
	<i>bikfala</i> ‘big’			<i>flat</i> ‘flat’		<i>eria</i> ‘area’
	<i>bikfala</i> ‘big’			<i>raf</i> ‘rough’		<i>si</i> ‘sea’
	<i>bikfala</i> ‘big’			<i>hevi</i> ‘heavy’		<i>ren</i> ‘rain’
	<i>bikfala</i> ‘big’	<i>holi</i> ‘sacred’				<i>taon</i> ‘town’
	<i>bikfala</i> ‘big’	<i>hevi</i> ‘difficult’				<i>saming</i> ‘thing’
		<i>ravis</i> ‘bad’				<i>wei</i> ‘way’
		<i>spesol</i> ‘special’				<i>tri</i> ‘tree’
		<i>deferen</i>				<i>rod</i>

Age	Dimension	Value	Colour	Physical property	Preposed attributive Noun	N
		'different'				'road'
				<i>wael</i> 'wild'		<i>animol</i> 'animal'
				<i>blaen</i> 'blind'		<i>man</i> 'man'
	<i>bikfala</i> 'big'		<i>braon</i> 'brown'	<i>bolhed</i> 'bald'		<i>man</i> 'man'
<i>niufala</i> 'new'	<i>long</i> 'long'		<i>waet</i> 'white'			<i>kaleko</i> 'cloth'

There is one anomaly related to the order of adjectives in the data that does not align with the order suggested in the table above. This is seen in the following example:

(153) *Mi luk-im wanfala sot fat olfala bolhed man.*
 1SG look-TRS one short fat old bald man
 'I saw a short fat old bald man.' (el)

The example has the physical property adjective *fat* 'fat' and the dimension adjective *sot* 'short' occurring before the age adjective *olfala* 'old' rather than following it. This example is from the elicited data for multiple adjectives; its ordering may be unusual just as I consider the number of adjectives in the NP to be unusual.

Remembering that relative adjective order is neither entirely rigid nor entirely free (Truswell 2004, pp.6-7), the tentative unmarked order for the adjectives preceding the N in the NP is as follows:⁶³

Age, Dimension, Value, Colour, Physical-property, Noun modifier

This order accounts for most occurrences of multiple adjectives in my data. However, given that it is based on a very small sample, and given there is at least one anomaly, this area would be worthy of further investigation.

5.2.5 Pre-head Noun Modifier

In this section I examine the attributive use of Ns in the NP. The pre-head constituent closest to the head N of the NP is an attributive noun modifier. In the following examples the NP is underlined and the preposed modifier N is bold.

⁶³ In English, where adjectives precede a noun, Dixon (1982, pp.24–5) says the unmarked order is VALUE, DIMENSION, PHYSICAL PROPERTY, SPEED, HUMAN PROPENSITY, AGE, COLOUR.

(154)

a) *Olketa* *gavman minista* *stap long palamen.*
 PL government minister stay PREP parliament.building.
 ‘The government ministers are at Parliament house.’ (au)

b) *Yu save go long wanfala* *gavman ofis* *long Auki.*
 2SG ABIL go PREP one government office PREP Auki.
 ‘You can go to a government office in Auki.’ (au)

c) *Pato hemi lus-im* *hom vilij* *blong hem long Hukimata.*
 Pato 3SG.SRP leave-TRS home village POSS 3SG PREP Hukimata
 ‘Pato left his home village in Hukimata.’ (wr)

d) *Turis ya hemi baem wanfala* *hom ambrela.*
 tourist DEM 3SG.SRP buy-TRS one home umbrella
 ‘That tourist bought a local umbrella.’ (au)

Although preposed modifier Ns are not widely used, I provide the contrastive examples above to show that these combinations of nouns are not actually compound words⁶⁴ with some sort of internal structure such as [N [N]]. To further substantiate this claim note the following example in which two kinds of minister are distinguished by their preposed modifier N:

(155) *Taem mi tok-abaot-em olketa minista,*
 time 1SG talk-about-TRS PL minister
mi minim olketa *gavman minista* *mi no minim olketa* *sios minista.*
 1SG mean-TRS PL government minister 1SG not mean-TRS PL church minister
 ‘When I speak about ministers, I mean government ministers not church ministers.’ (au)

I do not consider these attributive Ns preposed to a head N to be noun combinations like the N-N compounds in the following examples (see §4.1.2. for discussion):

(156)
 a) *bus-rop* ‘vine’
 bush-rope
 b) *haos-gele* ‘maid’
 house-girl
 c) *wol-ston* ‘stone wall’
 wall-stone
 d) *rop-nila* ‘thorny vine’
 rope-nail

Attributive N modifiers are always more closely bound to the head N than any modifier adjectives. For example:

⁶⁴ By compound word in this instance I am referring to compounds with free bases, e.g. in English *mouse trap*.

(157)

a) *gudfala gavman minista*
 good government minister
 ‘good government minister’

is acceptable, but not

b)* *gavman gudfala minista*
 government good minister

One example of a preposed N with a contentious analysis is observed as follows:

(158)

a) *olketa kasin sista blong mi*
 PL cousin sister POSS 1SG
 ‘my female relatives’ (spo)

This structure may be either viewed as a *dvandva*, i.e. a double-headed construction, which refers both to a kind of cousin and a kind of sister simultaneously,⁶⁵ or simply one in which *kasin* modifies *sista* to specify that the females in question do not have the same parents but are female cousins (irrespective of whether they are parallel or cross cousins). Within the culture such specification may at times be necessary since the term *sista* may apply equally to both sisters and female cousins.

5.2.6 Postnominal Modifiers

Speakers modify NPs with a small number of words that occur in the post-head position. They are generally adverbs as they modify other kinds of constituents too (e.g. verb phrases). Tok Pisin contrasts quite significantly with Pijin in this respect, since Tok Pisin has a far greater number of post-head modifiers (Verhaar 1995, pp.188-189). I group the postnominal modifiers according to certain semantic and syntactic criteria.

5.2.6.1 Post-head Attributive Modifiers

The post-head attributive modifiers are dependents that do not occur following any other post-head constituents (see section on complex NPs). They are as follows:

nating ‘nothing, insignificant, lacking something’

nating nomoa ‘insignificant’ (I consider this to be a complex lexical unit)

nogud ‘bad’ (this adjective also occurs pre-nominally)

For example:

⁶⁵ Thanks to Brett Baker (pers.com.) for pointing out this possibility.

(159)

a) *Tunaet, yumi mas kaikai-m raes nating.*
 tonight 1PL.INC must eat-TRS rice nothing

‘Tonight, we have to eat plain rice.’ (spo)

b) *Bodi blong mi hemi kamap bon nating nao.*
 body POSS 1SG 3SG.SRP become bone nothing EMPH

‘My body had become skinny (bare bones).’ (au)

c) *Yu no wari. Hemi samting nating nomoa.*
 2SG NEG worry 3SG.SRP thing nothing only

‘Don’t worry. It’s an insignificant thing.’ (spo)

d) *Baebae samting nogud hemi kasem olketa...*
 FUT thing bad 3SG.SRP reach.TRS 3PL

‘A bad thing will affect them...’ (au)

e) *Polis i kashol-em wanfala man nogud long Kukum maket.*
 police SRP arrest-TRS one man bad PREP Kukum market

‘The police arrested a bad guy at Kukum market.’ (au)

5.2.6.2 Post-head Focusing Modifiers

The next constituents that I consider are the post-head restrictive focusing modifiers. These are best considered as dependents external to the NP since they can occur following post-head PPs and post-head complement nominals (see section §5.3). They are as follows:

seleva ‘alone’ (in the section below concerning pronouns it will be seen that *seleva* also has a reflexive function)

nomoa ‘EMPHASIS’, ‘only’

(160)

a) *Graon seleva nao hemi mek-em olketa sid fo grou an gare-m frut.*
 ground alone FOC 3SG.SRP make-TRS PL seed to grow and have-TRS fruit

‘The ground alone makes the seed grow and bear fruit.’ (nt)

b) *Mama nomoa hemi kam long miting.*
 priest only 3SG.SRP come PREP meeting

‘Only the priest came to the meeting.’ (spo)

Also in the set of focusing modifiers are the post-head additive focusing modifiers. These are as follows:

tu ‘too, also’

(161) *An evri lida tu olketa stap.*
 and every leader too 3PL.SRP stay

‘And all the leaders too were there.’ (wr)

moa ‘more, also’

(162)

a) *God hemi bles-im yu win-im evri nara woman moa...*
 god 3SG.SRP bless-TRS 2SG win-TRS every other woman more

‘God is blessing you beyond any and every other woman...’ (nt)

b) *Samfala man moa i insaet long sip.*
 some man more SRP inside PREP ship

‘Some more men are in the ship.’ (au)

5.2.6.3 Post-head Discourse Markers

Also following the head are several different markers with discourse functions. The first of these I survey is the particle *ya*.⁶⁶

General Demonstrative ya

The particle *ya* with demonstrative meaning is observed in the following example:

(163) *Olketa pikinini ya i go long maket.*
 PL child DEM SRP go PREP market

‘These/Those children went to the market.’ (au)

In this example the children are in the situational context, not having been previously referred to in the discourse. The speaker may indicate with a gesture of some sort the children being referred to. Therefore the demonstrative functions to focus the hearer’s attention on entities in the speech situation (Diessel 2003, p.10). Neither of the demonstrative determiners (*disfala* ‘this’ or *datfala* ‘that’) may occur in the NP because of the presence of the plural D *olketa*.

(164) * *Disfala olketa pikinini i go long maket.*
 this PL child SRP go PREP market

Thus demonstrative meaning must be expressed through the use of the particle *ya*. Note though, this particle seems not to indicate any information regarding the NP in regard to a deictic proximal – distal dimension, or perhaps by default indicates proximal distance to the speaker.⁶⁷ Though not common, Lyons (1999, p.112) discusses a number of languages which similarly have demonstrative systems that make no proximal – distal distinction. In this context I note that it is possible to have an NP formed with both a demonstrative determiner and a general demonstrative *ya*, for example:

⁶⁶ *ya* has a wide variety of uses and is the sixth most frequently occurring word in my data.

- (165) *Disfala pikinini ya hemi go long maket.*
 this child DEM 3SG.SRP go PREP market
 ‘This child went to the market.’ (au)

Although not in contrast with the particle *ya*, speakers may post-pose the locative adverb *longwe* ‘there’ to *ya* to achieve distal meaning for the demonstrative. This illustrated in the following example:

- (166) *Man ya longwe hemi talem finis long mifala olsem...*
 Man DEM there 3SG.SRP tell.TRS finish PREP 1PL.EXC like
 ‘That man there has told us that...’ (ot)

On rare occasions *longwe* modifies the head N of an NP alone, for example:

- (167) *Yufala save klae long tri longwe.*
 2PL ABIL climb PREP tree there
 ‘You can climb that tree.’ (tree in sight at a distance) (au)

It may be though that perhaps we should interpret the locative *longwe* as a locative adverb in the sentence rather than a NP modifier.

Anaphoric Demonstrative ya

The same particle *ya* also functions as an anaphoric demonstrative. The presence of *ya* in an NP that occurs in a discourse may indicate that the referent of the NP has previously been introduced (Lyons 1999, pp.53-54, 114). In the following example two pairs of referents are illustrated. An official (*bikman*) is first mentioned in the discourse in (168a). The second reference to him (168d) (both NPs in bold) illustrates the anaphoric function of the particle *ya*. In (168b) the commander (*komanda*) is first mentioned by an NP, the second reference to him (168c) is through a pronoun with a post-posed anaphoric demonstrative (both NPs underlined).

⁶⁷ It is perhaps pertinent to a default proximal meaning of *ya* that the particle is most likely derived from the English locative deictic word ‘here’.

(168)

a) *Pol hemi kol-em kam wanfala bikman blong ami an hemi sei long hem,*
 Paul 3SG.SRP call-TRS come one official POSS army and 3SG.SRP say PREP 3SG

b) “*Yu tek-em disfala yang-man go long komanda.*”
 2SG take-TRS this young-man go PREP commander

c) *Hemi gare-m wanfala samting fo talem hem ya.*”
 3SG.SRP have-TRS one thing to tell-TRS 3SG DEM

d) *Bikman ya hemi tek-em hem go luk-im komanda nao,*
 official DEM 3SG.SRP take-TRS 3SG go look-TRS commander EMPH

an hemi sei,...
 and 3SG.SRP say

‘Paul called an army official and said to him, Take this young man to the commander. He has something to tell him. The official took him to see the commander, and he said,...’ (nt)

This set of examples shows an important aspect of the interpretation of the anaphoric demonstrative. The referent pointed to by *ya* post-posed to a pronoun is to the nearest previous NP. In (168c) the nearest previous NP is the commander, thus *hem ya* does not refer to the young man, to the official or to Paul. Where other referents intervene that could be referred to by the same person and number pronoun, then a pronoun followed by *ya* is insufficient to clearly identify the referent, thus some form of NP (often reduced) is required, the anaphoric demonstrative following that NP indicates the same referent as the initial NP. We can see this in the second reference to the official (*bikman*). Note that the subject referencing pronoun *hemi* (see §7.7) cannot be considered an NP since it never takes a post-posed *ya*. Also note that speakers may not necessarily use *ya* to mark all subsequent references to a previously introduced participant. The occurrence of *komanda* in 169d could be marked with *ya* but is not.

A final note, relevant to all uses of *ya*, is that there is a wide variation across Solomon Islands in the use of *ya*. Anecdotally, Solomon Islanders identify Malaitans as people who use this particle at a much higher frequency than speakers from other islands do. This probably relates to anaphoric and other discourse tracking devices within the vernacular of each speaker. My own observation is that speakers from islands other than Malaita do have a lower frequency of use of *ya* that do Malaitans, but nevertheless they use it consistently as described above. A worthwhile area of further research would be to attempt to measure quantitatively the degree of variation of the discourse particle in the speech of people from different islands.

Recognitional Demonstrative ba

The particle *ba* may also follow the head N in an NP. This particle is a recognitional demonstrative (Diessel 2003, pp.12-13). Recognitional demonstratives function to activate specific shared knowledge concerning the referent (Himmelmann 1996; Diessel 1999).

(169)

a) *Samting* ***ba***, *mi kam fo luk-im yu long hem.*
 thing RDEM 1SG come to look-TRS 2SG PREP 3SG
 ‘That matter, I’ve come to see you about it.’ (spo)

b) *Man* ***ba*** *hemi kam nao.*
 man RDEM 3SG.SRP come EMPH
 ‘That man (we know about) has come.’ (spo)

In idiomatic use, speakers often use the particle *ba* to indicate the bad character of a person, or rather that everyone knows of the dubious character of the person, or if used ironically, the outstanding character of the person.

Post-head Focus Marker

The particle *nao* ‘FOCUS’⁶⁸ follows the head N in an NP. NPs, pronouns and pro-forms marked by this particle are focused constituents in a clause (Simons 1985, pp.56-57). See §8.1.5.1 for further detail concerning sentence focus and the particle *nao*. The particle *nao* is not included with the restrictive or additive focus particles because it contributes no additional meaning to the NP. Note the following examples:

(170)

a) *Bat wanfala yangman* ***nao*** *hemi go bihaen long Jisas.*
 but one young-man FOC 3SG.SRP go after PREP Jesus
 ‘But a young man followed Jesus.’ (nt)

b) *Plande nius* ***nao*** *mi here-m abaot-em faea long Saenataon.*
 Plenty news FOC 1SG hear-TRS about-TRS fire PREP Chinatown
 ‘Lots of news is what I heard about the fire in Chinatown.’ (au)

In addition to *nao* there is one very common, yet unique, combination of particles that functions as an emphatic focus marker. That is: *nao ya* ‘FOCUS EMPHASIS’. This combination may actually be a complex lexical unit because it is often stressed as one word, and because there is no demonstrative content to the *ya* morpheme.

This serves to make an NP emphatic. This marker is unique because modifying PPs are not observed to follow it in an NP it modifies. Like the other particles already discussed, it is

⁶⁸ By focus I mean the information in a sentence that is of high communicative interest. It can be thought of as information focus (Kiss 1998, p.246).

commonly used to add emphasis to other constituents such as verb phrases and sentences. The following example shows the use of *nao ya* (see (190c) for an additional example).

- (171) *Olketa ris pipol **nao ya** i spoel-em yufala long kot.*
 PL rich people FOC EMPH SRP spoil-TRS 2PL PREP court
 ‘The rich people, they ruin you in court.’ (nt)

5.2.6.4 Particles or clitics?

In the discussion so far I have been treating these post-head constituents as particles, that is, as independent words. One could perhaps argue that they are clitics. There are, however, a number of reasons why I believe they are independent words. The various tests that are employed here are drawn from Zwicky’s work on clitics and particles (Zwicky 1985). The tests of course cannot provide incontrovertible proof of the status these particles.

We cannot use some of the tests proposed by Zwicky because the particular features that they rely upon do not occur in Pijin. The useable tests are as follows: an accentual test, a binding test, a distribution test, and a replacement test. I examine each of these in turn.

Zwicky (1985, p.287) says, “an element which does not bear an accent of its own is probably a clitic, whereas one which can bear the accent in its phrase or sentence is almost surely a word.” In my observation the various particles described above, though often observed to be unstressed, are capable of bearing both word stress and phrase stress. In the following example, the demonstrative particle *ya* carries the phrase stress, it is slightly louder and carries a slightly higher pitch than normal.

- (172) *Man ya bae hemi go.*
 Man DEM FUT 3SG.SRP go
 ‘That man will go.’ (au)

The second test is a binding test. Again, Zwicky (1985, p.287) says, “if an element is bound, and especially if it cannot occur in complete isolation, it should be a clitic; if free, and especially if it occurs in complete isolation, it should be an independent word.” A number of the particles described above do occur with other functions in isolation. For example, *nao* may occur in a sentence initial position to mark resumption of a discourse following dialogue. The word *ya* may occur independently with the meaning ‘yes’ (though some might argue that this is a homophonous word with a different meaning), and even combinations of these particles occur in fragmentary utterances not attached to any NP, for example:

- (173) *Jon hemi sei moa, “Nomoa tu ya.”*
 John 3SG.SRP say more no too DEM
 ‘John also said, “No that’s also not it.”’ (spo)

The distribution test is the next to be considered.

Clear cases of clitics typically behave like affixes in this respect, having distributions describable by single principles like... ‘combines with a NP’. It follows that an element with a simple distribution of this sort is probably a clitic (or an affix), and that an element with a complex distribution is almost surely an independent word.

(Zwicky 1985, p.288)

This test is perhaps rather clear cut with respect to the particles under consideration. All of the particles have other functions, that is, we find them distributed in a wide variety of structures. In the following example the particle *nao* is observed (in order) as part of a question phrase, and as a sentence initial marker, and as part of a question phrase. The particle *ya* occurs in a variety phrase types with a variety of functions such as: (in order) an anaphoric demonstrative; a focus marker; an anaphoric demonstrative; a postposed marker on a time adverb; and an end of question indicator.

(174) “?Haomas *nao* yu kaonem long bikman blong mi?” *Nao* man *ya* hemi sei, “Mi kaonem foa taosen lita long oel *ya*.” So bos *ya* hemi sei, “Olsem, yu tekem disfala pepa long kaon blong yu an yu sidaon distaem an yu sensim go long tu taosen nomoa.” Bihaen *ya*, hemi askem nara man moa, “?Haomas *nao* yu kaonem *ya*?”

“How much did you borrow from my boss?” The man said, “I borrowed 4000 litres of oil.” So the manager said, “Since it is like that, take your loan document and sit down now and change it to just 2000. Later, he asked another man too, “How much did you borrow?” (nt)

The fourth test worth examining is a replacement test. Zwicky (1985, p.289) says, “Proper parts of [word + clitic] combinations are equally immune to replacement. It follows that, in an X+Y combination, if either X or Y is replaceable by a pro-form, the X and Y are words; neither is a clitic.”

In the following examples note that an NP can be replaced by a pronoun, thus according to Zwicky’s argument the particles under consideration are not likely to be clitics.

(175)

a) RAMSI *i hol-em olketa bikfala gan ya.*
 RAMSI SRP hold-TRS PL big gun DEM
 ‘RAMSI held those big guns.’ (au)

b) RAMSI *i hol-em olketa ya*
 RAMSI SRP hold-TRS PL DEM
 ‘RAMSI held those.’ (au)

(176)

a) *Nao man ya hemi sei,...*
 DISC man DEM 3SG.SRP say

‘That man said,...’ (nt)

b) *Nao hem ya hemi sei,...*
 DISC 3SG DEM 3SG.SRP say

‘He said,...’ (nt)

Taking these four tests together, there is a very strong indication that the post-head particles described in this section are not clitics but in fact independent words.

With the survey of the constituents of the simple NP complete, our attention now turns to complex NPs.

5.3 Complex NPs

In this section I investigate complex NPs and their constituents. Complex NPs are those NPs that have one or more phrases functioning as constituents within the NP. As will be seen, the analysis of complex NP syntax suggests a phrase structure rule such as follows:

$$\text{NP} \rightarrow (\text{D}) (\text{Q}) (\text{AP}) (\text{N}) \text{NOM} (\text{PM}) (\text{PP}) (\text{RC})$$

All pre-head modifiers are as discussed for the simple NP. Of note in the rule is that the head is now labelled as “nominal” (NOM), rather than merely N. The post-head modifiers are a post-head PP, and a post-head relative clause (RC). The NOM may be a category that is intermediate between noun and NP (compare Huddleston & Pullum 2002, pp.55, 329), or it may merely be a shorthand for a reduced NP (compare also notions associated with N'). In the case that it is a reduced NP, it means an NP that may not contain a determiner, or quantifier, and only one post-posed modifier. The NOM itself may be simple or complex as follows:

$$\text{NOM} \rightarrow (\text{AdjP}) (\text{N}) \text{N} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} (\text{PP}) \\ (\text{NOM}) \\ (\text{RC}) \end{array} \right\}$$

The NOM may simply be a bare N, or its head N may optionally be modified by a number of dependents. These are the attributive pre-head modifiers of the NP, and a post-head PP, or a post-head NOM, or a post-head relative clause (RC). Although the rule implies endless recursion of the NOM within the NOM, in practice this is not observed. Following discussion of various post-head constituents I discuss a possible justification for the NOM as

an intermediate category (See also §6.4 for coordination of Ns within the NOM, and coordination of the NOM itself.).

The apparent simplicity of phrase structure rule may conceal the complexity actually observed in the NP, particularly in relation to layering and recursion. I illustrate some of the variable complexity of the NP in the following examples (in which the NPs are in bold). In each case I provide some narrative concerning the NPs; however, the details and justification of the analysis occurs in the sections following this group of examples.

(177)

a) ***Olketa gudfala man nomoa i go long sios ya long Honiara.***
 PL good man only SRP go PREP church DEM PREP Honiara
 ‘Only good men go to that church in Honiara.’ (au)

In the example above the first NP is a typical NP with no other phrase constituents. The second NP’s head is followed by the demonstrative particle *ya* and a PP (*long Honiara*).

b) ***Tufala kaen raes i save grou long fil wea hemi gare-m wata.***
 two kind rice SRP ABIL grow PREP field REL 3SG.SRP have-TRS water
 ‘Two types of rice can grow in a field that has (irrigation) water.’ (wr)

In this second example the first NP is headed by a subclassification N (*kaen*) that is followed by a complement NOM (*raes*). See §5.3.2.2 for an explanation. The second NP’s head (*fil*) is modified by a RC (*wea hemi gare-m wata*).

c) ***Olketa barava gudfala pikinini blong Aola nao***
 PL really good child POSS Aola FOC
wea olketa kam long Honiara, i kam long kanu blong mi.
 REL 3PL come PREP Honiara SRP come PREP boat POSS 1SG
 ‘The really good children from Aola that came to Honiara, they came in my boat.’ (au)

The first NP in the example above demonstrates some layering. The NOM *pikinini blong Aola* contains an N followed by a PP. This NOM is modified by a D (*olketa*), an AdjP (*barava gudfala*), a PM (*nao*) and an RC (*wea olketa kam long Honiara*). The second NP’s head is simply modified by a possessive PP.

d) *Ribeka hemi tok olsem long Aesak, "Mi barava les nao*
 Rebecca 3SG.SRP talk like.TRS PREP Isaac 1SG really reject EMPH

long tufala woman ya long laen blong Het wea Iso hemi marit-im ya."
 PREP two woman DEM PREP clan POSS Hittite REL Esau 3SG.SRP marry-TRS EMPH

‘Rebecca said to Isaac, “I’m really tired of those two women from the Hittite clan that Esau has married.” (ot)

The first two NPs in the example above are straightforward proper nouns. The third more complex NP functions as the prepositional object of the preposition *long*. Its head N (*woman*) is modified by a numeric quantifier (*tufala*), by a post-head demonstrative (*ya*), PP (*long laen blong Het*) and RC (*wea Iso hemi maritim ya*).

e) *Samfala bikfala baeg raes blong Ostrelia*
 some big bag rice POSS Australia

wea i tuwet long sip i nogud nao.
 REL SRP damp PREP ship SRP bad EMPH

‘Some big bags of rice from Australia that got wet on the ship have been ruined.’ (au)

In the example above the NP is headed by a NOM (*baeg raes blong Ostrelia*). This NOM is modified by a D (*samfala*) and an AdjP (*bikfala*) that precede the NOM, and by a RC (*wea i tuwet long sip*) following it. The NOM itself is headed by the N *baeg* that has a post-head NOM complement. That NOM complement has a head N (*raes*) followed by a PP (*blong Ostrelia*).

f) *Evri nara-kaen kaikai ya olsem kumara an taro,*
 every other-kind food DEM like.TRS sweet.potato and taro

yumi garem long fist.
 1PL.INC have.TRS PREP feast

‘All other sorts of food like sweet potato and taro, is what we have at the feast.’ (wr)

In this last example the NP is headed by a NOM that is itself headed by a subclassifier N (*narakaen*) with a post-head complement N (*kaikai*). The NOM is modified by a D (*evri*), a post-head demonstrative (*ya*), and a PP (*olsem kumara an taro*).

5.3.1 Post-head Prepositional Phrase

The most frequent post-head constituent of the NP is a PP that acts as a modifier of the head N (see section §6.3 for PP details). Most commonly these are possessive phrases but other preposition types are also found in these PPs. Apart from straightforward possession and

locative uses, these prepositional phrases may characterise the nature of the head noun, with the prepositions acting as relators rather than as spatial or possessive prepositions (see examples (178a) and (178b). In the following examples the NP in focus is underlined and the postposed complement PP is in bold.

(178)

a) *Pol hemi pik-im-ap wanfala hip long faewud.*
Paul 3SG.SRP pick-TRS-up a heap PREP firewood

‘Paul picked up a heap of firewood.’ (nt)

b) *an baebae bikfala taem blong hanggre hemi kam,*
and FUT big time POSS hunger 3SG.SRP come

‘and a big famine will come,’ [lit. ‘and a big time of hunger will come’] (nt)

c) *Olketa hipap long haos blong wanfala man.*
3PL gather PREP haos POSS one man

‘They gathered at a man’s house.’ (au)

d) *Hemi talem olketa nius abaot-em faea long mifala.*
3SG.SRP tell.TRS PL news about-TRS fire PREP 1PL.EXC

‘He told us the news about a fire.’ (au)

e) *Tek-em kam hom ambrela blong Lora.*
take-TRS come home umbrella POSS Laura

‘Bring Laura’s local umbrella.’ (au)

f) *An King long Ijip tu hemi here-m abaot-em famili blong Josef.*
and king PREP Egypt too 3SG.SRP hear-TRS about-TRS family POSS Joseph

‘And the king of Egypt also heard about Joseph’s family.’ (ot)

g) *Pikinini ya long haos hemi sik*
child DEM PREP house 3SG.SRP sick

‘That child in the house is sick.’ (spo)

h) *Staka samting long wol ya⁶⁹ hemi bagarap.*
many thing PREP world DEM 3SG.SRP ruined

‘Lots of things in the world are ruined.’ (spo)

To illustrate a more complex NP, the following example has a modifying PP in the NOM, and a PP postposed to the NOM in the NP. Thus it is possible for an NP to contain two PPs (the NP under consideration is underlined).

(179) *Olketa kasin sista ask-em mi nao ya*
PL cousin sister ask-TRS 1SG EMPH EMPH
wetem olketa stiuden blong mi long Takwa.
with.TRS PL student POSS 1SG PREP Takwa
[NOM] [PP]

‘My female relatives asked me and my fellow students from Takwa.’ (spr)

⁶⁹ In this example the final postnominal modifier *ya* is a constituent of the NP in the PP not the main NP.

Looking further at the interaction of the post-head discourse markers, note that they may mark the entire NOM rather than merely a head N, as in the following:

- (180) ***Ples blong Jon nao, bae yu save stap long hem.***
 place POSS John FOC FUT 2SG ABIL stay PREP 3SG
 ‘It’s John’s place, that you will be able to stay at.’ (au)

5.3.2 Post-head Complement Nominal

The next post-head constituent observed in the NP is a NOM. I consider such NOMs to be complements of the head N. They are used both in relation to quantification of non-count nouns, and subclassification. From the outset I note that full NPs are not observed to function as post-head complements, hence they are referred to as Nominals.

5.3.2.1 Quantification of Non-count Nouns

In §4.1.1.1 I showed that to numerically quantify a non-count N it must follow a quantifying N.⁷⁰ The quantifying N may express a container of some sort (e.g. *baeg* ‘bag’, *botol* ‘bottle’, *kap* ‘cup’), or a unit (*haf* ‘part’, *pis* ‘piece’), or a measure (e.g. *kilo* ‘kilogram’, *mita* ‘metre’, *lita* ‘litre’). In terms of the syntax I posit that the quantifying N occurs in the head, and the non-count N occurs in the post-head complement NOM. In the following examples the NP in focus is underlined and the postposed complement NOM is in bold.

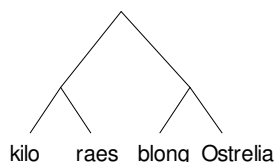
- (181)
- a) *Yufala mas kari-m kam trifala baeg raes.*
 2PL must carry-TRS come three bag rice
 ‘You must bring three bags of rice.’ (au)
- b) *Bae mi kip-im olketa kontena meresin fo kilim dae olketa inseks.*
 FUT 1SG keep-TRS PL container chemical to kill-TRS die PL insect
 ‘I will keep the containers of insecticide.’ (wr)
- c) *Yufala mas kari-m kam tri kilo raes blong Ostrelia.*
 2PL must carry-TRS come three kilogram rice POSS Australia
 ‘You must bring three kilograms of Australian rice.’ (au)
- d) *Olketa dog save kaikai-m olketa smolfala pis kaikai wea olketa fol-daon.*
 PL dog HAB eat-TRS PL small piece food REL 3PL fall-down
 ‘Dogs usually eat the small pieces of food that fall down.’ (nt)

⁷⁰ In Tok Pisin Verhaar (1995, pp.344-345) treats *hap* ‘piece’ as a classifier. I do not consider as classifiers the related Pijin *haf* ‘half, piece’ or the other quantifying nouns detailed here. Aikhenvald says, “Classifiers use the unit provided by a count noun, while quantifiers establish the unit to be counted.... Mass nouns can only be combined with a numeral through the use of a quantifier...” (Aikhenvald 2000, p.117).

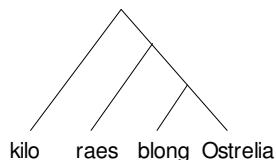
Rather than the analysis proposed, another possible analysis is that the quantifying N and the non-count N form a noun complex (NC). This might be illustrated as:

$NC \rightarrow N_{\text{quan}} N$ (where N_{quan} is any quantifying N as described above)

While this appears to be satisfactory for many of the quantified non-count NP heads observed, it fails to account for examples such as (181b) above. In that example the NC analysis would require that *kilo raes* be modified by the complement PP *blong Ostrelia*, namely:

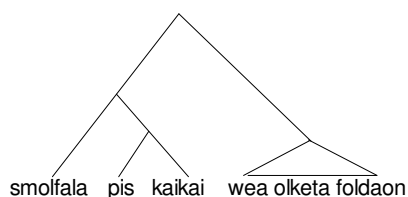


I do not believe that this accurately reflects what I am certain is the correct understanding of this structure, namely:

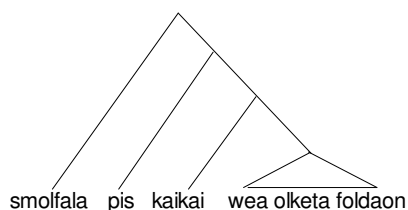


Thus an element containing a non-count N should be a syntactic unit of a level greater than an N to make sense of the structures observed.

In example (181d) the relative clause *wea olketa foldaon* is not considered part of the NOM, but is a modifier external to it. This approach may be illustrated as follows:



If the analysis were to allow the relative clause to be an internal dependent in the NOM then a different analysis would result, this may be illustrated:



The example itself is perhaps too ambiguous to draw a conclusion concerning the matter of whether to allow the relative clause as an internal modifier of a NOM or not. Nevertheless, consider the following analogous example in which coordination disambiguates my preferred analysis.

- (182) *An olketa fulumapem tuelfala basket nao*
 and 3PL fillup.TRS twelve basket EMPH
long olketa pis bred an fis wea olketa no finis-im.
 PREP PL piece bread and fish REL 3PL NEG finish-TRS
 ‘And they filled twelve baskets with pieces of bread, and fishes that they did not finish.’ (nt)

In this case there is a coordination⁷¹ of two NOMs in the NP head. One of these contains a head N with post-head complement NOM (*pis bred*), the other being a bare N (*fis*). Since both bread and fish together are modified by the relative clause, it is unambiguously external to both these NOMs. I take this to be generally applicable to all cases of quantification of non-count Ns.

I now turn to the issue of whether it is correct to consider the quantifying N as the ultimate head in an NP containing a quantified non-count N. Primarily I would argue that because a quantifying N alone may substitute the NOM headed by a quantifying N, the quantifying N must be considered the head. For instance, in the examples of (181) above;

baeg raes can be substituted for by *baeg*, but not by *raes*,
kontena meresin fo kilim dae olketa inseks can be substituted for by *kontena*,
kilo raes blong Ostrelia can be substituted for by *kilo*,
 and *pis kaikai* can be substituted for by *pis*.

Illustrating this with an extended example, consider the following:

- (183) *Nao kuiktaem nomoa, olketa tekemaot olketa baeg kaikai long olketa dongki blong olketa nao, olketa putumdaon an openem olketa. Nao slev ya hemi gohed fo luklukgud insaet long olketa baeg ya.*

‘Immediately, they took the bags of food from their donkeys, they put them down and opened them. Then the slave searched carefully in those bags.’ (ot)

The initial NP *olketa baeg kaikai* ‘bags of food’ contains the kind of NOM under discussion, *baeg kaikai*. In the second sentence of the example, the NP *olketa baeg ya* ‘those bag(s)’ refers to the same items but without the post-head complement NOM (*kaikai*).

⁷¹ Coordination will be examined in some detail in §6.4.

In addition to my primary argument, we must also consider the fact that quantifying Ns may occur as NOM heads with post-head PPs rather than post-head NOMs. Compare the following two examples that I consider to have the same meaning:

(184)

a) *wan taosen baeg raes*
 one thousand bag rice

‘one thousand bags of rice’ (au)

b) *wan taosen baeg long raes*
 one thousand bag PREP rice

‘one thousand bags of rice’ (au)

The occurrence of non-count Ns in post-head complement PPs is much less common than their occurrence in post-head complement NOMs, however, such occurrence demonstrates that the non-count N consistently occurs as the complement and not as the head N of the NOM.

In this context, note too that where a pronoun subsequently refers to a non-count N, the pronoun cannot head a post-head NOM, it must occur in a post-head PP. This may be because pronouns are neither count nor non-count Ns. For instance:

(185)

a) *Yestade mi baem staka raes. Mi tek-em fifti baeg long hem.*
 Yesterday 1SG buy-TRS plenty rice 1SG take-TRS fifty bag PREP 3SG

‘Yesterday I bought lots of rice. I took fifty bags of it. (au)

b) *Yestade mi baem staka raes. *Mi tek-em fifti baeg hem.*
 Yesterday 1SG buy-TRS plenty rice 1SG take-TRS fifty bag 3SG

As a result of the discussion so far, I conclude that a non-count N cannot head an NP that is quantified by a numeral.

In relation to count nouns we further observe that the restriction on the post-head complement NP still applies. Referents of count nouns can of course also be gathered in containers. Consider for the argument, bags of tomatoes.

(186) *Yu no foget-em ...*
 2SG NEG forget-TRS

‘Don’t forget...’

a) *tufala baeg tomato.*
 two bag tomato.

‘two bags of tomatoes.’ (au)

b) *tufala baeg long olketa tomato.*
 two bag PREP PL tomato.

‘two bags of tomatoes.’ (au)

c) * *tufala baeg olketa tomato.*
 two bag PL tomato.

In the (186a) the complement NOM is the count noun *tomato*.⁷² It occurs just as a non-count N would. In (186b) the post-head complement is a PP that contains an NP *olketa tomato*. That same full NP cannot function alone as the post-head complement of *baeg* as in (186c).

5.3.2.2 Subclassification

When speakers of Pijin wish to indicate the class or type of a thing in an NP they use the subclassifier N *kaen* ‘kind’ followed by a post-head complement NOM containing an N referring to the prototypical thing. The N that may occur in this post-head complement must be capable of referring to a natural kind or a cultural kind (Wierzbicka 1996, pp.172-174). This means that proper names and pronouns are excluded from such post-head complements. Although I consider there to be only one subclassifier N, the following table indicates a set of words (as written in the orthography) that at first appearance might be considered subclassifier Ns (N_{sub}).

N _{sub}	gloss
<i>diskaen</i>	‘this type of’
<i>enikaen</i>	‘any kind of’
<i>evrikaen</i>	‘every kind of’
<i>kaen</i> ⁷³	‘kind of’
<i>narakaen</i>	‘other kind of’
<i>samkaen</i>	‘some kind of’
<i>semkaen</i>	‘same kind of’
<i>wankaen</i>	‘one kind of’
<i>watkaen</i>	‘what kind of’

The words in the table above are primarily grouped because of orthographic convention that writes these as single words rather than as two words, namely a determiner followed by an N.

⁷² In this case the count N *tomato* is unmarked for number yet must be treated as semantically plural since singular tomatoes are not put in bags in a Solomon Islands setting.

The orthographic convention is based on the fact that these are phonological words with one primary stress, it is also based on the fact that if *diskaen* and *samkaen* were to be written as separate as words *dis kaen* and *sam kaen*, then the bases *dis* and *sam* would have to be treated as free bases rather than bound bases as they are now. There are in fact no other observed instances of *dis* and *sam* occurring freely.

Nevertheless, I suggest that it is more correct to consider all compound words in the table as instances of the sequence determiner + *kaen*. The arguments for this approach are quite clear. In the first place, I have only observed adjectives to occur before *kaen* and not before any other N_{sub}. The conclusion to be drawn from this is that pre-head adjectives are blocked by the presence of the determiner element. Second, the range of free determiners that occur before *kaen* is incomplete if these compounds are excluded. There is no good reason, for example, why *evri* ‘every’ should not occur as a free determiner before *kaen* when *plande* ‘plenty’ and *olketa* ‘PLURAL’ do. Third, only two of the compounds allow determiners before them. The occurrence of more than one determiner in an NP is discussed in section §5.2.2.2. The situation can be summarized in the following table.

Table 5.2 Determiner + adjective + subclassifier Ns combinations observed in the data

determiner/quantifier	adjective	N _{sub}
<i>haomas</i> ‘how many’ <i>olketa</i> ‘PLURAL’ <i>plande</i> ‘plenty’ <i>samfala</i> ‘some’ <i>wanfala</i> ‘one’ numerals	e.g. <i>niu</i> ‘new’ <i>deferen</i> ‘different’ <i>smolfala</i> ‘small’ <i>spesol</i> ‘special’	<i>kaen</i>
<i>disfala</i> ‘this’ <i>eni</i> ‘any’ <i>evri</i> ‘every’ <i>olketa</i> ‘PLURAL’ <i>wanfala</i> ‘one’ numerals	-	<i>narakaen</i>
<i>olketa</i> ‘PLURAL’	-	<i>enikaen</i>

⁷³ In Tok Pisin Verhaar (1995, pp.344-345) treats *kain* ‘kind of’ as a classifier. However, his use of the term classifier is not the same as what is normally meant in linguistic use. *kaen* ‘kind of’ in Pijin does not relate to an particular class of noun, nor does it depend on any inherent property of the noun it classifies. Furthermore, it may occur with a wide range of generic nouns (Aikhenvald 2000, pp.1-18).

determiner/quantifier	adjective	N _{sub}
<i>plande</i> 'plenty'		
-	-	<i>evrikaen</i>
-	-	<i>semkaen</i>
-	-	<i>samkaen</i>
-	-	<i>wankaen</i>
-	-	<i>diskaen</i>
-	-	<i>watkaen</i>

I cannot say whether there is some sort of grammatical process occurring that is leading to the fusion of determiners with the N *kaen*, or whether the compounds are merely an example of phonological reduction. In any case the following examples illustrate a variety of instances of subclassifier Ns with post-head complement NOMs (in bold).

(187)

a) *Mifala go-daon long sanbis fo kasem tufala kaen fis, katukatu an buma.*
 IPL.EXC go-down PREP beach for get.TRS two type fish katukatu and buma

'We went down to the beach to catch two sorts of fish, katukatu and buma.' (wr)

b) *Malaria hemi wanfala siknis*
 malaria 3SG.SRP one disease

*wea wan-kaen smol animol nao hemi stat-em.*⁷⁴
 REL one-type small animal EMPH 3SG.SRP start-TRS

'Malaria is a disease that a type of small animal starts.' (wr)

c) *Leprosi long baebol, hemi minim*
 leprosy PREP bible 3SG.SRP mean.TRS

plande kaen nogud siknis long skin.
 plenty kind bad disease PREP skin

'Leprosy in the Bible means many kinds of bad skin disease.' (wr)

d) *Olketa salem eni nara-kaen sid moa.*
 3PL sell.TRS any other-kind seed more

'They also sell any other sort of seed.' (au)

e) *olketa deferen kaen prist*
 PL different type priest

'different kinds of priest' (wr)

f) ..., *nogud yufala tu duim sem-kaen rong samting.*
 lest 2PL too do.TRS same-kind wrong thing

'..., lest you do the same kind of wrong thing too.' (nt)

⁷⁴ The underlined NP is embedded in a relative clause that modifies a NP.

When *kaen* functions as a quantifying N it is followed by a NOM as a complement or by a PP containing a pronoun. Moreover, if the N in the complement of *kaen* is replaced by a pronoun, the complement can no longer simply be a NOM, it must be a PP. Consider for example:

(188)

a) *Mi tek-em kam trifala kaen parot blong Malaita.*
 1SG take-TRS come three kind parrot POSS Malaita

‘I brought three kinds of Malaitan parrots. (au)

The complement NOM (*parot blong Malaita*) is replaced by a complement PP containing a pronoun in the following:

b) *Tufala kaen long hem mi save salem long maket.*
 two kind PREP 3SG 1SG ABIL sell.TRS PREP market

‘Two kinds of them (Malaitan parrots) I can sell at the market.’ (au)

This is in fact the same syntactic strategy as observed for the quantification of non-count nouns. However, one significant difference is that the complement PP of the sub-classifying N *kaen* may only contain a pronoun object, not a full NP object, thus the following is not well formed:

c) * *Mi tek-em kam trifala kaen long parot blong Malaita.*
 1SG take-TRS come three kind PREP parrot POSS Malaita

Finally, I note that a subclassifier N may occur as a head with no post-head complement NOM. In the following example, the category of thing (spiritual powers) is referred to in the first sentence with an NP headed by *kaen* followed by the NOM *spesol paoa ya*. In the second sentence there are two occurrences of the subclassifier N with no post-head complement NOM. In both cases it refers anaphorically to the whole complex of the first sentence.

(189) *Bat God hemi givim yumi olketa deferen kaen spesol paoa ya.*
 But God 3SG.SRP give.TRS 1PL.INC PL different kind special power DEM

Samfala olketa gare-m wanfala kaen
 some 3PL.SRP have-TRS one kind

an samfala olketa gare-m deferen kaen.
 and some 3PL.SRP have-TRS different kind

‘But God gave us different kinds of those special powers. Some have one kind, and some have a different kind.’ (nt)

5.3.3 Relative Clauses as NP Modifiers

I said above that a NOM may be modified by a relative clause (RC) post-posed to the NOM. Relative clauses are described in §8.5, however, I will give several examples here. The following examples show some RCs (NOM in bold, RC underlined).

(190)

a) *Hemi laek-em **disfala** waka ya wea tufala i jes finis-im.*
 3SG.SRP like-TRS this work EMPH REL 3DL SRP just finish-TRS

‘She likes this work that those two just completed.’ (au)

b) *Olketa ya gohed fo laef tude, from*
 3PL DEM continue COMP live today from

***olketa nogud samting ya nomoa** wea yufala bin duim ya.*
 PL bad thing DEM only REL 2PL PAST do.TRS EMPH

‘They are living today because of those bad things that you did.’ (ot)

c) *Jisas hemi minim **Jiudas nao ya** hu hemi san blong Saemon Iskariot.*
 Jesus 3SG.SRP mean.TRS Judas FOC EMPH REL 3SG.SRP son POSS Simon Iscariot

‘Jesus meant that Judas who was the son of Simon Iscariot.’ (nt)

5.3.4 Justification of the Nominal as a category

That there is a nominal category intermediate between the noun and the NP requires some discussion. In the first place there is an interpretive argument that justifies the category.

In the following example the focus of discussion is on the NP underlined. The NOM in this NP is in bold.

(191) *Olketa kasin sista ask-em mi nao ya*
 PL cousin sister ask-TRS 1SG EMPH EMPH

*wetem **olketa stiuden blong mi** long Takwa.*
 with.TRS PL student POSS 1SG PREP Takwa

‘My female relatives asked me and my fellow students from Takwa.’ (spr)

The ultimate head of the NP is the N *stiuden*. Post-posed to this head is a complement PP (*blong mi*), this pair of constituents [N + PP] forms the NOM. Post-posed to the NOM is an external modifier PP (*long Takwa*). That this is correct is shown by the fact that the two PPs cannot be re-ordered without producing a marginal construction with a significantly altered meaning, that is:

?*olketa stiuden long Takwa blong mi*
 ‘?the students at my Takwa’

The second consideration is the observation, already noted above (§5.3.2), that full NPs do not occur as post-head complements, only NOMs are found in this position, though it could perhaps be argued that NPs without determiners and quantifiers function as such

complements. This may be so, but that approach is perhaps less expressive of the layering that occurs in the NP.

The third justification of the NOM as a category is that they may be coordinated. I demonstrate the coordination of NOMs in §6.4.4 (in §6.4 I deal with coordination in general).

5.4 Noun Phrases headed by Pronouns

In this section I describe NPs headed by pronouns (Pro) (see §4.5). I consider these to be a subtype of the NP because although their internal structure is somewhat different to an NP headed by a noun, they have the same syntactic functions as such NPs. The phrase structure of an NP headed by a Pro, or more correctly, headed by a Pronominal (PRONOM), is as follows:⁷⁵

NP → PRONOM (PM) (PP) (RC)

The PRONOM (actually the pronoun itself for that matter) is not observed to be modified by any preposed modifiers in an NP. On the whole, the head may be followed by the same post-head discourse markers, modifying PPs and relative clauses as found in an NP headed by a noun. There are, however, some exceptions. In particular, the singular pronouns usually only take post-head discourse markers. They never permit post-head complement PPs, and almost never permit post-head RCs. In the data, out of almost 25,000 singular pronoun tokens, I have only observed one 1SG Pro, and two 2SG Pros with RCs following them.

5.4.1 Pronominal

The internal structure of the PRONOM is as follows:

PRONOM → Pro (PP)

The PRONOM may simply be a bare Pro, or its head Pro (provided it is not singular) may optionally be modified by a post-head PP. The next examples illustrate some NPs (underlined) headed by PRONOMs (in bold) with post-head discourse markers.

(192)

a) **Olketa blong Aoke ya** i kam long ples.
 3PL POSS Auki DEM SRP come PREP village

‘Those from Auki came to the village.’ (au)

b) **Mifala long Lilisiana** nao mifala laek fo baem kanu.
 1PL.EXC PREP Lilisiana FOC 1PL.EXC.SRP want SUB buy.TRIS boat

‘We from Lilisiana want to buy a boat.’ (au)

⁷⁵ The term Pronominal is an adaptation of the term nominal borrowed from Huddleston & Pullum (2002, pp.55, 329). In their terms, “The nominal is a unit intermediate between an NP and a noun.”, similarly the Pronominal here is a unit intermediate between NP and pronoun/noun (see also §5.3.1).

- c) *Samfala blong Galekana tu* *i kros yet.*
 some POSS Guadalcanal too SRP angry still
 ‘Some from Guadalcanal too are still angry.’ (spo)

5.4.2 Pronoun Headed NPs and Discourse Markers

This section simply gives some further examples to illustrate the fact that the same post-head modifiers that occur in NPs headed by an N (see §5.2.6) may modify Pro headed NPs. The NPs of interest are underlined and the post-head modifiers are highlighted in bold. The last of the examples demonstrates that multiple discourse markers may occur.

(193)

- a) *Mifala nomoa* *go long taon.*
 1PL.EXC only go PREP town
 ‘Only we went to town.’ (au)
- b) *Yumi ya,* *yumi mas ting-im olketa nara pipol fo help-em olketa.*
 1PL.INC DEM 1PL.INC must think-TRS PL other people for help-TRS 3PL
 ‘We must consider other people and help them.’ (wr)
- c) *Bat yu nomoa* *yu blong hem seleva.*
 but 2SG only 2SG POSS 3SG self
bikos yu nao waef blong hem an mi kanduit yusim.
 because 2SG FOC wife POSS 3SG and 1SG cannot use-TRS
 ‘But you alone, you are his; because you are his wife I can’t use you.’ (ot)
- d) *Bat samfala moa* *olketa tok olsem,...*
 but some more 3PL talk like-TRS
 ‘But some others said, ... (nt)
- e) *Hem ya nao* *barava san blong mi.*
 3SG DEM FOC real son POSS 1SG
 ‘It is he that is my real son.’ (nt)

The following illustrate some more complex examples of NPs headed by a Pro:

(194)

- a) *Olketa blong Fiu ya long trak* *bae i stap long skul.*
 3PL POSS Fiu DEM PREP truck FUT SRP stay PREP village
 ‘Those from Fiu on the truck will stay at the school.’ (spo)
- b) *An olketa wea olketa here-m an obei-m toktok ya,*
 and 3PL REL 3PL hear-TRS and obey-TRS talk DEM
olketa tu i save hapi fogud.
 3PL too SRP ABIL happy very
 ‘And those who hear and obey that talk, they also can be very happy.’ (nt)
- c) *Plande long Marau wea i kam-aot long Malaita bifo kam,*
 many PREP Marau REL SRP come-out PREP Malaita before come
olketa ya laek-em pis.
 3PL DEM like-TRS peace
 ‘Many in Marau that originally came from Malaita long ago want peace.’ (wr)

Chapter 6 Other Phrases

This chapter outlines the verb phrase (VP) and its constituents, the adjective phrase (AdjP) and its constituents, as well as the prepositional phrase (PP) and its constituents. In addition, I also outline word and phrase level coordination.

6.1 Verb Phrase

The VP in Pijin functions as the head of the Predicate. I describe Predicate structure itself in chapter 7. This section gives a broad overview of the structure of the VP.

The basic structure of the VP may be diagrammed in the following phrase structure rule:

$$\text{VP} \rightarrow \text{V} \text{ (DIR) (ADV)}^n \text{ (NP) (PP)}^n$$

This phrase structure rule is somewhat of an abstraction since, as I show below, there is a significant amount of variability of constituent ordering possible.

The VP contains a verb as the obligatory head. The head may be followed by a serial directional verb (DIR), and one or more adverbs (ADV). If the head is a transitive verb then it may also be followed by a direct object NP, though not necessarily so (there are a few instances of VPs with two overt object NPs, see §6.1.1.5 for details). Where a direct object NP does occur, both the directional verb and the postverbal adverb may occur either preceding or following the object NP. Where an oblique PP constituent occurs, the postverbal adverb may occur either preceding or following the PP. Certain constituents, such as tense, mood and aspect markers, and the subject referencing pronoun, that might usually be thought of as VP elements, are considered to be constituents of the Predicate (see chapter 7) since they also occur with non-verbal Predicate heads. The following examples illustrate some simple VPs (the VP is underlined).

(195)

a) *Olketa man long sip i toraot.*
 PL man PREP ship SRP vomit
 V

‘The men on the ship vomited.’ (au)

b) *Nao mifala trifala boe mifala luk-im hem.*
 DISC 1PL.EXC three boy 1PL.EXC.SRP look-TRS 3SG
 V NP

‘Okay, we three boys saw it.’ (wr)

c) *Yufala yang-gele mas go long skol.*
 2PL young-girl must go PREP school
 V PP

‘You young girls have to go to school.’ (wr)

d) *Bisket, eni-kaen~kaen long kantin,olketa givim fo mi.*
 biscuit any-kind~kind PREP canteen 3PL give.TRS for 1SG
 V PP

‘Biscuits, all sorts of them from the canteen, they gave them to me.’ (spr)

e) *Mitufala Jim bin ran-em kos long Honiara.*
 1DL.EXC Jim PST run-TRS course PREP Honiara
 V NP PP

‘Jim and I ran a course in Honiara.’ (au)

f) *...dae lif wea win hemi blou-m go olobaot nomoa.*
 dead leaf REL wind 3SG.SRP blow-TRS go everywhere only
 V DIR ADV ADV

‘...dead leaves that the wind just blows everywhere.’ (ot)

6.1.1 Verbal Heads and Direct Object Arguments

As already noted, the type of verb functioning as the head of the VP will affect the presence or absence of a direct object NP following the head. Though there is little complexity in this regard, I briefly survey the verbal heads of the VP.

6.1.1.1 Bare VP Head

In its most minimal form the VP may consist of a verb head alone, whether intransitive or transitive, for example (VP underlined):

(196)

a) *Kam!*
 come

‘Come here!’ (spo)

b) *Giraot!*
 get out

‘Get out of here!’ (spo)

c) *Jekob hemi ranawe.*
 Jacob 3SG.SRP runaway.

‘Jacob ran away.’ (ot)

d) *Olketa nao aot-em.*
 3PL FOC out-TRS

‘They turned it off.’ (spoken of a light) (spo)

6.1.1.2 Intransitive VP Head

When an intransitive verb heads the VP, as would be expected, a direct object NP argument does not occur. Some examples of intransitive verb heads (in bold, VP underlined) are:

(197)

a) *Lora hem slip long haos nao.*
 Laura 3SG.SRP sleep PREP house EMPH

‘Laura is asleep in the house.’ (au)

b) *...an olketa pipol ting-hae long hem tumas.*
 and PL people think-high PREP 3SG very

‘...and the people really respected him.’ (ot)

c) *Ramos Tri hemi singdaon finis long Ranadi.*
 Ramos 3 3SG.SRP sink finish PREP Ranandi

‘The Ramos 3 sunk at Ranandi.’ (spo)

d) *Jon hemi kai kai long ivining.*
 John 3SG.SRP eat PREP evening

‘John ate in the evening.’ (au)

6.1.1.3 Transitive VP Head

When a transitive verb heads a VP, there may or may not be an overt direct object NP argument. Some examples of transitive verb heads (in bold) with overt direct object NPs (underlined) follow:

(198)

a) *Hemi **sut-um** dok blong mi.*
 3SG.SRP shot-TRS dog POSS 1SG

‘He shot my dog.’ (au)

b) *Olketa i **pul-um** trak ya.*
 3PL SRP pull-TRS truck DEM

‘They pulled the truck.’ (spo)

Some examples of transitive verb heads (in bold) with no overt direct object NPs are as follows:

(199)

a) *Olketa **tek-em** nao.*
 3PL take-TRS EMPH

‘They took it.’ (spo)

b) *Yu nao yu **mas skuis-im.***
 2SG FOC 2SG.SRP must squeeze-TRS

‘You must squeeze it.’ (wr)

c) *Jon hemi **kai kai-m** long aftanun.*
 John 3SG.SRP eat-TRS PREP afternoon

‘John ate it in the afternoon.’ (au)

6.1.1.4 Complex Verb heads

There are many instances in which the motion verbs *kam* and *go* occur preposed to a verb in the VP. In such cases they add an element of initial directional movement in prior sequence and overlapping with the action of the following verb. In the examples below I try to express this sequential notion (perhaps inadequately) in the translations with a coordination of *go/come and verb*. Keesing (1991b, p.332-333) treats these occurrences of *kam* and *go* as auxiliaries, and says that in this position in the VP they are not verbs in their own right. However, in my analysis I consider them to be verbs rather than auxiliaries or grammatical particles within the VP. It seems possible to consider them together with the verb that follows as forming a complex constituent (different to the verb compounds described in §4.8.1.2) that reflects two coordinated verbs. Some examples follow:

(200)

a) ...*bifoa mi go klosit nao long si.*
 before 1SG go defecate EMPH PREP sea

‘...before I went and shit in the sea.’ (wr)

b) *An olketa go bere-m hem insaet long wanfala kev.*
 and PL go bury-TRS 3SG inside PREP one cave

‘An they went and buried him in a cave.’ (wr)

c) *Nao taem bikfala wata ya hemi kam draon-em evri-samting...*
 DISC time big water DEM 3SG.SRP come drown-TRS every-thing

‘Then when the big flood came and drowned everything...’ (ot)

d) *Samfala pipol olketa bin kam joen wetem yumi long sios.*
 some people 3PL.SRP PST come join with-TRS 1PL.INC PREP church

‘Some people have come and joined with us in church.’ (spo)

In the examples above the apparent VP following *go* or *kam* cannot be considered as a clausal complement or an adverbial subordinate clause of either *go* or *kam* (for clausal complements marked with the complementiser *fo* see §8.3.1; for adverbial clauses marked with *fo* see §8.4.2) thus the verbs *go* and *kam* cannot be considered to be functioning as VP heads in these examples. I further confirm this with the observation that no post-verbal adverb can follow either *kam* or *go* when they are preposed to another verb. Furthermore, it is quite possible to insert the coordinator *an* ‘and’ between the verbs with no change of meaning, for example, *go an klosit* is equivalent in meaning to *go klosit* (see 201a above). By way of comparison, of some 3400 occurrences of the word *go* in the data, there are approximately 180 tokens of “*go an VERB*”, and some 290 tokens of “*go VERB*”. And of some 2800 occurrences of the word *kam* in the data, there are approximately 160 tokens of “*kam an VERB*”, and some 170 tokens of “*kam VERB*”.

We can also use the criterion of coordination as a basis on which to exclude such verb – verb sequences from being analysed as serial verb constructions. By this criterion Crowley does not treat similar constructions in Bislama as serial verb constructions; he says:

Such verb – verb sequences can instead be treated simply as reduced forms of either coordinate or subordinate constructions in which an inter-clause marker has been optionally deleted, as it is possible to express the same meaning with either the coordinator *mo* ‘and’ or the subordinator *blong* ‘in order to’ appearing between the two verbs,... (Crowley 2002, p.220)

What Crowley says concerning the coordinator in Bislama is also true for Pijin. However, his criterion regarding the subordinator is not, I suggest, applicable to Pijin. In Pijin the insertion of the subordinator *fo* ‘in order to’ between the two verbs would significantly alter the meaning of the sentences since the initial *go* or *kam* verb would become the head of a VP with an adverbial clause introduced by the subordinator *fo*.

One could say then that *go* or *kam* when coordinated with another following verb (with or without an overt coordinator) form a complex constituent that functions as the head of a VP.

6.1.1.5 Verb Phrases with two direct object NPs

Though not indicated in the phrase structure rule, three verbs may at times take two direct objects in the VP, they are: *givim* ‘give’, *sendem* ‘send’, and *talem* ‘tell’.⁷⁶ Such constructions are uncommon in Pijin. When two object NPs do occur, ordering and constituent length are significant. The object expressing a semantic role such as beneficiary, recipient, or experiencer is always the NP immediately following the verb, and is never longer than a single word in my data. Syntactically it is much more common for speakers to express these roles with an indirect object PP in the Predicate. Some examples of VPs with two overt object NPs follow (VP underlined, first object NP in bold):

(201)

a) *Nao sif ya hemi giv-im Saeni olketa pikpik.*
 DISC chief DEM 3SG.SRP give-TRS Saeni PL pig

‘Then the chief gave Saeni the pigs.’ (wr)

b) *Pol hemi save givim hem seleni.*
 Paul 3SG.SRP ABIL give-TRS 3SG money

‘Paul can give him money.’ (au)

⁷⁶ Verbs that may take two direct objects are not morphologically marked any differently to transitive verbs. They have a semantic valence of 3, even though it is less common for them to have a syntactic valence of 3 as is seen below.

- c) *Olketa* *nao i* *givim* ***mi*** *olketa leta wea yu raet-em.*
 3PL FOC SRP give.TRS 1SG PL letter REL 2SG write-TRS
 ‘They gave me the letters that you wrote.’ (nt)
- d) *Olketa* *sendem* ***mifala*** *olketa kaikai ya.*
 3PL send.TRS 1PL.EXC PL food DEM
 ‘They sent us that food.’ (au)
- e) *Mi bin* *talem yufala diswan* *plande taem finis.*
 1SG PST tell.TRS 2PL this plenty time finish
 ‘I have told you this many times.’ (nt)

It is much more common for such verbs to have a direct object NP, and an indirect object PP, though neither of these is obligatorily overt. For comparison note the following examples with overt direct objects (in bold) and indirect objects (underlined).

(202)

- a) *Hemi* *givim* ***kaikai*** *long* *bebi.*
 3SG.SRP give.TRS food PREP baby
 ‘She gave food to the baby.’ (au)
- b) *Hemi* *givim* ***kaikai.***
 3SG.SRP give.TRS food
 ‘She gave food.’ (au)
- c) *Hemi* *givim* *long* *bebi.*
 3SG.SRP give.TRS PREP baby
 ‘She gave it to the baby.’ (au)

(203)

- a) *Hemi* *talem* ***wanfala stori*** *long* *mi.*
 3SG.SRP tell.TRS one story PREP 1SG
 ‘He told a story to me.’ (spo)
- b) *Hemi* *talem* ***wanfala stori.***
 3SG.SRP tell.TRS one story
 ‘He told a story.’ (au)
- c) *Hemi* *talem* *long* *mi.*
 3SG.SRP tell.TRS PREP 1SG
 ‘He told it to me.’ (spo)

6.1.2 Verbal Heads and Oblique Constituents

Speakers express oblique constituents⁷⁷ in the VP through one or more PPs. Most commonly these are PPs headed by *long*, however, PPs formed from all other prepositions may also occur here.

⁷⁷ I will not distinguish here between arguments and adjuncts since the focus is on the fact that PPs express both these kinds of oblique constituents. The only real difference is that the adjuncts could be deleted without impairing the meaning of the VP, whereas the deletion of an argument will cause a VP to be incomplete.

6.1.2.1 Semantic Roles of Oblique PPs

As would be expected, these oblique PPs function in a wide range of semantic roles. It is, I believe, helpful to understand the PP constituent of the Predicate by surveying these roles.

Some such semantic roles may be:

undergoer⁷⁸

- (204) ...*an olketa pipol tinghae long hem tumas.*
 and PL people respect PREP 3SG very
 ‘...and the people really respected him.’ (ot)

stimulus

- (205) *Olketa pikinini i fraet long dog ya.*
 PL child SRP fear PREP dog DEM
 ‘The children fear that dog.’ (au)

location

- (206) *Hemi slip long bed.*
 3SG.SRP sleep PREP bed
 ‘He slept on the bed.’ (au)

goal

- (207) *Hemi ran go long taon.*
 3SG.SRP run go PREP town
 ‘She ran to town.’ (au)

source

- (208) *Wata ya hemi kam-daon long maonten ya.*
 river DEM 3SG.SRP come-down PREP mountain DEM
 ‘That river comes down from that mountain.’ (au)

recipient

- (209) *Mi tek-em go kaikai long olketa sik-man.*
 1SG take-TRS go food PREP PL sick-man
 ‘I took food to the patients.’ (au)

naming

- (210) ...*antap long Wainioni wea distaem olketa kol-em long Wainioni.*
 above PREP Wainioni REL now 3PL call-TRS PREP Wainioni
 ‘...above Wainioni that now they call Wainioni.’ (wr)

⁷⁸ I borrow the term undergoer from RRG which treats it as a Macrorole. A macrorole subsumes a number of thematic roles such as stimulus, recipient, theme, and patient (Allan 2001, pp.394-396).

manner

- (211) *Hemi redi-m kaikai long kastom blong olketa olo.*
 3SG.SRP prepare-TRS food PREP custom POSS PL oldies
 ‘She prepared food according the custom of the ancestors.’ (wr)

time

- (212) *Yu mas kam long neks tumoro.*
 2SG must come PREP next tomorrow
 ‘You must come the day after tomorrow.’ (au)

instrument

- (213) *Mi sut-im pikpik long bou.*
 1SG shoot-TRS pig PREP bow
 ‘I shot a pig with a bow.’ (au)

material

- (214) *Mi wak-em kanu long wanfala tri.*
 1SG make-TRS canoe PREP one tree
 ‘I made a canoe from a tree.’ (au)

reason

- (215) *Baebae mi krae long olketa ya.*
 FUT 1SG cry PREP 3PL DEM
 ‘I will cry because of them.’ (au)

accompaniment

- (216) *Mi wak-em gaden wetem brata blong mi.*
 1SG make-TRS garden with-TRS brother POSS 1SG
 ‘I made a garden with my brother.’ (au)

beneficiary

- (217) *Mi wak-em gaden fo mami blong mi.*
 1SG make-TRS garden for mother POSS 1SG
 ‘I made a garden for my mother.’ (au)

There are no doubt other semantic roles that may be expressed through the oblique PPs (and also debate about the nature of such roles). I do not intend that the list above to be exhaustive, but rather to demonstrate the wide array of semantic functions the PP can have within the VP.

6.1.2.2 Prepositional Phrases and the so-called Pseudo-transitive

Before moving on to the directional marker in the VP, I compare the approach that Crowley has taken in Bislama to VPs containing PPs that express semantic roles more typically expressed by NPs. The following example illustrates a PP (underlined) that encodes the ‘stimulus’ role (Kroeger 2005, p.54). This is a role that is often encoded in languages by a

direct object NP. However, such an NP is not possible in the VP since the verb is intransitive.⁷⁹

(218) *Man ya hemi save long dog blong mi.*
 man DEM 3SG.SRP know PREP dog POSS 1SG
 ‘That guy knows my dog.’ (au)

Crowley, in describing similar grammatical structure in Bislama, calls *long* in these instances a ‘pseudo-transitiviser’ (Crowley 1990, pp.295-297), and speaks of pseudo-objects and a pseudo-transitive construction (Crowley 2004, pp.132-133). According to him, in such cases an intransitive verb can have an object, it will be an NP in a PP headed by the preposition *long*.⁸⁰ In relation to this phenomenon Crowley also coined the term “lexically complex transitives” for a putative form of transitive verb in Bislama. He says these verbs are:

“formally intransitive, and for which no formal transitive equivalent of this type exists, can be followed by a noun phrase expressing the person or thing affected by the action with the preceding preposition *long*.” (Crowley 2003, p.23)

Whilst the phenomenon that Crowley describes is also observed in Pijin, his terms are probably not that helpful for two reasons. First, they seem to be semantically rather than syntactically motivated. It is well known that there is no one-to-one correspondence between semantic roles and syntactic functions. Just because it is common that semantic roles such as patient, undergoer, and stimulus are encoded by object NPs does not mean that speakers cannot encode them with an oblique constituent such as a PP. Second, if **V + long** is to be taken as a lexically complex constituent, it should not be possible to insert another element within it. This is not the case for Pijin (and I doubt it is so for Bislama) as is seen in the following pairs of examples:

(219)
 a) *Mi sore long olketa.*
 1SG sorry PREP 3PL
 ‘I pity them.’ (spo)
 b) *Mi sore nao long olketa.*
 1SG sorry EMPH PREP 3PL
 ‘I do pity them.’ (au)

⁷⁹ Unlike Tok Pisin, the verb *save* ‘know’ cannot be considered as transitive. In Tok Pisin one may say, *Jon i save olgeta samting* ‘John knows everything’ but a sentence like this is not really acceptable in Pijin. In the data *save* (ADV) *long* NP occurs some 1250 times, while *save* NP(direct object) occurs only three times.

⁸⁰ Pijin only uses *long* for this kind of construction. By comparison English uses a wide array of prepositions to mark object NPs (thus forming PPs) that are the sole complement of some verbs (Huddleston & Pullum 2002, pp.276-278).

c) *Yufala mas tinghae long God.*

2PL must revere PREP god

‘You must revere God.’ (nt)

d) *Yufala mas tinghae tumas long God.*

2PL must revere very PREP god

‘You must really revere God.’ (au)

e) *Mi les long ravis wei blong man ya.*

1SG dislike PREP rubbish way POSS man DEM

‘I dislike the awful behaviour of that guy.’ (au)

f) *Mi les fogud long ravis wei blong man ya.*

1SG dislike very PREP rubbish way POSS man DEM

‘I especially dislike the awful behaviour of that guy.’ (au)

I conclude that combinations of V + *long* in Pijin cannot be analysed as “lexically complex transitives” in the way that Crowley does for Bislama.⁸¹

Jourdan (2002, p.5) gives a hint of this type of verb behaviour in a note about the verb *agri* ‘agree’. There she says that *agri* must be followed either by *long* or *wetem*. It is often the case that a PP is the only means by which the undergoer and other similar roles are expressed since there are many intransitive verbs that have no derived transitive forms. Some additional examples follow:

(220)

a) *Mi fulbae long olketa.*

1SG freeload PREP 3PL

‘I freeload on them.’ (au)

b) *Hemi tek-ova long lan blong olketa.*

3SG.SRP take-over PREP land POSS 3PL

‘He took over their land.’ (au)

c) *Yufala mas ting-hae long God.*

2PL must think-high PREP god

‘You must revere God.’ (ot)

Apart from intransitive forms that have no transitive counterpart, there are some verbs that use the two different syntactic arrangements. The following pairs of examples demonstrate, for example, that a stimulus role may be expressed both through a PP following an

⁸¹ Huddleston and Pullum (2002, p.277) similarly reject the view that in English certain prepositions and verbs form a single constituent that is often called a prepositional verb.

intransitive verb, and an NP following a transitive verb. Both examples in each pair may be thought to have identical meaning.⁸²

(221)

a) *Olketa nating biliv-im hem nomoa.*
 3PL never believe-TRS 3SG not
 ‘They never believed him.’ (au)

b) *Olketa nating biliv long hem nomoa.*
 3PL never believe PREP 3SG not
 ‘They never believed him.’ (au)

(222)

a) *Olketa fraet-em hem.*
 3PL fear-TRS 3SG
 ‘They fear him.’ (au)

b) *Olketa fraet long hem.*
 3PL fear PREP 3SG
 ‘They fear him.’ (au)

6.1.3 Directional Verb

The first post-head constituent in the VP is a directional verb (see section §4.8.2.1). These directional verbs are, I believe, part of serial verb constructions (SVC) in VPs mainly involving the motion verbs *kam* ‘come’ and *go* ‘go’. Largely used following other motion verbs, though not restricted to them, the directional verbs indicate primarily whether movement is toward the speaker (*kam*) or away from the speaker (*go*). So for example:

(223)

a) *Hemi wakabaot kam long mi.*
 3SG.SRP walk come PREP 1SG
 ‘He walked to me.’ (au)

b) *Hemi ran go.*
 3SG.SRP run go
 ‘She ran away.’ (au)

It is perhaps of significance to note that Pijin is in contact with substrate languages that use directional markers derived from verbs meaning ‘come’ and ‘go’.⁸³ Keesing (1991b, p.322) compares Pijin and Kwaio as follows:

tekem kam ‘bring it’ *ngaria mai*

⁸² In Bislama there seem to be a significant number of pairs of intransitive + *long* and matching transitive forms (Crowley 1990, pp.295-297). Such pairs are less common in Pijin.

⁸³ Ross (2002) has shown the importance of directional elements in Oceanic languages that were originally directional verbs in serial verb constructions.

tekem go ‘take it’ *ngaria kau*

Also note an example from the language Cheke Holo.

Tuana te hata mei la theome gognaro te agne Isabel
that REL take come IMM NEG now REL here Isabel

‘That which they brought is not now here on Isabel.’ (Boswell Jr. 2007, p.343)

Apart from *go* and *kam*, there are also a number of more specific verbs derived from the basic motion verbs (I discuss the lexical status of these in section §4.8.2.2). These more specific directional verbs are forms such as: *kamdaon* ‘come down’, *kamaot* ‘come out’, *kamap* ‘come up’, *kambaek* ‘return’, *godaon* ‘go down’, *goaot* ‘go out’, *goap* ‘go up’, *goraon* ‘go around’.⁸⁴ Again orientation is based on the speaker, but further specificity may be physically or culturally dependent. For example:

(224)

a) *Olketa draev kam-daon from Busarata.*
3PL drive come-down from Busarata.

‘They drove down from Busarata.’ (Busarata is a mountain village.) (au)

b) *Hemi lusim Malu’u, an hemi draev kam-ap long Auki.*
3SG.SRP left-TRS Malu’u and 3SG.SRP drive come-up PREP Auki

‘He left Malu’u, and he drove up to Auki. (au)

In this second example the speaker must be situated in Auki. Both Auki and Malu’u are at sea level, so the *-ap* suffix relates to the speaker’s cultural orientation. Auki is south-east of Malu’u, a direction that is “up” according to the worldview of North Malaitans. If the speaker was in Malu’u, then the same action would be described as:

(225) *Hemi lus-im Malu’u, an hemi draev go-ap long Auki.*
3SG.SRP left-TRS Malu’u and 3SG.SRP drive go-up PREP Auki

‘He left Malu’u, and he drove up to Auki.’ (au)

The directional verbs are not only used with verbs of motion. VPs expressing any action that we can notionally conceive of as having directionality are capable of having a directional verb. There are of course obvious actions such as bringing and taking, for example:

(226)

a) *Hemi tek-em kam samfala kumara.*
3SG.SRP take-TRS come some sweet.potato

‘He brought some sweet potato.’ (au)

b) *Olketa tek-em go fis long maket.*
3PL take-TRS go fish PREP market

‘They took fish to the market.’ (speaker not at market) (spo)

There are also less obvious ones such as asking and hearing.

⁸⁴ These derived motion verbs are not observed to occur in the complex verb head described in §6.1.1.4.

(227)

a) *Yu save ask-em go long prinsipol.*
 2SG ABIL ask-TRS go PREP principal

‘You can ask it of the Principal.’ (speaker with addressee) (au)

b) *Yufala mas here-m kam gudfala olketa toktok blong dadi.*
 2PL must hear-TRS come good PL talk POSS father

‘You must really listen to your father’s talk.’ (in the context of advice given by a father to adult daughter about to be married) (wr)

This last example demonstrates that the directional verb may also direct to some other point of orientation apart from the speaker. In this case the listening must be conceived as being toward the addressees and not the speaker.

6.1.3.1 Serial verbs or grammaticalized directional markers?

It is worth considering for a moment whether these directional verbs are in fact part of a SVC or whether they are actually grammaticalized directional markers. Oceanic languages in Melanesia do have significant verb serialization (Crowley 2002, pp.24-53), thus we should not be surprised that it appears in Pijin. To establish the existence of such SVCs it is important to be clear about what they are or are not.

My consideration of the Pijin serial verbs under discussion here will be based on the most recent typology for SVCs developed in Aikhenvald and Dixon (2006). Aikhenvald (2006, pp.4-23) proposes certain criteria to define SVCs. They are as follows: an SVC is a single predicate; SVCs allow no markers of syntactic dependency on their components; SVC components share tense, aspect, mood, modality, and polarity; SVCs express a single event; SVCs share arguments. Aikhenvald (2006, pp.21-44) also outlines four parameters to classify SVCs. They are COMPOSITION (the types of verbs in the SVCs), CONTIGUITY (whether the verbs are adjacent within the SVC or not), WORDHOOD (whether components of the SVCs may form words or not), and MARKING (the way in which grammatical categories are marked within the SVCs)

I now apply the various criteria to the verb sequences under consideration in this section. I note in the first instance, that if the serial verbs under consideration are viewed as part of the VP, they must be viewed as being a single predicate since the VP functions as the head of the Predicate (see §7.1 and §7.4).

Markers of syntactic dependency in Pijin are, in this instance, the coordinator *an* and the subordinator *fo*. When the directional verb follows another verb the coordinator or the subordinator **cannot** be inserted without doing violence to acceptability. Compare the following two unacceptable examples with example 227a above:

(228)

a) * *Hemi tek-em an kam samfala kumara.*
 3SG.SRP take-TRS and come some sweet.potato

b) * *Olketa tek-em fo go fis long maket.*
 3PL take-TRS to go fish PREP market

That Pijin SVC components share tense, aspect, mood, modality, and polarity is also demonstrable in Pijin since all such markers occur outside the VP in the Predicate (see chp 7). I will simply provide one example with a negative polarity expressed to illustrate this.

(229) *Mi no sendem go olketa ya.*
 1SG not send-TRS go 3PL DEM
 ‘I did not send them.’ (au)

The above example also typifies the criterion that Pijin SVCs express a single event. This criterion is somewhat controversial (Senft 2007), nevertheless for the constructions I have observed in Pijin it seems to hold true.

The final criterion here is that SVCs share arguments. “SVCs with shared subjects are the major type of SVCs in any language” (Aikhenvald 2006, p.14). All examples so far have demonstrated shared subjects.

Aikhenvald also speaks of “SWITCH-FUNCTION SVCs” (2006, p.14). In these, the object of V_1 is the same as the subject of V_2 . Such SVCs occur in Pijin, for instance, *hem* in the following example is the object of *sendem* and the subject of *go*.

(230) *Mi sendem hem go long yufala.*
 1SG send-TRS 3SG go PREP 2PL
 ‘I sent him to you.’ (nt)

On the other hand there are examples in which it is unclear whether the V_1 object NPs have their function switched in such SVCs. This may be observed in the following two examples.

(231)

a) *Hemi tek-em olketa samting kam long yufala.*
 3SG.SRP take-TRS PL thing come PREP 2PL
 ‘He brought the things to you.’ (nt)

b) *Mi no gare-m eni-wan fo kari-m mi go insaet long pul ya.*
 1SG not have-TRS any-one to carry-TRS 1SG go inside PREP pool DEM
 ‘I do not have anyone to carry me into the pool.’ (nt)

Regarding the criterion of contiguity, it is worth noting the following quantitative analysis of the data comparing the frequency of occurrence of various possible sequences for several serial verbs with and without a constituent intervening between V_1 and V_2 . The data

demonstrates that contiguous verbs in SVCs are far more frequent than those with a constituent between V_1 and V_2 .

Table 6.1 Quantitative data regarding Verb NP Directional verb sequences

Sequence	Number of occurrences
<i>givim kam</i>	118
<i>givim one-word-NP kam</i>	2
<i>givim two-word-NP kam</i>	1
<i>givim go</i>	104
<i>givim one-word-NP go</i>	52
<i>givim two-word-NP go</i>	4
<i>karim kam</i>	18
<i>karim one-word-NP kam</i>	6
<i>karim go</i>	16
<i>karim one-word-NP go</i>	11
<i>herem kam</i>	44
<i>herem one-word-NP kam</i>	1

I now turn to Aikhenvald's four classificatory parameters.

In terms of COMPOSITION (the types of verbs in the SVCs) Pijin SVCs are asymmetrical constructions. The first or major verb (V_1) is relatively unrestricted. The second verb (V_2) is known as the minor verb since it is drawn from a restricted class (Aikhenvald 2006, p.22). In the case of Pijin, as has been amply demonstrated in the examples so far, the restricted class is that of the motion verbs *go* 'go' and *kam* 'come' and various derivations of these two (see below).

Aikhenvald (2006, p.30) claims, "motion verbs within asymmetrical SVCs often grammaticalize into directional markers indicating path, source, and trajectory of motion".

Whilst it is perhaps possible to consider the V_2 directional verbs in Pijin as having grammaticalized, three things suggest that a serial verb analysis is to be preferred.

First, the fact that *go* and *kam* may still occur as full verbs, is suggestive that they have not grammaticalized as direction markers. This point is weakened by the observation that in some instances there is semantic bleaching of *go* and *kam* as V_2 when either combines with a V_1 verb that does not involve actual movement. For example, neither example in (227) above involves movement, and so neither *go* or *kam* can include motion as a component of meaning. Such semantic bleaching may be considered a sign of grammaticalization (Crowley 2002, p.22).

The second thing is that beyond *go* and *kam*, there is a range of derived motion verbs (see §4.8.2.2) that may also occur as V_2 , namely: *kamdaon* ‘come down’, *kamaot* ‘come out’, *kamap* ‘come up’, *kambaek* ‘return’, *godaon* ‘go down’, *goaot* ‘go out’, *goap* ‘go up’, *goraon* ‘go around’. We would not expect this if the V_2 directional verb was grammaticalized.

The third thing that casts doubt on a grammaticalised analysis for the direction verbs is that there is still a degree of syntactic freedom as regards their placement in the VP. They are not so tightly tied to the V_1 that other constituents may not be interposed between V_1 and V_2 .

Both object NPs (as seen above) and some adverbs are observed to occur between V_1 and V_2 , for example (direction verb in bold, adverbs underlined):

(232)

a) ...*plande pipol nao olketa pus olobaot **kam** raon-em yu,*
 plenty people FOC 3PL.SRP push everywhere come round-TRS 2SG

‘...many people were pushing all around you.’ (nt)

b) *Hemi lukluk strong **go** long enjel ya.*
 3SG.SRP look strong go PREP angel DEM

‘He stared at the angel.’ (nt)

c) *Nao Jisas hemi wakabaot lelebet **go** moa...*
 DISC Jesus 3SG.SRP walk little go more

‘Then Jesus walked on a bit more...’ (nt)

Compare this last example with the following:

d) *Bihaen hemi wakabaot **go** lelebet, ...*
 behind 3SG.SRP walk go little

‘After he walked away a bit,...’ (nt)

This last feature draws attention to the second of Aikhenvald’s SVC parameters, namely, CONTIGUITY: “contiguous SVCs do not allow other constituents to go between their components...non-contiguous SVCs allow other constituents to occur between the components” (Aikhenvald 2006, p.37). Table 6.1 above showed that there is a great tendency

for contiguous SVCs in Pijin even though both NPs and adverbs may intervene between V_1 and V_2 .

Foley and Olson's (1985) ground breaking treatment of verb serialization invokes three layers within a clause (nuclear, core, and peripheral). They propose that verb serialization occurs in either the nuclear layer or the core layer (Foley & Olson 1985, pp.33-37). In Foley and Olson's terms it would seem that contiguous SVCs have nuclear juncture, whilst non-contiguous SVCs have core juncture. This appears to me to be a somewhat arbitrary distinction for Pijin since the serialization (whether contiguous or not) is occurring within the VP (which is perhaps to be identified with the nuclear layer in Foley and Olson's terms). Crowley (2002, pp.215-254) uses the notions of nuclear and core layer juncture for the analysis of SVCs in Bislama. I will return to this below when I briefly consider serial verbs in Bislama and Tok Pisin.

Aikhenvald's typology of SVCs allows that SVCs may be multi-word or one-word (this is her WORDHOOD parameter) (Aikhenvald 2006, pp.37-38). I consider Pijin to have multi-word SVCs since non-contiguous SVCs occur. However, I note that Aikhenvald analyses Bislama compounds such as *luk-save* 'recognise' (which also occurs in Pijin) as a contiguous one-word SVC (Aikhenvald 2006, p.50). Crowley excluded such compounds from his analysis of serial verbs in Bislama due to non-productivity (Crowley 2002, pp.219-220).

The parameter of MARKING is concerned with how grammatical categories such as subject, object, tense, aspect, modality, negation, derivation, etc. are marked within the SVC. It seems that Pijin SVCs are perhaps to be considered as "single-marking" (Aikhenvald 2006, p.40), though perhaps more accurately there is no marking at all since Pijin verbs have no marking for such categories apart from the transitive object marker, and since V_2 is always a motion verb it will not have object marking.

6.1.3.2 SVCs in Tok Pisin and Bislama

As a matter of comparison, both Tok Pisin and Bislama also utilise SVCs to indicate directional marking with *kam* and *go* (Verhaar 1995, pp.98-102; Meyerhoff 2001; Crowley 2004, pp.167-170). However, there is a marked difference with respect to certain SVCs of Tok Pisin and Bislama when compared to Pijin SVCs. The Tok Pisin and Bislama SVCs that have a directional verb as V_2 have a predicate marker (SRP in our terms) between V_1 and V_2 .

Pijin is never observed to behave in the same manner.⁸⁵ Two pairs of comparative examples will illustrate this:

(233)

Bislama

a) *Hem i lukluk i kam long mi.*
 3SG PM look PM come PREP 1SG

‘(S)he looked toward me.’ (Crowley 2004, p.167).

Pijin

b) *Hemi lukluk kam long mi.*
 3SG.SRP look come PREP 1SG

‘(S)he looked toward me.’ (au)

(234)

Tok Pisin

a) *Na mi laik bai yu lukluk i kam long dispela haus...*
 and 1SG like FUT 2SG look PM come PREP this house

‘And I wish that you watch over this house...’ (Verhaar 1995, p.101)

Pijin

b) *Bae mi laekem fo yu lukluk kam long disfala haos...*
 FUT 1SG like-TRS to 2SG look come PREP this house

‘I’d like you to watch the house...’ (au)

Recalling Foley and Olson’s nuclear and core juncture layer approach, it seems that in both Tok Pisin and Bislama core juncture rather than nuclear juncture occurs, whereas if their model is of any use regarding Pijin (I noted above a difficulty), it would seem that nuclear juncture describes these SVCs in Pijin.

As an alternate approach to the layer of juncture view in comparing Pijin SVCs with those from the other two varieties of Melanesian Pidgin, we might consider the idea of concordant subject marking as suggested by Aikhenvald. She interprets *i* preceding V_2 as expressing concordant same subject marking in Bislama and Tok Pisin SVCs (Aikhenvald 2006, p.40). Of course the predicate marker is somewhat bleached in terms of person and number so the degree of concordance is not really indicated by *i* (Meyerhoff 2001, pp.258-259).

Nevertheless, Pijin does not exhibit such concordant subject marking between V_1 and V_2 in its SVCs.

⁸⁵ It could be thought that there is a zero SRP between V_1 and V_2 in Pijin SVCs, however, in other places where a zero SRP occurs it is substitutable with an overt SRP such as *hemi* or *i* whereas this is not possible for Pijin SVCs.

6.1.4 Adverbs within the Verb Phrase

There are a number of adverbs (see §4.9.1) that occur following the head within the VP to modify it. In chapter 7 I show that there are a limited number of adverbs that may occur before the head of what I call the Predicate. By contrast, there are many more available that may follow the head of the VP. Apart from the words that only function as adverbs, the number of available post-head adverbs is greatly expanded by the many adjectives that can function adverbially.

The phrase structure rule indicates that the adverb will occur between the head and the NP. However, there seems to be a degree of freedom regarding adverb placement in the VP. I have already noted that an adverb may occur between the head and a direction marker. I also observe that adverbs may occur following the NP (if one exists). I consider such adverbs as part of the VP; I discuss this below in section 6.1.4.1.

The adverbs below are observed to occur following the head of the VP.

<i>dae</i>	‘dead’
<i>evribet</i>	‘completely’ ⁸⁶
<i>fastaem</i>	‘first’
<i>finis</i>	‘finish’
<i>fogud</i>	‘very’
<i>kuiktaem</i>	‘quickly’
<i>lelebet</i>	‘slightly’
<i>moa</i>	‘more’
<i>nating</i>	‘purposelessly’, ‘freely’
<i>nomoa</i>	‘only’
<i>olobaot</i>	‘freely’, ‘everywhere’
<i>olowe</i>	‘always’
<i>oltaem</i>	‘all the time’
<i>tu</i>	‘too’
<i>tugeta</i>	‘together’ (rare for an NP to follow this)

⁸⁶ The adverb *evribet* ‘completely’ is considered old-fashioned by young people.

tumas ‘very’

yet ‘still, yet’

Here a few examples follow:

(235)

a) *Yumitufala save kaikai **tugeta**.*
 IDUAL.INC ABIL eat together

‘The two of us can eat together.’ (spo)

b) *Olketa no save spoel-em **evribet** olketa buk ya.*
 3PL NEG ABIL ruin-TRS completely PL book DEM

‘They cannot completely ruin the books.’ (au)

c) *Yufala evriwan go-aot **fastaem**.*
 2PL everyone go-out first

‘All of you go out first.’ (nt)

d) *Man ba hemi save laea **tumas** long yu.*
 man RDEM 3SG.SRP HAB lie very PREP 2SG

‘That guy, you know, always lies to you.’ (spo)

Provided that there is an appropriate semantic match, many adjectives may function adverbially, generally as adverbs of manner, in this post-head position. Some examples with the adjectives functioning adverbially (in bold) follow:

(236)

a) *Yu save wakabaot **isi**.*
 2SG ABIL walk easy

‘You can stroll.’ (spo)

b) *Waka blong mi i gohed **gudfala**.*
 work POSS 1SG SRP proceed good

‘My work is progressing well.’ (au)

c) *An go-go hemi ren **tru** nao.*
 and REDUP~go 3SG.SRP rain true EMPH

‘And eventually it really rained.’ (wr)

d) *Mifala tingting **strong** long olketa nius abaot-em faea.*
 1PL.EXC think strong PREP PL news about-TRS fire

‘We thought hard about the news of a fire.’ (au)

e) *Bae mi luk-aot-em **gudfala** olketa pikinini blong yu.*
 FUT 1SG look-out-TRS good PL child POSS 2SG

‘I will really look after your children.’ (au)

f) *Yufala olketa bikman mas here-m **gudfala** olketa toktok ya.*
 2PL PL leaders must hear-TRS good PL talk DEM

‘You leaders must properly hear that talk.’ (nt)

6.1.4.1 Adverbs and the Object NP

I noted above that adverbs may occur before or after the object NP, for example:

(237)

a) *Pol hemi kat-em nogud han blong hem.*
 Paul 3SG.SRP cut-TRS bad hand POSS 3SG

‘Paul cut his hand badly.’ (au)

b) *Pol hemi katem han blong hem nogud.*
 Paul 3SG.SRP cut-TRS hand POSS 3SG bad

‘Paul cut his hand badly.’ (au)

There are, however, some restrictions observed in relation to adverb placement. The adverb tends not to occur in the position before the object NP if the NP is short. This illustrated in the following examples:

(238)

a) *Bae mi luk-aot-em yu gudfala.*
 FUT 1SG look-out-TRS 2SG good

‘I will really look after you.’ (wr)

but not

b) * *Bae mi luk-aot-em gudfala yu.*
 FUT 1SG look-out-TRS good 2SG

c) *Mi laek-em Jon tumas.*
 1SG like-TRS John very

‘I really like John.’ (spo)

but usually not

d) ? *Mi laek-em tumas Jon.*
 1SG like-TRS very John

At this point I draw attention to the verb *dae* ‘dead’ that seems to behave in this instance like a resultative adverb.⁸⁷ Speakers often use it in conjunction with the transitive verb *kilim* ‘injure/hit’ to show that the result is death. Thus *kilim* means ‘injure/hit’, whereas *kilim dae* means ‘kill’. I consider the word *dae* to be an adverb in this case as it is seen to behave in the same manner as the adverbs in relation to the length of the object NP. Thus with short object NPs the post-verbal *dae* must follow the NP, while with longer object NPs *dae* comes immediately following *kilim*. For example:

⁸⁷ Though *dae* in this case seems to behave like a resultative adverb, it is possible that it could be seen as a serial verb. See previous section.

(239)

a) *Olketa kil-im hem dae.*
 3PL hit-TRS 3SG die
 ‘They killed him.’ (spo)

b) * *Olketa kil-im dae hem.*
 3PL hit-TRS die 3SG

c) *Yu mas kil-im dae olketa dog ya.*
 2SG must hit-TRS die PL dog DEM
 ‘You must kill those dogs.’ (au)

6.1.4.2 Multiple Adverbs

As a final observation concerning adverbs in the VP, multiple post-head adverbs, up to a maximum of three, may occur. When such multiple adverbs do occur, the adverbial adjectives are located most closely to the head of the VP. In the following examples the adverbs are underlined, and the adverbial adjectives are in bold:

(240)

a) *Mifala no wakabaot strong tumas.*
 1SG.EXC not walk strong very
 ‘We don’t walk very robustly.’ (wr)

b) *Mi tingting strong nomoa long olketa tising blong yu.*
 1SG think strong only PREP PL teaching POSS 2SG
 ‘I only think deeply about your teaching.’ (wr)

c) *Mi barava luk nogud tumas long ae blong olketa pipol.*
 1SG really look bad very PREP eye POSS PL people
 ‘I really appear very badly in the eyes of the people.’ (nt)

d) *Yufala mas lukluk gud moa.*
 2PL must look good more
 ‘You must look carefully again.’ (au)

e) *Yumi weit isi nomoa tu.*
 1PL.INC wait easy only too
 ‘We just wait patiently too.’ (spo)

6.2 Adjective Phrase

The adjective phrase (AdjP) was first touched upon in §5.2.4. In that section I noted that the function of the AdjP is either as a modifier of the NP (discussed in §5.2.4.1) or as the head of a Predicate. Recalling the earlier discussion, the following phrase structure rule expresses the basic structure of the AdjP:

AdjP → (ADV) Adj (ADV) (PP)

Also recall that AdjPs have only two possible pre-head adverbs that vary the degree of the attribute realised by the adjective. The first is the intensifying adverb, *barava* ‘really’, while the second is a mitigating adverb, *lelebet* ‘a little’ (see §5.2.4.1 for some examples). Before I identify the post-head adverbs, note the following examples of the AdjP functioning as the head of a Predicate (AdjP underlined):

(241)

a) *Hemi lelebet had...*
 3SG.SRP a.little hard

‘It is a bit hard ...’ (spo)

b) *Bat taem san hemi hot tumas...*
 but time sun 3SG.SRP hot very

‘But when the sun is very hot,...’ (wr)

c) *Yu save, hemi bik finis.*
 2SG know 3SG.SRP big finish

‘You know, he is grown up.’ (spo)

d) *Olketa ya i barava gudfala.*
 3PL DEM SRP really good

‘They are very good.’ (au)

e) *Bat plande ples hemi barava emti yet ya.*
 but many place 3SG.SRP really empty still EMPH

‘But many places are still really empty.’ (wr)

6.2.1 Adverbs within the Adjective Phrase

Apart from the two pre-head adverbs already noted, there are a number of adverbs (see §4.9.1) that occur following the head within the AdjP when it functions as the head of a predicate. I stress that when the AdjP functions as an NP modifier these adverbs do not occur. The range of adverbs observed here is not as great as those that follow the head of the VP (see §7.1.4).

The adverbs below may occur following the head of the AdjP.

evribet ‘completely’

finis ‘finish’

fogud ‘very’

yet ‘still, yet’

lelebet ‘slightly’ (note, *lelebet* may occur both before or after the head of the AdjP)

moa ‘more’

<i>nating</i>	‘purposelessly’, ‘freely’
<i>nomoa</i>	‘only’
<i>tu</i>	‘too’
<i>tumas</i>	‘very’

Note the following additional examples of the AdjP functioning as the head of the Predicate (AdjP underlined):

(242)

a) *Oraet, hemi gud nomoa fo tufala i marit.*
 alright 3SG.SRP good only for two SRP marry

‘Alright, it’s okay for those two to be married.’ (nt)

b) *...an hemi barava hot fogud.*
 and 3SG.SRP really hot very

‘...and it was really very hot.’ (wr)

c) *Hemi wande save sapos wata ya hemi drae finis long ples ya.*
 3SG.SRP want know if water DEM 3SG.SRP dry finish PREP place DEM

‘He wants to know if the water had dried up at that place.’ (ot)

d) *Olketa laek fo mek-em evrisamting i had moa long mi...*
 3PL like COMP make-TRS everything SRP hard more PREP 1SG

‘They want to make everything increasingly difficult for me.’ (nt)

e) *Stat kam taem yu smolfala yet...*
 start come time 2SG small still

‘From when you were still small,...’ (nt)

f) *Mifala faend-em ples ya hemi kuaet lelebet.*
 1PL find-TRS place DEM 3SG.SRP quiet a.little

‘We found that place to be a bit quiet.’ (wr)

g) *Nogud yufala praod nating nomoa...*
 lest 2PL proud nothing only

‘Lest you are arrogant,...’ (nt)

h) *Sapos olsem, bae aotsaet hemi klin tu ya.*
 if like.TRS FUT outside 3SG.SRP clean too EMPH

‘If so, the outside will be clean too.’ (nt)

One very significant, but perhaps unsurprising, difference between the VP and the AdjP, is that unlike the VP, post-head adjectives functioning adverbially are rarely observed to occur in the AdjP. The adjective *tru* ‘true’ is the only one seen to function in this adverbial manner, for example:

(243)

a) *Sapos yufala hapi tru fo letem mi ...*
 if 2PL happy true SUB let.TRS 1SG

‘If you are truly happy to let me...’ (ot)

b) *An go-go hemi hot tru nao.*
 and REDUP~go 3SG.SRP hot true EMPH

‘And eventually it was very hot.’ (wr)

6.3 Prepositional Phrases

As has already been seen in chapter 5, prepositional phrases (PP) in Pijin function as constituents in NOMs and NPs. They also function as verbal and adverbial constituents in both predicates and sentences. I describe these functions of the PP in chapters 7 and 8 as Predicate and sentence structure are investigated. This section focuses on the internal structure of the PP and the constituents within that structure. The basic phrase structure rule for the PP is as follows:

$$PP \rightarrow P (NP)$$

The three types of preposition, simple, complex and verbal, that seem to function as the head of the PP were introduced and exemplified in chapter 4 (§4.7). The simple and the complex prepositions obligatorily require a prepositional object. The verbal prepositions may occur without a prepositional object, this is described in section §6.3.3. Although the PP has a straightforward structure, I have observed considerable variation in the nature of the complex PPs.

6.3.1 Simple Prepositional Phrases

6.3.1.1 Simple prepositions

The prepositions that head simple PPs are *long* ‘PREP’, *blong* ‘POSS’, and *fo* ‘for’. These three prepositions require an obligatory object. I illustrate them in the following examples (P in bold, PP underlined):

(244)

a) *Hemi kam long disfala ples.*
 3SG come PREP this place

‘He came to this place.’ (wr)

b) *Hemi pikinini blong mama.*
 3SG.SRP child POSS priest

‘He is the priest’s child.’ (au)

- c) *Yu no save kambaek fo eni kompensessin.*
 2SG NEG ABIL return for any compensation
 ‘You can’t come back for any compensation.’ (wr)

6.3.1.2 Clausal Objects of Simple Preposition

Apart from NP objects within the simple PP, PPs headed by *fo* may contain a clausal object. I provide two examples here, while further details are given in §8.3.3:

(245)

- a) *Waef blong hem hemi wanfala mere fo krae.*
 wife POSS 3SG 3SG.SRP one woman for cry
 ‘His wife is a woman who cries a lot.’ (au)

- b) *Olketa save salem plande deferen kaen masin fo kate-m timba.*
 3PL HAB sell.TRS many different kind machine for cut-TRS timba.
 ‘They sell lots of different kinds of machines to cut timber.’ (wr)

6.3.2 Adverbs and Complex Prepositional Phrases

The so-called complex prepositions were introduced in §4.7.3. In that introduction I described the basic form of the complex preposition as a locative or temporal adverb combined with a following preposition *long*.⁸⁸ Before looking at the complex prepositions it is worth looking at some locative and temporal adverbs that function as prepositions.

6.3.2.1 Adverbs Functioning as Prepositions

In §3.7.2 I discussed the idea that Pijin may be decreolising in relation to its prepositions. I believe the use of adverbs alone as prepositions is a result of recent English influence. They “look” and “behave” more like English prepositions. On the whole the use of an adverb alone as a preposition does not occur in the other varieties of MP (Crowley 2004, p.27; Verhaar 1995, p.244), though Crowley (1995, p.35) does give a rare example of the use of *aninit* ‘under’ as a preposition, and also of an alternation between *bifo* ~ *bifo long* ‘before’ as a temporal preposition in Bislama (Crowley 1990, p.260).

The relative absence of the use adverbs as prepositions in the other varieties of MP draws attention to the fact that this is a development restricted to Pijin. That neither Hall (1954a) nor Bugotu (1972) mention the construction at least suggests that it is a recent development. If this is so then it seems less than ideal to label a class of prepositions based on a new grammatical pattern recently developed in the language.

⁸⁸ (Verhaar 1995, pp.244-249; Crowley 1990, pp.259-261; Crowley 2004, pp.137-139) all refer to complex prepositions in other varieties of Melanesian Pidgin.

Examples of PPs with adverbs functioning as prepositions (P in bold, PP underlined) are as follows:

(246)

a) *Bikos hemi stap insaet bele blong mi.*
 Because 3SG.SRP remain inside stomach POSS 1SG

‘Because it was in my stomach.’ (wr)

b) *Bihaen diswan,...* (contrasting example (248d)
 Behind this

‘After this,...’ (wr)

c) *Solomon hemi stap melewan Papua Niugini an Vanuatu.*
 Solomon 3SG.SRP stay between Papua New.Guinea and Vanuatu

‘Solomons is between Papua New Guinea and Vanuatu.’

(cited in Crowley 1990, p.259)

d) *Tufala dig-im hol an bere-m devol ya insaet hol ya.*
 2DU dig-TRS hole and bury-TRS devil DEM inside hole DEM

‘The two of them dug a hole and buried that devil in the hole.’

(cited in Lee 1996a, p.399) (my translation)

Consideration of these adverbs functioning as prepositions leads to a discussion of complex prepositional phrases.

6.3.2.2 Complex Prepositional Phrases

Observation of everyday speech patterns and my written data indicates a high frequency of occurrence of adverbs functioning as prepositions together with the preposition *long*. In my view it is more usual that the preposition *long* follow the adverb highlighted each of the examples in (246). To test this view I asked a dozen Pijin speakers (ranging from young semi-rural native speakers to a 35 year old urban adult with a degree in computer science) for grammatically judgements on the sentences in (246) along with pairs of similar sentences containing the related complex PP. The respondents all gave the same answers (A. Diake, J. Wanofafia, pers. comm.). The following table summarises these:

Table 6.2 Grammaticality judgements of sentences comparing those with adverb or related complex preposition functioning as preposition

<i>Bikos hemi stap insaet bele blong mi.</i>	<i>OK</i>
<i>Bikos hemi stap insaet long bele blong mi.</i>	<i>better</i>
<i>Bihaen diswan, bae mi go long Honiara</i>	<i>OK</i>
<i>Bihaen long diswan, bae mi go long Honiara.</i>	<i>better</i>
<i>Solomon hem stap melewan Papua Niugini an Vanuatu.</i>	<i>OK</i>
<i>Solomon hem stap melewan long Papua Niugini an Vanuatu.</i>	<i>better</i>
<i>Tufala digim hol an berem devol ya insaet hol ya.</i>	<i>OK</i>
<i>Tufala digim hol an berem devol ya insaet long hol ya.</i>	<i>better</i>

Apart from a straightforward combination of the adverb plus *long*, the complex PP can vary in structure. I turn now to examine this variation.

Huebner & Horoi (1979b, p.66) give the following example of variation in the use of *long* in relation to “positional words” (I introduced this example in §3.7.2 to discuss decreolisation). They note that each of the following sentences has the same meaning, namely, ‘The pen is on the table’. I agree with their interpretation.⁸⁹ In each case the PP is underlined and the prepositions are in bold.

(247)

- a) *Baero i stap **long antap long** tebol.*
- b) *Baero i stap **antap long** tebol.*
- c) *Baero i stap **long antap** tebol.*
- d) *Baero i stap **antap** tebol.*
- e) *Baero i stap **long** tebol.*

‘The pen is on the table’ (wr)

Example (247e) contains a simple preposition and is of no immediate interest to the discussion here other than to recall that Pijin need not use multiple prepositions in its PP. The other four examples show the possible variation of the complex PP. By far the most common preposition combination in the PP is:

adverb *long*

The other forms less frequently observed are:

long adverb *long*,

long adverb,

adverb

⁸⁹ Huebner & Horoi allow that example (e) could have a broader meaning than the others, even a different meaning given appropriate contextual information.

To illustrate the comparative frequencies, I analysed my data to determine the frequency of occurrence of several different combinations of prepositions. The analysis is not intended to make claims concerning absolute frequencies. The following frequencies for preposition combinations formed with *antap* ‘above’, *andanit* ‘underneath’, *aotsaet* ‘outside’, and *insaet* ‘inside’ were observed:

antap ‘above’ number used in PPs: 267

(number used for other functions: 60)

Combination	Frequency
<i>antap long</i>	263
<i>long antap long</i>	2
<i>long antap</i>	1
<i>antap</i>	1

andanit ‘underneath’ number used in PPs: 88

(number used for other functions: 0)

Combination	Frequency
<i>andanit long</i>	79
<i>long andanit long</i>	2
<i>long andanit</i>	2
<i>andanit</i>	5

aotsaet ‘outside’ number used in PPs: 48

(number used for other functions: 55)

Combination	Frequency
<i>aotsaet long</i>	40
<i>long aotsaet long</i>	4
<i>long aotsaet</i>	0
<i>aotsaet</i>	0
<i>aotsaet from</i>	4

insaet ‘inside’ number used in PPs 1075:

(number used for other functions: 109)

Combination	Frequency
<i>insaet long</i>	944
<i>long insaet long</i>	11
<i>long insaet</i>	10
<i>insaet</i>	2

However, the frequency of occurrence for some of the complex prepositions may be idiosyncratic. The following locative adverb *saet* ‘side’⁹⁰, exhibits a different relative set of frequencies compared to the previous examples.

saet ‘side’ number used in PPs 269:

(number used for other functions: 89)

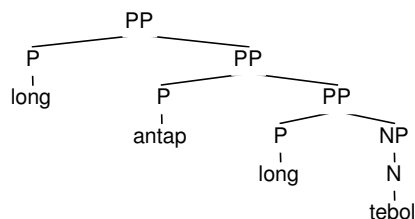
Combination	Frequency
<i>saet long</i>	33
<i>long saet long</i>	61
<i>long saet</i>	86
<i>saet</i>	0

I consider that complex PPs are actually multi-layered PPs. This is perhaps best illustrated with some simplified tree diagrams. In this case the trees are constructed with successive prepositions heading PP projections until the maximal projection of PP. This approach aligns with general thinking regarding PPs within generative grammar. That is, it is believed that the syntax of PPs is internally complex (Gehrke 2005, p.8).

This multi-layered PP approach is now applied to the original example of variation, namely:

- a. *Baero i stap long antap long tebol.*
- b. *Baero i stap antap long tebol.*
- c. *Baero i stap long antap tebol.*
- d. *Baero i stap antap tebol.*

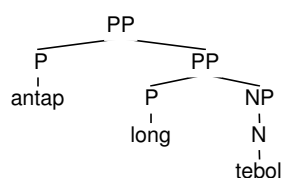
Consider the tree for example **a.**, the most complex form, first.



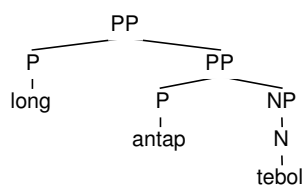
A generalised version of the tree for a complex PP should not be interpreted as meaning an infinite number of recursions is possible. The complex PPs may, at maximum, be a combination of two true prepositions (*long* or *blong*) and an adverb as typified in the tree diagram.⁹¹

Tree diagrams for the other examples are as follows:

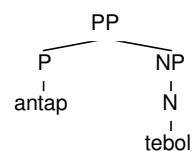
b.



c.



d.

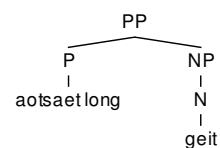


The multi-layered PP approach to the complex PP is, I believe, the correct one, since other alternate analyses have certain disadvantages as I now show.

The first alternate analysis I consider is that so-called complex prepositions are to be analysed as single lexical units. Thus in the tree diagrams, the complex lexical P is associated with a single P terminal node of the PP. This approach is illustrated in the following examples with putative complex prepositions (in bold):

(248)

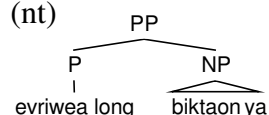
a) *Bat Pita hemi stap nomoa aot-saet long geit.*
 but Peter 3SG.SRP stay only out-side PREP gate
 'But Peter just stayed outside of the gate.' (nt)



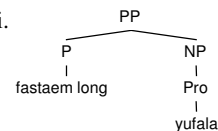
⁹⁰ Since 'side' is not used as a preposition in English I illustrate the prepositional use of *saet* in Pijin with the following example, *Olketa berem hem saet long rod long Efrat.* 'They buried him at the side of the road in Efrat.'

⁹¹ I note that coordination is possible at all of the nodes in the trees.

b) *Trabol ya hemi barava go kasem evriwea long biktaon ya.*
 trouble DEM 3SG.SRP really go reach-TRS everywhere PREP city DEM
 ‘That trouble really reached everywhere in the city.’ (nt)

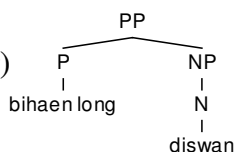


c) *Mi baebae mi go fastaem long yufala long Auki.*
 1SG FUT 1SG.SRP go first PREP 2PL PREP Auki.
 ‘I will go before you to Auki.’ (au)



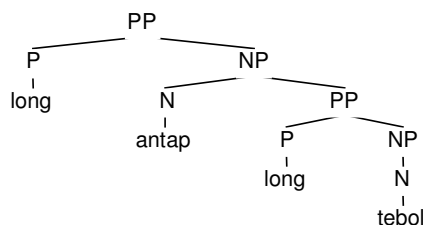
d) *Bihaen long diswan,...*
 Behind PREP this

‘After this,...’ (wr)



The disadvantage of this approach is that it requires us to posit a large number of complex lexical units, units that are actually unnecessary because they are entirely predictable with a multi-layered PP analysis.

The other alternate analysis retains the multi-layered approach but treats the adverb as heading an NP rather than a PP. This analysis may be illustrated in the following tree diagram:



This approach depends on the nouniness of the adverb *antap*. The alternate tree contains one maximal PP, and one intermediate NP projection headed by *antap*,⁹² and one PP that is a constituent of the intermediate NP, rather than three PP projections. I reject this alternative analysis because it creates some unacceptable ambiguity in light of the other examples, specifically, those illustrated in the trees labelled b., c. and d. above. If the constituent [*antap long tebol*] is an NP in that particular context, then that conflicts with the analysis illustrated in the tree diagram of example **b**. In tree **b**, *antap* **must** be treated as the P head of the PP.

⁹² Verhaar suggests a similar analysis for complex PPs in Tok Pisin as follows: “The first *long* is a simple preposition and its object is all the rest of the phrase. The object itself, however, consists of the noun following the first *long* as the head of the noun phrase; the second *long* up to the end is a prepositional attribute.... none of them contains a complex preposition.” (Verhaar 1995, p.249)

The form [*antap long tebol*] should probably not be analysed as an NP and a PP in the same context. Furthermore, the adverb *antap* cannot be treated as a noun because it is not possible for it to be modified by a determiner, although there are certain contexts in which it may function as a N. I also reject this analysis because as I said above, I believe adverbs like *antap* have acquired a prepositional function through a decreolising influence from English. I conclude that to be consistent, all complex PPs are analysed as containing two or three PP layers, as has been illustrated in the examples above. The nature of the locational adverbs and the PPs formed by them are discussed further in §6.3.2.3.

Whatever the nature of the intermediate projections, the multi-layered PP analysis does away with the need to posit Ps that are lexically complex. There are no complex prepositions. Rather, when greater specificity is required, locative or temporal adverbs usually combine with a PP object containing the semantically bleached preposition *long*. I say “usually” because as has been seen in the variability noted above, and the data in the previous section, the locative and temporal adverbs may at times function as P heads alone. In the next section I provide some further observations concerning complex PPs in which the P *long* precedes an adverb functioning as P.

6.3.2.3 *Long* + Adverb Functioning as a Preposition

As already noted the preposition *long* may at times precede an adverb functioning as a P. The following are two additional examples:

(249)

a) *Wanem nao yu du-du-im long andanit tri ya?*
 What QN 2SG PROG-do-TRS PREP under tree QN
 ‘What are you doing at the bottom of that tree?’ (wr)

b) *Olketa go-daon long olketa smolfala pul long melewan olketa ston.*
 3PL go-down PREP PL small pool PREP between PL rock
 ‘They went down to the small pools among the rocks.’ (wr)

The way speakers use nominal locationals in substrate languages perhaps contributes to the pattern observed in examples in (249). Lee (1996a, p.400) identifies several Solomon Islands vernacular languages that have locative markers or particles that precede locationals. Such constructions appear to be similar to *long* preceding a locative adverb.

For instance compare the following Solomon Islands languages (the preposition that is like *long* is in bold).

Sa’a - Malaita (pers. comm. Karen Ashley)

(250) *i lengi-ne tahe*
 PREP top-3.POSS table
 ‘on the table’s top’

Cheke Holo - Isabel (pers. comm. Freddy Boswell)

(251) *Falao khuma ke kosi-gna suɓa*
 CAUS-go dog PREP outside-3SG.POSS house
 ‘Put the dog outside of the house!’

Lengo - Guadalcanal (pers. comm. Paul Unger)

(252) *i leo-ni pono*
 LOC inside-POSS bush/forest
 ‘in the bush’

What this perhaps means is that some speakers of Pijin may ‘consider’ the locative adverbs to be analogous to possessed locational nouns in their mother tongue while others may ‘consider’ them analogous to prepositions in English. In this way we have a scenario where both superstrate and substrate languages contribute to the formation of these less common prepositional constructions and so perpetuate the variation seen in example (247).

Finally in this regard, in a procedural text I have concerning how to construct a canoe there are a host of locative adverbs: *aotsaet* ‘outside’, *bihaen* ‘back’, *botom* ‘bottom’, *insaet* ‘inside’, *melewan* ‘middle’ used together with either *long* or *blong* that are unequivocally NPs with reference to different parts of the canoe. In the first of the following two examples the NP, *botom long kanu blong yu*, is the subject of a complement clause, in the second example the NP, *botom blong kanu ya* is an object.

(253)
a) Yu mas rolem haflog ya gogo yu lukim wea hemi leidaon stret long saet wea yu wandem fo botom long kanu blong yu hemi stap long hem.

‘You must role the half log until you see it laying correctly on the side you want the bottom of your canoe to be.’ (wr)

b) Bat yu mas no kat go dipim tumas, nogud yu ovam go botom blong kanu ya.

‘But you must not cut to deep, lest you cut through the bottom of the canoe.’ (wr)

6.3.3 Verbal Prepositional Phrases

The verbal prepositions are described in section §4.7.4. They function of course as head of a PP, see examples following (verbal preposition in bold, PP underlined):

(254)

a) *Mista Kokosu hemi go nao fo mek-em*
 Mister hermit.crab 3SG.SRP go EMPH for make-TRS
*miting **wetem** olketa fren blong hem.*
 meeting with.TRS PL friend POSS 3SG

‘Mister Hermit Crab went to have a meeting with his friends.’ (wr)

b) *Plande taem bodi blong yumi save faet seleva **agensim** olketa sik*
 Many time body POSS 1PL.INC ABIL fight alone against.TRS PL sickness

‘Many times our body can fight by itself against sickness.’ (wr)

c) *Samfala olketa mekem **falo-m** olketa pisin.*
 Some 3PL make-TRS follow-TRS PL bird

‘Some (dances) they make concerning the birds.’ (wr)

Since the verbal P has a transitive suffix to index its object, it may occur without an overt object. In such cases the object may have been fronted or deleted due to identity with a previously mentioned NP. Whether by stranding or deletion, verbal Ps may occur independently. In the examples in (255) the object of the verbal P (in bold) has been underlined.

(255)

a) *Olketa tek-em **disfala stik***
 3PL take-TRS this stick
*an olketa hitim hed blong hem **wetem.***
 and 3PL hit-TRS head POSS 3SG with.TRS

‘They took this stick and they hit his head with it.’ (nt)

b) ***Disfala** lo nao hemi toktok strong **agensim.***
 this law FOC 3SG.SRP talk strong against.TRS

‘This is the law he talked strongly against.’ (nt)

There are other instances however in which a verbal preposition has no overt prepositional object. In the first of the following two examples the preposition (in bold) functions to mark the source location. In the second example the preposition functions as a post-head N modifier. Although the P object is not overt in the sense of being a constituent that has moved to a different place in the clause, one could say that the object is co-referential with the first NP (*puding*) in the coordinate NP.

(256)

a) *Yu go-aot **from.***
 2SG go-out from.TRS

‘You get out of here!’ or ‘You get out from him!’

Note, Lee (1996, p.396) gives this example and says it occurred in an exorcism.

b) *Tufala kaikai-m puding an olketa samting olsem.*
 3DUAL eat-TRS pudding and PL thing like-TRS

‘The two of them ate pudding and things like that.’ (wr)

6.4 Word and Phrase Coordination

In this section I demonstrate a range of constituents that may be coordinated in Pijin. Rather than explicating coordination in earlier sections I deal with it here since the same straightforward behaviour occurs irrespective of the kinds of constituents coordinated. Providing that two or more constituents are of the same type, they may be coordinated by either the ‘additive’ coordinator *an* ‘and’, or by the ‘alternative’ coordinator *o* ‘or’. In this respect Pijin is unlike the Oceanic languages it is in contact with. According to Moyse-Faurie and Lynch (2004, p.448), “Oceanic languages, in fact, offer a great variety of markers of coordination... and if the coordination of phrases, whether nominal or verbal, is generally effected by the morpheme **ma/*me* ... that of clauses is generally effected by other markers, or by simple juxtaposition.”

6.4.1 Coordinated Nouns

The first constituents to be considered are coordinated Ns. In §5.3 I discuss the internal structure of the NOM. I also believe that coordinated Ns may form a NOM that heads an NP. This is demonstrated in the following examples (coordinated Ns that form the NOM are bold, NP underlined). In both examples a determiner (*olketa* and *wanfala* respectively) modifies the coordinated Ns rather than just one or other of them.

(257)

a) *olketa mere an pikinini ya*
 PL woman and child DEM

‘those women and children’ (wr)

b) *Taem wanfala katekis o pasto o minista*
 time one catechist or pastor or minister

o pris hemi rid-im kam olketa stori ya...
 or priest 3SG.SRP read-TRS come PL story DEM

‘When a catechist, or pastor, or minister or priest, reads out these stories...’ (spr)

6.4.2 Coordinated Numerals

Numerals may be coordinated with the coordinator *o* ‘or’. Thus the coordinated numerals function as a quantifier within an NP. The following two examples show some coordinated numerals (in bold) within an NP (underlined).

(258)

a) Tufala o trifala pipol nao i mas kam fo ripot-em samting long yu fastaem.
 two or three people FOC SRP must come INF report-TRS thing PREP 2SG first

‘Two or three people must come and report the thing to you first.’ (nt)

b) Yu mas ask-em wanfala o tufala man moa fo go wetem yu.
 2SG must ask-TRS one or two man more for go with-TRS 2SG

‘You must ask one or two more men to go with you.’ (nt)

In addition to the coordination of cardinal numerals, ordinal numerals may also be coordinated, for example:

(259) Sem-samting hemi hapen long mektu an mektri brata.
 same-thing 3SG.SRP happen PREP second and third brother

‘The same thing happened to the second and third brothers.’ (wr)

6.4.3 Coordinated Adjectives

In §5.2.4.3 the behaviour of multiple adjectives within the NP was discussed. NPs may also contain coordinated adjectives. In the following case note that the adjectives are coordinated rather than being juxtaposed as is usual.

(260) Yumi save mek-em kantri blong yumi
 1PL.INC ABIL make-TRS country POSS 1PL.INC

fo kamap wanfala gudfala an hapi ples fo stap long hem.
 for become one good and happy place for stay PREP 3SG

‘We can make our country become a good and happy place to live in.’ (wr)

6.4.4 Coordinated Nominals

Two or more NOMs may be coordinated with either coordinator. In the following examples the NOMs that are coordinated are in bold while the entire coordinated NOM is underlined.

(261)

a) Dadi blong mi an dadi blong hem tufala i fising distaem.
 father POSS 1SG and father POSS 3SG 3DL SRP fishing now

‘My dad and his dad are fishing right now.’ (au)

b) Tufala man o tufala mere i save joen-em komiti.
 two man or two woman SRP ABIL join-TRS committee

‘Two men or two women can join the committee.’ (wr)

c) Yu tingse mi an mami blong yu an olketa brata blong yu,
 2SG think 1SG and mother POSS 2SG and PL brother POSS 2SG

baebae mifala kam an ben-daon long yu?
 FUT 1PL.EXC.SRP come and bend-down PREP 2SG

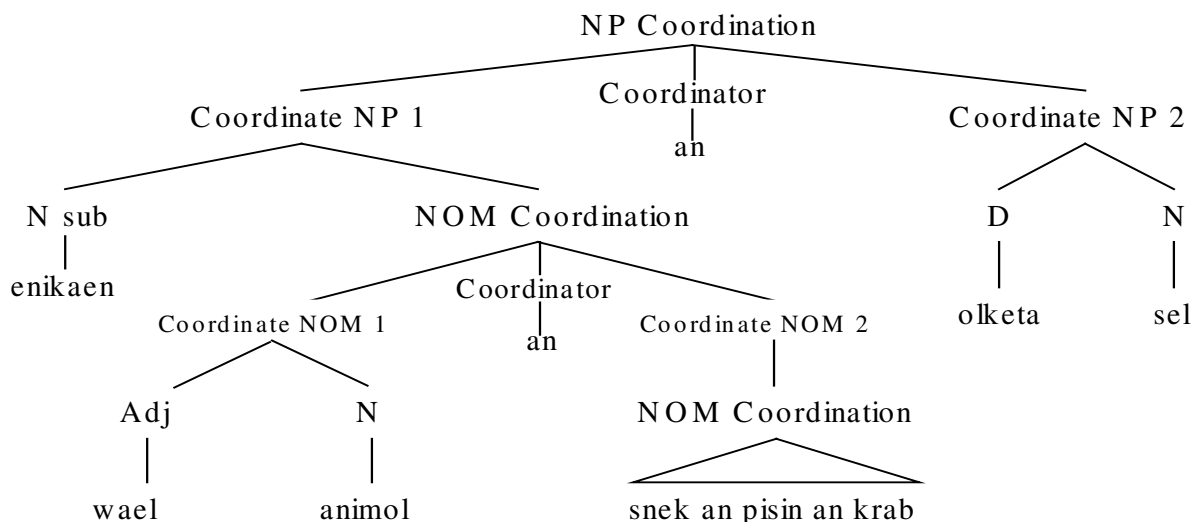
‘You think that I and your mother and your brothers will come and bow down to you?’ (ot)

Apart from simple coordination of NOMs, the following example typifies the additional complexity that is possible. I consider this to be an example of layered coordination (Huddleston & Pullum 2002, pp.1278-1279).

(262) *An yufala save luk-im tu eni-kaen wael animol*
 and 2PL ABIL look-TRS too any-kind.of wild animal
an snek an pisin an krab an olketa sel long bus.
 and snake and bird and crab and PL shell PREP bush

‘And you can also see all sorts of wild animals, snakes, birds, crabs and shells in the bush.’ (wr)

The following tree diagram perhaps represent the layers.



The analysis represented is justified for two reasons. First, the Adj *wael* can only modify the generic N *animol*, it is not thought to modify the other Ns in the NP since it does not normally collocate with them. Consequently, the Adj with its N must be treated as being in a different constituent from those in which the other Ns occur. Second, the subclassifier N *enikaen* may not ordinarily immediately precede the determiner *olketa*, a phrase such as **enikaen olketa sel* is ungrammatical. Thus these two words must be treated as being in separate constituents.

6.4.5 Coordinated PPs

Two or more PPs may be coordinated with either coordinator. In the following examples the PPs that are coordinated are in bold while the entire coordinated PP is underlined.

(263)
 a) *No eni narafala god moa long heven o long wol hemi olsem yu*
 no any other god more PREP heaven or PREP world 3SG.SRP like.TRS 2SG

‘There is not any other god in heaven or in the world that is like you.’ (ot)

b) *Yufala save purubut antap long olketa poesen snek*
 2PL ABIL tread.on on PREP PL poison snake
an antap long olketa skopion.
 and on PREP PL scorpion

‘You will be able to step on poisonous snakes and scorpions.’ (nt)

6.4.6 Coordinated Verbs and Verb Phrases

In §6.1.1.4 above I showed that *go* or *kam* may be coordinated with another following verb (with or without an overt coordinator) to form a complex constituent that functions as the head of a VP. The following example further demonstrates this.

(264) ...*baebae mifala kam an bendaon long yu?*
 FUT 1PL.EXC.SRP come and bend-down PREP 2SG

‘... we will come and bow down to you?’ (ot)

Since this coordination of verbs forms the head of a single VP and hence a single Predicate (see next chapter) I do not consider sentences containing such Predicates to be complex sentences. There are a number of kinds of VP and Predicate coordination that do create such complex sentences; I examine these in chapter 8. The next chapter focuses on the Predicate.

Chapter 7 The Predicate and its Constituents

7.1 Overview

This chapter describes the Predicate⁹³ and its constituents. In the process of describing the Predicate I further clarify the functions of the relevant word categories given in chapter 4. Then I discuss the function of the Predicate within the sentence in chapter 8.

Predicates most typically are headed by a VP, but they may also have a non-verbal head. The non-verbal head may be an AdjP, an NP, or a PP. The same phenomenon occurs in Bislama, and Crowley said concerning what he labelled as the Verb Phrase, “what is being described here is really the structure of the ‘predicate phrase’” (Crowley 2004, pp.88-89).

The following discussion concerns the constituents of the Predicate in the order in which they occur. The following phrase structure rule expresses the basic structure of the Predicate:

$$\text{Predicate} \rightarrow (\text{SRP}) (\text{DM}) (\text{NEG})(\text{TMA}) \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{VP} \\ \text{AdjP} \\ \text{NP} \\ \text{PP} \end{array} \right\} (\text{EMPH}) \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{Adv} \\ \text{PP} \end{array} \right\}$$

The Predicate contains at least an obligatory phrasal head. It may be preceded by a subject referencing pronoun (SRP), a deontic marker (DM), a negative marker (NEG), and a tense, mood, aspect marker (TMA). The head may be followed by an emphasis marker (EMPH) and an adverb (Adv) or PP that indicates time or location. This phrase structure rule is somewhat of an abstraction since, as shall be seen below in §7.3.4, there is a degree of variability as a result of some pre-head adverbs that may occur variably in relation to other pre-head constituents, and because there is variable placement of the post-head time and location adverbs and PPs (see §7.6). The following examples illustrate some Predicates (underlined).

(265)

a) *Sip ya hemi save go nao.*
 ship DEM 3SG.SRP ABIL go EMPH
 SRP TMA V EMPH
 ‘The ship can go.’ (au)

b) *Raes hemi save grou gudfala long fil wea i garem plande wata.*
 rice SRP ABIL grow good PREP field REL SRP have-TRS plenty water
 SRP TMA VP
 ‘Rice can grow well in a field that has lots of water.’ (wr)

c) *So yufala mas no biliv-im evriwan.*
 so 2PL must not believe-TRS everyone
 DM NEG VP

‘So you must not believe everyone.’ (wr)

d) *Yu no save kambaek fo eni kompensesein.*
 2SG not ABIL return for any compensation
 NEG TMA VP

‘You can’t come back for any compensation.’ (wr)

The validity of the Predicate as a particular phrase type in Pijin is based upon a number of criteria. First, the Predicate, irrespective of its phrasal head type, is the obligatory constituent in a sentence. Second, pre-head constituents occur before all types of Predicate heads. Third, Predicates with different phrase types functioning as heads can be coordinated within a sentence with only a single subject NP, for example a Predicate with an AdjP head may be coordinated with a Predicate having a VP head as follows:

(266) *Pato hemi olo fogud an hemi dae nao.*
 Pato 3SG.SRP old very and 3SG.SRP die EMPH

‘Pato was very old and he died.’ (wr)

Finally, Predicates can be coordinated within a sentence such that each Predicate may have different pre-head negation, TMA markers, and adverbs, for example:

(267) *Fran blong sip ya hemi barava pas strong an hemi no save muv moa.*
 front POSS ship DEM 3SG.SRP
 really stuck strong and 3SG.SRP not ABIL move more

‘The bow of the ship was really stuck and it could not move anymore.’ (nt)

7.2 Subject Referencing Pronoun

The first constituent of the Predicate is the subject referencing pronoun (SRP). When the SRP occurs, it usually functions to cross-reference a known subject. Such a subject may be an overt NP, a pronoun (usually focused), or it may be implicit but known from either the linguistic context or the non-linguistic setting. A detailed analysis of the SRP is covered in §7.7.

The SRP *i* may be thought of as the most basic of the SRPs. Keesing (1988, pp.143-170) considered *i* to be one item in a paradigm of pronouns that he has called both subject pronouns and subject referencing pronouns. All the regular personal pronouns can be used as SRPs (see §7.7).

⁹³ What I have called the Predicate could perhaps be labeled the Predicate Phrase, I use Predicate largely as a more succinct label.

Apart from cross-referencing a known subject, third person SRPs may also indicate a non-referential subject, particularly in weather or climatic verbs (Meyerhoff 2000, p.112). Such a function may be observed in the following example:

- (268) *Hemi ren bikfala las-naet ya.*
 3SG.SRP rain big last-night DEC
 ‘It rained heavily last night.’ (wr)

7.3 Pre-Head Markers

Having introduced the SRP, I now turn to the various pre-head markers within the Predicate. I base the classification of these on ordering and co-occurrence constraints.

7.3.1 Deontic Markers

The deontic markers (DM) occur following the SRP (if one occurs) and always preceding the negative marker (if one occurs). There are two DMs conveying deontic modality. The strong obligation modifier *mas* ‘must’ is very common (over 2500 occurrences in my data), the weaker obligation modifier *sud* ‘should’ is less widely used.⁹⁴ In combination with a following negative marker these indicate prohibition.

7.3.1.1 *mas*

The deontic marker *mas* ‘must’ is illustrated in the following examples:

- (269)
- a) *Fo tek-em olketa log ya, olketa bulldosa mas wak-em rod...*
 to take-TRS PL log DEM PL bulldozer must work-TRS road
 ‘To take those logs the bulldozers must build a road...’ (wr)
- b) *Minista ya hemi mas toktok wetem olketa saet long disfala agrimen...*
 minister DEM 3SG.SRP must talk with.TRS PL side PREP this agreement
 ‘The minister must talk with the parties to this agreement...’ (wr)
- c) *Nomata eni-wan long olketa hemi maet tok-spoel-em yu,*
 even.if any-one PREP 3PL 3SG.SRP may talk-spoil-TRS 2SG
yu mas no sens-im.
 2SG must not change-TRS
 ‘Even if any of them may disparage you, you must not pay them back.’ (wr)

7.3.1.2 *sud*

The deontic marker *sud* ‘should’ is seen in the following two examples:

⁹⁴ In regard to the strength of the deontic obligation these modifiers seem very similar to their English counterparts. Note also that *mas* does not convey any sense of epistemic modality such as ‘must’ does in English (Huddleston & Pullum 2002, pp.180-187).

(270)

a) *Olketa taon kaonsel olketa sud aot-em olketa rabis long rod.*
 PL town council 3PL.SRP should out-TRS PL rubbish PREP road

‘The town council workers should remove the rubbish from the road.’ (Jourdan 2002, p.231)

b) *Olketa mere hu i babule olketa sud no smok.*
 PL woman REL SRP pregnant 3PL.SRP should not smoke

‘Women who are pregnant should not smoke.’ (wr)

7.3.2 Negative Marker

The next pre-head constituent marks negation. There are two such markers of negation. The most common is *no* ‘not’, less common, though more intense, is *nating* ‘never’. The presence of either of these markers primarily negates the event or state referred to by the Predicate. Thus when occurring in combination with the TMA marker, *save* ‘ABILITY, PERMISSIVE’ (see §7.3.3.3), it creates the meaning either of inability or prohibition to perform the action in the Predicate.

7.3.2.1 *no*

The following examples illustrate *no* negating a VP head in the Predicate:

(271)

a) *So waswe nao yu no bin putum seleni blong mi long bank?*
 so why QN 2SG not PST put-TRS money POSS 1SG PREP bank

‘So why didn’t you put my money in the bank?’ (nt)

b) *Baebae olketa no falo-m olketa mami an dadi blong olketa,...*
 FUT 3PL not follow-TRS PL mother and father POSS 3PL

‘They will not obey their mothers and fathers...’ (wr)

c) *...an yumi no garem eni fis fo kaikai-m...*
 and 1PL.INC not have-TRS any fish PURP eat-TRS

‘...and we do not have any fish to eat...’ (wr)

7.3.2.2 *nating*

The next three examples simply illustrate the negative marker *nating* ‘never, not (emphatic)’:

(272)

a) *Yumi olketa mami an dadi i nating ting-im*
 1PL.INC PL mother and father SRP never think-TRS

dis-kaen wei fo olketa gele blong yumi.
 this-kind way PREP PL girl POSS 1PL.INC

‘We mothers and fathers never imagined this sort of life for our daughters.’ (wr)

b) *Olketa pipol barava nating gare-m eni kaikai nao...*
 PL people really not.EMPH have-TRS any food EMPH

‘The people really do not have any food at all...’

- c) *Sapos waef blong wanfala man hemi nating bin durong wetem eniwan...*
 if wife POSS one man 3SG.SRP never PST have.sex with anyone
 ‘If the wife of a man has never had sex with anyone...’ (ot)

7.3.3 TMA Markers

The tense, mood, aspect markers (TMA) occur preceding the head of the Predicate, and in some cases immediately following the negative marker where one occurs. There are six words that function as TMA markers, *jes*, *bin*, *save*, *kan*, *kanduit*, *kanot* (as noted in §4.9.3). I now examine these in turn.

7.3.3.1 *jes*

The TMA marker *jes* functions in two different ways, both similar to functions of the English word *just* (from which it originally derives).

It is a tense marker meaning ‘IMMEDIATE PAST’. In this sense it is similar to English *just* that functions as a time adverbial indicating recency (Quirk et al. 1985, p.194), for example:

(273)

- a) *Mifala jes kaikai.*
 1PL.EXC just eat

‘We just ate.’ (spo)

- b) *Mi jes baem tenfala buluka an distaem mi go fo luk-im.*
 1SG just buy.TRS ten cow and now 1SG go for look-TRS

‘I recently bought ten cows and now I am going to see them.’ (nt)

The marker *jes* may also function to indicate restrictive focus on the action indicated by the head V. This is also similar to English *just* when it operates as a restrictive subjunct, that is, it focuses a predication when it precedes it (Quirk et al. 1985, pp.607-8). That it does not indicate immediate past is supported by the fact that it occurs in both past (or unmarked for time) and non-past contexts, for instance:

(274)

- a) *Bat hemi jes lei gobaek insaet long sel blong hem an hemi slip.*
 but 3SG.SRP FOC lay back inside PREP shell POSS 3SG and 3SG.SRP sleep

‘But he merely laid back in his shell and slept.’ (wr)

- b) *Hemi jes mek-em saen nomoa fo olketa*
 3SG.SRP FOC make-TRS sign only PREP 3PL

bikos hemi kanduit toktok nao.
 because 3SG.SRP unable talk EMPH

‘He just made signs for them because he was unable to talk.’ (nt)

- c) ... *mifala no jes toktok nomoa...*
 1PL.EXC not just talk only

‘... we didn’t just talk, ...’ (nt)

d) *Sapos olsem, bae mi jes letem brata blong yufala ya*
 if like FUT 1SG just let.TRS brother POSS 2PL DEM
fo gobaek an stap wetem yufala.
 for return and stay with.TRS 2PL

‘Since it is like that, I will just allow your brother
 to return and stay with you.’ (ot)

Although *jes* occurs in future clauses such as in (274d) it is never observed to indicate immediate proximity of time, that is a meaning like ‘very soon’. It always seems to have a restrictive focus in this future context.⁹⁵

7.3.3.2 *bin*

The second TMA marker is *bin* ‘PAST’. Usually the Predicate is unmarked in terms of tense, and the surrounding context will indicate the time frame of the event. Most commonly that will be past or present. The TMA marker *bin* may be used to provide a clear indication of a simple past tense. The following examples illustrate this meaning:

(275)

a) *Mi bin help-em yufala gudfala olsem mi help-em olketa nara sios.*
 1SG PST help-TRS 2PL good like.TRS 1SG help-TRS PL other church

‘I really helped you like I help the other churches.’ (nt)

b) *Mifala bin kaikai an dring wetem yu,*
 1PL.EXC PST eat and drink with.TRS 2SG
an yu bin tisim mifala insaet long taon blong mifala.
 and 2SG PST teach.TRS 1PL.EXC inside PREP town POSS 1PL.EXC

‘We ate and drank with you, and you taught us in our town.’ (nt)

c) *An mifala no bin tek-em nating eni kaikai long olketa pipol.*
 and 1PL.EXC not PST take-TRS nothing any food PREP PL people

‘And we did not take for nothing any food from the people.’ (nt)

Apart from the simple past, *bin* perhaps seems to indicate a relative past tense (Comrie 1985b, pp.56-82). Most often this seems to be a prior past, that is, the event marked by *bin* happened prior to some other event in the discourse. This kind of relative tense is known as anterior tense (Holm 2000, p.178). The following two examples illustrate this use:

⁹⁵ Quirk et al. (Quirk et al. 1985, pp.1082,1084) show that when English *just* is used in conjunction with *before* or *after* it is a modifier that indicates proximity of time.

(276)

a) *An olketa gudfala waka yufala duim distaem*
 and PL good work 2PL do-TRS now

hemi barava win-im olketa waka
 3SG.SRP really win-TRS PL work

wea yufala bin du~duim kam fastaem.
 REL 2PL PST REDUP~do.TRS come first

‘And the good work you are doing now really surpasses the work that you had done initially.’ (nt)

b) *Bihaen, God hemi som wanfala wel long Haga,*
 after God 3SG.SRP show.TRS one well PREP Hagar

wea olketa bin dig-im bifo a hemi gare-m wata insaet long hem,
 REL 3PL PST dig-TRS before and 3SG.SRP have-TRS water inside PREP 3SG

nao hemi go ful-um-ap-em wata long botol blong hem ya.
 DISC 3SG.SRP go fill-TRS-up-TRS water PREP bottle POSS 3SG DEC

‘Afterwards, God showed a well to Hagar that people had dug before, and it had water in it. Then she filled up her bottle with water.’ (ot)

Although the relative clauses in the two examples above are to be read with an anterior tense, that anterior reading is, I suggest, not necessarily dependent on *bin* having an anterior function. Just as Predicates without any explicit time marking are dependent on context for their time frame, one could argue that the anterior reading of *bin* is totally dependent upon context since in both examples there are time adverbials within the relative clauses (*fastaem*, *bifo a*) that establish the time relationship between the main clause and the relative clause. One significant observation concerning *bin* is that well over one third of the 1700 or so occurrences of it in my data occur in relative clauses. There is a strong correlation between the anterior reading of *bin* and its occurrence within a relative clause. I suggest that this further supports my claim that the anterior reading is context dependent. Therefore I analyse *bin* as a past marker without specifying whether it indicates absolute or relative tense, thus it is only ever labelled ‘PAST’ in my data.

7.3.3.3 *save*

The verb *save* may function as a TMA marker. It normally means ‘know’, however, as a TMA marker it has three different functions in this pre-head position. When speakers use *save* in this manner it retains none of its basic meaning as a verb. A number of observations enable us to determine that *save* is a TMA marker. First, the fact that it occurs in this pre-head position but does not co-occur with the others in the TMA set. Second, it does not occur preposed to the negative marker. If it did it could perhaps be argued that it is an adverb. And third, when it is used this way it is not modified by any post-head adverbs that could lead us to conclude that it was the head of a VP.

The most common function of *save* in this TMA position is to indicate ability, or if combined with a negative marker in the Predicate, inability.

(277)

a) *Olketa samting wea hemi gud olsem, hemi save help-em evri pipol.*
 PL thing REL 3SG.SRP good like.TRS 3SG.SRP ABIL help-TRS every people
 ‘Things that are good like that can help all people.’ (wr)

b) *Yu save go long gaden an livim*
 2SG ABIL go PREP garden and leave.TRS
kaikai blong yu hemi tane hem seleva.
 food POSS 2SG 3SG.SRP done 3SG self
 ‘You can go to the garden and leave your food to cook by itself.’ (wr)

c) *Mi no save faend-em woman ya.*
 1SG not ABIL find-TRS woman DEM
 ‘I am not able to find that woman.’ (wr)

The second function of *save* as a TMA marker is to indicate habitual aspect.

(278)

a) *Hemi save baem olketa kaikai long Panatina Plasa.*
 3SG.SRP HAB buy.TRS PL food PREP Panatina Plaza
 ‘She usually buys food at Panatina Plaza.’ (spo)

b) *Waswe, yu save salem karasin long hia?*
 QN 2SG HAB sell.TRS kerosine PREP here
 ‘Do you ordinarily sell kerosine here?’ (spo)

c) *Mi laekem fo faendem-aot waswe nao olketa save dans olowe olsem.*
 1SG like-TRS COMP find.TRS-out why QN 3PL HAB dance always like.that
 ‘I want to find out why they always dance like that.’ (wr)

As a further example, Jourdan cites the following sentence to show the habitual meaning of *save*:

(279) *Olketa sevende no save kaikai pig.*
 PL seventh.day.adventists no HAB eat pig
 ‘The Seventh Day Adventists do not eat pork.’ (Jourdan 2002, p.199)

This is perhaps ambiguous since *save* in this example may also have a negated permissive meaning, namely it could mean, ‘The Seventh Day Adventists may not eat pork.’ Permissive meaning for *save* is in fact the third function of *save* as a TMA marker. Some examples indicating this meaning are as follows:

a) *Yu save slip nao.*
 2SG PERM sleep EMPH
 ‘You may go to sleep.’ (au)

- b) *Man hu hemi save kaikai-m eni-kaen kaikai,*
 man REL 3SG.SRP PERM eat-TRS any-kind food
hemi mas no luk-daon long man hu hemi no save kaikai-m mit.
 3SG.SRP must not look-down PREP man REL 3SG.SRP not PERM eat-TRS meat
 ‘The man who may eat any kind of food must not have contempt for the man who
 may not eat meat.’ (nt)

- c) *Yufala no save go-aot moa nao ya.*
 2PL not PERM go-out more EMPH DEC
 ‘You may not go out again, okay.’ (wr)

7.3.3.4 *kan, kanduit, and kanot*

There are three essentially synonymous TMA markers that indicate inability. They are: *kan* ‘can’t’,⁹⁶ *kanduit*⁹⁷ ‘cannot’, *kanot* ‘cannot’. These pre-head TMA markers do not co-occur with any other pre-head markers. No doubt this is primarily a matter of semantic interaction. In terms of meaning they are the equivalent of the combination of the negative marker *no* and the pre-head *save* ‘ABILITY’. Since the three terms already have negative content in their meanings it is straightforward that the NEG marker cannot combine with them. Neither would it make sense to combine a deontic meaning with a meaning of inability.

Simons and Young (1978, p.62) treat *kanduit* as a verb (as is the related *kanduim* ‘unable to do’) and suggest that it is rather forceful, more so than I would consider *no save* to be. Some examples follow:

(280)

- a) *Yufala kan kam long kanu.*
 2SG can’t come PREP canoe
 ‘You can’t come in the canoe.’ (au)
- b) *Hemi kanduit sens-im tingting blong hem.*
 3SG.SRP cannot change-TRS thinking POSS 3SG
 ‘He cannot change his mind.’ (wr)
- c) *Mi kanot talem-aot diswan.*
 1SG can’t tell-TRS-out this
 ‘I can’t speak this out.’ (Simons & Young 1978, p.62)

7.3.4 Pre-head Adverbs

I pointed out in the introduction that there are some pre-head adverbs that occur variably in relation to other pre-head constituents in the Predicate. These are *barava* ‘really’, *rili* ‘really –URBAN’, and *kolsap* ‘nearly’.

⁹⁶ The synonyms for *kan* probably exist so as to avoid the culturally sensitive homophone *kan/kani* ‘vagina’.

⁹⁷ Younger speakers of Pijin consider *kanduit* to be old fashioned.

7.3.4.1 *barava, rili*

The adverb *barava* (already encountered as an adjective modifier) and its urban counterpart *rili* (Jourdan 1989, p.34) are observed to occur both before and after the NEG marker. I have minimal data on *rili* so the discussion here focuses on the more common *barava*. Some examples follow:

(281)

a) *Hemi barava no lav-em yumi.*
 3SG.SRP really not love-TRS 1PL.INC
 ‘He really does not loves us.’ (au)

b) *Mi barava sapraes long man ya nao.*
 1SG really surprised PREP man DEM EMPH
 ‘I was really surprised by that man.’ (au)

c) *Man wea hemi raet-em disfala leta,*
 man REL 3SG.SRP write-TRS this letter
hemi no barava talem-aot nem blong hem.
 3SG.SRP not really tell.TRS-out name POSS 3SG
 ‘The man that wrote this letter did not really say his name.’ (wr)

d) *...sapos yufala no barava fogiv-im olketa brata blong yufala*
 ... if 2PL not really forgive-TRS PL brother POSS 2PL
 ‘...if you do not really forgive your brothers.’ (nt)

The adverb *barava* often co-occurs in the Predicate with various postverbal adverbs that also convey intensification. The following examples illustrate Predicates containing *barava* in combination with a couple of different postverbal adverbs (underlined):

(282)

a) *Olketa barava seksek fogud.*
 3PL really shake truly
 ‘They are really truly shaking.’ (wr)

b) *Haos ya hemi fol-daon an hemi barava pisis evribet nao.*
 house DEM 3SG.SRP fall-down and 3SG.SRP really broken completely EMPH
 ‘That house fell down and it really broke to pieces.’ (nt)

7.3.4.2 *kolsap*

The other pre-head adverb in the Predicate to consider is *kolsap* ‘nearly’.⁹⁸ In this function it indicates nearness to an event commencing or nearness to achieving a state. This adverbial meaning relates to nearness in time rather than physical nearness. The adverb *kolsap* occurs far more frequently in a sentence initial position with such time related meaning than it is

⁹⁸ This word is rather multifunctional since it also occurs as a preposition heading a PP meaning ‘near’, and in a PP functioning as the head of a Predicate.

within the Predicate. It is not usually observed to occur with other pre-head markers, though it may co-occur with the past tense marker *bin*, in which case it follows it. Some examples follow:

(283)

a) *Hemi wakabaot kam, an hemi kolsap go-pas long olketa nao.*
 3SG.SRP walk come and 3SG.SRP nearly go-pass PREP 3PL EMPH

‘He walked toward, and he almost passed them.’ (wr)

b) *Jon hemi kolsap finis-im waka blong hem.*

John 3SG.SRP nearly finish-TRS work POSS 3SG

‘John nearly finished his work. (au)

c) *Evri lam blong mifala i kolsap emti nao.*

every lamp POSS 1PL.EXC SRP nearly empty EMPH

‘All our lamps had become nearly empty.’ (nt)

d) *Mi nao mi bin kolsap dae plande taem winim olketa.*

1SG FOC 1SG.SRP PST nearly die many time win-TRS 3PL

‘I nearly died many more times than them.’ (nt)

7.4 Heads

As mentioned above, VPs most commonly head the Predicate, however, it may also be headed by an NP, an AdjP, or a PP.

7.4.1 Predicates with Verb Phrase Heads

Given the numerous examples of VPs in the previous chapter and the many examples illustrating various features of the predicate that include a VP as the head I shall not provide any further illustrative examples of VP heads. I demonstrate the non-verbal heads of the Predicate in the following sections.

7.4.2 Predicates with Adjective Phrase Heads

A Predicate with an AdjP as head functions as the main constituent of an attributive clause. In light of the discussion in §4.4.3 as to whether Pijin has adjectives or stative verbs it is no surprise that, after the VP, the next most common head of the Predicate is the AdjP. That Pijin adjectives are used predicatively is determined by the fact that the AdjP follows the SRP, and that DM, NEG, TMA, and the pre-head adverbs may precede them.⁹⁹ In the following examples the predicate AdjP head is in bold and the Predicate is underlined.

⁹⁹ It is these things that specify predicates in a creole according to Holm (2000, pp.211- 212).

(284)

a) *Olketa samting ya i **barava had tumas long mifala.***
 PL thing DEM SRP really hard very PREP 1PL.EXC
 ‘These things are extremely hard for us.’ (wr)

b) *Yu **no bikfala yet ya.***
 2SG NEG big yet DEC
 ‘You are not big yet.’ (wr)

c) *Hem **tol tumas.***
 3SG tall very
 ‘He is very tall.’ (au)

d) *San **hemi barava hot fogud ya.***
 sun 3SG.SRP really hot very DEC
 ‘The sunshine is really very hot.’ (wr)

e) *Yufala **sot long kaikai.***
 2PL short PREP food
 ‘You are short of food.’ (spo)

f) ***Hemi nating hot tude.***
 3SG.SRP not.EMPH hot today
 ‘It’s not hot today.’ (spo)

7.4.3 Predicates with Noun Phrase Heads

Sentences with a Predicate that has an NP as its head generally convey equative meaning, though states may also find expression in this way.

Speakers use the various pre- and post-head constituents in such Predicates, though some collocational restrictions occur due to the semantics (for example the negative marker *nating* is not observed to occur with an NP heading the Predicate). In the following examples the predicate NP head is in bold and the Predicate is underlined.

(285)

a) *...bikos **hem nao i fasbon...***
 ... because 3SG FOC SRP firstborn
 ‘...because he is the first born ...’ (wr)

b) *Olketa i **gudfala pipol tumas ya.***
 3PL SRP good people very DEC
 ‘They are very good people.’ (spo)

c) *Jon **hem no tisa ya.***
 John 3SG.SRP NEG teacher DEC
 ‘John is not a teacher.’ (spo)

d) *Waef blong mi **hemi bin dokta bat distaem hemi lus-im waka ya.***
 wife POSS 1SG 3SG.SRP PST doctor but now 3SG.SRP leave-TRS work DEM
 ‘My wife was a doctor but now she has left that job.’ (au)

In cases of sentences with plural subjects in which the Predicate has an NP head, the omission of the SRP may make a difference in meaning. This means that the SRP is virtually obligatory in a Predicate with an NP head. The following examples indicate that the SRP creates a contrast between a sentence with a verbless Predicate (that conveys a proposition) and an NP (that alone does not convey a proposition).

(286)

a) *Olketa i dog blong mi.*
3PL SRP dog POSS 1SG

‘They are my dogs.’ (au)

b) *olketa dog blong mi*
PL dog POSS 1SG

‘my dogs’ (au)

7.4.4 Predicates with Preposition Phrase Heads

Locative and possessive sentences both contain Predicates with PP heads. As long as the semantics are appropriate, the various pre-and post-head constituents may occur in a Predicate headed by a PP. In the following possessive examples the predicate PP head is in bold and the Predicate is underlined.

(287)

a) *Olketa dog i blong mi.*
PL dog SRP POSS 1SG

‘The dogs are mine.’ (au)

b) *Dog ya i nating blong mi.*
dog DEM SRP not.EMPH POSS 1SG

‘That dog is definitely not mine.’ (au)

c) *Disfala langguis ya wea olketa i yusim, hemi no blong yumi ya.*
this language DEM REL 3PL SRP use-TRS 3SG.SRP not POSS 1PL.INC DEC

‘This language that they are using, it does not belong to us.’ (wr)

d) *Disfala trak i no save blong yu.*
this truck SRP not ABIL POSS 2SG

‘This truck cannot be yours.’ (au)

The next examples illustrate some locative Predicates. In them the predicate PP head is in bold and the Predicate is underlined.

(288)

a) *Olketa dog blong yu i bin long sanbis.*
PL dog POSS 2SG SRP PST PREP beach

‘Your dogs were on the beach.’ (au)

b) *Hemi antap long tri.*
3SG.SRP above PREP tree

‘It is up the tree.’ (wr)

As with a Predicate headed by an NP, the presence or absence of an SRP can make a significant difference to the interpretation of a constituent (see §7.7 for a full discussion of the SRP). In the first example following, the Predicate is underlined, in the second example the underlined constituent is an NP.

(289)

a) *Seleni blong hem hemi andanit long bed.*
 money POSS 3SG 3SG.SRP under PREP bed

‘His money is under the bed.’ (wr)

compare with NP subject

b) *Seleni blong hem andanit long bed hemi stap yet.*
 money POSS 3SG under PREP bed 3SG.SRP stay yet

‘His money under the bed is still there.’ (au)

7.5 Emphasis Markers

There are two words that can be said to mark emphasis in the Predicate. They are both particles that we have encountered before in the context of the NP. They are the words *nao* and *ya*.

7.5.1 *Nao*

The particle *nao* may occur following the head, often at the end of the Predicate. I have already said that in an NP context I consider *nao* to emphasize an NP as its focus marker (see section §5.2.6.3). In a related manner, I believe that *nao* in the Predicate serves to make the predicate slightly more emphatic. Some examples follow:

(290)

a) *Yumi go **nao.***
 1PL.INC go EMPH

‘Let’s go!’ (spo)

b) *Yufala mas hole-m disfala biliv ya **nao.***
 2PL must hold-TRS this belief DEM EMPH

‘You must maintain this belief.’ (nt)

c) *Letem disfala bikfala paoa blong Yawe hemi gohed olowe **nao.***
 let.TRS this big power POSS Yahweh 3SG.SRP continue always EMPH

‘May the mighty power of Yahweh continue always.’ (ot)

d) *...baebae mifala save singsing olowe **nao.***
 FUT 1PL.EXC ABIL sing always EMPH

‘... we will be able to sing always.’ (nt)

e) *Hemi mek-em olketa sem tumas nao...*
 3SG.SRP make-TRS PL shame very EMPH
 ‘He made them very ashamed,...’ (nt)

f) *...an mifala bin luk-im hem tru nao.*
 and 1PL.EXC PST look-TRS 3SG true EMPH
 ‘... and we really saw him.’ (nt)

g) *Sip ya hemi save go nao.*
 ship DEM 3SG.SRP ABIL go EMPH
 ‘The ship can go.’ (au)

h) *So mi gohed nao fo raet-em-daon olketa samting ya wea mi luk-im.*
 so 1SG continue EMPH COMP write-TRS-down PL thing DEM REL 1SG look-TRS
 ‘So I continued to write down the things that I saw.’ (nt)

Note this last example has a complex predicate that will be discussed in the section on complex sentences.

7.5.1.1 Other views of *nao*

My view concerning the function of *nao* differs somewhat from a proposal by Jourdan and from a proposal by Simons.

Jourdan (2002, p.145) considers that *nao* (in the usage under consideration here) indicates either perfect aspect, or the end of a sentence. She illustrates the perfect aspect with the example, *Olketa kam nao*. ‘They have arrived.’ Certainly the translation indicates perfect aspect. However, I suggest we could just as validly translate it, ‘They are here!’ Furthermore, it would not be correct to consider any of the examples I give above in (290) as having perfect aspect. Of course it may be that they largely express the other function that Jourdan proposes for *nao*, that it marks the end of a sentence. But I consider that example (290h) indicates that this may not be the case since *nao* does occur as other than the final constituent within the Predicate (see also e.g. (293) below).

Concerning *nao* Simons (1985, p.55) says,

It follows an active verb phrase to mean the action of the verb is completed (or will be completed) rather than ongoing. It follows a descriptive phrase to mean a new state exists which did not exist before.... When used with future tense it indicates an action or a new state will be accomplished in the future but it is not yet so.

Simons (1985, p.56) gives the following examples (repeated here for convenience) to support her position.

(291)
 a) *...hemi had tumas nao.*
 ‘... it is very difficult.’ (wr)

b) ...*hemi bringim faea nao.*

‘... he brought the fire.’ (wr)

c) ...*evriwan resis kam nao.*

‘... they came running.’ (perhaps better ‘... everyone came running’) (wr)

d) *Hemi dae nao.*

‘He died.’ (wr)

Example (291a) requires more context to indicate if a change of state has occurred. The examples (291b) and (291d), are translated as simple past tenses and these are in my view accurate. In (291c) it seems that there is an ongoing event with no clear end point according to the translation, this seems a little different from what I understand Simons says *nao* means, though the example could equally be translated, ‘...everyone raced here.’ or ‘... everyone has raced here.’ As she does not give any examples of future tense sentences marked with *nao*, I am unable to fully assess her thesis concerning actions that will be completed.

I am uncertain regarding the precise meaning that Simons proposes for *nao*. That it includes both “is completed” and “will be completed” suggests to me that perhaps she had in mind a perfective aspect. By this I mean an aspectual view of an event that refers to it in its entirety, as a “single unanalysable whole” (Youssef 2003, p.84).

Keesing (1991b, pp.329-331) appears to agree with Simons in saying *nao* indicates perfect aspect (but this is not the same as perfective aspect).¹⁰⁰ He says:

These perfect markers ... serve to articulate a state at a reference time (the time of the speech event) to an earlier state or event, to indicate that the two are essentially and inseparably connected, and to focus attention on the present state. In addition to indicating that an act has been completed or (with stative verbs) that a state has come into being, they serve to mark prospective perfects (i.e., that the action is underway)...

This statement seems not to really assist in comprehending the function of *nao*. One of Keesing’s examples illustrates why I find it so:

(292) *tufala-i duim nao*

‘They have done it/are doing it now.’ (Keesing 1991b, pp.329-331) (wr)

Only contextual clues can provide the aspectual information to enable a choice between the two alternate translations Keesing provides. So, I believe, the function of the marker *nao* cannot really be determined in this decontextualised example.

¹⁰⁰ Perfect aspect is not equivalent to perfective aspect and the two should not be confused. By perfect aspect I mean the indication of a completed prior event with subsequent consequences (Youssef 2003, p.87).

According to Keesing, *nao* indicates events that are either underway or completed. One could perhaps say this of many events that are predicated in statements. A couple of exclusions to this might be action that is just commencing, or events that are said not to have occurred. In both these instances *nao* is also observed to be used post-verbally. For example, the following shows an action that is commencing:

- (293) *An taem frut blong hem hemi redi nomoa,*
 and time fruit POSS 3SG 3SG.SRP ready only
man ya hemi stat nao fo aot-em wetem naef blong hem...
 man DEM 3SG.SRP start EMPH COMP out-TRS with.TRS knife POSS 3SG
 ‘And when its fruit is ripe, that man starts to remove it with his knife...’ (wr)

In the next two examples we see a past and a future negated event, both marked with *nao*.

- (294)
 a) *...an hemi stop-em olketa fo no grou nao.*
 and 3SG.SRP stop-TRS PL for NEG grow EMPH
 ‘...and it stopped them from growing.’ (nt)
 b) *Sapos nomoa, baebae mifala no go nao.*
 if no FUT 1PL.EXC NEG go EMPH
 ‘If not, we will not go.’ (spo)

7.5.2 *ya*

Apart from its function as a demonstrative particle marking NPs (see section §5.2.6.3), the particle *ya* is said by Simons (1985, p.61) to be a sentence final tag word that “indicates an affirmation, a declaration, an accusation; it indicates the speaker’s certainty about the statement’s truth...”¹⁰¹ This view seem correct though it does not account for the use of *ya* in questions (see §8.1.2). The following examples show this declarative occurrence of *ya*; the last example shows that a sequence of *nao* and *ya* is possible.

- (295)
 a) *Yu les tumas ya!*
 2SG lazy very DEC
 ‘You are very lazy!’ (spo)
 b) *Mi tok olsem krangge man nomoa ya.*
 1SG talk like crazy man only DEC
 ‘I’m talking just like a crazy man.’ (nt)
 c) *...olsem mi stori-m taem hao mi enjoem laef nao ya.*
 like 1SG story-TRS time how 1SG enjoy.TRS life EMPH DEC
 ‘...as I told the story of how I enjoyed my life.’ (spr)

¹⁰¹ Simons also discusses the use of *ya* in questions. I shall not discuss that here, rather see §8.1.2.

Simons (1985, p.62) also notes the rarity of finding a sequence of two *ya* particles; the first of which is the demonstrative NP constituent, and the second the declarative Predicate constituent. Such sequences do not occur in my text based data, largely because the authors have I believe edited them out. I do, however, have one example in my recorded speech data. It is as follows:

- (296) *aaa Mifala lo Fourere, mitufala Pita nomoa go lo miting ya ya.*
 ahh 1PL.EXC PREP Fourere 1DL.EXC Peter only go PREP meeting DEM DEC
 ‘Ahh, of us at Fourere, just Peter and I went to that meeting.’ (spr)

In discussing the similar particle *ya* in Bislama, Crowley (2004, p.196) describes it as a “pragmatic” particle. He says:

This means that its use is closely related to how the speaker relates to the people that he or she is speaking to, as well as what the speaker feels about what he or she is speaking about, as well as considerations of what information the speaker and hearer already share regarding what the sentence is talking about.

This view is largely applicable to Pijin’s *ya* as well.¹⁰²

7.6 Time and Location Adverbs and Prepositional Phrases

In general, speakers indicate time and location specification in a Predicate with a final adverb or PP. I note, however, that these are subject to movement. In the following examples the temporal and locative constituents under consideration are highlighted in bold.

(297)

- a) *Bae yumi go long Auki **tumoro.***
 FUT 1PL.INC go PREP Auki tomorrow

‘We will go to Auki tomorrow.’ (spo)

- b) *Mi **kaikai-m finis** evri kumara **yestade.***
 1SG eat-TRS finish every sweet.potato yesterday

‘I ate all the sweet potato yesterday.’ (au)

- c) *Hemi **blong mi las-naet.***
 3SG.SRP POSS 1SG last-night

‘It belonged to me last night.’ (au)

- d) *Bae Susan hemi tisa long Florens Yang **neks yia.***
 FUT Susan 3SG.SRP teacher PREP Florence Young next year

‘Susan will be a teacher at Florence Young next year.’ (au)

¹⁰² Pijin speakers from parts of the country other than Malaita attribute a greater frequency of use of *ya* to Malaitan speakers than they do to themselves. Whether this can be borne out with quantitative research, and whether a reason can be found remains to be seen.

e) *MEF hemi kamap strong long Honiara.*
 MEF 3SG.SRP become strong PREP Honiara
 ‘The MEF became strong in Honiara.’ (spo)

f) *Hemi kol tumas antap.*
 3SG.SRP cold very on.top
 ‘It’s very cold up there.’ (spo)

g) *San hemi strong fogud long aot-saet.*
 sun 3SG.SRP strong very PREP out-side
 ‘The sun is very strong in outside.’ (au)

In all of the above cases, except for (32f) the time and locative elements may be moved to a Predicate or sentence initial position (see also §8.1.5) as follows:

(298)

a) *Tumoro bae yumi go long Auki.*
 tomorrow FUT 1PL.INC go PREP Auki
 ‘Tomorrow we will go to Auki.’ (au)

b) *Yestade mi kaikai-m finis evri kumara.*
 yesterday 1SG eat-TRS finish every sweet.potato
 ‘Yesterday I ate all the sweet potato.’ (au)

c) *Las-naet hemi blong mi.*
 last-night 3SG.SRP POSS 1SG
 ‘Last night it belonged to me.’ (au)

d) *Neks yia bae Susan hemi tisa long Florens Yang.*
 next year FUT Susan 3SG.SRP teacher PREP Florence Young
 ‘Next year Susan will be a teacher at Florence Young.’ (au)

e) *Long Honiara MEF hemi kamap strong.*
 PREP Honiara MEF 3SG.SRP become strong
 ‘In Honiara the MEF became strong.’ (au)

f) *Long aot-saet san hemi strong fogud.*
 PREP out-side sun 3SG.SRP strong very
 ‘Outside the sun is very strong.’ (au)

7.7 Subject Referencing Pronoun in detail

In §7.2 the SRP was introduced. In this section I examine the SRP in detail, and also make some comparisons with the related predicate marker in Bislama and Tok Pisin. The nature of the particle *i* and associated SRPs presents a particular problem for the understanding of Pijin since it seems some of the facts are not readily subject to clear-cut analysis. My view is that *i* is one member of the following paradigm of SRPs:

Table 7.1 Paradigm of Subject Referencing Pronouns

Subject type	SRP
--------------	-----

Singular NP or pronoun	
First person	<i>mi</i>
Second person	<i>yu</i>
Third person	<i>hem, hemi, i</i>
Dual NP or pronoun	
First person inclusive	<i>yumitufala, i</i>
First person exclusive	<i>mitufala, i</i>
Second person	<i>yutufala, i</i>
Third person	<i>tufala, i</i>
Trial NP or pronoun	
First person inclusive	<i>yumitrifala, i</i>
First person exclusive	<i>mitrifala, i</i>
Second person	<i>yutrifala, i</i>
Third person	<i>trifala, i</i>
Plural NP or pronoun	
First person inclusive	<i>yumi, i</i>
First person exclusive	<i>mifala, i</i>
Second person	<i>yufala, i</i>
Third person	<i>olketa, i</i>

There are several significant points to highlight in the table above. First, all personal pronouns may function as SRPs. Second, the particle *i* is a semantically bleached SRP that occurs with all persons and numbers except for first and second singular. Third, I consider the form *hemi* to be a single word and it is written as such in the standard orthography. What was originally *hem i* has been reanalysed to become the SRP *hemi* (3SG.SRP). I discuss this in §7.3.3 below.

The following examples illustrate a variety of SRPs (in these examples the subject NP is underlined and the SRP is in bold).

(299)

a) An nara tufala brata ya, tufala nao i kam long nem blong olketa sios.
 And other two brother DEM 3DL FOC **SRP** come PREP name POSS PL church

‘And those other two brothers, those two come in the name of the churches.’ (wr)

b) *Bat yufala ya yufala no save long hem ya.*
 but 2PL DEM 2PL.SRP no know PREP 3SG DEM

‘But you don’t know him.’ (wr)

c) *An baebae hem nao hemi saotem yu.*
 And FUT 3SG FOC 3SG.SRP reward-TRS 2SG

‘And he will reward you.’ (nt)

d) *Yu ya baebae yu sore tumas*
 2SG FOC FUT 2SG.SRP sorry very

‘You will be very sorry...’(nt)

e) *Yumi tu yumi nating save obei-m.*
 1PL.INC also 1PL.SRP not ABIL obey-TRS

‘We also can’t obey it.’ (nt)

f) *Staka long olketa yanga i duim diswan finis.*
 Lots PREP PL youth SRP do-TRS this.one finish

‘Lots of the youth have done this thing.’ (wr)

7.7.1 *i*

The particle *i* has been commonly labelled as a predicate marker in all varieties of Melanesian Pidgin (Verhaar 1995, p.70; Simons & Young 1978, p.162; Crowley 1990, p.230; Crowley 2004, pp.109-113). This traditional label was challenged by Keesing (1988, pp.143-170) who argued that *i* (and other pronoun forms) developed as a subject referencing pronoun from a congruence between a superstrate pattern (left dislocation of a clause subject, e.g. Laura, she is really cute¹⁰³) and an Oceanic-Austronesian substrate pattern of subject referencing pronouns, e.g. Kwaio

(300) *ma'a a-gu ka aga-si-a naaboni*
 father POSS-1SG 3SG.SRP look-TRS-3SG yesterday

‘my father saw it yesterday’ (Keesing 1988, p.75).

7.7.2 Optionality of the Subject Referencing Pronoun

Recall that the SRP is by no means an obligatory constituent of the Predicate. This variability is a caveat that must be kept in mind because what appears to be a nice neat system is not necessarily so. The SRP may be omitted at almost any time when there is an overt subject NP depending on the choice of the speaker or writer. I have not been able to determine why a speaker at times uses a SRP and at other times the same speaker does not use one when he or she could do so. What this means for a zero realisation of the SRP is uncertain.

¹⁰³ Keesing used the European grammarian term ‘resumptive pronoun’, though it is clearer to use the term left dislocation. For example, in *Her parents, they seem pretty uncaring*, the NP *her parents* has been dislocated to the left of the clause nucleus and the coreferential pronoun *they* occupies the place of the NP (Huddleston & Pullum 2002, p.1408).

The examples (301a) and (301b) are both taken from the New Testament book of Matthew. They both represent translations of the imperative ‘repent’ by the same translator. They demonstrate that the SRP is optional when there is an overt subject, even in an apparently highly regularised text such as a bible translation. Example (301c) typifies a clause with an overt subject NP and no SRP. The clause in (301d) illustrates a focused subject pronoun with no SRP (in all examples the subject is underlined).

(301)

a) Yufala evriwan *i* mas lus-im olketa ravis wei blong yufala...
 2PL everyone SRP must lose-TRS PL rubbish way POSS 2PL

‘All of you must abandon your bad ways.’ Matiu 3:2, (*Niutestamen* 1993, p.5) (nt)

b) Yufala evriwan mas lus-im olketa ravis wei blong yufala...
 2PL everyone must lose-TRS PL rubbish way POSS 2PL

‘All of you must abandon your bad ways.’ Matiu 4:17, (*Niutestamen* 1993, p.5) (nt)

c) So olketa pipol kam fo luk-im nao wanem hemi bin hapen.
 So PL people come for look-TRS EMPH what 3SG.SRP PST happen

‘So people came to see what happened.’ (nt)

d) Hem nao stret wei fo pei-m olketa.
 3SG FOC straight way for pay-TRS 3PL

‘It really is the right way to pay them.’ (nt)

7.7.3 Specific Subject Referencing Pronouns

The SRP paradigm contains at least the following forms *hemi*, *tufala*, *trifala*, *yufala*, and *olketa*, as semantically specific SRPs.

Keesing suggests in various places (1985, pp.110-114; 1988, pp.191-192; 1989, pp.33-35) that *i* following pronouns such as *hem*, *tufala*, and *olketa* should actually be treated as a suffix (or clitic) indicating third person. So for Keesing a sequence of **NP PRONOUN *i*** should actually be analysed as the sequence **NP SRP**, where the SRP includes suffixed pronouns such as *hem-i*, *tufala-i*, and *olketa-i*.

By far the most common form of the specific SRPs is *hemi*; therefore the initial discussion focuses on this form. The word *hemi* is written in the orthography as a single word. This is no doubt motivated by the notion that phonologically *hemi* is a single word. I do not take this to automatically mean though that it is a grammatical word; such a view must be established.

It could be argued that any sequence of *hem i* is the third person pronoun followed by the SRP *i*. That *hemi* is divisible into *hem* and *i* would stand against the proposal that *hemi* is a

single unit.¹⁰⁴ In example (302) it appears that *hem* and *i* are divisible since an intervening constituent separates them.

- (302) *an hem tu i save tok-tengkiu long God*
 and 3SG too SRP ABIL talk-thanks PREP God
 ‘and he also can say thank you to God.’ (nt)

However, in example (303) the subject NP is a focused personal pronoun that is followed by *hemi*. In this example it is not possible to insert any other constituent between *hem* and *i*. Consequently *hemi* is better analysed as a single item as in (303a), rather than a pronoun followed by a SRP as per the analysis of (303b).

- (303)
 a) *An baebae hem nao hemi saotem yu.*
 and FUT 3SG FOC 3SG.SRP reward-TRS 2SG
 ‘And he will reward you.’ (nt)

- b) *An baebae hem nao hem i saotem yu.*
 and FUT 3SG FOC 3SG SRP reward-TRS 2SG

In §8.5.1 I discuss relative clauses. In relative clauses in which the SRP is coreferential with the relativised NOM, that NOM precedes the relative marker and the SRP is an obligatory constituent that immediately follows the relative marker. In this usage SRPs such *hemi* are indivisible. This observation further supports my analysis of *hemi* as a single word SRP.

Because of ambiguity it is not clear whether the same view can be applied to other sequences of **PRONOUN-i** following Keesing’s analysis already mentioned. In the following example observe the two different possible parsings:

- (304)
 a) *Yufala evriwan ya yufala-i olketa pikinini blong God*
 2PL everyone FOC 2PL-SRP PL child POSS God
 ‘All of you, you are God’s children...’ (nt)

compared with

- b) *Yufala evriwan ya yufala i olketa pikinini blong God*
 2PL everyone EMPH 2PL SRP PL child POSS God
 ‘All of you, you are God’s children...’ (nt)

A constituent could be inserted between *yufala* and *i* in example (304) therefore it cannot be concluded categorically that it is correct to analyse *yufala-i* as an indivisible unit as in (304a), rather than a sequence of **PRONOUN i** as in (304b).

¹⁰⁴ Crowley (1990, p.236-237) uses the criterion of indivisibility to argue that the Bislama third person plural predicate marker *oli* be consider an unanalysable unit.

7.7.4 Subject Referencing Pronouns and Focus

Pre-Predicate material (underlined in this formula) will usually conform to follow the pattern:

(TOPIC/SUBJECT NP) (SUBJECT PRONOUN) (SRP)

Two examples typify the pattern proposed here. In these the topic NP is underlined, the subject pronoun is in square brackets (the subject pronoun may be followed by some focus particle as in §5.2.6.2), and the SRP in bold:

(305) An nara tufala brata ya, [tufala nao]
 and other two brother DEM 3DL FOC
i kam long nem blong olketa sios.
 SRP come PREP name POSS PL church

‘And those other two brothers, those two come in the name of the churches.’ (nt)

(306) Masta blong yumi, [hem nomoa] **hemi** garem paoa fo jaj-em mi.
 Lord POSS 1PL.INC 3SG alone 3SG.SRP have-TRS power INF judge-TRS 1SG

‘Our lord, he alone has power to judge me.’ (nt)

7.7.5 Subject Referencing Pronouns not modified

I observe that the SRPs *i*, and *hemi* are not modified by post-posed particles, such as: the demonstrative/focus particle *ya*; the particle *seleva*; the addition particle *tu*; the focus particle *nao*; or the emphasis particle *nomoa* (see §5.4.2).¹⁰⁵ Furthermore, relative clauses never modify the SRPs. From this basis I postulate that any personal pronoun functioning as a SRP is not subject to modification by post-posed elements. In example (307) below the second person plural pronoun *yufala* is modified by the focal particle *nao*, thus this pronoun cannot be considered to be functioning as a SRP.

(307) Taem mi hanggre, yufala nao giv-im kam kaikai long mi.
 time 1SG hungry 2PL FOC give-TRS come food PREP 1SG

‘When I was hungry, it was you who gave food to me.’ (nt)

7.7.6 Restrictions on the Subject Referencing Pronoun *i*

The SRP *i* is not observed to co-occur with *mi* ‘1SG’ or *yu* ‘2SG’ in cases where *i* would cross reference either of those pronouns as subject,¹⁰⁶ for example:

¹⁰⁵ One can find sequences of *hemi nomoa* in the data but in all such cases *nomoa* does not modify *hemi* as an intensifier. Rather it is a negative predicate, e.g., *Olketa gudfala samting wea yu laekem tumas fo garem ya hemi nomoa nao*. ‘The good things that you really want to have, they will no longer exist.’

¹⁰⁶ Some speakers consider it possible that old speakers might use *i* in conjunction with *mi* and *yu*. I have not observed this to be true though.

(308)

a)* *An bae mi nao i save falo-m ...*
 and FUT 1SG FOC SRP ABIL follow-TRS

b)* *Bat sapos hemi nomoa, baebae yu tu i stap nating ...*
 but if 3SG.SRP not FUT 2SG too SRP stay nothing

‘But if it’s not, you too will just be there with nothing to do...’

I have not observed the SRP *i* to occur immediately following *yumi* ‘1PL.INC’. However, it is possible for *i* to cross reference the first person plural pronoun as subject provided there is an intervening constituent between *yumi* and *i*. Note the following examples:

(309)

a)* *Yumi ya yumi i go long Honiara.*
 1PL.INC FOC 1PL.INC SRP go PREP Honiara

‘As for us, we’ll go to Honiara.’

b) *An from diswan nao, yumi tu i save laef-baek moa...*
 and from this FOC 1PL.INC too SRP ABIL live-back more

‘And because of this, we also can live again... (nt)

The absence of the sequence *yumi i* may be a phonological phenomenon involving coalescence, that is, *i* may be coalesced to the final vowel of *yumi*. However, there are instances in the data in which *i* follows *yumi* but is not coalesced with its final vowel. This is only observed when the *i* does not cross reference *yumi* as subject. For example, when *yumi* is the object of a prepositional phrase as in (310) it may be followed by *i*.

(310) *Olketa riva blong yumi i doti nao long wata blong olketa tri.*
 PL river POSS 1PL.INC SRP dirty EMPH PREP water POSS PL tree

‘Our rivers are dirty due to the water from the trees (that were bulldozed). (wr)

7.7.7 Subject Referencing Pronouns following personal pronouns

It is extremely rare to find direct sequences of identical pronouns, that is, a pronoun followed immediately by an identical SRP.¹⁰⁷ In fact, in everyday speech I have not observed such sequences of identical pronouns other than in the case of speech errors such as hesitations or re-starting an utterance.

Keesing (1988, p.155) says, “In Solomons Pidgin, the paired pronouns are used in direct sequence only when a pause intervenes, providing a clear punctuation and topical emphasis.” One of his examples follows:

¹⁰⁷ It must be recognised that the restriction on pronoun sequences applies only if the preceding pronoun is the subject cross referenced by the SRP, and not some lower level constituent such as the object of a PP within the subject NP.

(311) *Oraet, mi, mi go-daon longo wafu.*
 alright 1SG 1SG.SRP go-down PREP wharf

‘Well as for me, I went down to the wharf.’ (Keesing 1988, p.155) (wr)

But he also says, “SIP speakers avoid using two identical pronouns (or pronouns identical but for the *-i* suffixed to the second) in direct sequence.” (Keesing 1989, p.35)

Out of many thousands of pronoun tokens, there are only two examples of such sequences in my data. Both of these are from the Pijin Bible and reflect the focus in the source text. These are as follows:

(312)

a) *Bat yumi, yumi tok-abaot-em Kraes hu olketa bin kil-im hem dae...*
 but 1PL.INC SRP talk-about-TRS Christ REL 3PL PST hit-TRS 3SG die

‘But as for us, we talk about Christ who they killed...’ (nt)

Fas Korin 1:23 (*Niutestamen* 1993, p.300)

b) *Bat yu, yu mas gohed fo hole-m-strong disfala tising...*
 bat 2SG 2SG.SRP must continue COMP hold-TRS-strong this teaching

‘But as for you, you must continue to cling to this teaching...’ (nt)

Mektu Timoti 3:14 (*Niutestamen* 1993, p.385)

It is clear that when pronouns are followed by an identical SRP there normally must be an intervening constituent or a pause (though the later is rare). That constituent may be the future marker *bae/baebae*, or a postposed particle in an NP such as *nao, nomoa, tu, ya*, etc.¹⁰⁸

Note the following examples:

(313)

a) *Mi baebae mi kam long yu nao.*
 1SG FUT 1SG.SRP come PREP 2SG EMPH

‘I will definitely come to you. (wr)

b) *Ating yu nomoa yu save.*
 perhaps 2SG alone 2SG.SRP know

‘Probably only you know.’ (wr)

c) *An hem tu hemi gare-m wanfala huk-naef.*
 and 3SG too 3SG.SRP have-TRS one hook-knife

‘And he also had a hook knife.’ (wr)

¹⁰⁸ The restriction on direct sequences of identical pronouns is in contrast to Bislama which seems to allow them such as in *Mi mi kam*. ‘I am coming.’ (Crowley 2000, p.59), or *Yu yu laekem Jack?* ‘Do you like Jack?’ (Crowley 1987, p.77). I do note however, that such double pronoun sequences in Bislama must be treated as a form of subject focus (Meyerhoff 2000, pp.102-103; Crowley 2000, pp.58-59).

7.7.8 Subject Referencing Pronouns and unspecified subjects

Occasionally the third person SRPs may occur alone with no reference to a specific subject whether within the sentence or in the immediate surrounding context. Thus it refers to an indeterminate subject which is neither an agent nor a goal, or it is in fact acting as a non-referential subject (particularly in weather or climatic Predicates). Meyerhoff discusses the same thing in Bislama (Meyerhoff 2000, pp.112, 119). Some Pijin examples follow:

(314)

a) *Hemi kolsap kasem taem blong Bikde...*
 3SG.SRP near reach.TRS time POSS feast

‘It was near to the time of the feast...’ (nt)

b) *I no man nao hemi toktok ya, bat hemi wanfala god ya.*
 SRP no man FOC 3SG.SRP talk DEC but 3SG.SRP one god DEC

‘It’s not a man talking, but it’s a god.’ (nt)

c) *Oo, baebae hemi hot ya. An go-go hemi hot tru nao.*
 Oh FUT 3SG.SRP hot DEC and eventually 3SG.SRP hot true EMPH

‘Oh, it will be hot! And eventually it was really hot.’ (wr)

d) *...bikos hemi win an klaod fogud.*
 because 3SG.SRP wind and cloud very

‘... because it was very windy and cloudy.’ (wr)

e) *Hemi ren bikfala las-naet ya.*
 3SG.SRP rain big last-night DEC

‘It rained heavily last night.’ (wr)

It is the use of *hemi* with reference to such indeterminate subjects that further supports my view that it is a grammatical word as well as a phonological word, since it is hardly likely that an indeterminate subject would received any sort of focus such as a sequence of *hem i* might imply.

7.7.9 What sort of pronouns are Subject Referencing Pronouns?

It is worth reflecting on what type of pronoun the SRPs are. The syntactic restrictions on the SRP suggest that we must think of them as something other than personal pronouns.

Is it possible that the SRPs are clitics? If the only SRP was *i* then perhaps it could be treated as a pro-clitic phonologically bound to the first constituent of the Predicate (cf. Sankoff 1977; Meyerhoff 2000, p.86), or an enclitic bound to the various free pronouns that it can co-occur with (Keesing 1988, pp.191-192; Keesing 1989, pp.33-35). However, since all personal pronouns as well as the semantically bleached form *i* and the fused form *hemi* occur as SRPs, and since most of these are polysyllabic, it is not a straightforward matter to treat the SRP as phonologically bound to a host. Though perhaps alternatively, it might be possible to treat

one form of the SRP, *i*, as a clitic while the other forms are independent morphemes that can substitute for a clitic. I do not consider this alternative to be an effective explanation.

Since the SRPs do not seem to be clitics, I suggest that it is worthwhile considering whether they are weak pronouns. Bresnan (2000, p.156) gives the following definition:

Weak pronouns are freestanding pronominal forms which cannot receive primary sentence accent and differ in syntactic distribution from Free pronouns. Weak pronouns fall in between Clitics and Free (strong) pronouns. Like Clitics, they generally do not bear primary sentence accent and have special syntactic positioning, but unlike Clitics and like Free (strong) pronouns, Weak pronouns are syntactically freestanding and do not require a host.

In response to this characterization I make the following observations: SRPs do not usually receive primary sentence accent. The fact that the SRP is optional in main clauses when there is an overt subject NP suggests they have a weaker status than the free pronouns. Finally, we already noted that they are subject to special syntactic restrictions, only positioned as the first constituent of a Predicate, and unable to be modified. Thus it would appear that the SRPs of Pijin fit Bresnan's definition of a weak pronoun.¹⁰⁹

This means that sentences with unspecifiable subjects such as in §7.7.8 or even simple sentences whose subject is only referenced by a SRP do in fact have a pronominal element, albeit a weak one. In other words sentences with no overt NP, but only an SRP are not to be treated as subject-less sentences. Consequently, I do not consider Pijin to be a *pro*-drop language as Meyerhoff (2000, pp.119-120) classifies Bislama to be.

7.7.10 The “Predicate Marker” in other varieties of Melanesian Pidgin

I noted in the introduction to this section that in other varieties of Melanesian Pidgin *i* has traditionally been referred to as a predicate marker. In this section I will briefly review what others have said about the predicate marker in Tok Pisin and Bislama to provide some further context for Pijin's SRPs.

7.7.10.1 *i* in Tok Pisin

In describing Tok Pisin, Verhaar continues to use the label ‘predicate marker’ but says of the particle:

¹⁰⁹ The typology of weak pronouns is further developed by Siewierska (2003, pp.122-131).

The function of *i* is to pick up, in the form of this particle, one particular kind of subject, either third person or a subject with some third person element in it. (Verhaar 1995, p.70)

In this Verhaar adduces a function for *i* in Tok Pisin quite similar to what Keesing says for Pijin. Verhaar then describes the distribution for *i* in Tok Pisin when it immediately follows the pronoun it “picks-up” to use his term. That distribution is similar to Pijin, namely, *i* can immediately follow all pronouns except for *mi* ‘1SG’, *yu* ‘2SG’ and *yumi* ‘1PL.INC’ (Verhaar 1995, pp.71-72).

Verhaar’s description of the function of *i* included the idea that its use is dependent on a “third person element” in the subject. He argues that this is so on the premise that first and second person personal pronouns are deictic and that third person ones are non-deictic. He claimed, “In short, nondeictic subjects trigger *i*; deictic subjects do not...” (Verhaar 1995, p.71).

The premise concerning third person pronouns being non-deictic does not seem correct. Any basic linguistics textbook will support the notion that all personal pronouns may be deictic, e.g. (Crowley et al. 1995, p.199). If by deixis we mean that the interpretation of any particular item is dependent on the context of the utterance then it is impossible for a third person pronoun not to be deictic. Since person deixis is largely concerned with identification of speakers and addressees, and less commonly between a speaker and a third party referred to by the speaker, it may be that third person pronouns can be characterised as ‘weak’ deictics (Anderson & Keenan 1985, p.262) however, this seems to be a result of focusing on extended discourse rather than conversation. Given that third person personal pronouns are deictic there seems to be a flaw in Verhaar’s general explanation regarding *i*.

Verhaar further explains why the first person plural exclusive pronoun *mipela* and the second person plural pronoun *yupela* “trigger” *i*. For *mipela* he suggests that it contains both first person and third person elements, that *mipela* stands for “I and those with me” (Verhaar 1995, p.71). However, he is unable to do this with *yupela* and says there is no third person element at all (though see Meyerhoff (2000, p.106). He then goes on to observe that *i* could be “triggered” by the *-pela* suffix on the pronouns. In and of itself this seems correct. The next two steps for Verhaar though seem suspect. He argues that *-pela* forms “have something nouny (sic) about them” and that because of this, “*-pela*, in Tok Pisin grammar, has something like thirdness about it.” (Verhaar 1995, p.72) This takes him back to the notion that the use of *i* depends on whether the pronoun is non-deictic and some speculation about mental processes of language.

I come now to another aspect of the distribution of *i* in Tok Pisin. Verhaar says the following:

However, even non-third subject pronouns trigger *i* for the predicate in case other constituents intervene between that pronoun and the predicate, as in *Mi wanpela i les* ‘I alone am tired’; and this confirms the basic function of *i*, which is to pick up the subject pronoun. (Let us call this particular type of subject the remote subject pronoun.) (Verhaar 1995, p.70)

In other words, in Tok Pisin, even for *mi* ‘1SG’, *yu* ‘2SG’ and *yumi* ‘1PL.INC’ *i* can occur provided there is an intervening constituent. In this respect Pijin is different to Tok Pisin. I pointed out above (§7.7.6), that *i* can only follow *yumi* ‘1PL.INC’ with an intervening constituent in Pijin, and not *mi* ‘1SG’, *yu* ‘2SG’.

7.7.10.2 Predicate marking in Bislama

Crowley, both in (1990, pp.230-252) and (2000), gives an in-depth account of *i* in Bislama. Crowley (2000) examines various options for the analysis of *i* including Meyerhoff’s “verbal agreement marker” (see below) yet he retains the term ‘predicate marker’ since he concludes:

that *i* in Bislama must be regarded as having a distribution that does not allow for any single description of its functions, and that it has slightly different sorts of behaviour with different categories of subjects. In this case, then, whatever name we end up giving to *i* is to some extent purely a matter of descriptive convenience (in which case, it is arguable that predicate marker is just as useful as any other term). (Crowley 2000, p.70)

In contrast to Pijin, Bislama has a predicate marker *oli* ‘plural predicate marker’ (Crowley 2003, p.196). Pijin does not have the form *oli*, and we cannot simply align this predicate marker with one of the SRPs in Pijin. In Bislama when the nominal subject is plural, the predicate marker is usually *oli* not *i* (though if the referent has a low degree of animacy *i* is possible). The contrast between the two languages is more than just the absence of a similar form to *oli* in Pijin. Plural subjects in Pijin tend to have *i* or *olketa* as their SRP. Singular third person subjects tend to have *hemi* much more commonly than *i* as their SRP. The following example contains both *hemi* and *i* with reference to the same human third person singular subject. It further demonstrates the bleached semantic nature of *i* in Pijin.

- (315) *Bat Mwaniraha hemi stap nomoa wetem dadi blong olketa long Mwani,*
 but Mwaniraha 3SG.SRP stay only with.TRS father POSS 3PL PREP Mwani
bikos hem nao i fasbon an hem nao fo tekova long dadi blong olketa.
 because 3SG FOC SRP firstborn and 3SG FOC for takeover PREP father POSS 3PL
 ‘But Mwaniraha just stayed with their father at Mwani because he was the
 firstborn and he would takeover from their father.’ (wr)

The following table conveys a few basic comparisons between Pijin's SRP and Bislama's predicate markers to show some examples of contrastive behaviour.

Table 7.2 Comparison between Pijin SRPs and Bislama Predicate Markers

Bislama (examples from Crowley 2000, pp.58-62)	Comparative Pijin forms
<i>Mi mi kam.</i> 'I am coming.'	? <i>Mi, mi kam.</i> 'As for me, I am coming.'
<i>Mi nomo mi/*Ø kam.</i> 'Only I am coming.'	<i>Mi nomoa mi/Ø kam.</i> 'Only I am coming.'
* <i>Hem hem i kam.</i> 'S(he) is coming.'	* <i>Hem hemi kam.</i> 'S(he) is coming.'
<i>Hem nomo i/*Ø/*hem kam.</i> 'Only s(he) is coming.'	<i>Hem nomoa i/hem/hemi/Ø kam.</i> 'Only s(he) is coming.'
<i>Olgeta nomo i/oli/*Ø/*olgeta kam.</i> 'Only they are coming.'	<i>Olketa nomoa i/olketa/Ø kam.</i> 'Only they are coming.'

i as **Subject-verb agreement marker in Bislama**

Meyerhoff (2000, pp.85-159) takes a different approach, considering *i* in Bislama to be part of a subject-verb agreement paradigm. This alternate analysis is that *i* is a unique particle that is a subject-verb agreement marker (SVAM),¹¹⁰ and there is no paradigm of SRPs. I do not believe that Meyerhoff's paradigm of SVAMs in Bislama¹¹¹ can be applied to Pijin. In this view *i* functions to cross reference a known subject. Such a subject may be an overt NP, a focused pronoun, or an unfocused pronoun. Such a subject may be known from either the linguistic context or the non-linguistic setting. The particle *i* is not considered to be a pronoun in this analysis since it is semantically bleached. It does not indicate either person or number.

¹¹⁰ The term subject-verb agreement marker used here originates from Meyerhoff's analysis of agreement markers in Bislama (Meyerhoff 2000, p.108).

¹¹¹ Meyerhoff (2000, p.108) described the following subject-verb agreement paradigm for Bislama: zero - 1SG, 2SG, 1PL.INC subjects, *oli* - 3PL subjects, *i* - all other subjects. There is no form in Pijin that is equivalent to Bislama's *oli*.

Chapter 8 Sentences

This chapter describes Pijin simple and complex sentences. Simple sentences are those that contain only one Predicate. Complex sentences are those sentences with more than one Predicate. In the discussion that follows I examine first of all simple sentence types. I then move on to the complex sentences. I first consider those complex sentences formed through coordination of simple sentences. Following that I examine the various types of subordinate clauses that may be constituents within a complex sentence. By subordinate clauses I mean the following:

Subordinate clauses are clauses which function as noun phrases, as modifiers of nouns, and as modifiers of verb phrases or entire propositions. Clauses which function as noun phrases are found in nearly all languages as sentential expansions of subject/object slots. These are called complements.... Clauses which are modifiers of verbs and propositions are adverbial clauses.... Finally, most (but not all) languages have subordinate clauses, called relative clauses, which serve to modify a noun phrase. (Longacre 1985, pp.237-238)

8.1 Simple Sentences

Here I show that simple sentence structure is straightforwardly made up of a Predicate and a preceding optional subject NP as follows:

$$S \rightarrow \text{(NP) Pred}$$

The numerous examples in previous chapters readily exemplify the simple sentence; so I will merely give a few examples here demonstrating them with Predicates containing different kinds of head.

(316)

a) *Hemi kaikai-m fis.* (Predicate with verb head, no subject NP)
 3SG.SRP eat-TRS fish
 'He ate fish.' (au)

b) *Olketa man i go.* (Predicate with verb head)
 PL man SRP go
 'The men went.' (au)

c) *Olketa man ya kam from Niusilan.* (Predicate with verb head)
 PL man DEM come from New.Zealand
 'Those men came from New Zealand.' (wr)

d) *Man ya hemi barava tol fogud.* (Predicate with adjective head)
 man DEM 3SG.SRP really tall very
 ‘That man is very tall.’ (au)

e) *Melinda hemi bin wanfala dokta.* (Predicate with noun head)
 Melinda 3SG.SRP PST one doctor
 ‘Melinda was a doctor.’ (au)

f) *Datfala pikinini hemi blong mi.* (Predicate with preposition head)
 that child 3SG.SRP POSS 1SG
 ‘That child is mine.’ (au)

In light of the discussion concerning the SRP (§7.7) the first example above is seen to be a sentence containing only a Predicate. The other examples have a clear subject NP, though in example (316c) above there is no SRP in the Predicate. Even though a sentence such as 316a may not have an overt NP subject I do not consider it to be subjectless. In §7.7.9 I pointed out that a simple sentence whose subject is only referenced by a SRP does in fact have a pronominal element, albeit a weak one. The following examples demonstrate some additional simple sentences with no overt subject NP (see also §7.7.8).

(317)

a) *Hemi dog blong mi.*
 3SG.SRP dog POSS 1SG
 ‘It is my dog.’ (au)

b) *Hemi tok-spoel-em God nao ya.*
 3SG.SRP talk-spoil-TRS God EMPH DEC
 ‘He blasphemed God!’ (nt)

Apart from the two basic elements, sentences may also have initial constituents that are generally adverbial elements moved from within the Predicate. I discuss these below in section §8.1.5.

The types of simple sentences that I recognise in Pijin are declarative, imperative, and interrogative. In the following sections I describe these three types, then negation, and then the various types of constituent movement that may occur.

8.1.1 Declarative sentences

Many simple declarative sentences have already been seen in examples so far given so I do not repeat any further examples here.

8.1.2 Imperative sentences

Imperative sentences are those that convey a command or request or instruction. Imperative sentences have certain characteristics by which they can be identified (Sadock & Zwicky

1985, pp.170-178). In the first instance, if a pronoun (whether focal or SRP is not determinable) occurs in the imperative sentence, it will be a second person form, for example:

(318)

a) *Yufala mas biliv-im mi.*
 2PL must believe-TRS 1SG.

‘You must believe me.’ (nt)

b) *Yu no wari.*

2SG NEG worry

‘Don’t worry.’ (nt)

There is also an imperative sentence type that is more formally distinct. These are strong imperatives that simply contain a Predicate that does not contain a SRP or any pre-head markers, and there is no overt subject NP, here are two examples:

(319)

a) *Obei-m mi!*
 obey-TRS 1SG

‘Obey me!’ (spo)

b) *Letem!*

leave.TRS

‘Leave it!’ (spo)

8.1.3 Simple Interrogative sentences

There are several types of simple interrogative sentences that do not appear to involve *wh*-movement in Pijin. Interrogative sentences maybe subcategorised in two groups, the first – yes-no questions, the second – information questions. I describe these in the following two sections. I note though that Pijin interrogative sentences are most commonly formed through *wh*-movement resulting in the presence of a sentence initial interrogative pro-form (see §4.10.1) accompanied by the particle *nao*. I discuss these in section §8.1.5.2.

8.1.3.1 Yes – no questions

The commonest form of a yes – no question involves the use of the interrogative pro-form *waswe*. When placed sentence initially alone,¹¹² it marks the following clause as a yes – no question. For example:

(320)

a) *Waswe, yu fil-im hemi oraet?*
 QN 2SG feel-TRS 3SG.SRP alright

‘Do you feel it’s okay?’ (wr)

¹¹² In combination with *nao*, *waswe* is a word that introduces an information seeking why question.

- b) *Waswe*, *bae yumi go long Honiara?*
 QN FUT 1PL.INC go PREP Honiara
 ‘Will we go to Honiara?’ (au)

The sentence initial interrogative pro-form may also be accompanied by a following NP that indicates who the yes – no question is directed at. Note the following two examples:

(321)

- a) *Waswe Filip, yu no save long mi yet?*
 QN Phillip 2SG not know PREP 1SG still
 ‘Phillip, do you still not know me?’ (nt)

- b) *Waswe olketa, yufala kasem eni fis?*
 QN 3PL 2PL catch.TRS any fish
 ‘Hey everyone, did you catch any fish?’ (nt)

The particle *ya* when it occurs sentence finally also marks a question. In this use speakers pronounce it with rising pitch. The interrogative pro-form *waswe* may occur with or without this sentence final question particle. An example follows:

(322)

- a) *Waswe, Sera save susu-m pikinini yet ya?*
 QN Sarah ABIL breastfeed-TRS child still QN
 ‘Is Sarah still able to breastfeed children?’ (ot)

A further variation of the yes – no question sentence is that the potential negative response *o nomoa* ‘or not’ may be appended to the clause, though not in combination with the sentence final question particle *ya*.¹¹³ Furthermore, this appended tag *o nomoa* is spoken at a lower pitch than the preceding interrogative clause final rising pitch word. This form perhaps seeks a fuller answer than merely yes or no. Consider the following pairs of examples:

(323)

- a) *Waswe, olketa toktok ya i tru?*
 QN PL talk DEM SRP true
 ‘Is that talk true?’ (nt)

- b) *Waswe, olketa toktok ya i tru o nomoa?*
 QN PL talk DEM SRP true or not
 ‘Is that talk true or not?’ (au)

- c) *Waswe, Jon hemi kam?*
 QN John 3SG.SRP come
 ‘Did John come?’ (au)

¹¹³ Unlike Bislama, I have not observed the tag *o nomoa* ever abbreviated to *o*.

- d) *Waswe, Jon hemi kam o nomoa?*
 QN John 3SG.SRP come or not
 ‘Did John come or not?’ (au)

Also note that yes – no questions may be formed by the interrogative intonation pattern being applied to a basic sentence. Thus the declarative statement:

- (324)
 a) *Bae yumi go long Honiara.*
 FUT 1PL.INC go PREP Honiara
 ‘We will go to Honiara.’ (au)

becomes a question when uttered with an overall slightly higher pitch (compared to the declarative), and a high rising tone on the final word *Honiara*.

- b) *Bae yumi go long Honiara?*
 FUT 1PL.INC go PREP Honiara
 ‘Will we go to Honiara?’ (au)

8.1.3.2 Information questions with no *wh*-movement

Although not common, speakers may form an interrogative sentence when an interrogative pro-form replaces, in the same position, the constituent that is being interrogated. In this simple form, there is no *wh*-movement. The following examples illustrate this structure:

- (325)
 a) *Mami, olketa pin olketa long wea?*
 mum PL pin 3PL.SRP PREP where
 ‘Mum, where are the pins?’ (Jourdan 2002, p.260) (wr)
 b) *Yu baem wanem long stoa?*
 2SG buy.TRS what PREP store
 ‘What did you buy at the store?’ (spo)
 c) *Yufala gare-m haomas bred?*
 2PL have-TRS how.much bread
 ‘How much bread do you have?’ (spo)

8.1.4 Negative sentences

Negative sentences are not syntactically distinct from either the declarative or imperative sentence types. They are negated only by virtue of the pre-head negative marker in the Predicate (see §7.3.2). For example:

- (326)
 a) *Yufala no save long hem ya.*
 2PL no know PREP 3SG DEC
 ‘You don’t know him.’ (au)

b) *Mi no gare-m eni-samting olsem led yet ya.*
 1SG not have-TRS any-thing like.TRS lead yet DEC
 ‘I don’t have anything like lead yet.’ (wr)

c) *Yu no save kam-baek fo eni kompensesein.*
 2SG NEG ABIL come-back for any compensation
 ‘You can’t come back for any compensation.’ (wr)

d) *No tasim!*
 NEG touch.TRS
 ‘Don’t touch!’ (spo)

8.1.5 Movement of sentence constituents

The movement of sentence or Predicate constituents will have an impact on sentence syntax. In the next sections I describe topicalisation, the *wh*-movement involved in the most common type of interrogative sentence, and adverbial constituent movement.

8.1.5.1 Focus

Focus has an impact on sentence structure. Speakers may front whatever constituent is in focus in a discourse. I believe that this focus is identificational focus (Kiss 1998) as distinct from information focus (see §5.2.6.3 for details concerning the use of the post-NP head focus marker *nao* and information focus). For instance, in the following example the object NP (underlined) does not occur in its usual position in the Predicate, but rather it is left dislocated to become the first constituent of the sentence. The function of this dislocation is to focus the discourse on the fronted constituent. In the example following we see “the commonest sort of deformation of the accompanying clause, the creation of a ‘gap’” (Andrews 1985, p.85), though there is an indication of the object in the transitive suffix of the verb.

(327) *Olketa pikpik ya, Jon hemi pei-m nao.*
 PL pig DEM John 3SG.SRP pay-TRS EMPH
 ‘Those pigs, John bought them.’ (au)

Sometimes the ‘gap’ is filled with an appropriate pronoun, compare the previous example with the following:

(328) *Olketa pikpik ya, Jon hemi pei-m olketa nao.*
 PL pig DEM John 3SG.SRP pay-TRS 3PL EMPH
 ‘Those pigs, John bought them.’ (au)

It is not only the object NP that may be left dislocated; a PP constituent may also occur in the sentence initial position. When such left dislocation occurs, there may be an accompanying focus marker *nao* on the fronted constituent. Compare the following two examples:

(329)

a) *Plande liu i stap long Honiara.*
 many unemployed SRP stay PREP Honiara

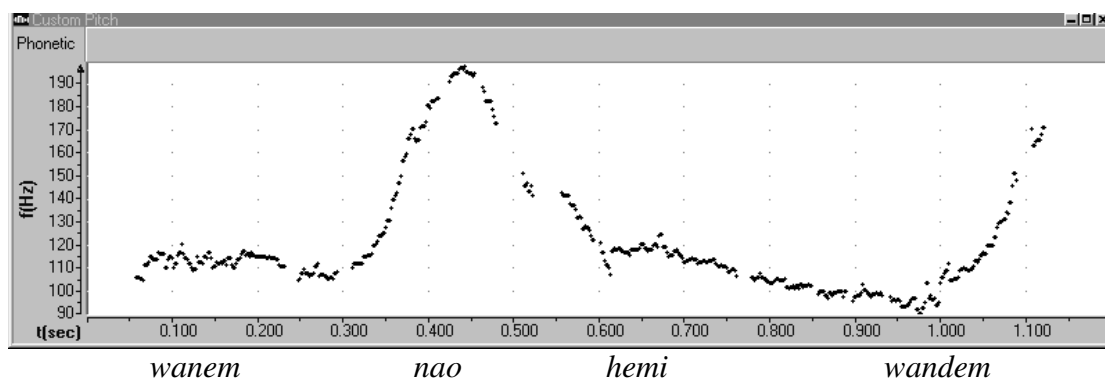
‘There are many unemployed people in Honiara.’ (au)

b) *Long Honiara nao, plande liu i stap.*
 PREP Honiara FOC many unemployed SRP stay

‘In Honiara there are many unemployed people.’ (au)

8.1.5.2 Interrogative sentences

Pijin interrogative sentences are primarily indicated by the presence of a sentence initial interrogative pro-form (see §4.10.1) accompanied by the focus particle *nao*, an optional sentence final question tag *ya*, and intonation also play a significant role. The intonation pattern is such that the focus particle *nao* has a higher pitch, and the final word of the interrogative sentence has a rising pitch. This is illustrated in the pitch contour of a typical question (*Wanem nao hemi wandem?* ‘What does he want?’) in the following intonation graph:



Any of the interrogative pro-forms outlined in §4.10 (except for *watkaen*) occurring with an immediately following *nao* may occur sentence initially to create an information seeking interrogative sentence. The question tag *ya* may occur sentence finally to further mark the question. In this use speakers pronounce it with rising pitch. Some examples with and without *ya* follow:

(330)

a) *Hu nao bae hemi help-em mi?*
 who FOC FUT 3SG.SRP help-TRS 1SG

‘Who will help me?’ (spo)

b) *Wanem nao mi duim nogud ya?*
 what FOC 1SG do.TRS bad QN

‘What bad thing did I do?’ (au)

- c) *Wataem nao yu kam long hia?*
 when FOC 2SG come PREP here
 ‘When did you get here?’ (spo)
- d) *Wea nao brata blong yu?*
 where FOC brother POSS 2SG
 ‘Where is your brother?’ (ot)
- e) *Haonao yufala nating luk-save long dis-wan?*
 how FOC 2PL never look-know PREP this-NOM
 ‘How did you fail to recognise this?’ (nt)
- f) *Haomas nao yu kaon-em ya?*
 how.much FOC 2SG borrow-TRS QN
 ‘How much did you borrow?’ (nt)
- g) *Waswe nao yufala liu nating olsem long ful-de ya?*
 why FOC 2PL laze nothing like-TRS PREP full-day QN
 ‘Why did you laze around like that the entire day?’ (nt)

The interrogative pro-form *watkaen* ‘what kind of’ is used to question a N_{sub} constituent (see §5.3.2.2) in an NP, thus the pro-form along with its post-head complement NOM is moved in an interrogative sentence formed with *watkaen*. Note the following examples:

(331)

- a) *Watkaen lo nao yu minim ya?*
 what.kind law FOC 2SG mean-TRS QN
 ‘What kind of laws do you mean?’ (nt)
- b) *Watkaen samting nao yu bin duim wea hemi rong?*
 what.kind thing FOC 2SG PST do-TRS REL 3SG.SRP wrong
 ‘What sort of thing did you do wrong?’ (nt)

The interrogative pro-forms *haomas* ‘how much’, *haomeni* ‘how many’, and *hu* ‘who’ may also ‘take’ accompanying constituents with them when they are subject to movement. Some examples follow:

(332)

- a) *Haomas taem nao mi mas stap wetem yufala?*
 how.much time FOC 1SG must stay with-TRS 2PL
 ‘How long must I stay with you?’ (nt)
- b) *Haomeni pikinini nao bae kam long piknik?*
 how.many child FOC FUT come PREP picnic
 ‘How many children will come to the picnic?’ (spo)
- c) *Hu long tufala ya nao hemi duim wanem hemi wande-m?*
 who PREP 3DL DEM FOC 3SG.SRP do-TRS what 3SG.SRP want-TRS
 ‘Who of those two did what he wanted?’ (nt)

In the introduction I said that information seeking interrogative sentences are primarily marked by the presence of a sentence initial interrogative pro-form accompanied by the focus particle *nao*. It is clear that there is a *wh*-movement relationship between the common form of the interrogative sentence and the simple form described above in §8.1.3.2. Sadock and Zwicky (1985, p.185) discuss the way languages differentiate the new information/old information dichotomy in information questions by using their cleft construction to focus the interrogated constituent. It seems reasonable to say therefore that the left dislocation movement that is involved in focusing a constituent is the same sort of movement that creates the majority of interrogative information seeking sentences. Bailyn (2003, pp.165-169) explores the parallels between dislocation and *wh*-movement in Russian, in particular that both are involved in information focus. This kind of information focus explains the occurrence of the particle *nao* in conjunction with this focusing syntax. In §5.2.6.3 the particle *nao* is shown to mark NPs as being the focus of a sentence. I suggest that this is true also for the sentence initial interrogatives, that is, they are focused with *nao*. Compare the following three examples (seen earlier in §8.1.3.2) with counterparts showing *wh*-movement:

(333)

a) *Mami, olketa pin olketa long wea?*
 mum PL pin 3PL.SRP PREP where

‘Mum, where are the pins?’ (Jourdan 2002, p.260) (wr)

b) *Mami, wea nao olketa pin?*
 mum where FOC PL pin

‘Mum, where are the pins?’ (au)

c) *Yu baem wanem long stoa?*
 2SG buy.TRS what PREP store

‘What did you buy at the store?’ (spo)

d) *Wanem nao yu baem long stoa?*
 what FOC 2SG buy.TRS PREP store

‘What did you buy at the store?’ (au)

e) *Yufala gare-m haomas bred?*
 2PL have-TRS how.much bread

‘How much bread do you have?’ (spo)

f) *Haomas bred nao yufala gare-m?*
 how.much bread FOC 2PL have-TRS

‘How much bread do you have?’ (au)

There are instances, however, in which the constituent being interrogated is not easily left dislocated. In the following example, the sentence that contains the fronted interrogative is not well formed.

(334)

a) *An barava wei blong lav hemi olsem wanem?*
 and real way POSS love 3SG.SRP like what

‘What is the real way of love like?’ (nt)

b) **Wanem nao barava wei blong lav hemi olsem?*
 what FOC real way POSS love 3SG.SRP like

c) **Olsem wanem nao barava wei blong lav hemi?*
 Like what FOC real way POSS love 3SG.SRP

Because the interrogative in the above example cannot occur sentence initially, I conclude that there is a constraint on *wh*-movement of the prepositional object of *olsem*.

There are other constraints on *wh*-movement, but since these involve complex sentences they are dealt with in §8.5.2.

8.1.5.3 Adverbial elements in the sentence

In §7.6 I introduced the observation that time and locative adverbs and PPs could move from the Predicate to a sentence initial position. These kinds of constituents may be single words – generally adverbs, they may be PPs with an adverbial function, or they may be adverbial subordinate clauses (Thompson & Longacre 1985), the latter are discussed under adverbial clauses below (§8.4). Consider the following examples in which a sentence initial adverbial element is underlined. Such adverbial elements may also be emphasised with the focus marker *nao*:

(335)

a) *Yestade* *hemi stap.*
 Yesterday 3SG.SRP stay

‘Yesterday he stayed.’ (au)

b) *Long Fraede* *olketa man i lus.*
 PREP Friday PL man SRP lost

‘On Friday the men were lost.’ (au)

c) *Long sip* *olketa pikpik mas stap bihaen.*
 PREP ship PL pig must stay behind

‘On the ship the pigs must stay at the back.’ (au)

d) *Long Auki nao samfala liu* *i hipap tugeta.*
 PREP Auki FOC some unemployed.youth SRP congregate together

In Auki some unemployed youth gather together.’ (au)

The peripheral time constituents often occur sentence initially, as in the examples above, however, they occasionally follow a sentence initial NP (whether subject or other left dislocated constituent). I believe this secondary placement is motivated by the need to create

or maintain focus in the discourse. Note the following examples (NP bold, adverbial underlined):

(336)

a) ***Mifala tenfala boe oltaem*** go kasem fis long wanfala ples long Malaita...
 1PL.EXC ten boy all.the.time go catch.TRS fish PREP one place PREP Malaita
 ‘We ten boys went all the time to catch fish at a place on Malaita...’ (wr)

b) ***Disfala seleni, lastaem ya,*** mi tek-em finis ba.
 this money last-time EMPH 1SG take-TRS finish RDEM
 ‘Last time I had taken this money you know.’ (au)

8.2 Complex Sentences – Coordination

Complex sentences are those sentences with more than one Predicate. In this section I look at complete simple sentences in coordination, and also sentences in coordination with some kind of reduction in the coordinate clauses.

Sentences may be coordinated with the following three coordinators: *an* ‘and’, *bat* ‘but’, *o* ‘or’. These three express the notions of addition, contrast and alternation respectively. The coordinators *an* and *o* are also used in word and phrase coordination (see §6.4). Note the following examples of coordinated sentences (coordinators in bold).

(337)

a) ***So tufala i go nao an tufala luk-im Jon***
 so 3DL SRP go EMPH and 3DL.SRP look-TRS John
 ‘So the two of them went and they saw John.’ (nt)

b) ***Mi jes klin-im haos ya, bat yufala spoel-em hem agen.***
 1SG just clean-TRS house DEM but 2PL spoil-TRS 3SG again
 ‘I just cleaned the house but you have messed it up again.’ (au)

c) ***Nogud eni-wan hemi fil-nogud o olketa pus-um hem fo givim samting.***
 lest any-one 3SG.SRP feel-bad or 3PL push-TRS 1SG for give.TRS thing
 ‘Lest anyone feels bad or they push him to give something.’ (nt)

Observe that the coordinated clauses do not necessarily have explicit subject NPs. The following example illustrates a sentence with four coordinated clauses expressing a sequence of events. The subject NP appears in only the first clause, while the SRP in the subsequent clauses all refer to this subject NP.

(338) *Ebrahim hemi wak-em wanfala olta,*
 Abraham 3SG.SRP work-TRS one altar

an *hemi mek-redi long olketa faewud antap long hem,*
 and 3SG.SRP make-ready PREP PL firewood on PREP 3SG

an *hemi taem-ap-em boe blong hem ya,*
 and 3SG.SRP tie-up-TRS boy POSS 3SG DEM

an *hemi putum hem antap long faewud ya.*
 and 3SG.SRP put.TRS 3SG on PREP firewood DEM

‘Abraham built an altar, and prepared the firewood on it, and tied up his son, and put him on the firewood.’ (ot)

In the following example the NP referent of the SRP is known from the context of the story and so does not occur overtly in either clause.

(339) *Nomata hemi luk-nogud olsem*
 even.though 3SG.SRP look-bad like.TRS

bat *hemi save tumas fo lu~lukaot-em pikpik.*
 but 3SG.SRP know very COMP REDUP~look.after-TRS pig

‘Even though he looked ugly like that,
 but he really knew how to care for pigs.’ (wr)

In these next examples, note that there is no subject NP or SRP in the second and subsequent clauses, though the subject is the same as the first clause.

(340)

a) *Yu no kil-im dae boe blong yu ya*
 2SG no injure-TRS die boy POSS 2SG EMPH

o *mek-em enisamting fo kasem hem!*
 or make-TRS anything for reach.TRS 3SG

‘Don’t kill your boy or cause anything to harm him.’ (ot)

b) ... *olketa i miks-im tufala tugeta **an** pasel-em tugeta **an** bek-em.*
 3PL SRP mix-TRS 2PL together and wrap-TRS together and bake-TRS.

‘... they mix the two things together and wrap it and bake it.’ (wr)

I say in §6.1.1.4 that *go* or *kam* when coordinated with another following verb, form a complex constituent that functions as the head of a VP. Predicates with such complex constituents may be coordinated with another Predicate in a complex sentence. I include an example here showing two coordinated Predicates, the second of which contains a complex constituent as the head of the VP (sentence coordinator in bold, complex VP head underlined):

(341)

a) *Jiuda hemi lus-im olketa brata blong hem,*
 Judah 3SG.SRP lost-TRS PL brother POSS 3SG
an hemi go an stap long haos blong Hirah.
 and 3SG.SRP go and stay PREP house POSS Hirah

‘Judah left his brothers and went and stayed in Hirah’s house.’ (ot)

I should also add that verbs other than motion verbs may also form a complex constituent that functions as the head of a VP. In the first example following there are two such complex constituents underlined.

(342)

a) *An yufala mas laea an sei yufala wande-m hem*
 and 2PL must lie and say 2PL want-TRS 3SG
fo kam an talem-aot samfala samting moa abaot-em hem.
 SUB come and tell-TRS-out some thing more about-TRS 3SG

‘And you must lie and say you want him to come and declare some additional things about himself.’ (nt)

b) *Bat hemi klin-im an kat-em-sot nomoa evri brans...*
 but 3SG.SRP clean-TRS and cut-TRS-short only every branch

‘But he cleans and prunes every branch...’ (nt)

Coordination may also occur in interaction with subordination. I discuss this below in §8.6 following the discussion of various types of complex sentences. At this point it is important to recall that complex coordinate sentences are distinguished from serial verb constructions (SVCs are described in §6.1.3).

8.3 Complex Sentences – Complements

In this section I consider complex sentences that have more than one Predicate because they contain subordinate clauses that are either verbal complements or prepositional complements. The verbal complements are either complements following a modal or aspectual verb (see table 8.1), or complements of verbs of communication or thought.

8.3.1 Verbal Complements

There are numerous instances of the Predicate in which the VP, when headed by one of a small set of verbs, is observed to take a verbal complement as a constituent.

In terms of internal structure, the subordinate clause that is this kind of verbal complement is usually marked with an initial complementiser *fo*. The verbal complement may be negated, it may be headed by a VP, AdjP or rarely an NP, and is followed by the same post-head

constituents as a simple Predicate. It may or may not have an SRP, and is not observed to have the DM or TMA markers (see §7.3 and §7.7).

The head V of the Predicate that takes a verbal complement will predominately belong to a specific set of verbs that are largely modal or aspectual in nature.¹¹⁴ These verbs are shown in the table below along with an indication of whether the complementiser *fo* is obligatory in the verbal complement or not (if not obligatory it is marked with parentheses).

Table 8.1 Common Complement taking verbs

verb	gloss	complementiser
<i>gohed</i>	‘continue’	(<i>fo</i>)
<i>laek</i>	‘like’	(<i>fo</i>)
<i>laekem</i>	‘like it’	<i>fo</i>
<i>mekem</i>	‘cause it’	(<i>fo</i>)
<i>stap</i>	‘stay’	-
<i>stat</i>	‘start’	(<i>fo</i>)
<i>trae</i>	‘try’	<i>fo</i>
<i>traehad</i>	‘really try’	<i>fo</i>
<i>traem</i>	‘try it’	<i>fo</i>
<i>wande</i>	‘want’	(<i>fo</i>)
<i>wandem</i>	‘want it’	<i>fo</i>

The following examples illustrate complex sentences with verbal complements (verbal complement underlined, Predicate head in bold):

(343)

a) *Hemi gohed tu fo krae bikfala fo hem.*
 3SG.SRP continue too COMP cry big PREP 3SG
 ‘He also continued to cry a lot for her.’ (wr)

b) *Yufala mas stat tingting gudfala moa.*
 2PL must start think good more
 ‘You must start thinking properly again.’ (wr)

¹¹⁴ Other verbs apart from those listed may also occur in such complex sentences. I will not attempt to outline every possibility since it is expected that they follow the behaviour of one of the main set of verbs.

- c) ...*evriwan barava **stap** kuaet fogud nao.*
 everyone really still quiet very EMPH
 ‘... everyone was really very quiet.’ (nt)
- d) *Mi **laek** fo talem samting long yufala.*
 1SG like COMP tell.TRS thing PREP 2PL
 ‘I would like to tell you a thing.’ (nt)
- e) *Mi **wande-m** yufala fo sei halo long olketa long hom.*
 1SG want-TRS 2PL COMP say halo PREP 3PL PREP home
 ‘I want you to say hello to them at home.’ (nt)
- f) *Bae mi **mek-em** fo yu garem plande pikinini.*...
 FUT 1SG make-TRS COMP 2SG have-TRS many child
 ‘I will cause you to have many children,...’ (nt)
- g) *An olketa i **mek-em** fo hemi no tambu nao.*
 and 3PL SRP make-TRS COMP 3SG.SRP not sacred EMPH
 ‘And they will cause it to not be sacred.’ (ot)
- h) *Olketa no **laek-em** fo yufala stap wetem olketa.*...
 3PL not like-TRS COMP 2PL stay with.TRS 3PL
 ‘They don’t want you to stay with them,...’ (nt)

I now look at the behaviour of specific combinations of V heads with verbal complements.

8.3.1.1 *gohed* + Verbal Complement

The verb *gohed* ‘continue’ may function as an independent verb, or more commonly with a verbal complement. The complement is usually marked with *fo* but occasionally it is unmarked. With *gohed* as head of the Predicate, the subject of the Predicate and the subject of the verbal complement are identical so no SRP may occur in the verbal complement. Some instances of *gohed* may be seen in the following examples (verbal complement underlined, Predicate head in bold):

(344)

- a) *Yufala **gohed** duim olketa samting wea hemi gud.*
 2PL continue do.TRs PL thing REL 3SG.SRP good
 ‘You continue doing things that are good.’ (nt)
- b) *Mi **gohed** waka fo siksfaia yia moa.*
 1SG continue work for six year more
 ‘I kept working for six more years.’ (ot)
- c) *Hemi **gohed** fo krae bikfala fo hem.*
 3SG.SRP continue COMP cry big for 3SG
 ‘He continued to cry a lot for her.’ (nt)
- d) *Waka ya, olketa i save **gohed** fo duim fo fotifala de.*
 work DEM 3PL SRP HAB continue COMP do.TRs for forty day
 ‘That work, they kept on doing it for forty days.’ (ot)

Given that this form indicates continuous aspect, it is worth asking whether we should not treat the verb *gohed* as a TMA marker. Indeed the fact that the complementiser is at times not used may suggest that the verb is or is heading toward becoming such a grammatical element. However, the fact that *gohed* may be followed by various adverbs precludes us from classing it with the TMA markers. Significantly, when speakers employ such post-verbal adverbs the complementiser is obligatory. For instance, the following examples repeat some from the previous set but this time post-verbal constituents also occur.

(345)

a) *Yufala gohed nomoa fo duim olketa samting wea hemi gud.*
 2PL continue only COMP do.TRS PL thing REL 3SG.SRP good
 ‘You just keep doing things that are good.’ (au)

b) *Mi gohed nao fo waka fo siksfala yia moa.*
 1SG continue EMPH COMP work PREP six year more
 ‘I really kept working for six more years.’ (au)

c) *Hemi gohed tu fo krae bikfala fo hem.*
 3SG.SRP continue too COMP cry big PREP 3SG
 ‘He also continued to cry a lot for her.’ (au)

8.3.1.2 *stat* + Verbal Complement

As with *gohed* the verb *stat* ‘start’ may function as an independent verb, or with a verbal complement. The complement is usually marked with *fo* but in a few instances it is unmarked. With *stat* as head of the Predicate, the subject of the Predicate and the subject of the verbal complement are coreferential. And just as with *gohed*, *stat* may be followed by various post-verbal constituents such as adverbs that preclude us from classing it as a TMA marker that indicates inceptive mode. When speakers employ such post-verbal adverbs the complementiser is obligatory. These may be seen in the following examples:

(346)

a) *Yufala mas stat tingting gudfala moa.*
 2PL must start think good more
 ‘You must start thinking properly again.’ (wr)

b) *Man ya hemi stat falo-m wei blong olketa Jiu.*
 man DEM 3SG.SRP start follow-TRS way POSS PL Jew
 ‘That man started to follow Jewish customs.’ (nt)

c) *Mi stat fo tisim olketa pikinini.*
 1SG start COMP teach.TRS PL child
 ‘I am starting to teach the children.’ (au)

d) *...yufala stat moa fo help-em mi.*
 2PL start more COMP help-TRS 1SG
 ‘... you are starting again to help me.’ (nt)

- e) ...*man ya hemi stat nao fo aot-em wetem naef blong hem...*
 man DEM 3SG.SRP start EMPH COMP out-TRS with.TRS knife POSS 3SG
 ‘... that man starts to remove it with his knife...’ (wr)

8.3.1.3 *laek* + Verbal Complement, *wande* + Verbal Complement

Unlike *gohed* and *stat*, the verbs *laek* and *wande* are not observed to function as independent verbs, but always occur with a verbal complement. The complement is usually marked with *fo* but it may also be unmarked. With *laek* and *wande* as head of the Predicate, the subject of the Predicate and the subject of the verbal complement are identical. Also note that these two verbs may **not** be followed by a post-verbal constituent such as an adverb. This perhaps implies that they could be classed with the TMA markers. The written data suggests that the complementiser is virtually obligatory, however, in recent discussions (May 2007) a number of speakers (12 men, aged from 25 to 55, from all over Solomon Islands) indicate that the preferred form in relation to *wande* is to omit the complementiser. While I do not yet consider them to function as TMA markers, they may well be in the process of grammaticalising to become desiderative modality markers. Some examples follow:

(347)

- a) *Sapos mi wande ranawe from yu...*
 if 1SG want runaway from 2SG
 ‘If I want to run away from you,...’ (ot)
- b) ...*nogud yufala no wande fo lisiin go long God.*
 ... lest 2PL no want COMP listen go PREP God
 ‘...lest you don’t want to listen to God.’ (nt)
- c) *Mifala wande fo slip wetem tufala.*
 1PL.EXC want COMP sleep with.TRS 3DL
 ‘We want to sleep with those two.’ (ot)
- d) *An mi laek ask-em yufala...*
 and 1SG like ask-TRS 2PL
 ‘And I would like to ask you,...’ (wr)
- e) *Mi laek fo talem samting long yufala.*
 1SG like COMP tell.TRS thing PREP 2PL
 ‘I would like to tell you a thing.’ (nt)
- f) *Pol hemi laek fo sel go-pas long Gela.*
 Paul 3SG.SRP like COMP sail go-past PREP Gela
 ‘Paul would like to sail past Gela.’ (au)

I also include three interesting examples in which the complements (underlined) are headed by an NP.

(348)

a) *Mi bae mi laek fo midwaef.*
 1SG FUT 1SG.SRP like COMP midwife

‘I would like to become a midwife.’ (Jourdan & Selbach 2001, p.10) (wr)

The following two utterances are by the same speaker within the same piece of biographical discourse.

b) *Mi laek fo mekanik ya.*
 1SG like COMP mechanic DEC

‘I want to be a mechanic.’ (spr)

c) *Mi laek mota mekanik.*
 1SG like motor mechanic

‘I want to be a motor mechanic.’ (spr)

8.3.1.4 *laekem* + Verbal Complement, *wandem* + Verbal Complement

Laekem and *wandem* may function as independent verbs, or with a verbal complement. The complement is always marked with the complementiser *fo*. When *laekem* and *wandem* are the head of a Predicate, the subject of the Predicate and the subject of the verbal complement may be identical, in which case there is no overt SRP in the verbal complement. However, if the verbal complement has a different subject from the main clause, there will be an overt subject NP in the verbal complement. This NP usually precedes the complementiser *fo*, though it may also follow it. Some examples follow:

(349)

a) *An olketa laek-em fo sens-im olketa samting wea i lus o bagarap...*
 and PL like-TRS COMP change-TRS PL thing REL SRP lost or damaged

‘And they would like to replace the things that were lost or damaged,...’ (wr)

b) *Taem mi smol kam mi barava laek-em tumas fo skol ya.*
 time 1SG small come 1SG really like-TRS very COMP school DEC

‘When I was small I really wanted to go to school.’ (spr)

c) *Jon hemi no laek-em hem fo go.*
 John 3SG.SRP no like-TRS 3SG COMP go

‘John did not want him to go.’ (au)

d) *Hemi laek-em yumi fo stap gudfala tugeta.*
 3SG.SRP like-TRS 1PL.INC COMP stay good together

‘He would like us to be together harmoniously.’ (nt)

e) *...olketa no laek-em fo yufala stap wetem olketa...*
 3PL not like-TRS COMP 2PL stay with-TRS 3PL

‘...they do not want you to stay with them,...’ (au)

f) *Olketa man ya i wande-m tumas fo fren-gud wetem yumi ya.*
 PL man DEM SRP want-TRS very COMP friend-good with-TRS 1PL.INC DEC

‘Those men really want to be friends with us.’ (au)

- g) *Mi wande-m yufala fo sei halo long olketa long hom.*
 1SG want-TRS 2PL COMP say halo PREP 3PL PREP home
 ‘I want you to say hello to them at home.’ (au)

- h) *Mi wande-m fo yu lus-im ples ya.*
 1SG want-TRS COMP 2SG leave-TRS place DEM
 ‘I want you to leave this place.’ (au)

8.3.1.5 *mekem* + Verbal Complement

The verb *mekem* may function as an independent verb, or with a verbal complement. When *mekem* is the head of a Predicate, the subject of the verbal complement is always different than the subject of *mekem*, and it will be overt (at times even a full subject NP). The verbal complement is always marked with complementiser *fo*. Usually it will follow the subject NP of the verbal complement, though it may also precede its subject. This seems to apply to all pronouns. It is very rare for a post-verbal adverb to follow this verb. Some examples follow:

(350)

- a) *Olketa ya nao i mek-em trabol fo kasem mi.*
 3PL EMPH FOC SRP cause-TRS trouble COMP reach-TRS 1SG
 ‘They caused trouble to get me.’ (nt)

- b) *An hemi mek-em ren fo kam-daon long olketa stretfala pipol...*
 and 3SG.SRP cause-TRS rain COMP come-down PREP PL straight people
 ‘And he makes rain to fall on good people,...’ (nt)

- c) *Hemi mek-em mi fo trast-em promis blong yu ya.*
 3SG.SRP cause-TRS 1SG COMP trust-TRS promise POSS 2SG DEC
 ‘It makes me trust your promise.’ (ot)

- d) *Baebae mi mek-em fo yu gare-m plande pikinini fogud.*
 FUT 1SG cause-TRS COMP 2SG have-TRS many child very
 ‘I will cause you to have a lot of children.’ (ot)

8.3.1.6 *trae* + Verbal Complement, *traehad* + Verbal Complement

The verb *trae* does not function as an independent verb, and *traehad* very rarely does. When they occur with a verbal complement, it is always marked with *fo*. With *trae* or *traehad* as head of the Predicate the subject of the Predicate and the subject of the verbal complement are identical. The verb *trae* may **not** be followed by a post-verbal adverb, though *traehad* may rarely be modified in such a manner. This perhaps implies that we could class them with the TMA markers. However, because the complementiser is obligatory, I do not consider

them to function as TMA markers, though they may be in the process of grammaticalising to become conative¹¹⁵ modality markers. Some examples follow:

(351)

a) *Plis yu go traefo ask-em kam dadi blong hemfo hem.*
 please 2SG go try COMP ask-TRS come father POSS 3SG for 3SG

‘Please go try to ask her father for her.’ (ot)

b) *Nao olketa traefo kashol-em hem moa...*
 DISC 3PL try COMP arrest-TRS 3SG more

‘Then they tried to arrest him again,...’ (nt)

c) *Bat yufala traefad nomoa fo kilim mi dae.*
 but 2PL try-hard only COMP hit-TRS 1SG die

‘But you are just really trying to kill me.’ (nt)

d) *Olketa traefad fo trik-im hem.*
 3PL try-hard COMP trick-TRS 3SG

‘They really tried to trick him.’ (nt)

8.3.1.7 *traem* + Verbal Complement

The verb *traem* usually functions as an independent verb, in such usage it most commonly means ‘to test’, it also means ‘to attempt’. It does, however, occasionally take a verbal complement, in which case it indicates an attemptive modal meaning. The complement is usually marked with complementiser *fo*, though it may also be omitted. When *traem* is the head of a Predicate, the subject of the Predicate and the subject of the verbal complement are coreferential. Some examples follow:

(352)

a) *Yu mas traefm fo duim olketa samting ya.*
 2SG must try-TRS COMP do.TRs PL thing DEM

‘You must try to do those things.’ (nt)

b) *Bat yutufala traefm fo talem kam tufala drim ya long mi.*
 but 2DL try-TRS COMP tell.TRs come two dream DEM PREP 1SG

‘But you two should try to tell those two dreams to me.’ (ot)

c) *...bae mi traefm stanap fo yumi.*
 ... FUT 1SG try-TRS stand for IPL.INC

‘...I will try to stand (in the election) for us.’ (wr)

¹¹⁵ **conative**: indicates that the subject is trying to perform the action of the verb. Others use the term ‘attemptive’ (Green 1999, p.102).

8.3.1.8 Other verbs + Verbal Complement

Apart from the predominant set of verbs so far described, many other verbs (and Adjs as in the third example below) also take verbal complements. The following three examples serve to illustrate such verbs.

(353)

a) *Tufala ya i fren gudfala tumas an tufala i tingting fo marit nao.*
 2PL DEM SRP friend good very and 2PL SRP think COMP marry EMPH
 ‘Those two were very good friends and they considered getting married.’ (wr)

b) *...an olketa fraet fo ask-em hem tu.*
 and 3PL afraid COMP ask-TRS 3SG too
 ‘... and they were afraid to ask him too.’ (nt)

c) *Yumi fri fo duim eni-samting nomoa.*
 1PL.INC free COMP do.TRS any-thing only
 ‘We are free to do just anything.’ (nt)

8.3.1.9 Concatenation

So far I have described a variety of verbs plus verbal complements in complex sentences. In each case there has only been one verbal complement in a Predicate. However, at times there may be more than one. Their behaviour in such cases is somewhat reminiscent of English catenative constructions (Huddleston & Pullum 2002, pp.1176-1178). These English constructions have a verb with a non-finite internal complement, and they may be repeated recursively. Such concatenation is also a feature of Predicates with more than one verbal complement. In the data there are various examples containing one recursion, that is, one verbal complement is embedded in another resulting in the Predicate having a total of three verbs, for example:

(354)

a) *So olketa stat nao fo trae fo ting-im wanfala plan.*
 so 3PL start EMPH COMP try COMP think-TRS one plan
 ‘So they started to try to devise a plan.’ (nt)

b) *Olketa tingting fo mek-em sip fo go long soa long ples ya.*
 3PL think COMP cause-TRS ship COMP go PREP shore PREP place DEM
 ‘They thought to make the ship to go to shore at that place.’ (nt)

8.3.1.10 *stap* and the Verbal Complement

I now give special attention to *stap* ‘still’ in the Predicate with a verbal complement since there is some doubt in my mind regarding its analysis. When *stap* appears to take a verbal complement, the complementiser *fo* is not observed to occur. In fact this is the only verb that

never has the complementiser *fo* in the verbal complement.¹¹⁶ I have also observed that no post-head adverbs follow *stap* in this context. These two factors mean that it is quite possible to consider *stap* as a TMA marker rather than the head of a Predicate with a verbal complement.

The verb *stap* when used as an independent verb normally means ‘stay, remain’. However, when it heads a Predicate with a verbal complement, it indicates stative aspect. This is true irrespective of whether the verbal complement contains an active or a stative verb, or an adjective. In this stative use, *stap* occurs by far most frequently with verbal complements containing adjective heads. It is because of the very low rate of occurrence with V headed complements and the high frequency of occurrence with Adj headed complements that I come to a different conclusion than Jourdan on the meaning of *stap* in these cases. She says that *stap* is a modal that means “action of doing something” (Jourdan 2002, p.225). In contrast to Jourdan’s view I believe *stap* in this use has a broader meaning, namely that it indicates a state of being or a state of action. For active verbs, such as in (355d) below, that may seem to be the same as continuous aspect. However, for that to be true there needs to be a sense of dynamicity in the predicate. “An event exhibiting little or no change over time can be termed a state, while one that does change can be termed a dynamic event or process...” (Chung & Timberlake 1985, p.214). I suggest that in none of the examples below, even with the active verbs, is there any dynamicity within the events, consequently they are all states. Such dynamicity in terms of continuous or progressive action is expressed in Pijin in Predicates that are headed by the verb *gohed* ‘continue’ and have a verbal complement (see §8.3.1.1).

The following examples (that also include various DM and TMA markers) illustrate this stative usage of *stap*:

(355)

a) ...*evriwan barava stap kuaet fogud nao.*
 everyone really still quiet very EMPH

‘... everyone was really very quiet.’ (nt)

b) ...*mek-em baebae yumi save stap holi olsem hem seleva.*
 make-TRS FUT 1PL.INC ABIL still holy like-TRS 3SG self

‘...will make us able to be holy like he is himself.’ (nt)

c) *Yufala mas stap redi an luk-aot gudfala.*
 2PL must still ready and look-out good

‘You must be ready and be watchful.’ (nt)

¹¹⁶ The fact that *stap* never has the complementiser *fo* before the verbal complement perhaps suggests that it has undergone further grammaticalization than the other verbs considered in this section.

d) *Hemi stap waka long ofis blong hem.*
 3SG.SRP still work PREP office POSS 3SG

‘She is working in her office.’ (Jourdan 2002, p.225) (wr)

e) ...*bat hemi save stap we~weit nomoa.*
 but 3SG.SRP ABIL still REDUP~wait only

‘... but he can just keep waiting.’ (nt)

Although in this chapter I have made very little comparison with Tok Pisin and Bislama, I will do so here since others have made some observations about *stap* in Pijin.

An existential or stative kind of meaning is observed for *stap* + V constructions in Tok Pisin (Verhaar 1995, pp.114-115). Verhaar specifically rejects any sort of durative or continued action notion for this construction (c.t. Mihalic 1971, pp.182-183). On the other hand it seems that *stap* + V in Bislama indicates continuous action or habitual action (Crowley 2004, pp.98-99). Crowley gives no examples of *stap* occurring before an adjective. I know of only one such possible Bislama example, *Hem i stap kwaet*. ‘He is quiet/subdued.’ (pers. com. Jim Stahl, 9 March 2007).

Crowley (1990, p.10), in discussing the grammatical function of *stap* in Bislama and Tok Pisin, claims that *stap* as a grammatical item in Pijin does not occur. Likewise, Tryon and Charpentier (2004, pp.394-396) also make this claim. This remains true if we treat *stap* as being the head of a Predicate with a verbal complement. However, if the alternate analysis of *stap* as an existential TMA marker were adopted then Crowley and Tryon & Charpentier’s claim would need to be amended.

8.3.2 Complements of communication and thought

The next subordinate clause types to be considered are those complements of speech, thought, hearing, communication, perception and some other mental predicates (though not ‘like’ or ‘want’). Such complements may be marked by the complementiser *wea*, or, as is becoming more common, *dat*.¹¹⁷ Both partial and complete sentences may be subordinated in this manner. When the complement is one of direct speech or thought, it may also be indicated by the complementiser *olsem*. I have also observed that all such subordinate clauses may also occur with no overt complementiser.

¹¹⁷ The growing use of the complementiser *dat* is perhaps a case of a decreolising influence of English with its subordinator “that” (Huddleston & Pullum 2002, pp.951-956).

8.3.2.1 Complementisers *wea* and *dat*

The complementisers *wea* and *dat* follow the speech verbs *prea* ‘pray’, *promis* ‘promise’, *sei* ‘say’, *talem* ‘tell’, *talemaot* ‘declare’, etc. They indicate complements following the thought verbs *biliv* ‘believe’, *bilivim* ‘believe’, *rimemba* ‘remember’, *save* ‘know’, *savegud* ‘know’, *tingim* ‘think’, *tingse* ‘think’, *tingimbaek* ‘recall’, *filim* ‘feel’, etc. They also mark complements following verbs of other kinds of communication such as *raetem* ‘write’, *som* ‘show’ and *somaot* ‘demonstrate’. In all cases they indicate indirect speech and thought (see below for direct speech and thought marked by *olsem*). Some examples follow:

f) *Hemi promis dat bae hemi blesim yufala.*
 3SG.SRP promise COMP FUT 3SG.SRP bless.TRS 2PL
 ‘He promised that he will bless you.’ (nt)

g) *Olketa pipol i talem wea hemi wanfala manfo mek-em trabol.*
 PL people SRP tell.TRS COMP 3SG.SRP one man for make-TRS trouble
 ‘People say that he is a trouble maker.’ (nt)

h) *Yu mas rimemba dat bae mi stap wetem yu.*
 2SG must remember COMP FUT 1SG stay with.TRS 2SG
 ‘You must remember that I will stay with you.’ (nt)

i) *So mi bin ting-im dat bae mi sendem hem go ya.*
 so 1SG PST think-TRS COMP FUT 1SG send.TRS 3SG go DEC
 ‘So I thought that I will send him.’ (nt)

j) *...mi fil-im wea bele blong mi hemi barava fil-nogud long hem moa.*
 1SG feel-TRS COMP belly POSS 1SG 3SG.SRP really feel-bad PREP 3SG more
 ‘... I felt that my stomach really felt worse from it.’ (wr)

8.3.2.2 Complements marked by *olsem*

As with the complementisers *dat* and *wea*, speakers use *olsem* to indicate complements of speech, and thought. In this use it follows all speech and thought verbs. It also marks complements following verbs of perception. Unlike *dat* and *wea*, it marks direct speech and thought. Such complements are not strictly speaking restricted to clauses; in fact long stretches of speech may be indicated as direct speech with this complementiser.

The complementiser *olsem* may follow at least the speech verbs *ask* ‘ask’, *prea* ‘pray’, *promis* ‘promise’, *sei* ‘say’, *talem* ‘tell’, *talemaot* ‘declare’, *tok* ‘talk’ (and the many derivatives of *tok*), *toktok* ‘talk’, etc. It indicates complements following the thought verbs *biliv* ‘believe’, *bilivim* ‘believe’, *rimemba* ‘remember’, *save* ‘know’, *savegud* ‘know’, *tingim* ‘think’, *tingimbaek* ‘recall’, *filim* ‘feel’, etc.

(356)

a) *Bat Pita hemi tok-strong olsem, “Nomoa, hemi no mi ya!”*
 but Peter 3SG.SRP talk-strong COMP No 3SG.SRP not 1SG DEC
 ‘But Peter declared, “No, it’s not me!” (nt)

- b) *Hemi sei **olsem**, “No long-taem bihaen, bae yufala no save luk-im mi,...”*
 3SG.SRP say COMP not long-time behind FUT 2PL not ABIL look-TRS 1SG
 ‘He said, “It won’t be a long time later,
 and you will not be able to see me,...’ (nt)
- c) *Olketa gohed fo tok **olsem**, “Yumi mas brek-em
 3PL go.ahead COMP talk COMP 1PL.INC must break-TRS
paoa blong tufala ya wea hemi hevi antap long yumi,
 power POSS two DEM REL 3SG.SRP heavy on PREP 1PL.INC
mek-em yumi fri from han blong tufala.”
 make-TRS 1PL.INC free from hand POSS two*
 ‘They were saying, “We must destroy their power that weighs down on us, and
 make ourselves free from their clutches.”’ (ot)
- d) *Nao mi ask **olsem**, “Yu hu nao ya?”*
 DISC 1SG ask COMP 2SG who FOC QN
 ‘Then I asked, “Who are you?” (nt)
- e) *Plande pipol nao i gohed fo prea **olsem**,*
 many people FOC SRP continue COMP pray COMP
 “*Lod, plis yu luk kaen kam long mifala,...*
 Lord please 2SG look kind come PREP 1PL.EXC
 ‘Many people continued praying, “Lord, please look kindly at us...”’ (ot)
- f) *Hemi gohed fo ting **olsem**,*
 3SG.SRP continue COMP think COMP
 “*Bae no long-taem, dadi blong mi ya hemi dae.*
 FUT not long-time father POSS 1SG EMPH 3SG.SRP die
 ‘He kept thinking, “It will not be a long time and my father will die.”’ (ot)
- In the same manner that *olsem* marks these speech and thought complements, it also marks the complements of perception verbs. Ordinary verbs of seeing and hearing when combined with a complement marked by *olsem* indicate visual or aural perception. The complement clauses so marked contain normal sentences. These are illustrated in the following examples:
- (357)
- a) *An hemi luk **olsem** olketa samting save toktok olsem man,...*
 and 3SG.SRP look COMP PL thing ABIL talk like-TRS man
 ‘And it seems like the things can talk as a man,...’ (wr)
- b) *An boe ya hemi luk **olsem** hemi dae nao.*
 and boy DEM 3SG.SRP look COMP 3SG.SRP die EMPH
 ‘And that boy appeared to be dead.’ (nt)
- c) *Toktok blong yu ya, mifala here-m **olsem** hemi nara-kaen nao.*
 talk POSS 2PL EMPH 1PL.EXC hear-TRS COMP 3SG.SRP other-kind EMPH
 ‘Your language, we hear it as another kind.’ (nt)
- d) *Hemi here **olsem** plande pipol tumas olketa stap long sip ya.*
 3SG.SRP hear COMP many people very 3PL stay PREP ship DEM
 ‘It sounds like a lot of people are on that ship.’ (au)

- e) ...*mi fil-im olsem hemi nogud.*
 1SG feel-TRS COMP 3SG.SRP bad
 ‘... I felt that it was bad.’ (wr)

Apart from straightforward perception, the meanings of the verbs may be extended to perception as a result of deductive reasoning, thus the complements marked by *olsem* in the following examples are conclusions.

(358)

- a) *Hemi luk olsem man ya*
 3SG.SRP look like-TRS man DEM
bae hemi no kam long olketa bik-de nao ya.
 FUT 3SG.SRP not come PREP PL big-day EMPH DEC
 ‘It seems that man will not come to the festivals.’ (ot)

- b) *Hemi luk olsem olketa stil-im seleni ya.*
 3SG.SRP look like-TRS 3PL steal-TRS money DEM
 ‘It appears they stole that money.’ (spo)

8.3.2.3 Unmarked Complements of speech and thought

Apart from the many examples in my data in which complements of speech are marked by *olsem*, there are quite a few unmarked ones. These follow the verbs *sei* ‘say’ as complements of direct speech, for example:

(359)

- a) ...*an mi sei, “Olketa fren, sapos yufala ...”*
 and 1SG say PL friend if 2PL
 ‘... an I said, “Friends, if you ...”’ (nt)

- b) *Nao Pita hemi sei, “Olketa deferen pipol nao ya.”*
 DISC Peter 3SG.SRP say PL different people FOC DEC
 ‘Then Peter said, “Different people!”’ (speech complement is a sentence fragment from a dialogue) (nt)

In the following example there is a complement of knowledge (underlined) that is not marked with the complementisers *dat* or *olsem*.

- (360) *Yumi save yumi no tek-em kam eni-samting insaet long wol*
 1PL.INC know 1PL.INC not tek-TRS come any-thing inside PREP world
taem yumi bon kam,...
 time 1PL.INC born come
 ‘We know that we do not bring anything into the world when we are born,...’ (nt)

8.3.3 Prepositional Complements

In this section I describe subordinate clauses that are prepositional complements, that is, they function as clausal objects in PPs headed by the prepositions *fo* or *olsem* (see also §6.3.1.2).

Subordinate clauses that function as prepositional complements in PPs headed by *fo* differ from basic sentences by virtue of the fact that they have reduced Predicates. In these clauses no subject NPs occur, nor do SRPs, DM, NEG or TMA markers (see §7.3 and §7.7). It is observed though that post-Predicate-head elements may occur.

Note the following examples in which the modified NP functions in various roles within the main sentence (N head in bold, *fo* and prepositional complement underlined):

(361)

a) *Hemi wanfala **man** fo waka-had.*
 3SG.SRP one man for work-hard
 ‘He is a hardworking guy.’ (au)

b) *Yu **man** fo laea tumas ya!*
 2SG man for lie very DEC
 ‘You are a man that lies a lot.’ (au)

c) *Olketa save salem plande deferen kaen **masin** fo kat-em timba.*
 3PL HAB sell.TRIS many different kind machine for cut-TRIS timba.
 ‘They sell lots of different kinds of machines to cut timber.’ (wr)

d) *...hemi save kat-em man olsem sap **naef** fo faet.*
 3SG.SRP ABIL cut-TRIS man like-TRIS sharp knife for fight
 ‘...it can cut a person like a sharp sword.’ (nt)

e) *Disfala **samting** fo kava-rem-ap long hem ya, olketa mek-em
 this thing for cover-TRIS-up PREP 3SG DEM 3PL make-TRIS
long haf kaleko an ful-um-ap wetem staka kokonat skin.
 PREP piece cloth and fill-TRIS-up with-TRIS lots coconut skin
 ‘This thing to cover it, they make from a piece of cloth and fill it with coconut husks.’ (wr)*

When functioning as post-nominal modifiers, PPs headed by *olsem* may contain a complement. Such complements are not restricted in the same way as the complements headed by *fo* are. Note the following example:

(362) *Mi wande-m **bred** olsem yu bekem las yestade.*
 1SG want-TRIS bread like-TRIS 2SG bake-TRIS last yesterday
 ‘I want bread like what you baked the day before yesterday.’ (wr)

8.4 Complex Sentences – Adverbial Clauses

In this section I describe those subordinate clauses that are adverbial clauses within complex sentences. Some of these adverbial clauses may occur either sentence initially or sentence finally, others are observed to have a fixed order.

8.4.1 Sentence Initial or Final Adverbial Clauses

As seen in section §4.10.4.2 there are various subordinators that function to connect two clauses together in a complex sentence. Some adverbial clauses may occur sentence initially or sentence finally. They are indicated by the following subordinators: *bifoa* ‘before’, *bikos* ‘because’, *from* ‘because, because of’, *sapos* ‘if’, *taem* ‘when’. Of these various subordinators, I have observed that although *sapos* marks adverbial conditional clauses that are moveable with respect to the sentence, they tend to occur sentence initially much more commonly than sentence finally.

Examples with subordinate clauses underlined follow:

(363)

a) *Bifoa yu go long taon, yu mas was-im kaleko blong yu.*
 before 2SG go PREP town 2SG must wash-TRS clothes POSS 2SG
 ‘Before you go to town, you must wash your clothes.’ (au)

b) *Yu mas was-im kaleko blong yu bifoa yu go long taon.*
 2SG must wash-TRS clothes POSS 2SG before 2SG go PREP town
 ‘You must wash your clothes before you go to town.’ (au)

c) *Bikos si hemi raf, mifala no kasem sip.*
 because sea 3SG.SRP rough 1PL.EXC not catch.TRS ship
 ‘Because the sea was rough, we did not get the ship.’ (au)

d) *Mifala no kasem sip bikos si hemi raf.*
 1PL.EXC not catch.TRS ship because sea 3SG.SRP rough
 ‘We did not get the ship because the sea was rough.’ (au)

e) *From mifala no kasem sip, hemi no gare-m eni waka distaem.*
 from 1PL.EXC not catch.TRS ship 3SG.SRP not have-TRS any work now
 ‘Because we did not get the ship, he doesn't have any work now.’ (au)

f) *Hemi no gare-m eni waka distaem from mifala no kasem sip.*
 3SG.SRP not have-TRS any work now from 1PL.EXC not catch.TRS ship
 ‘He doesn't have any work now because we did not get the ship.’ (au)

g) *Sapos mi laea baebae God hemi panis-im mi.*
 if 1SG lie FUT God 3SG.SRP punish-TRS 1SG
 ‘If I lie God will punish me.’ (wr)

h) *Baebae God hemi panis-im mi sapos mi laea.*
 FUT God 3SG.SRP punish-TRS 1SG if 1SG lie
 ‘God will punish me if I lie.’ (au)

i) *Taem olketa kasem Jerusalem, Jisas hemi go insaet long Tambuhaos.*
 time 3PL reach.TRS Jerusalem Jesus 3SG.SRP go inside PREP temple
 ‘When they got to Jerusalem, Jesus went into the temple.’ (wr)

j) *Jisas hemi go insaet long Tambuhaos taem olketa kasem Jerusalem.*
 Jesus 3SG.SRP go inside PREP temple time 3PL reach.TRS Jerusalem
 ‘Jesus went into the temple when they got to Jerusalem.’ (au)

8.4.2 Sentence Final Adverbial Clauses

Certain adverbial clauses may only follow the main clause of the sentence, they always occur sentence finally. They are indicated by the following adverbs and prepositions functioning as subordinators: *dastawe* ‘therefore’, *go-go* ‘until, after a while’, *so* ‘so, therefore, then’, *fo* ‘for’, *olsem* ‘like’.

It must also be noted that *dastawe* ‘therefore’, *go-go* ‘until, after a while’, and *so* ‘so, therefore, then’ also function as connective adverbs in independent sentences (see §8.7). In the following examples the subordinator is in bold and the adverbial clause is underlined.

(364)

a) *Oel blong enjin hemi drae, dastawe mi no save draev-em trak.*
 oil POSS engine 3SG.SRP dry therefore 1SG not ABIL drive-TRS truck

‘There is no engine oil therefore I can't drive the car.’ (au)

b) *An olketa wev barava go~gohed fo kam insaet long bot blong olketa*
 and PL wave really REDUP~ continue COMP come inside PREP boat POSS 3PL

go~go hemi kolsap singdaon nao.
 REDUP~go 3SG.SRP close sink EMPH

‘The waves were really coming into the boat
 until soon it was close to sinking.’ (nt)

c) *Katem wanfala haf timba olsem mi som yu,*
 cut-TRS one piece timber like.TRS 1SG show.TRS 2SG

oraet tek-em hem go long angkol blong yu.
 then take-TRS 3SG go PREP uncle POSS 1SG

‘Cut a piece of timber like I showed you, then take it to your uncle.’ (wr)

d) *Tufala pikinini blong mi gohed fo skol so mi save kam distaem.*
 two child POSS 1SG continue COMP school so 1SG ABIL come now

‘My two children are doing school so I can come now.’ (au)

The next two examples indicate adverbial purpose clauses (underlined). In the second example the second subordinate clause (double underlined) may either be another purpose clause or it may be a clausal object in the PP headed by *fo* that modifies the NP *meresin* (see §8.3.3.1).

(365)

a) *Mi krae long yu fo yu help-em mi.*
 1SG cry PREP 2SG for 2SG help-TRS 1SG

‘I cry to you so you help me.’ (ot)

- b) *Yu mas tek-em hem kuik-taem tu fo luk-im nes o dokta*
 2SG must take-TRS 3SG quick-time too for see-TRS nurse or doctor
mekem hemi givim meresin fo stop-em beleran ya.
 make-TRS 3SG.SRP give-TRS medicine for stop-TRS diarrhoea DEM
 ‘You must take her quickly to see a nurse or doctor, causing him to give medicine to stop that diarrhoea.’ (wr)

The next two examples show subordinate clauses marked by *fo* that function as adverbial result clauses:

- (366)
 a) *Waswe nao ae blong yu hemi kamap fo luk-nogud olsem?*
 why FOC eye POSS 2SG 3SG.SRP become for look-bad like-TRS
 ‘Why have your eyes become so evil looking like that?’ (ot)
- b) *God hemi mak-em olketa jaj fo olketa stap*
 god 3SG.SRP mark-TRS PL judge for 3PL stay
olsem olketa bik-man blong olketa.
 like-TRS PL big-man POSS 3PL
 ‘God designated the judges to be like their leaders.’ (wr)

8.4.2.1 Adverbial clause in PP headed by *olsem*

In §4.7.4.1 and §6.3.3 I described the way in which the verbal preposition *olsem* ‘like’ may head a PP. The object in such a PP may be an NP, or it may be absent due to deletion under identity with another clause constituent as in (367) where the deleted object may be considered to be *puding*:

- (367) *Tufala kaikai-m puding an olketa samting olsem.*
 3DUAL eat-TRS pudding and PL thing like-TRS
 ‘The two of them ate pudding and things like that.’ (wr)

Furthermore, the PP object may be an NP that is actually an NP constituent of an S as in (368).

- (368) *Mi gare-m graon olsem yufala.*
 1SG have-TRS ground like-TRS 2PL
 ‘I have land like you.’ (wr)

By NP constituent of an S I mean that in this example the PP object *yufala* seems to be the subject NP of a sentence which if spelled out in full would be as underlined:

- (369) *Mi gare-m graon olsem yufala gare-m graon.*
 1SG have-TRS ground like-TRS 2PL have-TRS ground
 ‘I have land like you have land.’ (au)

Following from this then we can say that the preposition *olsem* may take a range of constituents as its object, including clausal objects.

The PPs headed by *olsem* containing clausal objects function in a variety of ways. They may be manner adverbial PPs, for example (369) above and as follows:

(370)

a) *Yufala mas lav-em yufala evriwan olsem mi lav-em yufala tu.*
 2PL must love-TRS 2PL everyone like-TRS 1SG love-TRS 2PL too
 ‘You must also love all of you like I love you.’ (nt)

b) *Holi Spirit hemi bin kam-daon long olketa,*
 holy spirit 3SG.SRP PST come-down PREP 3PL
olsem hemi bin kam-daon long yumi finis.
 like-TRS 3SG.SRP PST come-down PREP 1PL.INC finish

‘The holy spirit descended on to them like he has descended onto us.’ (nt)

They may also indicate an adverbial PP of comparison in relation to the manner of an action.

The next example illustrates this.

(371) *Maekel hemi mak-em olketa samting*
 Michael 3SG.SRP mark-TRS PL thing
long sem wei olsem olketa pipol save duim oltaem.
 PREP same way like-TRS PL people HAB do-TRS always

‘Michael marked the things in the same way that people always do.’ (nt)

8.5 Complex Sentences – Relative Clauses

In this section I consider complex sentences that have more than one Predicate because they contain a relative clause. Relative clauses (RC) are clauses that modify a head noun in an NP (or rather NOM in light of the discussion in §5.3). The N identifies a set of entities, usually called the domain of relativisation. The relative clause specifies a subset of the domain; that may be a one member subset, or a multiple member subset (Song 2001, p.211).

Pijin RCs have two significant features. First, they may be marked with a clause initial relative marker, though as is shown in section §8.5.2 below they may also occur without such a relative marker. The second feature is that the NOM that is relativised occurs external to the relative clause. Note too that the relative clause always follows the relativised NOM. Thus Pijin relative clauses are externally headed postnominal ones (Keenan 1985, pp.141-143; Song 2001, pp.212-213).

8.5.1 Relative Clauses marked by *wea* and *hu*

The two relative clause markers observed in Pijin are *wea* and *hu* (note, these are homophonous with interrogative pro-forms, and the particle *wea* is used for complements of speech and thought). The former is the most widely used relative marker. The second, *hu*, is used only with human subjects, and is more recent having come into common use within the last 15 years.

When the relativised NOM is coreferential with the subject of the relative clause, the relative marker *wea* or *hu* occurs leftmost in the RC with an overt SRP that is coreferential with the relativised NOM. Some examples (in which the RC is underlined, and the relativised NOM and coreferential SRP are in bold) follow:

(372)

a) *So narafala boe wea hemi sidaon long saet blong mi...*
 so other boy REL 3SG.SRP sit PREP side POSS 1SG

‘So the other boy who sat beside me...’ (wr)

b) *...olketa pikinini blong yumi wea i drop-aot kam long klas siks ...*
 ... PL child POSS 1PL.INC REL SRP drop-out come PREP class six

‘...our children that dropped out of grade six...’ (wr)

c) *Mi stap wetem olketa pipol hu i hapi.*
 1SG stay with.TRS PL people REL SRP happy

‘I stay with people who are happy.’ (wr)

d) *An olketa hu i dae finis, olketa laef-baek moa.*
 and 3PL REL SRP die finish 3PL.SRP life-back more

‘And those who have died, they are resurrected.’ (nt)

e) *Eni yang-man wea yu here-m disfala stori ya...*
 any young-man REL 2SG.SRP hear-TRS this story EMPH

‘Any young man who hears this story...’ (wr)

When the relativised NOM is coreferential with the object of the RC, the relative marker *wea* or *hu* occurs leftmost in the RC. If the verb in the RC is transitive, then the transitive suffix is coreferential with the relativised NOM. There is also the option of including a coreferential object pronoun in the RC. Some examples (in which the RC is underlined, and the relativised NOM, object pronoun [if present] and the transitive suffix are in bold) follow:

(373)

a) *Hemi les long waka wea tufala i jes finis-im.*
 3SG.SRP disapprove PREP work REL 3DL SRP just finish-TRS

‘She disapproves of the work that those two just completed.’ (wr)

b) *...olketa nogud samting wea yufala bin du-im ya.*
 PL bad thing REL 2PL PAST do-TRS EMPH

‘... the bad things that you did.’ (nt)

c) *Yumi tok-abaot-em Kraes hu olketa bin kil-im hem dae long kros.*
 1PL.INC talk-about-TRS Christ REL 3PL PST injure-TRS 3SG die PREP cross

‘We talk about Christ whom they killed on a cross.’ (nt)

When the relativised NOM is coreferential with the object of a PP in the RC, the relative marker *wea* or *hu* occurs leftmost in the RC. The object of the PP is indicated by a pronoun

that is coreferential with the relativised NOM. Some examples (in which the RC is underlined, and the relativised NOM and the coreferential pronoun are in bold) follow:

(374)

a) *Hem nao **bikfala waka** wea yumi evriwan mas tingting strong long **hem**.*
 3SG FOC big work REL IPL.INC everyone must think strong PREP 3SG

‘It is the large task that all of us must consider strongly.’ (wr)

b) *Bae mi sore long **eniwan hu mi laek fo** sore long **hem** nomoa...*
 FUT 1SG sorry PREP anyone REL 1SG like SUB sorry PREP 3SG only

‘I will have pity on anyone who I want to have pity on...’ (ot)

c) ... *bikos mi savegud nomoa long **disfalaman hu mi biliv** long **hem**.*
 because 1SG know only PREP this man REL 1SG believe PREP 3SG

‘...because I really know this man that I believe in.’ (nt)

d) *Balalae hemi **aelan wea no eni-wan hemi** stap long **hem**.*
 Balalae 3SG.SRP island REL no any-one 3SG.SRP stay PREP 3SG

‘Balalae is an island that no-one lives on.’ (wr)

e) *Wanfala **yang-gele hu no eni man hemi** stap wetem **hem** yet...*
 one young-girl REL no any man 3SG.SRP stay with.TRS 3SG yet

‘A young girl that no man has been with yet...’ (nt)

f) *An bae yufala kanduit go long **ples wea bae mi go** long **hem**.*
 and FUT 2PL cannot go PREP place REL FUT 1SG go PREP 3SG

‘And you cannot go to the place that I will go to.’ (nt)

Also similar in behaviour, if the relativised NOM is coreferential with the object of a possessive PP within the RC then a pronoun coreferential with the relativised NOM is required in the possessive PP, for example:

(375)

a) *An **olketa hu lek blong olketa** dae, olketa save wakabaot nao.*
 and 3PL REL leg POSS 3PL die 3PL.SRP ABIL walk EMPH

‘And those whose legs were lame, they can walk.’ (nt)

b) *Woman ya hemi **gare-m wanfala sista** tu ya,*
 woman DEM 3SG.SRP have-TRS one sister too DEC

*hu nem blong **hem** nao Meri.*
 REL name POSS 3SG EMPH Mary

‘The woman had a sister too whose name is Mary.’ (nt)

c) *Mi luk-im **man wea trak blong hem** hemi bagarap.*
 1SG look-TRS man REL truck POSS 3SG 3SG.SRP ruin

‘I saw the man whose truck is broken down.’ (au)

I now make some observations about the nature of the two relative clause markers *wea* and *hu*. I argue that neither of these markers is a relative pronoun. In terms of the Accessibility Hierarchy (Song 2001, pp.222-227), Pijin is observed to relativise three grammatical

relations of the relativised NOM with the RC. I have shown that it may be coreferential with the subject, object, and object of various PP constituents of the RC. These grammatical relations are all essentially relativised in the same manner. Of four recognised relativisation strategies: gapping, pronoun-retention, relative-pronoun, and non-reduction (Song 2001, pp.216-220), the strategies of pronoun-retention and relative-pronouns are of primary interest in relation to Pijin.

In general terms, pronoun-retention occurs when reference to the head N in the main clause is retained in an appropriate personal pronominal form in the RC. As for the relative pronoun strategy, relative-pronouns are special pronouns, which are usually formally related to demonstratives and/or interrogative pronouns. They are used to represent the role of the head N in the RC. Cross-linguistically, there is a very strong tendency for the relative pronoun to occur leftmost in the restricting clause (Song 2001, pp.219-220). In relation to the two relativisation strategies under consideration, Song (2001, p.221) says, “The relative-pronoun strategy is generally not found to be used in conjunction with the pronoun-retention strategy.” Superficially, it might seem that speakers form RCs in Pijin through some combination of these two strategies; however, I suggest that Pijin primarily uses a pronoun-retention strategy. In the examples above we saw that when the relativised NOM has the grammatical relation of subject in the RC it is referred to in the RC by a SRP. Similarly, when the relativised NOM has the grammatical relation of object in the RC it is referred to by a transitive suffix, or by a transitive suffix and a personal pronoun. And when the relativised NOM has the grammatical relation of object in a PP constituent in the RC, it is referred to in the PP of the RC by a personal pronoun. Though the three grammatical relations have a slight variation in their expression of the pronoun-retention strategy, they all share in common a “pronominal trace” (Crowley 1998b, pp.275-278).

So what can be made of the relative markers *wea* and *hu*? They are of course derived from the English relatives ‘where’ and ‘who’ (Huddleston & Pullum 2002, pp.1046-1051). This origin may lead one to believe they are relative pronouns. They do occur as the leftmost constituent of the RC (as we might expect in the relative-pronoun strategy), however, since their form does not change to indicate the grammatical relations, and given that all RCs have a pronominal trace for the relativised NOM, I conclude that *wea* and *hu* no longer bear the status of a pronoun. They are merely RC complementisers. Consequently, it is not surprising that there should be RCs with no relative markers. The discussion in the next section turns to these.

8.5.2 Unmarked relative clauses

Apart from the relative clauses shown above, Pijin also has relative clauses that are unmarked. Jourdan (1985b, pp.159-170) discusses the occurrence of what she calls “free relatives.” She says “free relatives (without relative markers) are the most important way of building relative clauses in Pijin” (Jourdan 1985b, p.160). Within Jourdan’s corpus for that work it was apparently uncommon to find relative clauses marked with the relative marker *wea*. However, she does say later that urban adults consistently use *wea* as an established relative marker (Jourdan 1985b, p.170). A few of her examples of free relatives with the relative clause indicated by [] brackets are as follows:

(376)

- a) *Den olketa bed, dis-kaen smol bed [hem save tiktik olsem ya] kam nomoa*
 then PL bird this-type small bird 3SG.SRP HAB tiktik like.TRS DEC come only
 ‘Then the birds, the kind of small birds
 that make a sound like tiktik, came.’ (wr)

(Jourdan 1985b, p.161) spelling standardised.

- b) *Evriwan [i stap long hia ya] jaeen ya kaikai-m olketa finis*
 everyone SRP stay PREP here EMPH giant DEM eat-TRS 3PL finish
 ‘Everyone who lived here, the giant ate them.’ (wr)

(Jourdan 1985b, p.161) spelling standardised.

- c) *Pikpik [olketa kil-im finis] hem fat fogud.*
 pig 3PL hit-TRS finish 3SG.SRP fat very
 ‘The pig that they killed was very fat.’ (wr)

(Jourdan 1985b, p.162) spelling standardised.

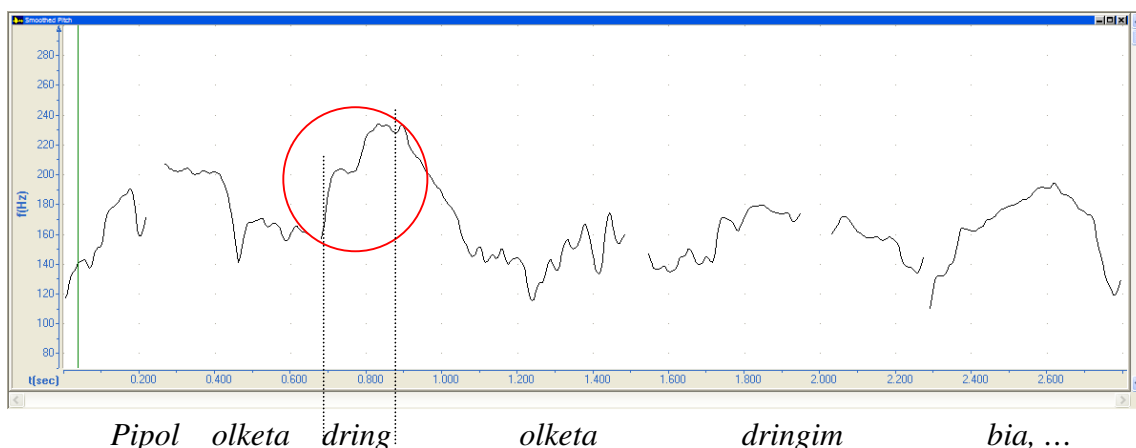
Jourdan proposes that the SRP (she uses the abbreviation SP) is what actually marks relative clauses that relativise the subject NP of the main clause. She says,

When the SP of the relative clause has as co-referent the focus head noun, it always introduces the relative clause and therefore plays the role of relativizer... If we were to remove the SP from the relative clause, the relativisation of the clause would be lost. The whole sentence would be ungrammatical or contextually unclear, or would become a chain-claused sentence. And the only thing that would disambiguate such a sentence would be intonation and the pauses; on which speakers rely heavily to mark relatives as such. (Jourdan 1985b, pp.162-163)

Her explanation concerning the SRP as the marker of the relative clause is specifically focused on the grammatical relation when the relativised N is the subject of the RC. She points out that in her examples (repeated in (376c) above) there is no SRP that is coreferential to the head noun. She says that this is impossible because there is a switch of reference in

which the head noun is the object of the RC (Jourdan 1985b, pp.162). In other words she is observing that there is a different grammatical relation here. Nevertheless, the relativisation strategy that Jourdan observes for unmarked RCs is, I believe, simply the same pronoun-retention strategy as already described above for those RCs marked with *wea*.

Jourdan is absolutely correct when she says that the intonation pattern for these unmarked relative clauses is essential for differentiating RCs from other possible structures. Consider the intonation contour of the relative clause in the following graph showing the rising pitch on the word *dring* at the end of the unmarked relative clause, and the brief pause before the first word of the predicate.



‘People that drink, drink beer,...’ (spr, female, late teens. See example 384 for full sentence)

Three other examples of unmarked RCs (in [] brackets) follow. In the first example, from recorded data, the retained pronoun *olketa* in the RC has a rising tone, and the following word *askem* has a significantly lower tone. The other two examples are from written texts.

(377)

a) *Olketa pipol [mifala stei wetem olketa] ask-em mifala,...*
 PL people 1PL.EXC stay with.TRS 3PL ask-TRS 1PL.EXC

‘The people we stayed with asked us,...’ (spr)

b) *Bae yu stap long hia go~go kasem taem [dadi blong yu i kam.]*
 FUT 2SG stay PREP here REDUP~go reach.TRS time father POSS 2SG SRP come

‘You will stay here until the time that your father comes.’ (wr)

(Huebner & Horoi 1979b, p.190)

c) *Maewat, [wanem yumi luk-im tude ya,] yumi nating luk-im bifo ya!*
 my.word what 1PL.INC look-TRS today EMPH 1PL.INC never look-TRS before DEC

‘My word, what we saw today, we have never seen before.’ (nt)

8.5.3 Multiple restricting clauses

Though uncommon in written data, I have occasionally found two RCs that modify a single NOM. In the following example, in the NP under consideration (underlined), there are two RCs (in bold) modifying the head NOM.¹¹⁸

- (378) *An yufala luk-im olketa bikfala samting*
 and 2PL look-TRS PL big thing
wea yumi save fraet-em wea hemi mek-em kamap long wol.
 REL 1PL.INC HAB fear-TRS REL 3SG.SRP make-TRS become PREP world
 ‘And you saw the significant things that we are afraid of, that he caused to happen in the world.’ (nt)

8.5.4 Relativised Time Adverbials

In the following examples in which an N refers to a time defined by the RC, note there is no retained pronoun.

- (379)
 a) *Long taem wea Aesak hemi bon, dadi blong hem hemi olo tumas.*
 PREP time REL Isaac 3SG.SRP born father POSS 3SG 3SG.SRP old very
 ‘At the time that Isaac was born, his father was very old.’ (ot)
 b) *Bat long de wea Lot hemi ranawe from Sodom,...*
 but PREP day REL Lot 3SG.SRP run.away from Sodom
 ‘But on the day that Lot ran away from Sodom,....’ (ot)

8.6 Coordination and subordination interact

As I have provided various examples so far, the exemplifying complex sentences have been essentially straightforward. In fact coordination and subordination inevitably interact within complex sentence structure as seen in this next example. It begins with an adverbial time clause (*taem olketa mek-em tred so*), the subject NP contains a relative clause (*wea i kam from Niusilan*) and the object NP contains a post-head PP with verbal object (*fo katem timba*).

- (380) *Taem olketa mek-em tred so, olketa man wea i kam from Niusilan*
 time 3PL make-TRS trade show PL man REL SRP come from New.Zealand
olketa save salem plande deferen kaen masin fo kat-em timba.
 3PL.SRP HAB sell-TRS many different kind machine for cut-TRS timba.
 ‘When they had the trade show, men from New Zealand sold lots of different kinds of machines to cut timber.’ (wr)

¹¹⁸ Alternatively, it may be that the two restricting clauses could be considered to be coordinated but with no overt coordinator.

In this section I provide a number of observations and examples to indicate the degree of complexity that may occur in such sentences.

8.6.1 Coordination of subordinate clauses

The following example illustrates a case in which two coordinated VPs (underlined) function as the complement of the main verb (in bold) in the sentence. The sentence also contains a subordinate conditional clause.

- (381) *Nao sapos eni-wan hemi no gare-m disfala mak ya long hem,*
 DISC if any-one 3SG.SRP not have-TRS this mark DEM PREP 3SG
*hemi **kanduit** fo baem eni-samting o salem eni-samting.*
 3SG.SRP cannot SUB buy-TRS any-thing or sell-TRS any-thing
 ‘If anyone does not have that mark on him he can’t buy anything or sell anything.’ (nt)

In the following example it we see that two Predicates may be coordinated. In this case they form a complex sentence within a subordinate time clause (coordinated constituents underlined).

- (382) *An hemi garem tu olketa prea wea man hemi yusim*
 and 3SG.SRP have-TRS too PL prayer REL man 3SG.SRP use-TRS
fo somaot tingting blong hem,
 sub show-TRS-out thought POSS 3SG
taem hemi hapi o hemi safa.
 time 3SG.SRP happy or 3SG.SRP suffer
 ‘And it also has prayers that a person uses to show his thoughts when he is happy or suffering.’ (wr)

In this next example, two purpose PPs are coordinated (coordinated constituents underlined). The subordinate clause in the first of the coordinated PPs contains an SRP, while the subordinate clause of the second PP does not.

- (383) *Taem mi luk raon-em mi, mi nating luk-im nao*
 time 1SG look round-TRS 1SG 1SG not look-TRS EMPH
eniwan fo hemi help-em mi o fo gad-em mi.
 anyone for 3SG.SRP help-TRS 1SG or for guard-TRS 1SG
 ‘When I looked around myself, I didn’t see anyone to help me or guard me.’ (ot)

Sentences may also be coordinated with no coordinating conjunctions. In the following example there is an unmarked relative clause in the subject NP (underlined). It is the subject

of a complex sentence that is a series of unmarked non-sequenced coordinated clauses in which the speaker has omitted the SRP from all except the first clause.

- (384) *Pipol olketa dring, olketa dring-im bia, dring-im kwaso,*
 people 3PL.SRP drink 3PL.SRP drink-TRS beer drink-TRS kwaso
dring-im eni-kaen, dring-im hom bru.
 drink-TRS any-kind drink-TRS home brew

‘People that drink, drink beer, drink kwaso,¹¹⁹ drink any kind of thing, drink home brew.’ (spr, female, late teens)

The following example demonstrates the way in which a complex sentence may involve a coordination of sentences that are in themselves complex. Both of the coordinated sentences contain PPs that have purpose clauses.

- (385) *Waswe, bae mi mas kam long yufala fo panis-im yufala,*
 QN FUT 1SG must come PREP 2PL for punish-TRS 2PL
o bae mi save kamfo som-aot lav blong mi long yufala?
 or FUT 1SG ABIL come for show-out love POSS 1SG PREP 2PL

‘Must I come to punish you, or will I be able to come to show my love to you?’ (nt)

8.6.2 Complex sentences and wh-movement

Interrogatives involving complex sentences demonstrate a constraint on the typical *wh*-movement. In the following example the questioned constituent is a complement of thought. In such instances it seems to be unacceptable for the pro-form *hu* to move, thus the questioned constituent remains in position. Consider the following:

- (386)
 a) *Yufala ting-se mi hu ya?*
 2PL think-COMP 1SG who QN
 ‘Who do you think I am?’ (nt)
 b) **Hu nao yufala ting-se mi ya?*
 who FOC 2PL think-COMP 1SG QN
 c) **Yufala ting-se hu nao mi ya?*
 2PL think-COMP who FOC 1SG QN

I could provide innumerable further examples of many different configurations of complex sentences, however, that is beyond the scope of this particular grammar. I now turn to make some observations concerning sentence linkage and discourse elements.

¹¹⁹ *kwaso* is distilled home brewed alcohol.

8.7 Discourse Elements

Speakers use the same coordinators and subordinators that are used within sentences to bring cohesion to discourse. A close study of such discourse is beyond the scope of this grammar, however, in this final section on the sentence I note some peripheral sentence constituents. These include vocatives, exclamations, and discourse linking words that I call connective adverbs. The first example following demonstrates a proper noun used as a vocative at the beginning of a sentence. The second exemplifies an exclamation at the beginning of the sentence.

(387)

a) *Jon, yu kam long hia bikos mi laek som samfala samting long yu ya.*
 John 2SG come PREP here because 1SG like show some thing PREP 2SG DEC
 ‘John, come here because I want to show some things to you.’ (nt)

b) *Oloketa, taem etkuek hemi hapen,*
 wow time earthquake 3SG.SRP happen
wanfala bikfala wev i kamap an spoel-em plande ples long west.
 one big wave SRP become and spoil-TRS many place PREP west
 ‘Wow! When an earthquake happened, a big wave occurred and damaged many villages in the Western province.’ (au)

A variety of connective adverbs and even phrases may occur at the beginning of sentences to maintain the logical connection between sentences within a discourse. Some are words that we have seen to have other functions; others are unique to this sentence initial position. They include but are not limited to the following:

an ‘and’,

bihaen ‘later’

dastawe ‘therefore’

den ‘then’

finis ‘when that was done’ *nao* ‘DISC’

go-go ‘until, after a while’

hem nao ‘as a result’

nao ‘then’, ‘RESUMPTION OF NARRATIVE FOLLOWING REPORTED SPEECH’

nogud ‘lest’

nomata olsem ‘even though’

oraet ‘okay’

okei ‘okay’

so ‘so, therefore, then’.

ya ‘yes, EMPHASIS’

As connective elements, these adverbs may link with just the preceding sentence, or with the preceding section of discourse of indefinite length. In this respect they are similar to English connective adjuncts (Huddleston & Pullum 2002, pp.775-779).

I do not provide illustrative examples for all the connective adverbs listed, rather, the following narrative typifies some of them (three additional narratives may be found in appendix 3). The connectives are marked in bold type.

Text – Edited written narrative by Conrad Mountfort

*Wanfala de mi sidaon antap long sanbis long wanfala aelan kolsap long Keila. Mi sidaon fo lukluk go long taem wea san hemi stat fo gogo daon. **An taem ya tu**, win ya hemi blou kam long saet long west wea hemi mekem mi fo laekem slip. **So** mi gohed fo leidaon gogo mi dip slip fogud. **Nao** mi slip gogo mi seke long taem win ya hemi blou bikfala tumas an si ya hemi raf tumas tu. **So** long taem ya mi no save wanem nao fo duim. **So** mi ran go long kanu blong mi an mi waswas go long Keila bat win ya an wev ya i gohed fo kamap strongfala moa wea hemi mekem kanu blong mi fo singdaon an hemi brek. **Taem ya**, mi gohed fo suim go long Keila insaet long tudak nomoa.*

*Long naet ya, olketa pipol blong mi long Keila i tingse mi dae finis bat taem mi gohed fo su-suim go soa mi filim olsem wanfala samting hem kam an liftim mi ap. **Nao** taem samting ya hemi liftimap mi ya, mi seksek fogud bikos mi tingim sak nao hemi holem kam leg blong mi. **Bat nomoa**, hemi wanfala totel wea hemi laekem fo sevem mi. **So** long taem ya datfala totel ya i tekem mi go long Keila an taem olketa i lukim mi olketa i hapi tumas bikos olketa tingse mi dae finis bat mi laef nomoa.*

‘One day I was sitting on the beach on an island near Keila. I sat to gaze out while the sun was starting to go down. At that time the wind was blowing from the west and it made me want to sleep. So I was laying down and went into a very deep sleep. Well I slept until I was startled when the wind blew strongly and the sea was very rough. So I didn’t know what to do. So I ran to my canoe and paddled to Keila but the wind and waves continued to get stronger such that they made my canoe sink and break up. At that time I continued swimming to Keila in the dark.

That night, my people on Keila thought I had died, but while I was swimming to shore I felt as though something came and lifted me up. Well when that thing lifted me up I really shook because I thought a shark was grabbing my leg. But it wasn’t, it was a turtle that wanted to save me. So at that time the turtle took me to Keila, and when they saw me they were very happy because they thought I had died but I was alive.’

Chapter 9

9.1 Conclusion

In my introduction I stated that the purpose of this thesis is to fill the knowledge gap concerning Pijin. In the first place, the knowledge gap has been closed a little as a result of uncovering some previously inaccessible material, especially that by Robert Hall from the mid-1950s. Second and more significantly, the knowledge gap has been closed in that now Pijin has a comprehensive description of its grammar. In terms of giving an account of the grammar of Pijin as a whole, I believe that has been achieved, albeit largely focused on edited forms of the Malaitan variety of Pijin. Even though that is so, the grammar does not ignore the variation that occurs in Pijin. Whether all the variation that does occur could have been accounted for in a work of this scope is hard to say. Perhaps greater use of recorded material from a wider range of sources would have improved the data, or perhaps that would have created an unmanageably variable set of data of which no better analysis could be made.

In relation to the other varieties of Melanesian Pidgin, there is no doubt that Pijin is similar to Tok Pisin and Bislama. Yet I have identified several significant differences between Pijin and those other two varieties. Some of these differences are as follows: Bislama has a reasonable number of transitive verbs that are not derived with a transitive suffix, by contrast these are very rare in Pijin (§4.8.3.6). Pijin has far fewer postnominal modifiers than Tok Pisin (§5.2.6). Pijin has a system of subject referencing pronouns (§7.7.10) that is more complex than the analogous systems of predicate markers in the other two varieties. On the other hand, Tok Pisin and Bislama serial verb constructions whose second verb is a directional have a predicate marker between the two verbs, whereas such serial verb constructions in Pijin do not use a subject referencing pronoun in this way (§6.1.3.2).

Within the account of the grammar I have made several key claims. First, in contrast to some other analyses, Pijin does have a significant open class of adjectives (§4.4.3). Second, I have argued that the suffix *-fala*, observed to occur with some adjectives, is essentially a form without a function (§4.4.2.2 and §4.4.2.3). Third, I have posited a nominal category intermediate between the noun and the NP (§5.3.2). Fourth, Pijin does not have lexically complex prepositions, rather these are actually multi-layered prepositional phrases (§6.3.2). Fifth, sentences are headed by predicate phrases (simply termed Predicates in this grammar)

which are usually headed by a verb phrase but may also be headed by a noun phrase, an adjective phrase or a prepositional phrase (§8.1 and §7.1). Sixth, Pijin's subject referencing pronouns are to be characterised as weak pronouns (§7.7.9). And seventh, Pijin uses pronoun retention as its relativisation strategy (§8.5.1).

I have noted in various places in this grammar that there are significant areas for further research. These include the following: examine the declining use of the *-fala* suffix; quantify and account for the variation in Pijin across the Solomon Islands; investigate whether decreolisation is occurring; determine the factors involved in gender differences in Pijin acquisition; and assess the causes for the rapid growth in numbers of first language Pijin speakers. While these areas are largely sociolinguistic in nature, it should go without saying that all aspects of the grammar could be dealt with in more detail.

9.2 The End?

In "Thoughts on growing a grammar" David Weber (2005, p.418) writes:

When is the grammar finished? Perhaps never! Since the grammar of a language is so vast, the ideal would be to make the written grammar a "living" document, something to which others, perhaps in future generations, could add.

And Keren Rice (2005, p.414) says:

Writing a reference grammar of a language is a monumental task, one that usually becomes larger and larger as time goes on, as it is a task for which there is no logical endpoint.

Is this the end of the grammar of Pijin? The answer is of course "No." To the naïve person a language such as Pijin might be described in a few pages in a travel phrase book. To one who digs, discusses, and debates, there is no logical endpoint. Thus whilst this particular grammar of Pijin has reached its conclusion, I recognise that there is more to say and much more worth saying. I trust that there will be Solomon Islanders who take up the challenge to say it.

Hem nomoa!

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Appendix 1
Historical Documents

Letter from Joshua Willei to Mr Cowie (SSEM Missionary to Weathercoast Guadalcanal in the early 1930s). I obtained a copy of this letter from Mr. Cowie's son.

B. S. S. Willei
Inchona
Feb, 23, Th 36.

Dear Mr Cowie

I write a letter to you and I thank you too much
for your Letter. Where you been write for me and I
sorry because I no write^m to Letter all year now I
want tell^{you} about our work this time he go on good fella.
and our PEOPLE they blessing this time, CLOSE UP
OUR mission Every one get blessing, all round Long
Solomon, this time; and this time me and Timothy
we starts for stopim make big - feast now.
ALtogether head man some fella they think good fella + fella.
some fella they say alright and one thing ^{they think no good}
I tellim you. this time big earthquake, CLOSE UP
SPOILIM Every medicine, and Houses belong you too;
and altogether traid to much, and they run
way Long tonitani, that time; this all I have to say
& good by may God BLESS you, and gave you
as he bring you back again.

I m & your Loving brother
JOSHUA WILLEI

Correspondence between Robert Hall and Kay Poole concerning Pijin. These letters retrieved from the archives of the British Western Pacific High Commission.

No 724
B. 138/1/4.

5 October, 1954

Dear Professor Hall,

pp. Thank you for your letter of 17th September. We are glad to be able to keep the copy of your article and should be grateful for two copies when it is printed, if this could be arranged without too much trouble.

With regard to Shortlands pidgin, the only thing I can suggest is that you might care to write air mail direct to Miss Linda Belett, C/- Mrs. Cruickshank, Parolang Plantation, Shortland Islands, Via Suva, Bougainville. I don't know if she would be interested, but she has lived in the Shortlands for many years and should know the local usage.

I have spoken with the Chief Secretary about your suggestion that you might get out a British Solomon Islands Protectorate pidgin vocabulary with grammatical notes, and am to say that the suggestion is greatly appreciated and that the production of the book would be most welcome. We shall be very glad to help in the provision of material. I think we should keep to your suggestion that all material should come through me as a central depot and clearing-house; there may be points arising out of material sent in which should be referred for amplification or comment to some acknowledged expert before publication.

I have spoken to John Grover and Brian Twomey about helping to collect material and they are most enthusiastic; Geoff. Dennis will also be able to get our final result checked by a Ruronesian who is probably the best pidgin speaker in Honiara.

help and we may

In order to have somewhere to begin, I am taking the English vocabulary of John Murphy's pidgin book in the first edition. (The second edition is too lengthy.) I don't think John will mind, and it will facilitate comparison between Solomons and New Guinea pidgin. We hope to get 5 copies of this typed in blank, and each of us will have a copy to work on. If all goes well, I hope to have all our copies in about 4 to 6 weeks, and will then co-ordinate them, get them checked, and despatch them to you before Christmas.

I am glad to hear Pacific Publications are taking your "Hands Off Pidgin English" and would like to know when it is published. I hope the North Australian journey was a success.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

Kep

Professor Robert A. Hall, Jr.,
8 Bethung Avenue,
Olenunga,
SOUTH AUSTRALIA.

Registered	R 115
Indexed	F-101/30/2
Answered at	

Division of Modern Languages
Cornell University
Ithaca, N.Y., U.S.A.
May 1, 1955.

Miss Katherine S. Poole
Public Relations Office
Western Pacific High Commission
Honiara, B.S.I.



Dear Miss Poole:

Well, at long last, finally, etc., here is something on the Pidgin project. It took me quite a long time to get around to it, since we had to get ourselves all settled in after returning home on Feb. 2, and I had to put in some effort on getting things going again at the university, etc. However, about six weeks ago I was able to start going through my tapes from Honiara, and about three weeks ago I got going on Mr. Teiatala's vocabulary as well, excerpting the vocabulary items from both my texts and his vocabulary, and putting them on cards. I have at last finished making the typescript of the Pidgin-to-English part, and today did the last page of the vocabulary proper and also the two introductory pages; here they are. Sorry to be so late with them, but I got at them as soon as I could; in fact, this is the very first thing I turned my attention to as soon as I had any time at all to devote to my Pidgin material.

You will notice that the chief changes I have made in Mr. Teiatala's material have been to eliminate Anglicisms (e.g. qu for KW or i for AI, etc.), and to standardise the spelling of consonant groups like SP, ST etc. and also of vowel followed by R. (This latter point is explained on p. ii of the introductory matter; I am quite convinced that, in Imperial English as a whole, ~~the~~ both vowel length and A following a vowel are variants of R, and Neo-Solomonic and Neo-Melanesian go along with Imperial English on that point—and I say this on the basis of an analysis of these varieties of English themselves, not because I'm a speaker of American English which preserves the r-sound itself in those positions.) In the consonant-clusters, I may have over-standardised; if, in a group of sounds like SIPIA or SITRONG, the stress is normally on the SI- part of the word, then it should be written with SI-; but, on the other hand, if the stress is on -PI- or -RONG in those two words, the vowels should not be written between S and P, or between S,T and R.

I can't emphasise too much, of course, my awareness of the fact that this is only a very tentative approximation of a vocabulary. My own stay in Honiara was quite short, the material gathered (though for a week, it wasn't at all bad) was nevertheless limited and rather biased in the direction of sophisticated speakers who tended towards Anglicisms, and at this distance I may well have made all kinds of mistakes in interpretation. So I would of course be grateful to anybody and everybody for constructive criticisms, and additions and corrections. (I'm keeping a carbon, which I can use in further reference and a possible later version.)

My program, from here on, so far as the Neo-Solomonic work is

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2

concerned, is more or less as follows: to prepare an English-to-NS vocabulary on the basis of the present NS-to-Eng. part; then to work carefully through all the texts on grammatical structure, so as to make a complete analysis of the structure of the language, to serve as a basis for (1) a learned article for publication in some such journal as Archivum Linguisticum (Glasgow) or the likes, and (2) a simplified, but still fairly extensive sketch to take the place of the brief "Grammatical Notes" that I wrote up in Honiara in 1954. Already, as you will undoubtedly notice, I have changed my analysis on one important point, that of the status of pre-nasalisation; both from my tapes and from Mr. Teiatala's variations in spelling, it is quite obvious that N-S has the same set-up as, say, Fijian with regard to mb, nd and ngg (which I here write B, D, and G as in Fijian) on the one hand, and p-b, t-d and k-g on the other hand (which we can write with P, T and K respectively, again as in Fijian). With luck, I should be able to get the Eng.-to-NS. vocabulary to you in a few weeks; it will take a bit longer for the other, and I probably won't have it for you before, say, September or October or so.

Now, as I think I said in a previous letter, what you folks do with this material is your pidgin, especially so far as orthography is concerned. I can't dictate either the official policy of the WPHC nor yet the unofficial attitudes of the residents of the BSI; on the other hand, I can make predictions on the basis of my analysis of the situation and of my competence as linguistic analyst and anthropologist. It's quite clear, for example, that if the "powers that be" in the BSI refuse to turn the clock forward and promulgate a reasonably accurate orthography for N-S, they will be missing a very important trick in facilitating mass communication and elementary education, and will (as I pointed out in HANDS OFF PIDGIN ENGLISH!) be handing the radical leftists a marvelous propaganda medium, gratis, free for nothing, and on a silver platter. (Ian Hogbin wrote me, a while back, something to the general effect that the New Guinea natives had been very lucky, so far as Pidgin orthography was concerned, in having the German administration at the outset of their contact with Europeans, since the Germans treated Pidgin as a foreign language and devised a good, sensible orthography for it, whereas in the BSI the attitude has been that Pidgin was just a "corruption" of English and had to be written with English spellings, a most unrealistic attitude.)

I hope this finds you well, and also all the other folks that I met in Honiara. I presume there will be a gradual turnover in personnel, so that eventually there won't be many left who were there in '54; anyhow, please remember me to Dennis and Twomey, and also to my informants Messrs. Bennett, Solomon Darkie and Gina. All the best,

Yours ever sincerely,

Robert A. Hall, Jr.

ANSWERED
See p. (21)

No. 981
F101/30/2.

18 May, 1955.

Dear Professor Hall,

Thank you for your letter of 1st. May enclosing Pidgin-to-English vocabulary, which has been read with interest.

As regards paragraph 2 of your letter, the vowel between two consonants (sipis, sitrong, etc.) is merely the result of difficulty by some people in pronouncing a double consonant to which nothing in their own language has accustomed them. The stress is therefore usually on the second syllable.

I can't agree with any of your paragraph 2, page 2, and it is certainly a mistake to say that in the Solomons pidgin has been regarded as just a corruption of English, though I admit this is the view of some ignorant newcomers. If at the outset of their contact with Europeans an artificial orthography had been taught to Solomon Islanders, it might have caught on, but we should be only putting the clock back if it were attempted now. I harp on this because I believe that after longer acquaintance with Solomon Islanders you would have come to the same conclusion. The spelling you have chosen does however give an exotic glamour to dull words like umbrella, bamboo, and basin!

There are a number of Anglicisms which you may care to amend.

P.1.

Baroim, to borrow - the proper word is "changim" (sensim) money long". In Honiara you do find corruptions of English words which are not used elsewhere and this is one.

Berem (bury) is more usually "puttim inside long ground."

Bleimin is also doubtful, "me no cross along you" is the usual translation of "I'm not blaming you."

Boilim, to follow (boilim road) is one you may care to include.

Bonim (burn) is more often "boinim".

Botel is usually "boteli".

Branch is an Anglicism, it would be pronounced Branis if used.

Broomim, is the verb ("to sweep."

Changim talk is "to translate, interpret."

Cheese is usually "sees" or "tees."

Divaidim - Anglicism, usually "hapim" or cuttim. As so often a phrase is used instead of a single word,

Harpim, makim twofella heap; puttim onofella harp long here, nother fella harp here.

Emti is unusual. A thing empty of water is dry, an empty tin could be a "rubbish" (i.e. useless) tin an empty meat tin "meat finish now; no more meat e stop along tin" There is very little thought in

- in the passive in pidgin. You cannot translate literally "to be empty" "he is believed to be ill" etc.
- Figar-neil - Anglicism.
- Finish is better translated "end". "you finish now long house belong me". "You're sacked."
- Finishim (usually pinisim) is also to use up, to spend or consume, "me finishim money belong me long Chinatown" 'Ration belong me finish now". To complete is "doim finish."
- Fyus (fuse) would not be generally understood.
- Gerli is pure flash Honiara; "picanin mary" or "young-fella mary."
- Gontu - also Anglicism.
- "Hai belong him dark" is better than "hai-shut."
- Hardfela would be understood as "hot" - hard (e.g. hard wood) is "strong fella wood too much." ^{man}
- Haumeni - Anglicism. Properly Haumes, "haumes ~~mean~~" "how many men," "haumes clock" - what time is it.
- Hitim - properly killim. A kill is a blow, a big kill is a wound; to kill anyone is killim die finish.
- Houli (holy) more properly Tebu.
- Inspectim - possibly current among the Police, not in general use.
- Ivning - Anglicism - properly "time dark."
- Kudere (partner) - doubtful.
- Karim is also a pronunciation for "got im" e.g. Karim sore leg, karim plenty money. To carry is usually "takim go."
- Kauntim - also "to change" e.g. (I will lend you 10/-). (Me countim long you long end month - i.e. I'll take it out of your pay.
- Kope - very doubtful. Expressed by "me doim, closem."
- Kranki - also mad, unaccountable.
- Krup - Anglicism.
- Kurukut - usually "no straight."
- Laikness - also picture.
- Lava lava - not much in use - "lap lap" or "calico" used. Not only for flowered cloth, but for any waistcloth.
- Lam (lamp) usually light.
- Lip - can also mean leaf.
- Liptea - leaftea, tea.
- Lisin - Anglicism.
- Lokim, lokimap - Sophisticated, usually fasim long key.
- Lusim - also release. The pronunciation is different - me lusim, I lost it, I left it - me loosim - I untied it. Loosim water - pull out the plug.
- Mama - also priest (Melanesian Mission.)
- Moder is more usual for "mother".
- Neks tomora - you may also wish to include last yesterday - the day before yesterday.
- Noun - Anglicism.
- Onuli - Anglicism. Only me - me no more. Only one - onefela no more.
- Pushim - in orthodox pidgin this still has the New Guinea meaning. Shovim is safer though "pushim" may pass without comment in Honiara.
- Rabishan - poor, no-account man, useless person - you may wish to include.
- Reisis is not a verb. The full sentence is "you go races."
- Rut - Anglicism. A root is "line belong" tree, or whatever.
- Saur - not necessarily citron; anything sour.
- Santing - can be "something" e.g. "santing..."

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number of verbs, I have attended, only in the intransitive, without the suffix -IM. I'd very much like to know if any of the following verb forms (most of which one suspects the existence of, because of their occurrence in the BSI Pidgin words, 'lohat', 'KAVARIM', 'cover', 'Honiara, B.S.I.

See (25)

Dear Miss Poole:

(8) Your letter of May 18 arrived a few days ago, and at a most convenient time—for I was just getting through the work of setting up a second file of BSI Pidgin words, arranged according to their part of speech and structure, and I was able to incorporate all of your observations in both the alphabetical and the structural file. I certainly am grateful to you for your observations on Anglicisms and other aspects of usage, since those were just the kind of points I was hoping you would mention. A correspondent like you is a great help indeed when it comes to getting answers to questions that are raised by lacunae in one's material.

On going through the whole body of material, I now find that (as always!) there are various specific points on which I need to know the answers, mostly as to matters of stress, existence or nonexistence of certain possible forms of words, etc. Would you be willing to answer these, or get the answers for me? Assuming a positive answer, at any rate, here they are:

1. I very much need to know the specific difference which you refer to in your most recent letter, between what you spell *lusim* 'lose, leave' and *loosim* 'untie'. Is the first pronounced like Eng. *lose* and the second like Eng. *loose*, i.e. is the difference located in the type of s-sound, the first being voiced (i.e. like the *s* of *rose*) and the second unvoiced (like the *s* of the noun *house*)? Or does the difference reside in the vowel, the first being perhaps like that of *put* and the second like that of *boot*? The answer to this question can be of considerable importance in the analysis of the phonemic status of the s-sounds, so I would certainly appreciate knowing this if nothing else.

2. You mention a phrase which you write *meckle belong gas* 'electric light bulb'—how is the first of those three words pronounced? In the transcription of the vocabulary that I sent you, would it be *MEKEL* or *MEKAL* or perhaps something else?

3. In a few of the words that Mr. Teiatala gave in his list, I have some doubts as to where the stress goes, and should like to know the position of the stress in: *RIPITIM* 'repeat', *MASKITO* 'mosquito', *MISTEIK* 'mis take', *SIKAR* 'cigar', and the month names *JULAI*, *SEPTEBAR*, *NOVEBAR*, *EISEBAR*. For *OKTOBAR*, I'd like to know both the position of the stress (first or second syllable?) and how the *B* is treated—is it prenasalised, or is it pronounced as in English without prenasalisation? (If the latter, then one should transcribe it *OKTOPAR*.)

4. For a number of verbs, I have attestations only in the intransitive form, i.e. without the suffix -IM. I'd very much like to know whether one finds any of the following verb forms (most of which one is inclined to suspect the existence of, because of their occurrence in N. Guinea): FAILIM 'file', GIAMANIM 'cheat', KAVARIM 'cover', KROSLM 'be angry at', SHEIMIM 'put ... to shame, cause ... to lose face', STIRIM 'steer', TICHIM 'teach', TOKIM 'speak to, address', TROWIM 'throw', WACHIM 'watch', WASHIM (or perhaps WASHWASHIM) 'wash'. Are any of these to be found in the B.S.I.

5. Do any of the following adjective forms (with -FELÄ suffix occur): BRAUNFELÄ, DRAIFELÄ, KLIRFELÄ, KWIKFELÄ, STRONGFELÄ, SHARPFELÄ? (In Neo-Solomonic, one has to distinguish two types of adjectives—those that occur with the suffix -FELÄ, and those that don't; I have evidence of the existence of BRAUN, DRAI, KLIR, KWIK, STRONG, SHARP, but need to know whether they ever take -FELÄ or not, so as to know in which class to put them.)

6. A basic requirement for an adjective in both New Guinea and B.S.I. Pidgin is that it come before the noun it modifies—if a word comes after whatever it modifies, then, even though it may be translated by an adjective in English, it still isn't an adjective in Pidgin. Now I have quite a number of forms which correspond to English adjectives in their translations, but which are attested either only in the predicate (like MI SPRAS TUMACH 'I was very surprised') or else only in Mr. Teiatala's list. I need to know whether they ever occur before nouns. Here they are: DIP 'deep', DIR 'expensive', DRANK 'drunk', FRI 'free', KOUL 'cold', LEF(T) 'left', LOW 'low', PRAUT 'insolent', PUR 'poor', SLOU 'slow', SMUT 'smooth', SPRAS 'surprised', TAIRT 'tired', WET 'wet', WILING 'willing'.

7. I have attestation of a compound with SWIT 'sweet' in it, but none of this word alone. Does SWIT (or SWITFELÄ) ever occur as a separate word, as it does in New Guinea?

8. Is there any instance of the occurrence of a secondary form REKE 'wreck', beside REK? I'm inclined to suspect that it exists, from the verb form REKEM, but have no attestation of it; of course, I have plenty of other instances of an 'echo-vowel' after various other forms, like MUVU 'move' etc.

There, that's enough for the time being; I hope I won't have to pester you again with such a long list, but I can't by any means promise that it'll be the last.

On the points you raise with regard to orthography in general, there are two questions that come to mind: (1) to which does the term 'putting the clock back' apply more justly—a spelling based on a scientific, up-to-date analysis of a language, or a spelling taken over from a different language, which in its turn reflects the social conditions and attitudes of the Renaissance?; and (2) is the term 'artificial' applicable to either of these types of spelling, and if so, to which?

I see from my last year's date-book that it was just a year ago that I was in Honainm. Time passes quickly—too darn quickly for my liking! Best greetings, to yourself and the other folks there, Sincerely,

Bill Hall

- Comments on Queries by Professor Hall -

1. Pronunciation generally follows English "lose" and "loose".
2. "Meekle" as in "speckle". Spelling is over to you.
3. Pronunciation of the words quoted is as in English. There are difficulties about writing September etc. as "SEPTERAR" as the silent "M" is used in some parts of the Solomons but not in others, e.g. "KIBULE", a person's name, would be pronounced KIMBULE in the Western Solomons but would not/take the "M" sound on Malaita. On Malaita and San Cristoval an M is partly audible before such words as the language word for "man" which is spelt WANE or MWANE. In the West, the M sound does not come before a W sound. The stress on all the words in your para 3 is as in English.

Your para 4 - FAILIM, KAVARIM, TICHIM, WASHIM - yes. GIAMANIM would be understood but "GAMSON LONG ..." more usual. KROSDM - no. (This is NG only. B.S.I.P. rendering is "KROS LONG..."). TOKDM and SFIRDM occasionally. WACHIM I have not heard; the phrase would be "look out goodfella long..." whatever was to be watched. Watch here refers only to a time-piece. TROWIM is not usual, the word being TROMWE, e.g. "TROMWE stone" "throw the stone" as well as "throw away the stone".

Your para 5. In true Malaita pidgin almost any adjective can take the suffix - FELA. Whether it does or not is largely a measure of the evolution of the speaker towards an Anglicised pidgin. "KLIRFELA" sounds unlikely, the description would be "Klir closea kerosene" or something similar. Sharpfela is also doubtful. Of your list only BROWN, DRY and STRONG usually take the suffix, Klir, Kwik and Sharp being more sophisticated might or might not.

Your para 6 - I am not quite sure what you want to know. These words are really used as a part of the noun in cases where they are used before it. You can have "deesee" though "middle sea" is the old term; "onefela drunken" instead of "onefela man him drunk" "coldwater" "lefthand side" "proudfela" (possibly unusual). Free, low, ~~willing~~, poor, are Anglicisms, ~~willing~~ is expressed by "no-sevvy-trien".

Your Para 7 - "sweet" by itself would be an Anglicism "sweet closea sugar" is usual.

Your para 8 - You could have "REK" if a man happened to say it that way. REK is more usual. There are however personal differences which are not standardised enough to be regarded as current usage and this applies particularly to new words, where the user is not always sure of the pronunciation himself. "MOVE" is one of these "SHFIT" being more usual. Pronunciation of English words also depends to some extent on the original language of the speaker, e.g. KWARA'AE (Malaita) has a TH sound, Savo and parts of Guadalcanal have a CH sound; these are rendered by speakers of other languages as "ST" for "TH" and "S" for "CH".

SHIFT(?)

Soft (wedding) No.
 Still. adv. - Anglicism. "yet" is used. e.g. "Im e stop
 yet - he's still here."
 Teikimaut - usually takeout.
 Trabel - not trouble in the sense of "taking trouble"
 or "being a difficulty". "Trouble" is what happens
 to you when you do wrong or break the rules, or
 take someone else's woman "Trai~~ol~~ long mary" is
 the most usual.

This is all far from exhaustive but I send it
 since you asked for comment.

As I think you have noted somewhere, New Guinea
 pidgin has a high proportion of German and native language
 words, whereas Solomon pidgin is almost entirely English
 words used within the grammatical framework of the simpler
 Melanesian languages. This does result in a vocabulary
 which when listed appears mighty English however ~~spelt~~ ^{spelt}
 but your analysis will make it clear that construction and
 word-order in sentences follow the Melanesian pattern and
 differ completely from English usage.

I hope you are well and flourishing - you
 certainly seem to have plenty of work on hand.

Yours sincerely,

WAP

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Unpublished grammatical notes on Pijin by Robert A Hall Jr. June 1954. Retrieved from the archives of the British Western Pacific High Commission.

by Robert A. Hall, Jr.
Professor of Linguistics, Cornell University

These notes are designed to afford a kind of "linguistic first-aid" to the European who needs to acquire a knowledge of Neo-Solomonic (the "Pidgin English" of the British Solomon Islands), either to pass a governmental examination or to conduct his own affairs in dealing with the natives successfully with a minimum of friction.

1. What Is "Neo-Solomonic"? This name will be unfamiliar to every reader of these notes, since at the time of writing it has only just been invented. The language is more generally known as "B.S.I. Pidgin English". Why should we need such a name, however? Because the customary name "Pidgin English" is misleading. When we hear the word pidgin, we immediately think of a linguistic hash, a medley of languages without grammar or meaning, and many people confuse it with Pig-Latin. The word English in the title makes us think that "Pidgin English" is a kind of English--but, on hearing it and realising that it is markedly different from English, we tend to think it is a "corruption" or "degradation" of English, which it is not. Actually, so-called "Pidgin" is a language in its own right, with a grammar of its own (though different from that of English). To give the language an independent status and to raise it in public esteem, a new name is needed: the New Guinea variety has been re-named "Neo-Melanesian", and the B.S.I. variety "Neo-Solomonic".

2. The Function of Neo-Solomonic is twofold: (1) to act as a lingua franca among the natives of the Solomons, and (2) to serve as a means of communication between Europeans and natives. Of these two functions, the first is perhaps the more important, since there are scores of different native languages, each of which cannot be understood by the speakers of the others. Consequently, Neo-Solomonic is in fairly widespread use wherever speakers of two or more native languages come together. A thorough and accurate grasp of the lingua franca is also to be recommended to any European who wishes to communicate effectively with natives, especially in mixed-language groups.

3. Alphabet. At the moment of writing, there is no fixed or ~~fixed~~ officially recognised system of orthography for Neo-Solomonic. The practice of writing it with English spellings (e.g. bimeby me go 'long place belong mi' 'long bush') cannot be condemned too strongly; in addition to embodying all the many faults of English orthography as a system, it misleads the reader as to the grammatical structure of the language and encourages him to think it a mere "corruption" of English.

The following orthography may safely be recommended as affording a sound basis for representation of the language, with a consistent correspondence between written symbols and phonemes (significant units of sound). It is very close to the current orthography of Neo-Melanesian.

3.1. Vowel Letters have their "Italian" or "Continental European" values:

- a as in father: e.g. papa "father"
- e as in bet: e.g. hed "head".
- i as in hit: e.g. ~~sibowobit~~ widim "with".
- o as in hot: e.g. hotfela "hot".
- u as in put: e.g. putim "put".

The letter a may also be used for the vowel sound of English but (which in many speakers' usage coincides with that of father), e.g. bat "but".

There are ~~two~~ other vowel sounds which are not always distinguished from a, e, and o as indicated above, but for which, if it is desired, the following alternative spellings may be used:

- a or ä for the vowel sound of cat: e.g. man, män "man".
- e or ei " " " " " name: e.g. nem, neim "name".
- o or ou " " " " " ~~name~~ go: e.g. go, gou "go".

3.2. Diphthongs are as follows:

- ai, for the vowel sound of hide: e.g. baimbai "soon".
au " " " " " loud: e.g. abaut "about".

3.3. Consonant Letters and Digraphs:

- b as in English: baimbai "soon".
ch " " " /, but often replaced by the sounds s or sh by natives: e.g. kāchim "get to, arrive", often pronounced kāsim or kāshim.
d as in English: e.g. de "day".
f " " " : e.g. faul "bird". Often pronounced by Solomon Islands speakers as p, or with a sound made with both lips instead of upper teeth and lower lips.
g always with the "hard" sound as in get: e.g. gāman "deceive".
h as in English: e.g. haus "house".
j as in English jam: e.g. vilaj "village". Often pronounced by Solomon Islanders as s, sh or dz.
k as in English: e.g. kam "come". (The use of the letter c in this value is to be avoided, as it confuses natives badly.)
l as in English: e.g. long "in, at".
m " " " : e.g. mifela "we, us".
n " " " : e.g. no(u)mor "only".
ng " " " sing, singer: e.g. blong "of, for"; samting "thing". The two sounds written ng in English finger are to be written with ngg: e.g. fiingger.
p as in English: e.g. popo "pawpaw".
r " " " : e.g. raun "around". Often pronounced with a flap of the tongue-tip against upper teeth or gum-ridge.
s as in English: e.g. susu "milk, breast, udder".
sh " " " : e.g. finish "already". Often replaced by s in Solomon Islanders' pronunciation: finis, pinis.
t as in English: e.g. tu "also".
v " " " : e.g. hevi "heavy". Often replaced by b or by a sound pronounced with both lips instead of upper teeth and lower lips.
w as in English: we(i)tim "wait for". e.g.)

The sounds represented by th and z in English are not found in normal non-Anglicised Neo-Solomonic. The English combination of letters wh represents the sequence of phonemes hw, which is found in some speakers' usage in Neo-Solomonic: e.g. hwichwe "how come? how is it that?".

Many natives of the Solomons have difficulty pronouncing groups of consonant sounds such as st-, sp-, tr-, dr-, fr-, pr-, kr-, fl-, pl-, kl-, and insert an extra vowel between the consonants: thus, stap "be located" will often sound like sitap or satap, flai "fly" like filai, etc. Since this extra vowel is inserted only by some speakers and is neither constant nor significant, it is recommended that it not be written; we will therefore write stap, flai, etc.

In many languages of the Solomons, the sounds b, d and g have their onset strongly nasalised, making them sound to European ears like mb, nd, and ngg: thus, buk "book" may be pronounced like mbuk, dai "die" like ndai, or go "go" like nggo. Here also, since usage varies and the constant element is the b-, d-, or g-sound, we will not mark the pre-nasalisation in writing.

The English letters c, qu, and x are useless even in English orthography; their presence is a defect of our spelling system, and their introduction would be confusing to natives in writing Neo-Solomonic. To write such a word as "council", write kaunsil; for "quick", use kwik; for "axe", Neo-Solomonic uses āks.

4. Grammatical Forms and Parts of Speech. The person whose mother tongue is English must be prepared to cast aside his pre-formed notions of "grammar", especially as taught in our schools, and to recognise that other languages may have quite different grammatical systems. In particular, we cannot expect all languages to have our familiar categories of number in nouns, sex-reference in pronouns, or number and tense in verbs. (Even English is by no means as well supplied with these distinctions as are Latin or Greek, for instance; yet English, as a language, is not inferior to Latin or Greek.)

4.1. Nouns are always invariable: leg "leg, legs"; tit "tooth, teeth"; string "string, strings"; etc. In Neo-Solomonic (as in Chinese, Japanese and most other languages of the world), the distinction between singular and plural is not important; if it is necessary, this distinction can be indicated in other ways: e.g. wanfela tit "one tooth"; tufela leg "two legs, both legs"; oltageder buk "all the books".

Neo-Solomonic does not have any definite or indefinite article; therefore, chär means "chair, chairs; the chair, the chairs; a chair".

Nouns may be used, as in English, as the subjects of sentences, e.g. san i-kamap "the sun rises"; as the objects of verbs, e.g. kaikai män "to eat men, be cannibalistic"; and as the objects of prepositions, e.g. long tebal "on the table".

Nouns may be modified by any other part of speech. Only adjectives, however, precede the noun they modify: e.g. disfela bokis "this box"; nadarfela man "another man"; bigfela haus "a large house"; etc. Other parts of speech follow the noun they modify: e.g. haus kuk "house for cooking, i.e. kitchen"; santing nating "a thing of no value" (nating "out of context, with something missing, with no result").

4.2. Adjectives normally, if of one syllable, take the suffix -fela and precede the noun they modify: e.g. gudfela kaikai "good food". The suffix -fela is usually added also to numerals, indefinite adjectives and demonstrative adjectives: thus, trifela män "three men"; sanfela pikcha "some picture(s)"; naderfela pikinini "another child"; disfela buk "this book". However, under European influence, many natives omit the suffix -fela more or less consistently, and one may hear dis män or even big haus, hot water.

When an adjective is modified, it is normally by an adverb, which customarily follows: bigfela mor "more big, bigger"; gudfela tumach "very good"; numberwan tru "truly outstanding, really excellent". When a combination like this is used in its turn to modify a noun, it is normally sandwiched around the noun: gudfela män tumach "a very good man".

Interrogative Adjective

The interrogative adjective, in older usage, is wonem "what?"; but this is being encroached upon by hwat "what?", an Anglicism.

4.3. Pronouns.

4.31. Personal Pronouns are as follows:

	Singular	Plural
1st person	<u>mi</u> "I, me"	<u>mifela</u> "we, us"
2nd person	<u>yu</u> "you"	<u>yufela</u> "you"
3rd person	<u>em</u> , <u>hem</u> "he, him; she, her; it"	<u>ol</u> , <u>oltageder</u> "they, them".

In addition to the forms given above, we may note the following:

yumi, first person plural "inclusive", i.e. referring to speaker and hearer, whereas mifela is "exclusive", referring to speaker and others but excluding the hearer. (This distinction is a carry-over from the structure of the Melanesian languages.)

de(i) "they", third plural subject pronoun, a fairly frequent Anglicism.

4.32. Interrogative Pronoun is hu "who?", animate. For the inanimate "what?", older usage has the phrase wonem saming, literally "what thing?", but the Anglicism hwat is widespread.

4.33. Relative Pronoun, insofar as it is used, is wer "which": disfela haus, wer em i-mekim "this house which he made". Normally, however, no relative pronoun is used, and one clause simply depends directly on an element of another; e.g. disfela haus em i-mekim "this house which he made".

4.4. Verbs show no variation for person, number, or tense: kaikai means "eat, eats, ate, will eat, has eaten", etc. On the other hand, they show an important variation with regard to a direct object, in that they take the suffix -im, the so-called "objective" suffix, which tells the hearer that a direct object is involved, and which must be used whenever a direct object is either present in the sentence or referred to in the context. Cf. the difference between, say, mi weit "I am waiting" and mi weitim "I am waiting for him" or mi weitim disfela master "I am waiting for this gentleman". A number of verbs in Neo-Solomonic take the suffix -im and thus become transitive, although the corresponding verbs in English are always intransitive: e.g. weitim "wait for (Fr. attendre)", lukim "look at, see (Fr. regarder)", tinkim "think so".

"already"

A combination of verb + the adverb finish indicates that the action is over and done with (cf. the Latin perfective): e.g. mi lukim finish "I have seen it"; yu duim finish? "have you done it?". The adverb baimbai "soon" may be used at the beginning of the sentence to indicate futurity: baimbai mi go "I shall go".

Verbs may take, as in English, various types of complements: direct objects, e.g. ridim buk "to read a book"; adverbial modifiers, e.g. duim bifer "do it earlier" or go antap "go up"; and verbal complements, e.g. hem wonta faitim mi "he wanted to fight me". One very frequent type of complement is a predicate (see below, section 5.2) used as an adverbial modifier and indicating direction or result: bringim ti i-kam "bring tea, literally bring tea so that it comes"; yu pushim tebal go long datsaid "push the table (so that it goes) over there".

4.5. Adverbs include such forms as baimbai "soon"; finish "already"; tumach "very (much)"; bihain "in back, later"; bifer "in front, earlier, previously"; lilibit "a little". Interrogative adverb is hwichwe, wasawe "how, how come ... ?".

4.6. Prepositions include especially: long "to, at"; blong "of, for"; widim "with"; for "for". There are also a number of combinations of adverb ~~preposition~~ + the preposition long, forming phrases which in their turn serve as prepositions: e.g. antap long "on top of, above"; andarnit long "below, underneath"; insaid long "inside of"; etc.

4.7. Conjunctions include such forms as an "and"; bat "but"; bikos "because"; spos "if".

5. Sentence-Structure presents certain special characteristics markedly different from those of English.

5.1. The Subject is normally a noun or pronoun: e.g. san i-go daun "the sun goes down"; mi wonta tekim spel "I want to take a vacation". However, sentences can occur without any subject, especially referring to meteorological phenomena, or when the subject is already clear from what has preceded: e.g. i-ren "it is raining"; disfela man i-gowe, bat i-no kam bak "this man went away, but he did not come back".

5.2. The Predicate may contain, as its main element, ~~any~~ a form belonging to any part of speech—not only a verb, but a noun, pronoun, adjective, or adverb, or a phrase equivalent in function to any of these. Thus: mi go "I go"; mi gudfela "I am good"; i-no mi "it wasn't me"; em i-olsen "it is thus".

When the subject is in the third person (either a noun or a pronoun), the predicate is usually (though not always) preceded by an unstressed form i-, whose function is simply that of telling the hearer that the predicate is

coming, and which we may therefore simply call a "predicate-marker": e.g. hem i-duim samting long mi "he attacked me"; plen i-kam "the airplane is coming". (Note: many Europeans misinterpret the function of this predicate-marker and think it to be the same as the English pronoun he, which it most definitely is not; actually, the use of the predicate-marker is a carry-over from the structure of many native languages.)

6. Vocabulary. In the absence of a complete vocabulary of Neo-Solomonic, all that we can do is to warn the European that many words have quite different meanings in Neo-Solomonic from those which they have in English, and that it is unsafe to assume that the meanings are the same. Thus, for instance, strong means not only "endowed with strength", but also "firm, resistant", and may be applied to an over-hard pudding or anything else which offers undue resistance; ki means not only "key (of a door, lock, etc.)", but anything which turns in order to let something through, and hence "faucet" is referred to by the phrase ki blong water; pikinini does not have the same connotation as English piccaninny, but means "child, offspring" in general, so that ^{there} is no blasphemy or incongruity in referring to the Saviour as pikinini blong God.

It would be very desirable to have an extensive vocabulary of Neo-Solomonic, and it is to be hoped that those who have intensive contact with the language in the course of their activities will make collections of the words they come in contact with and will contribute to the preparation of a comprehensive lexicon.

Honiara, B.S.I.
June 5, 1954.

Notes of a speech about Pijin given by Robert A. Hall Jr. in Honiara in June 1954. Retrieved from the archives of the British Western Pacific High Commission.

Broadcast from Radio Honiara VQO - 18.45 LMT - 4th June, 1954.

My first acquaintance with Pidgin English dates back to 1942. Professionally, I am an analyst of linguistic structure, and I have worked in the Romance Languages, particularly Italian and French. During the war, however, there was a program of studies in the United States designed to prepare language manuals from our troops, so that they could learn the languages of the regions where they might be going - such languages as Burmese, Chinese, Japanese, Modern Greek, etc. As one of the younger analysts interested in modern scientific analysis of language, I took part in the program and was asked to undertake the work on Melanesian Pidgin, since the troops might be engaged in New Guinea area. In those days, one obviously could not go and study the language on the spot. The next best thing was to get informants who had been there and who knew Pidgin well. These I was able to find, in the persons of five anthropologists, all of whom had worked intensively in the Sepik region: Margaret Mead, Gregory Bateson and three other Australian and American anthropologists. These five gave me many impromptu dictations and text which they had collected from Melanesian informants; my task was to take the language, analyse it and prepare a scientific grammar of it. On the basis of the scientific grammar which appeared in 1943, I also made a phrase book for our armed forces. At first this phrase book contained only material valid for New Guinea; but later in 1944, I had direct contact with Lieut. D.C. Horton, who had been here on Guadalcanal before the war, and also received many supplementary items for the British Solomons variety of Pidgin from Mr. Leslie F. Gill. In this way I was able to include, in the second edition of the phrase-book, a number of variant forms from the British Solomons.

After the war, I kept up my interest in pidgin languages and studied a number of pidgins and creoles from different parts of the world - Chinese Pidgin English, Australia Pidgin English, Taki-taki (which is a creolised English spoken in Dutch Guinea), and so forth. In 1949, I made a study of Haitian Creole for UNESCO, especially from the point of view of orthography and literacy. By the way, I'd better define these two terms, pidgin language and creolised language. In linguistics, we use both of these expressions with specific meanings. A pidgin language is one that shows two characteristics: first, its grammatical structure and vocabulary are sharply reduced from those of the language it is based on, and second, it is not the first or mother tongue of anyone who speaks it. It happens, on occasion, that a pidgin language comes to be the first language of a whole community of people, as when slaves were brought from different parts of West Africa to Haiti, a pidgin French was the only language the slaves had in common, and their descendants grew up speaking the Pidgin French as their first language. If this happens, we call the resultant language creolised. These two types of languages have an especial interest for the linguistic analyst, because they reveal in detail what happens when speakers of one language give up their own speech in favour of a sharply changed variety of another. It may interest you to know that some scholars think that our own family of languages, (the Germanic, to which English belongs, may have grown out of a creolised variety of an earlier language which we re-construct and call Indo-European - in other words, English itself may well be the outgrowth of an earlier Pidgin language.

But, now with all this work on Melanesian and other varieties of Pidgin, I still had not gotten to Melanesia myself. During the war, when people asked me "What part of New Guinea did you do your fieldwork in?" I would answer, "Institute of Human Relations, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut". But I wanted very much to get to the South Pacific Area, and in 1954 was able to fulfill this ambition, thanks to a grant from the Guggenheimer Foundation in

New York.

So far, I've made a circuit of New Guinea, starting at Port Moresby and including Lae, Madang, Wewak and Rabaul, with a section of the trip extending out to Haniara. From here, I go back to Rabaul and thence to Port Moresby and out South again at the end of the month.

You might like to know some of the more interesting things I've found out in the course of my twelve years' work in Pidgin. I don't want to bore you with talk about adjective - plus noun compounds or predicate markers in equational clauses, though if you want to do a serious grammatical analysis of Pidgin you have to do it in terms like that. But I do want to emphasize that, if you are to make any sense of Pidgin at all, you have to approach it seriously, putting all thoughts of humour or comic interpretation out of your mind and treat it with all the respect you would accord to any other linguistic manifestation. When you take this attitude, you make certain basic discoveries:

- (1) Pidgin is a true language, in its own right. We can make this statement concerning any set of linguistic habits that shows a consistent grammatical pattern and constant meanings in its vocabulary. I have found this to be the case with every pidginised and creolised language I have worked on, even though their structures are quite different from that of English.
- (2) Pidgin is much easier for Melanesian to learn than is English, since Pidgin is much closer to the structure of the Melanesian languages. A bush native can learn Pidgin well in six months, whereas to attain a comparable control of English would take him five or six years.
- (3) You can say anything you want to in Pidgin. Its grammatical and vocabulary resources are quite ample for communicating ideas on any level. Often, with such a reduced vocabulary, the Melanesian reports to new combinations which may seem strange to us but which actually show considerable ingenuity and imagination, as in B.S.I. Pidgin - finger blong leg for "toe", literally "finger of the leg", or ki blong water for "faucet". For more advanced technical or philosophical concepts, any word that is desired can be borrowed from English or any other language, provided we define it clearly in terms already present in Pidgin. I've been able to do this with such words as Tape Recorder or Spring. This is just what English has been doing for centuries in taking over wholesale quantities of words from Latin, Greek and French.
- (4) From the point of view of vocabulary origin, Pidgin is much purer than English. In New Guinea Pidgin, about 70% of the vocabulary is of English origin, and my impression is that here in the Solomons, the percentage must be much higher, say 90% or more. English itself, however, has over half of its vocabulary derived from foreign sources and it is very hard to frame a normal sentence in English without using a number of words of French, Latin or Greek origin.
- (5) Pidgin is quite capable of use as a vehicle for literature. There are of course, some bits of European attempts at humour floating around, such as the story of Adam and Eve told in rather artificial Pidgin verse. But much more serious efforts have been made and quite successfully, to render passages of Shakespeare and Sophocles into Pidgin. Melanesians, too, are beginning to create their own literature in Pidgin, in songs, folk-tales and stories, even though, to date these have circulated only in mimeographed local Newspapers like the Wewak News or the Lae Garemut.

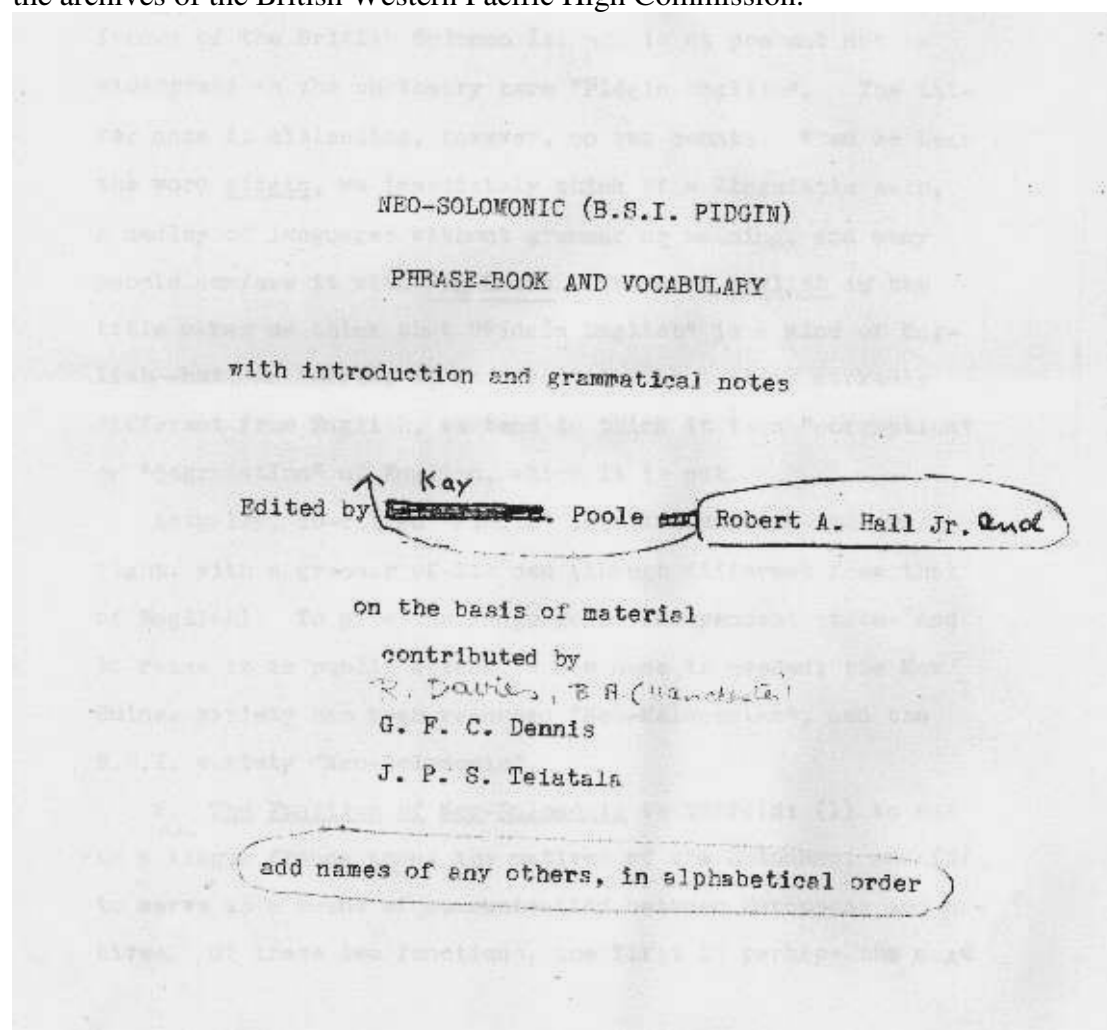
(3)

- (6) Aesthetic judgments are of course a matter of personal opinion, but to my way of thinking Pidgin is a very pleasing and attractive little language. I've noticed this correlation: that in general, the better acquainted one gets with Pidgin, the more one comes to appreciate its merits, intellectual and aesthetic.
- (7) Pidgin has already proved its worth as a medium of instruction. It has been and is being widely used in New Guinea on the elementary and intermediate levels, and its use has enabled many thousands of people to become literate who would otherwise have been condemned to remain permanently illiterate. On my travels, I have collected a large quantity of printed and mimeographed materials in Pidgin; my prize examples are two thick manuals prepared by a mission near Madang, one for carpenters and one for native medical assistants. The latter has detailed explanations complete with coloured illustrations of such things as cell structure, the nature and function of bone marrow and the prevention and treatment of tropical ulcers.
- (8) Pidgin is no longer a "caste language" foisted on the native population by Europeans in order to keep them at a low social level. By now, it is primarily the possession of the Melanesians, who teach it to each other and who use it as a lingua franca when they have other languages in common. Europeans who come to Melanesia make more or less successful attempts at learning Pidgin; unfortunately, they often succeed only in making a real mess of it, with disastrous results to their relations with the natives.

There is one suggestion that I'd like to make with regards to the name of the language. The term Pidgin English is misleading, in both of its parts. Time after time, people, on hearing me say I was going to work on Pidgin, have compared it with Pig-Latin, or have thought I would be wasting my time on some sort of linguistic hash, jargon, medley, "ludicrous lingo", etc. If we call it "English" we imply that it must be a depraved or corrupted variety of English and invite a comparison between "Pidgin English" and "proper English" - as if Pidgin were somehow "improper English". A new name is very much in order and should help the language to achieve the status it deserves in popular esteem, just as the pidginised Bazaar Malay has acquired universal respect under the name of Indonesian. For New Guinea Pidgin, the name Neo-Melanesian has been suggested (not by me originally) and seems the best of those that have been proposed. For the British Solomon variety, I'm ready to invent one, and would like to propose Neo-Solomonic. Such a name can, perhaps, help us to take the language more seriously and be more objective in our attitudes towards it and understanding of it.

In conclusion, I'd like to give you sample of the material I've been collecting on my portable tape-recorder. Here is a recording of Mr. Solomon Darkie of the Medical Laboratory etc. etc.

Unpublished grammar and lexicon by Robert A. Hall Jr. and others, 1955. Retrieved from the archives of the British Western Pacific High Commission.



This material is designed to aid those who need to acquire a knowledge of Neo-Solomonic (the ^{English} Pidgin of the British Solomon Islands), either to pass governmental examinations or to deal with natives successfully and with a minimum of friction.

1. What Is "Neo-Solomonic"? This name for this lingua franca of the British Solomon Islands is at present not as widespread as the customary term "Pidgin English". The latter name is misleading, however, on two counts. When we hear the word pidgin, we immediately think of a linguistic hash, a medley of languages without grammar or meaning, and many people confuse it with Pig-Latin. The word English in the title makes us think that "Pidgin English" is a kind of English—but, on hearing it and realizing that it is markedly different from English, we tend to think it is a "corruption" or "degradation" of English, which it is not.

Actually, so-called "Pidgin" is a language in its own right, with a grammar of its own (though different from that of English). To give the language an independent status and to raise it in public esteem, a new name is needed: the New Guinea variety has been re-named "Neo-Melanesian", and the B.S.I. variety "Neo-Solomonic".

2. The Function of Neo-Solomonic is twofold: (1) to act as a lingua franca among the natives of the Solomon, and (2) to serve as a means of communication between Europeans and natives. Of these two functions, the first is perhaps the more

important, since there are scores of different native languages, each of which cannot be understood by the speakers of the others. Consequently, Neo-Solomonic is in widespread use wherever speakers of two or more native languages come together. A thorough and accurate grasp of the lingua franca is also to be recommended to any European who wishes to communicate effectively with natives, especially in mixed-language groups.

3. Alphabet. At the moment of writing, there is no fixed or officially recognized system of orthography for Neo-Solomonic. It is occasionally written with English spellings (e.g. bineby me go 'long place belong me 'long bush); this practice cannot be condemned too strongly. It handicaps the writing of Neo-Solomonic with all the faults of English orthography (irregularity, inconsistency, inaccuracy, wastefulness); it misleads the reader as to the grammatical structure of the language; and it encourages him to think it a mere "corruption" of English.

Any orthography is useful only to the extent that it is regular, accurate, and economical, and that it shows a consistent correspondence between written symbols and phonemes (significant units of sound). The following orthography may safely be recommended for Neo-Solomonic; it is very close to the current system of spelling used for Neo-Melanesian.

3.1. Vowel Letters have their "Italian" or "Continental European" values:

- a as in father: e.g. karim "carry"
- e as in bet: e.g. hed "head"
- i as in bit: e.g. widin "with"

o as in hot: e.g. hotfela "hot"

u as in put: e.g. putia "put"

The letter u may also be used for the vowel sound of English but (which in many speakers' usage coincides with that of father): e.g. bat "but".

There are three other vowel sounds which are not always distinguished from a, e and o as indicated above, but for which, if it is desired, the following alternative spellings may be used:

a or ɔ for the vowel sound of cat: e.g. man, mɔn "man".

e or ei " " " " " name: e.g. nem, neim "name".

o or ou " " " " " go: e.g. go, gou "go".

3.2. Diphthongs are as follows:

ai, for the vowel sound of hide: e.g. baimbai "soon".

au, " " " " " loud: e.g. about "about".

3.3. Consonant Letters and Digraphs:

b as in English: baimbai "soon".

ch " " " " , but often replaced by natives with the sounds g or sh: e.g. kichim "get to, arrive", often pronounced k'in, k'shim.

d " " " " : e.g. de "day".

f " " " " : e.g. faul "bird". Often pronounced by Solomon Islander speakers as p, or with a sound made with both lips instead of upper teeth and lower lips.

g always with the "hard" sound as in get: e.g. guman "deceive".

- h as in English: e.g. haus "house".
- j as in English jam: e.g. vilaŋ "village". Often pronounced by Solomon Islanders as g, ch or dz.
- k as in English: e.g. kom "come". (The use of the letter g in this value is to be avoided, as it confuses natives badly.)
- l " " " : e.g. long "in, at".
- m " " " : e.g. mifela "we, us".
- n " " " : e.g. nomor "only".
- ng " " " singer: e.g. blong "of, for"; ponŋing "bring". The two sounds written ng in English finger are to be written with ngg: e.g. fiŋgger.
- p " " " : e.g. popu "pawpaw".
- r " " " : e.g. raun "round". Often pronounced with a flap of the ^{tongue} ~~tip~~-tip against upper teeth or gum-ridge.
- s " " " : e.g. sik "sick".
- sh " " " : e.g. finish "already". Often replaced by g in Solomon Islanders' pronunciation: finis, pinis.
- t " " " : e.g. tu "also".
- v " " " : e.g. hevi "heavy". Often replaced by h, or a w-like sound pronounced with both lips instead of upper teeth and lower lips.
- w " " " : e.g. ve(i)tim "wait for".

The sounds represented by th and g in English are not found in normal non-Anglicised Neo-Solomonic. The English combination of letters wh represents the sequence of phonemes hw, which is found in some speakers' usage in Neo-Solomonic: e.g. hwichwe (also wichwe, wiswe) "how come? how is it that ... ?".

Many natives of the Solomons have difficulty pronouncing groups of consonant sounds such as st-, sp-, tr^d, dr-, fr-, pr-, fl-, pl-, kl-, and insert an extra vowel between the consonants: thus, stap "be located" will often sound like sitap or sastap, flai "fly" like filai, etc. Since this extra vowel is ^{not} inserted by all speakers and is neither constant nor significant, it is recommended that it be not written; we will therefore write stap, flai, etc.

In many languages of the Solomons, the sounds b, d and g have their onset strongly nasalised, making them sound to European ears like mb, nd, and ngg: thus, buk "book" may be pronounced Mbuk, dai "die" like ndai, or go "go" like nggo. Here also, since usage varies and the constant element is the b-, d-, or g-sound, we will not mark the pre-nasalisation in writing.

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The English letters q, qu and x are useless even in English orthography; their presence is a defect of our spelling system, and their introduction would be confusing to natives in writing Neo-Solomonic. To write such a word as "council", write kaunsi; for "quick", write kwik; for "axe", Neo-Solomonic uses *kia.

Those who are familiar with English spelling should avoid introducing irregularities merely because of the prestige attached to the irrational nature of our orthography. Instead of con-

In many Melanesian languages which have pre-nasalised mb, nd, ngg (see the preceding paragraph), the non-nasalised b, d and g are not distinguished from p, t, and k. Speakers of such languages will often carry these habits over into their pronunciation of Neo-Solomonic, using non-nasalised b and p interchangeably, and likewise d and t, g and k: thus, we often find (spoken or written) plong or blong "of", lada or lata "ladder", alikota or aligeta "crocodile".

Often, Solomon Islanders will add an "echo-vowel" at the end of a word, especially -i, and also -u after m: for example, lukim or lukimu "see"; big or bigi (also biki, mbiki) "large"; gras or grasi (also krasi, karasi) "grass". Since this vowel is unstable and not always present, it need not be written.

tract, cross, time, might, road, track, write kontrak, kros, tsim, nsit, rod, trak (trʔk), etc.

4. Grammatical Forms and Parts of Speech. The person whose mother tongue is English must be prepared to cast aside his pre-formed notions of "grammar", especially as taught in our schools, and to recognise that other languages may have quite different grammatical systems. In particular, we cannot expect all languages to have our familiar categories of number in nouns, sex-reference in pronouns, or number and tense in verbs. (Even English is by no means as well supplied with these distinctions as are Latin or Greek, for instance; yet English, as a language, is not inferior to Latin or Greek.)

4.1. Nouns are always invariable; thus, leg means "leg" or "legs"; tit means "tooth" or "teeth"; string means "string" or "strings"; etc. Cf. also the following examples:

<p>Dog hem no dukim wanfela man sidaun long <u>hivi</u>.</p> <p>Dog i-no karim her olsem pijin.</p> <p>Mi no save smutin pijin.</p> <p>Mi hirim pijin.</p>	<p>The dog did not see a man sitting on the beach.</p> <p>Dogs do not have feathers like birds.</p> <p>I cannot shoot pigeons.</p> <p>I heard a pigeon.</p>
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In Neo-Solomonic (as in Chinese, Japanese and most other languages), the distinction between singular and plural is not important; if it is necessary, this distinction can be indicated in other ways: e.g. wanfela tit "one tooth"; tufela leg "two legs, both legs"; oltageder dog "all the dogs".

4.11. Articles. Neo-Solomonic does not have any indefinite article corresponding to English "a, an", nor any definite article like English "the"; therefore, for example, dog means "dog, dogs; the dog, the dogs; a dog", as in the first two examples in the preceding paragraph.

4.12. Use of Nouns. As in English, nouns may serve as:

1. Subjects of sentences:

Disfela man i-no karim tit.	This man has no teeth.
Melek i-smel nogud.	The milk smells bad.

2. Objects of verbs:

Olgeder man i-holim spir.	Every man held a spear.
Hem i-no tekim ruksak.	He didn't bring a rucksack.

3. Objects of prepositions:

Long tebal.	On the table.
Blong disfela man.	Of this man.

4.13. Modifiers of Nouns. In Neo-Solomonic, a noun may be modified by any other part of speech. Only adjectives, however, precede the noun they modify:

Smolfela dog.	A small dog.
Bigfela haus.	A large house.
Disfela man.	This man.
Narsfela man.	Another man.

Other parts of speech follow the noun they modify:

Haus kuk.	Kitchen (lit., house for cooking).
Tok nogud.	A scolding (lit., evil talk; <u>nogud</u> is an adverb meaning "badly").
Samting nating.	A thing of no account (<u>nating</u> is an

adverb meaning "out of con-
text, with something missing,
with no result")

4.8. Adjectives normally, if of one syllable, take the suffix -fela: e.g. gudfela "good", bigfela "large", smolfela "small", etc. Those of more than one syllable normally do not take this suffix: e.g. kranki "crazy". The suffix -fela is normally added also to numerals, indefinite adjectives and demonstrative adjectives: thus, trifela mēn "three men"; sam-fela pikcha "some picture(s)"; noderfela pikinini "another child"; disfela buk "this book, these books". However, under European influence, many natives omit the suffix -fela more or less consistently, and one may hear dis mēn or even big haus, hot water. Further examples:

	Hem i-karim plenti mani.	He has much money.
X	Dis smolfela dog i-kaikai olgedar pikipiki.	This little dog ate the whole pig.
X	Letim mi havin lilibit rīn for kaikai.	Let me have a little rice to eat.
	Mi shutim olgedar pig.	I shoot all the pigs.
	Plenti man no gatin meri.	Many men have no wives.
X	Mi lukim samfela man, bat olegedar i-no plenti.	I saw some men, but they were few.
	Disfela dog i-no karim tit.	This dog has no teeth.
	Putim noderfela bokis ananit.	Put the other box underneath.

When an adjective is modified, the modifier is normally an adverb, which customarily follows: bigfela mor "more big, bigger"; gudfela tumach "very good"; nesbarwan tru "truly outstanding, really excellent". When a combination like this is used in its turn to modify a noun, it is normally sandwiched around the noun: gudfela mān tumach "a very good man".

The interrogative adjective, in older usage, is woneŋ "what ...?": e.g. woneŋ kalkai "what ^{what} ~~what~~ food?". This is being encroached upon by ~~what~~ hwat "what ...?", an Anglicism.

4.21. The Possessive Construction. Neo-Solomonic does not have any separate inflectional form of the noun, nor any independent adjectives, to indicate possession. The only way of indicating possession in Neo-Solomonic is by using the preposition blong "of", e.g.:

Blong disfela mān.	Of this man; this man's.
Blong mi.	Of me; my, mine.
Blong (h)em.	Of him; his; of her; hers; of it; its.
Tit blong dog.	The dog's tooth (teeth).
Tok blong chief.	The chief's words; what the chief says.
Baimbai mi solsep kʷliko blong mi; yu duim olsem long kʷliko blong yu.	I will sew my levelaves; you do likewise to yours.

4.3. Pronouns.

4.31. Personal Pronouns are as follows:

	Singular	Plural
1st person	<u>mi</u> "I, me"	{ <u>yumi</u> "we, us = both speaker and hearer" <u>mifela</u> "we, us = the speaker and others, excluding the hearer"
2nd person	<u>yu</u> "you = one person"	<u>yufela</u> "you = more than one person"
3rd person	(n) <u>em</u> "he, him; she, her; it"	<u>ol, ol(ta)gedar</u> "they, them"

Note that Neo-Solomonic, like the languages of Melanesia in general, makes a sharp distinction between two types of pronoun for the first person plural: yumi, the so-called "inclusive", includes the hearer as well as the speaker, whereas mifela is termed "exclusive" because it excludes the hearer.

In addition to ol and ol(ta)gedar for "they", the Anglicism dei is fairly common.

4.32. Interrogative Pronoun is hu "who?", animate. For the inanimate "what?", older usage has the phrase wonen canting, literally "what thing?", but the Anglicism hwat? is widespread.

4.33. Relative Pronoun, insofar as it is used, is wer "which", e.g.: disfela haus, wer em i-mekim "this house which he made". Normally, however, no relative pronoun is used, and one clause simply depends directly on an element of another: e.g. disfela haus em i-mekim "this house he made".

4.4. Verbs show no variation for person, number or tense: thus, kaikai means "eat, eats, ate, will eat, has eaten", etc. On the other hand, they show an important variation with regard to a direct object, in that they take the suffix -in, the so-called "objective suffix", which tells the hearer that a direct object is involved. The objective suffix must be used whenever a direct object is either present in the sentence or referred to in the context. Cf. the difference between these two sentences:

Mi wait. I am waiting.
Mi waitin diofala master. I am waiting for this gentleman.

A number of verbs in Neo-Solomonic take the suffix -in and thus become transitive, although the corresponding verbs in English are always intransitive: e.g. waitin "wait for" (Fr. attendre)", lukin "look at (Fr. regarder)", tinkin "think so":

Mi waitin yu. I wait for you.
Hen i-lukin mi. He looks at me.
Mi tinkin. I think so.

Future time may be indicated in Neo-Solomonic by using the adverb bainbai "soon", or klosep "almost":

Bainbai mi mekim yu save! I'll teach you!
Kropleu klosep go nau. The aeroplane is about to go now.

A combination of verb + the adverb finish "already" indicates that the action is over and done with (cf. the Latin perfective): e.g. mi lukin finish "I have seen it"; yu quim finish? "Have you done it?".

As in English, verbs may take various types of complements, e.g. direct objects:

Mi ridim buk.	I read a book.
Mēn i-kilin pig.	A man killed the pig.
Olgedar mēn i-holim apiv.	Every man held a spear.

adverbial modifiers:

Hem i-mekim (duim) olsem.	He acted thus.
Mi stap insait.	I remained inside.
Mi filim nogud.	I feel bad.
Melek i-smel nogud.	The milk smells bad.
Hem wokedebut strong tumach.	He walks vigorously.

phrases introduced by prepositions:

Hem i-kestim leis blong kilim yufela.	He is cutting a cone in order to beat you.
Olgedar mekim long taim bifor.	They did it previously (lit., in the time before).

or clauses:

Yu kēn go spot yu wok gudfela.	You may go if you work well.
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Notice that the only way of indicating an indirect object in Neo-Solomonic is by using a phrase introduced by the preposition long "to":

Em i-givim kaikai long mi.	He gives me food.
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4.5. Adverbs include such forms as baimbai "soon", finiah "already", tumach "very (much)"; bihain "in back, later"; bifor "in front, earlier, previously"; lilibit "a little"; olsem "thus, so"; (g)gen/ "again"; mor "more"; insaid "inside"; aitink "probably"; klosep "almost". ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~
 Obtain 'always'.
 Cf. the following sentences:

Em i-strong bol, save waka gudfela.	He is a strong boy and will work diligently (well).
Hem i-mekim (duis) olsem.	He did thus.
Kloup hem i-foldoun.	He almost fell over.
Hem staxax las olsem.	He is always loafing.
Mi kam agen long figtri.	I came again to the fig tree, are doing the same thing
Yu mekim sen wanting olsem taim bifor.	You staxaxxxxxxxxixixixbefore as before.
Mi stap insaid.	I remained inside.
Aitink dog i-keksim.	Probably a dog ate it.

4.6. Prepositions include especially: long "to, at"; blong "of, for"; widim "with"; for "for"; olsem "like, as".

4.51. Interrogative Adverbs and Adverbial Phrases include:
 olsem wonen "how come? why?"; blong wonen "why, for what purpose?";
 (h)wichwe "how come? why?"; watfor "what for, why?"; wotsaim "when?";
 haumas taim "how often?"; haumas klok "at what time (of the day)?";
 wer "where?", as in the following sentences:

Yu kam olsem wonen?	}	Why did you come?
Yu kam blong wonen?		
Hwichwe yumi hardwok?		Why should we trouble?
Hwichwe yu no kam?		Why didn't you come?
Watfor yu no lukiuk gudfela?		Why didn't you look thoroughly?
Wotsaim yu kam?		When did you come?
Haumas taim yu kam?		How often did you come?
Haumas klok nau?		What time is it now?
Yu go wer?		Where are you going?

There are also a number of combinations of adverb + the preposition long, forming phrases which in their turn serve as prepositions: e.g. antap long "on top of, above"; andarnit long "underneath"; insaid long "inside of". Prepositions may be

4.7. Conjunctions include such forms as En "and"; bat "but"; bikas "because"; epos "if".

5. Sentence-Structure presents certain special characteristics markedly different from those of English.

5.1. The Subject is normally a noun or pronoun: e.g. san followed, not only by nouns and pronouns, but also by verbs and complete clauses; cf. the following sentences:

Hem i-kem long hirim tok.	He came in order to hear the news.
Mi laik for at sidaun insaid.	I would like to sit inside.
Hem go long klabus.	He went to prison, was imprisoned.
Mi laikim go long broplem.	I want to go by airplane.

i-godaun "the sun goes down"; mi wanta tekim epel "I want to take a vacation". However, sentences can occur without any subject, especially referring to meteorological phenomena, or when the subject is already clear from the context: e.g. i-ran "it is raining"; disfela man i-gowe, bat i-no kem bek "this man went away, but he didn't come back".

5.2. The Predicate may contain, as its main element, a form belonging to any part of speech—not only a verb, but a noun, pronoun, adjective, or adverb, or a phrase equivalent in function to any of these. Thus:

Mi go.	I go.
Mi gudfela.	I am good.

~~hava~~

I-no mi.

It wasn't me.

En i-olser.

It is thus.

5.81. The Predicate-Marker. When the subject is in the third person (either a noun or a pronoun), the predicate is usually (though not always) preceded by an unstressed form i, whose function is simply that of telling the hearer that the predicate is coming, and which we may therefore simply call a "predicate-marker", e.g.:

Melek i-anel nogud.

The milk smells bad.

Hea i-no kariz gan.

He didn't have a rifle.

Olgeder i-no plenti.

They were not many.

Many Europeans misinterpret the function of this predicate-marker and think it to be the same as the English pronoun he, which it most definitely is not; actually, the use of the predicate-marker is a carry-over from the structure of many native languages.

KEY TO SYMBOLS USED IN VOCABULARY

The vowel letters have their "Continental" or "Italian" values, as follows:

- A like a in father
- E like e in get
- I like i in hit or machine
- O like o in pot (but with lips well rounded)
- U like oo in boot (but with lips fully rounded)

Further special vowel letters and combinations are:

- Å like a in hat, but often varying in Solomon Islanders' usage to A or to E (see above) and hence often written as such.
- Y like a in sofa, but often replaced by A.
- AR like er in herd or butter, but often replaced by Å or A.
- AI like igh in thigh.
- AU like ow in cow.
- EI like ay in day (not, however, like ie in die).
- OU like oa in boat (but with lips quite well rounded).

Of the consonant letters, the following have their English values: F, H, L, M, N, S, V, W, Y. ~~"Hard" g is always~~ In writing Neo-Solomonic, there is no need or use for the letters C, Q and X; their introduction is, at best, futile and, at worst, harmful.

The remaining consonant letters are used as follows:

B, D and G stand for the sound-combinations mb, nd and ngg (the ng of "singer" followed by the g of go), respectively, which in Neo-Solomonic are opposed to P, T, K respectively (see below). The difference between the sounds of B and P, of D and T, of G and K (known technically as voicing) is not significant in Neo-Solomonic, whereas that between MB and B (or P), ND and D (or T), NGG and G (or K), called in technical language pre-nasalisation, is significant. The situation is the same as that which prevails in Fijian and other Polynesian and Melanesian languages, and the spelling used here follows the same system: B D G for the pre-nasalised series of consonants, P T K for the non-pre-nasalised consonants.

- CH like English ch in church, but often varying to SY, SH, or S: e.g. CHORCH "church", SHORSH, SYORS or SORS.
- D equals ND (see under B, above).

- G equals NGG (see under B). It never stands for the "soft g" of gem.
- J like English j in judge, but often varying to SY, SH or S.
- K equals non-pre-nasalised K or "hard g" indifferently (see under B).
- P equals non-pre-nasalised P or b indifferently (see under B).
- R a tongue-tip flap as in British English (not made in the back of the mouth as in Australian or American English). However, after a vowel, the place of R is often taken (as in British and Australian English) by lengthening of the vowel sound, (in AP and also, before a consonant, in OR) or by Ā (in ER, IR, UR, and also, at the end of a word, in OR). As a result, many users of Neo-Solomonic are likely to write, say, MOTOKAR as MOTOKA; HORS as HOS; WFR as WEA; SPIR as SPIA; PUR as PUA; or SOR as SOA. No harm is done by such spellings, though they represent the raw material of the sounds of the language rather than their patterned organisation.
- SH like Sh in English ship, but often replaced by S, so that SHIP becomes SIP.
- T stands for non-pre-nasalised T or d indifferently (see under B).
- V often made, not with the upper teeth in contact with the lower lip as in English, but with both lips in contact as in Spanish.

- 1
- ABALOLO n. banyan
 APISAR n. officer, constable
 APUNTAHM n. afternoon
 AIAN n. iron
 AILAM n. island
 AIS(I) n. ice
 AI IPIH n. ~~idm~~ iodine
 AITANK adv. probably, perhaps
 ANTAP, ONTOP l. n. top; heaven.
 2. adv. high, above, up, on
 top. 3. prep. above
 ARS n. bottom (incl. buttocks)
 ARS-HOUL n. rectum
 AUR n. hour
 AUTSAIT adv. outside
 AKIS n. axe
 ALIKETAR n. alligator
 AN(D) conj. and
 ANIS n. ant
 ANSAR n. answer
 AROPLEIN n. airplane
 ASHIS n. ashes
 ABAUT adv. around
 ARELA n. umbrellas, parasol
 (A)CEN adv. again
 ANYAN n. onion
 AP vb. intr. be raised, be above
 APIM vb. tr. raise, lift
~~ARIM~~
 BABU n. bamboo; flute
 BAIBAI adv. soon, in the future
 BAI-HART vb. intr. recite
 BAIIM vb. tr. buy, sell
 BAIK, BAK n. bag, sack
 BAIKIKAL n. bicycle
 BAIT vb. intr. }
 BAITIM vb. tr. } bite
 BAKWA n. tinea (scale-forming
 disease)
 BALASIM vb. tr. splice
 X BAR(O)IM vb. tr. borrow
 BATI n. body
 BADIS n. bandage
 BAK adv. back
 BAKSIT n. back, rear
 BANGK n. bank
 BAPTISAM n. baptism
 BARIM vb. tr. bear (carry)
 BAROL n. barrel
 BASKET n. basket
 BAKAL n. buckle
 BAKARAP vb. intr. be spoiled, ruined
 BAKARAPIM vb. tr. spoil, ruin
 BAT conj. but
 BEMAR n. butter
 BATIN n. button
 BET n. bed
 BEIBI n. baby
 BEINIT n. bayonet
 BEISEN n. basin
 BEL(I) n. belly
 BELO n. bell. N. phr.: BELO KAIKAI noon
 BENSIN n. petrol
 BEREM vb. tr. bury
 BEMAR adj. better
 BIPOR ~~adv~~ l. adv. previously 3. prep. conj.
 before
 BIHAIN(D) l. n. rear, back. 2. adv.
 after(ward), later, behind. Prcp.
 phr.: BIHAIN(D) LONG after
 BIKFELA adj. big, large; rich, important
 BIK-HET l. n. conceit, disrespect. 2.
 adj. conceited, disrespectful
 BIK-NEIM n. generic name
 BIKOS conj. because
 BIK-PLEIS n. town
 BIK-SKRAP n. deep bush
 BILDIM vb. tr. build
 BELINAT n. betel-nut
 BIN n. been
 BIN vb. was; indicator of past tense
 BINA n. hornbill
 BIR n. beer
 BISKIT n. biscuit
 BISNIS n. affair, matter, business
 BLAS n. blame; boastfulness, arrogance
 3. decoration
 BLASIM vb. tr. decorate, adorn
 BLAK-BOKIS n. flying fox
 BLAKFELA adj. black
 BLANGKET n. blanket
 BLARIFUL n. fool
 BLAT n. blood
 BLEHIM vb. tr. censure, blame, scold
 BLIV vb. intr. }
 BLIVIM vb. tr. } believe
~~BLIM~~ BLOIM vb. tr. blow
 BLOK n. block
 BLONG prep. of, for, characterised by
 BLUFELA adj. blue
 BOI n. native
 BOILAP vb. intr. be inflated

BOKIO n. box
 BOL n. ball; pestle
 BOL-HET adj. bald
 BOPIN vb. tr. burn
 BOR n. boat
 BORI vb. tr. bore
 BORI vb. intr. be born
 BORI vb. tr. bear (off-spring); legat
 BOSKIN n. crew
 BORSIA vb. intr. burst
 BOTIL n. bottle
 BOTIM n. bottom
 BOTIM-SAIT n. bottom
 BOUTI n. body
 BOU n. bow (weapon)
 BOUN n. bone
 BOUT(I) n. boat
 BOU(Z)MARA n. bow (and arrows)
 BRITAI n. bridle
 BRAS n. brass, bronze
 BRAUN adj. brown
 BRANCH n. branch
 BRASH n. brush
 BRATAR n. brother
 BREIK, BROUK vb. intr. break, be broken
 BREIKIM, BROUKIM vb. tr. break
 BRET n. bread
 BRIJ n. bridge
 BRINGIM vb. tr. bring
 BRUM ~~xxxxxxx~~ n. broom.
 2. vb. intr. sweep
 BUK n. book
 BULMAKAU n. bovine animal (cow or bull). N.phr.:
 BULMAKAU MEN bull. BULMAKAU MERI cow.
 BUL-SHIT, n. bluff, nonsense
 BUM n. boom
 BUSH n. bush
 BUSH-PAUL n. jungle bird, bush bird
 BUT(I) n. shoe
 BYUGAL n. bugle, trumpet
 CHARKOL n. charcoal
 CHER n. chair
 CHEIN n. chain
 CHEINJIM vb. tr. (ex)change, trade, borrow. Vb.phr.: CHEINJIM TOK
 CHEST n. chest (Anglicism?)
 CHIT n. chief
 CHIS n. cheese
 CHISEL n. chisel
 CHORCH n. church
 CHUSIM vb. tr. choose
 DAI vb. intr. cease, stop. Vb.phr.:
 DAI FINISH die. DAI LONG ... yearn for ...
 DAINMAIT n. dynamite
 DARK n. darkness
 DAUN ~~xxx~~ l. adv. down. 2. vb. intr. go down. Vb.phr.: DAUN TUMACH
 Be deep
 DAUNBILO n. hold (of ship)
 DAWEI adv. thus, for this reason
 DMTSAIT adv. on that side
 DAT(WAN) dem.adj. that
 DEI n. day
 DE(I) pron. they
 DEI-LAIT n. day(light)
 DEK n. deck (of ship)
 DER adv. there
 DEVELDEVEL n. spirit
 DIFREN adj. various
 DIKIM vb. tr. dig
 DIKIMAP vb. tr. dig up
 DINAR n. dinner
 DIO n. District Officer
 DIP adj. deep
 DIR adj. expensive, costly
 DISMELA dem.adj. this
 DISKAIN(D) adj. of this kind
 DISSAIT adv. on this side
 DISTAIM adv. this time, now, at present
 DISTRIK(I) n. district
 DISWAN dem.adj., pron. this
 DIVAITIM vb. tr. divide
 POK(I), DOK(I) DOK(I) n. dog
 DOKTAR n. doctor
 DONCKI n. donkey
 DOR n. door
 DORTI adj. dirty
 DOTAR n. daughter
 DRAI adj. dry. Adj.phr.: DRAI TRU arid
 DRAI-DOK n. (dry) dock
 DRAIVAR n. driver

DRAIVARPOI n. native driver
 DRAIVIM vb. tr. drive
 DRAUN vb. intr. drown
 DRANKI adj. drunk
 DREIN n. ditch
 DRES n. attire, dress
 TRIM n. dream
 DRINCK 1. n. 2. vb. intr. drink
 DRINGKIM vb. tr.
 DUDUIM vb. tr. keep doing
 DUIM vb. tr. do

EK n. egg
 EN—see HEM
 ENTI adj. empty (Anglicism?)
 EN n. edge, brim, tip
 ENI indef. adj. any, some. Adj.
 Phr.: NO ENI no (e.g. NO ENI
 DOKTAR no doctor)
 ENJIN n. engine
 ENJINER n. engineer
 EPRIL n. April
 EVRI(WAN) adj. each, every, all
 EVRIBATI indef. pron. everybody
 EVRIBIT adj. whole

FAPALIM vb. tr. keep following
 FAININ vb. tr. seek, find
 FAINIMAUT vb. tr. discover
 FAIR n. fire
 FARR-WUT n. firewood
 FAIT 1. n. 2. vb. tr. fight
 FAITIM vb. tr. fight, thrash
 FAIVFELM num. five
 FALIM vb. tr. follow
 FARAWE adv. distant
 FARMER n. farmer
 FARMING n. agriculture
 FATAR n. father
 FAUL n. bird
 FÄBLI n. feebly
 FAS vb. intr. be attached,
 tied; be firm, fixed, stuck,
 closed
 FASHEN n. manner, way, custom
 FÄSIM vb. tr. tie, attach: hold,
 impede
 FÄSINIM vb. tr. fasten
 FÄTAM n. fathom
 FÄKIM vb. tr. have sexual inter-
 course with ...
 FÄN n. fun
 FÄRSTÄIM adv. first, ahead

FÄS(I) n. face
 FÄNIS n. fence
 FÄGÄR n. finger. N. phr.: FÄGÄR
 BLONG LÄK toe
 FÄGÄR-NÄIL n. fingernail (new word)
 FÄL vb. intr. } feel
 FÄLIM vb. tr. }
 FÄLIMÄP vb. tr. fill
 FÄL-SÖRE vb. intr. grieve
 FÄNISH 1. vb. intr. be finished. 2. adv.
 already; (indicates action over
 and done with)
 FÄNISHIM 2. vb. tr. end, finish, complete
 FÄSH n. fish
 FÄSH-HÜK n. fishhook
 FÄTİM vb. tr. suit, be suitable to;
 adapt
 FÄTING adj. suitable, desirable
 FÄVAR n. fever
 FÄLÄ n. fly; bee
 FÄLÄ-BÄKIS n. flying fox
 FÄLÄUR n. flower
 FÄLÄK n. flag
 FÄLÄSH 1. n. impertinence. 2. adj. im-
 pertinent

FÄL n. file
 FÄLIMÄP vb. tr. file

FÄLOR n. floor
 FÄLÖUT vb. float, be afloat intr.)
 FÄLÖDÄUN vb. intr. fall (down)
 FÄLÖLIN 1. n. 2. vb. intr. drill
 FÄLÖR prep. for
 FÄLÖRET vb. intr. } forget
 FÄLÖRETİM vb. tr. }
 FÄLÖRIVIM vb. tr. forgive
 FÄLÖR n. fork
 FÄLÖRİM vb. tr. compel, force
 FÄLÖDİM vb. tr. fold
 FÄLÖDÄI n. Friday
 FÄLÖ(N)İM vb. tr. fry
 FÄLÖ-PÄN n. (frying) pan
 FÄLÖT—see FÄLÖT
 FÄLÖNT n. front
 FÄLÖN n. friend
 FÄLÖT, FÄLÖT vb. intr. be afraid
 FÄLÖ adj. free
 FÄLÖM prep. from
 FÄLÖT n. fruit
 FÄLÖP vb. intr. } fill
 FÄLÖMÄP vb. tr. }
 FÄLÖS n. fuse

HAUMAS

4

GARTEN n. garden
 GAT(IA) vb. have
 GAUMAN—see GAVMENI
 GOLI n. gully
 GAN(A) n. gun
 GAN-PAUDAR n. gunpowder
 GI (I), GEIL(I) n. girl
 GAT n. intestines
 GAVMEN(T), GAUMAN n. government, gov't official
 GEN adv. again
 GERL(WY)—see GARLI
 GET vb.intr. become
 GIVIM vb.tr. give
 GLAS n. glass
 GO vb. go. Vb.phr.: GO GO intr. then, thereafter, as time went on
 GOAP vb.intr. go up
 GONWET vb.intr. depart, leave
 GODAUN vb.intr. descend
 GOHET vb.intr. proceed
 GONTU, GONA vb.intr. be about to
 -GOSTAN vb. back up intr.
 GOT n. God
 GOUL n. gold
 GRAS n. grass; fur. N.phr.: GRAS BLONG HET hair
 GRAUN n. earth, ground
 GRINFELA adj. green
 GRIS n. fat
 GROUAF vb.intr. grow up
 GUTFELA adj. good
 GUT-MAIN adj. noble
 GYMAN l.n. deceit, trickery, cheating. 2.vb.intr. deceive, trick, cheat.
 (H)AI n. eye. Vb.phr.: AI I-RAUN have vertigo, be dizzy
 HAI adj. high
 HAIAP vb.intr. be high up
 (H)AI-SHAT adj. blind
 HAIT vb.intr. } hide, conceal
 HAITIM vb.tr. }
 HAI-WATAR n. tide
 HART n. heart
 HARTFEL adj. hard
 HART-WOK n., vb.intr. toil
 HATFELA adj. hot, ardent

HAUMENI interr.adv. how many
 HAUS n. house. N.phr.: HAUS HRET bakery; HAUS DRING(K) hotel; HAUS MASHIN factory; HAUS MOTOKAR garage; HAUS TENT tent
 HAUSPITAL—see HOSPITAL
 HADAL n. handle
 HAF n. half
 HAF-CHEINJ adj. slightly mad, silly, stupid
 HAF-DEDI adj. faint
 HAFHAF n. piece
 HAFIM vb.tr. divide, halve
 HAF-KAS n. halfcaste
 HALP, HELP vb.intr. } aid, help
 HALPIM, HELPIM vb.tr. }
 HAMAR n., vb.intr. } hammer
 HAMARIM vb.tr. }
 HAN(D) n. hand, arm, wing
 HANGIMAP vb.tr. hang
 HAN-KAF n. handcuff
 HAPEN vb.intr. happen
 HAPI adj. happy
 HAR n. hair. N.phr.: HAR BLONG FETIS beard, mustache
 HARA n. arrow
 (H)ASKIM vb.tr. ask
 HAT n. hat
 HABA n. pride, arrogance, evil-doing
 HAGRI l.n. famine 2.adj. hungry
 (H)ANGKAL n. uncle, aunt
 HARIAP vb.intr. hasten
 HELP(IM)—see HALP(IM)
 (H)EM pron. he, him; she, her; it
 HENIC, HINIS n. hinge
 HET n. head, forehead
 HEVEN n. heaven
 HEWE adj. heavy
 HIKAL n. eagle
 HIL n. hill
 HIFIMAP vb.tr. gather together, pile up
 (H)IR adv. here
 HIRIM vb.tr. hear, understand
 HITAN adj. pagan
 HITIM vb.tr. strike, hit
 HOK(A) n. hawk
 HORN n. horn
 HORS n. horse
 HOSPITAL n. hospital (also HOSPITAL)

- HOTELE n. hotel
 HOU n. hoe
 HOUL n. hole
 HOULI adj. holy
 HOULIM vb.tr. hold
 HOUM n. home
 HU interr.pron. ~~am~~ who?
 "UK n. hook
 (H)WAT interr.adj., pron. what?
 (H)WHICHWEI interr.adv. how?;
 how come?
 (H)YALO adj. YELLOW
- IKOANA n. iguana
 IL-FISH n. eel
 INAF adj., adv. sufficient(ly),
 adequate(ly)
 IGLISH adj. English
 INK n. ink
 INSPEKTIM vb.tr. inspect
 IVNING n. evening
 INSAIT adv. inside
 IS(I) n. yeast
 ISI adj. easy
 ITALI n. Italy
- JAKET n. jacket
 JANYUERI n. January
 JAPAN n. Japanese). #
 JAPANI(S) n., adj. Japanese
 JUMP vb.intr. jump
 JARMAN n., adj. German
 JMS(T) adv. just, only
 JELAS 1. adj. envious. 2. vb.
intr. envy
 J(I)AM n. jam
 J(I)AK n. jug
 JIP n. jib
 JOIN n. joint
 JOINIM vb.tr. join
 JUDI n. prostitute
 JULAI n. July
 JUN n. June
- KADERE n. partner [?]
 KAIKAI 1. n. food. 2. vb.intr.
fsed on
 KAIKAIM vb.tr. eat
 KAIM n. kind, sort
 KAKATU n. cockatoo
 KALIMAP vb.intr. climb up
 KAMDA n. carpenter
- KAPAR n. sheet iron
 KARAL n. coral
 KARGO n. load, cargo, baggage
 KARIM vb.tr. carry, have. Vb.phr.:
 -KARIM BLAT menstruate
 KARNT vb.intr. be unable, cannot
 KARTRIJ n. cartridge
 KATOLIKA n., adj. Catholic
 KAUNTIM vb.tr. count
 KABICH n. cabbage
 KACH-HOL vb.intr. catch hold
 KACH-HOLIM vb.tr. seize, grab
 KACHIM 1. vb.tr. get; arrive at; ap-
 proach, come up to. 2. quasi-prep.
 up to, until
 KADEL n. candle
 KALABUS n. jail; prisoner
 KALIKO n. cloth. N.phr.: KALIKO
 BLONG-SOR-LEG bandage
 KAMERA n. camera
 KANWIS n. canvas
 KAPSET, KAPSAIT vb.intr.
 KAPSETIM, KAPSAITIM vb.tr. capsize
 KAPTEN n. captain
 KAS n. cask
 KAKATIM vb.tr. cut up into bits
 KAM vb.intr. come
 KAMAUT vb.intr. come out
 KAMAP vb.intr. come up, grow
 KAM-BAK vb.intr. return
 KANTRI n. country
 KAN n. pudenda muliebris
 KANTREMAN n. mate
 KAP n. cup
 KARI n. curry
 KASTAM n. folkway
 KAT vb.intr. } cut
 KATIM vb.tr. }
 KATAR-BOUT n. pinnace, cutter
 KAT-KROS adv. (prep.?) across
 KAVAR 1. n. cover 2. vb.intr. be covered
 KAVARIMAP vb.tr. cover
 KEIJ n. cage
~~KEIK~~ KEIK n. cake
 KEIS n. case
 KEISIM n. casing
 KEIT(E) n. gate
 KEIV n. cave
 KERAP vb.intr. get up, arise
 KETEL, KETOL n. kettle
 KI n. key. N.phr.: KI BLONG WATAR
 tap, faucet

- KICHIN n. kitchen
 KIK vb.intr. kick
 KIKIM vb.tr.
 KIL n. keel
 KILIM vb.tr. strike, assault;
 kill
 KING n. king
 KIPIM vb.tr. keep
 KLAIM vb.intr. climb
 KLAIMAP vb.tr. climb up
 KLARK n. clerk
 KLAUT n. cloud
 KLINFELA adj. clean
 KLINIMAPIM vb.tr. clean up
 KLIR adj. clear; transparent
 KLOK n. clock, watch
 K(O)LOSAP vb.intr. be near
 KLOUS n. clothes, garment(s)
 KLOUSTU adv. near
 KOFE n. l. coffee. 2. cough
 KOILIM vb.tr. coil
 K(O)LOSES vb. defecate
 KOK n. penis
 KOKRAKO, KOKRUK n. fowl, roos-
 ter. N.phr.: KOKRAKO MERE
 hen; KOKRUK HAUS poultry ①
 KOKROUCH n. cockroach
 KOLIM vb.tr. call
 KONFES vb.intr. confess
 KONTRAK n. contract
 KOPE(I)M vb.tr. imitate
 KORK(A) n. bung
 KORN n. corn
 KORT n. court
 KOSIM vb.tr. cause
 KOSTIM vb.tr. cost
 KOUKNAT n. coconut
 KOUKOU n. cocoa
 KOUL adj. cold
 KOUH n. comb
 KOUST n. coast
 KOUT n. coat
 KRAI vb.intr. call, cry
 KRANGKI adj. queer, strange,
 absurd
 KRAP n. crab
 KRAP vb. grab
 KRIK n. creek
 KRIP vb.intr. creep
 KRISMAS n. Christmas
 KRISTAN n. Christian
 KROKOTAI n. crocodile
 KROS l.n. quarrel, wrangle.
 2. vb.intr. be angry
 KROS adv. across
 KROU n. crow
 KRUBAR n. cowbar
 KRUP n. group
 KUK(I) n. cook
 KUKIM vb.tr. cook
 KURUKUT adj. crooked
 KWAININ n. quinine
 KWAITFELA adj. quiet
 KWIK l.adj. quick. 2. adv. quickly
 KWIKTAIM adv. rapidly, promptly
 KYUKABA n. cucumber
 LAGUN n. lagoon
 LAIAR n. l.n. liar. 2. vb.intr.
 lie (tell falsehood).
 LAIF n. l.n. life. 2. vb.intr. live
 LAIPIM vb.tr. live
 LAIK vb.intr. like (to), want (to)
 LAIKIM vb.tr. like
 LAIKNES n. image, effigy
 LAIM n. lime
 LAIN n. line, clan
 LA(I)NIM vb.tr. teach, advise
 LAISIN n. licence intr.
 LAIT n. light 2. vb. be lighted, be
 alight
 LAITIM vb.tr. light
 LAUS n. flea, louse
 LAVALAVA n. flowered cloth
 LAF n. n., vb.intr. laugh, grin
 LAM n. lamp
 LAN n. land
 LAN-OFIS n. land office
 LARIKIN n. oaf
 LATAR n. ladder
 LAKI adj. fortunate
 LANCH(TAIM) n. lunch
 LANG n. lung
 LARN vb.intr. } learn
 LARNIM vb.tr. }
 LAVIM vb.tr. love
 LEF(T) adj. left(hand)
 LEI vb.intr. lie, recline, repose
 LEIBAR n. labor(er)
 LEIDAUN vb.intr. recline, lie
 LE(I)IM vb.tr. lay (e.g. eggs)
 LE(I)MDAUN vb.tr. put down
 LEIS l.n. laziness. 2. vb.intr.
 be idle, lazy
 LEK n. foot leg (including thigh)
 LEKO vb.tr. let go, abandon
 LEM n. twig. N.phr.: LEM BLONG
 TRI ~~branch~~ bough.

- LPMAN n. lemon
 LETAR n. letter
 LETIM vb.tr. allow, permit
 LETIMAP vb.tr. raise
 LEVELIM vb.tr. even, level
 LIF n. leaf
 LIF(T)IM vb.tr. raise, lift, heave
 LIF(T)IMAP vb.tr. raise
 LILIBIT adv. somewhat, a little
 LIP n. lip, LEAF
 LISAT n. lizard
 * LISIN vb.intr. listen [Angli-
 cism?]
 LITIM vb.tr. lead
 LITAR n. leader
 LIVAR n. liver
 LIVIM vb.tr. leave
 LIVIMAUT vb.tr. omit
 LO n. law
 LOIAR n. lawyer
 LOK n. log
 LOK n. lock
 * LOKIM vb.tr. lock, bolt
 LOKIMAP vb.tr. lock up
 * LONG prep. to, at, in, by, a-
 bout, concerning
 LONGFELA adj. long
 LONGTAIM adv. for a long time
 LONGWEI adv. far
 LONGWEIAUT adv. far out
 LORI n. truck
 LOTU n. worship
 LOU adj. low
 LOU(DAUN) adv. low
 LOUT n. load
 LOUTIM vb.tr. load
 LUKAUT vb.intr. watch
 LUKAUTIM vb.tr. watch for,
 watch over, take care of
 LUKIM vb.tr. see
 LUK(I)-GLAS n. mirror
 LUKLUK vb.intr. look
 LUSIM vb.tr. leave

 MAIN n. mind; idea, notion
 MAIT adv. perhaps, maybe
 MAI-WERT interj. by jove!
 goshi golly!
 MAMA n. mother
 MAMANA—in N.phr. MAMANA SUSU
 BLONG MERE nipple, teat
 MARK n. mark
 MARKET n. market
 MARKIM vb.tr. mark, note; aim

 MASHIN n. machine
 MASKITO n. mosquito
 MASTAR n. employer; gentleman; sir
 MAUS n. mouth
 MACHIS n. match(es)
 MAGO n. mango
 MAN-SARVAN n. valet
 MARIT l.n. marriage. 2.vb.intr.
 be, get married
 MARITIM vb.tr. marry
 MAN n. man, male
 MAP n. map
 MAS n. mast
 MAT(X) n. mat
 MANDEI n. Monday
 MANI n. money
 MAN(I)S n. month
 MAS vb.intr. must
 MASHROM n. mushroom
 MATAR n. mother
 MEI n. May
 MEIKIM vb.tr. make, form
 MEIK-NOIS vb.intr. be noisy
 MEIT n. mate
 MELEK, MILIK n. milk, cream
 MELWAN, MITALWAN, MILIWAN adj. middle
 MELWAN-NAIT n. midnight
 MERE n. female, woman [not applied
 to Europeans]
 MERESIN n. medicine
 MESAR n. measure
 MESEJ n. message
 METAL n. medal
 MI pron. I, me
 MIFELA pron. we, us (not including
 hearer)
 MIKSIM vb.tr. mix, blend
 MIKSIMAP vb.tr. mix up
 MILIK—see MELEK
 MIN(ING) vb.intr. mean
 MIRAR n. mirror
 MISHIN n. mission
 MISHINERI n. missionary
 MISIS n. [white] lady, European woman
 MISTEIK n. error
 MITAL-, see MEL-
 MITALDEI, n. noon
 MIT(I) n. meat. N.phr.: MIT BULMA-
 MAU beef
 MITIM vb.tr. meet
 MITING l.n. meeting. 2.vb.intr. meet,
 hold a meeting
 MON-TAIM n. morning, dawn
 MOR adv. more; very

- MORBETAR introd. adv. it's a good idea to ...; you should ...
 MOTOKAR n. automobile
 MUVU l.n. 2. vb.intr. } move
 MUVUM vb.tr. }
 MYUSIK n. music
- NYUFELÄ**
 NAIF(I) n. knife
 NAISFELÄ adj. beautiful, pleasing, fine
 NAIT n. night
 NAU adv. now; then; therefore
 NÄNIKOT n. goat
 NÄRA adj. narrow
 NÄRÄR n. number
 NÄRÄR-TU ~~adv~~ l.n. deputy. 2. adj. second
 NÄRÄR-WÄN adj. first; excellent
 NÄRÄFELÄ adj. another, different
 NÄRÄ-KAIN l.adj. of another kind. 2. adv. in another way
 NÄRÄ-SÄIN l.n. the other side. 2. adv. on the other side
 NÄRÄ-WEI l.adj. different. 2. adv. differently
 NÄRS n. nurse
 NÄT n. (wal)nut
 NÄTING l.pron. nothing. 2. n. thing of no importance. 3. adv. just, only
 NEIM(E) n. name
 NEITIV n., adj. native
 NEK n. neck
 NEKS-TUMORA n. day after tomorrow
 NEK-TAI n. necktie
 NET n. net
 NI n. knee
 NILÄ n. needle, thorn. N.phr.: NILÄ ~~hang~~ LONG LEK claw
 NO ~~adv~~ l.adv. not. 2. interj. what you've said is wrong
 NOGUT l.adv. with undesirable results; badly. 2. conj. lest
 NOIS n. sound, noise
 NO-MÄTÄR l.conj. although, even if. 2. interj. never mind; let it go.
 X NO-MOR l.adv. just, only. 2. interj. no
 NORS(I) n. nurse
 NOVBAR n. November
 NOS n. nose, beak
 * NOUN vb.intr. be known [Angl.?]
- NYUFELÄ adj. new, fresh
 NYUS n. news
 NYUS-PEIPAR n. newspaper
- OBEI vb.intr. obey
 OBEIM vb.tr.
 OEL n. oil
 OKTOBÄR n. October [OKTOPÄR-?]
 OKTOPÄS n. octopus
 OLBAUT adv. all around, all about
 OLGETÄR—see OLTAGETÄR
 OLRAUN adv. all around
 OLSEM l.adv. thus, so, in this (that) way. 2. prep. like. 3. conj. as
 OL(TA)GETÄR l.adj. all. every. 2. pron. they, them
 OLTAIM adv. always
 OLWE adv. the whole distance
 ONÄM vb.tr. honor
 ORAIT l.vb. approve (ORAIT LONG ... + obj.) 2. adv., interj. very well, all right, O.K.
 ORDÄR n. command
 OU interj. oh
 OULFELÄ adj. old
 OUNIM vb.tr. own
 XOUNLI adv. only [Anglicism?]
 OUPENEM vb.tr. open
 OURA n. lobster
 OUVÄR adv. over
 OVEN n. oven [—ÄVEN-?]
- PAILÄT n. pilot
 PAIP n. pipe
 PARSEL n. parcel
 PARSELIM vb.tr.
 PATROL n. patrol
 PAUTÄR n. powder
 PAUS n. bag
~~PARROT~~
 PARAT n. parrot
 PÄS adv. past
 PÄSIJ n. passage, bay
 PÄSIM l.vb.tr. pass. 2. quasi-prep. except
 PÄTOL n. paddle
 PEI n. pay, salary
 PEIN n. pain, ache
 PEINT(A) n. paint
 PEIPAR n. paper
 PELGRAUN n. cemetery —?
 PI n. urine [vb.?
 PIJIN n. bird

- PIJIN-GAN n. shotgun
 PIK n. pick
 PIK(I), PIK(I)PIK(I) n. pig.
 N.phr.: PIK MÂN boar; PIK
 MERE sow
 PIKAP vb. pick up
 PIKCHAR n. picture
 PIMAP vb.tr. collect
 PIKININI n. child
 PILO n. pillow
 PIN n. pin
 PIPAL n. people
 PIS n. piece
 PIS vb. urinate [noun?]
 PISTAL n. pistol
 PIT n. bead
 PLANTI—see PLENTI
 PLANTI-KAIN adj. various
 PLANTIM vb.tr. plant
 PLATFORM n. platform
 PLEI l.n. 2.vb.tr. play.
 Vb.phr.: TOK PLEI joke,
 jest
 PLEIN n. plane (airplane)
 PLEIS n. place, region; village
 PLEIT n. plate, dish
 PLENTI, PLANTI adj. many
 PLIS n. police
 PLIS-BOI n. native constable
 POIN n. cape, headland
 POINTMAUT vb.tr. designate,
 indicate
 POISIN n. poison; witchcraft,
 sorcery. Vb.phr.: MEKIM
 POISIN LONG bewitch
 POKET n. pocket
 POLISHIM vb.tr. polish
 POPO n. papaya
 P(O)ROPELAR n. propeller
 POUST n. post, stake
 POTETE n. potato
 POUIS-OFIS n. post office
 PRAIS n. price
 PRAUT adj. boasting
 PREIAR n. prayer
 PRESEN n. gift
 PRETI adj. pretty, beautiful
 PRINTIM vb.tr. print
 PRIS n. priest
 PROPAR adv. real
 PRUVIM vb.tr. prove [Anglicism?]
 PULAUT vb.(tr?) pull out, weed
 PULIM vb.tr. pull; lure
 PULIMA vb.tr. hoist, pull up
 PUR adj. poor (destitute)
 PUSHIM vb.tr. push
 PUSIKAT n. cat
 PUTIM vb.tr. put, place
 RAIFOL n. rifle
 RAIP(I) adj. mature, ripe
 RAIS n. rice
 RAIT vb.intr. ride
 RAIT vb.intr. } write
 RAITIM vb.tr. }
 RAIT-WAN adj. appropriate, proper,
 suitable
 RAU n. fracas, brawl, quarrel
 RAUN l.adv. around. 2. vb.intr. go
 around. Prep.phr.: RAUN LONG around
 RAUN-WATAR n. lake
 RAURAUN vb.intr. circulate, go around
 continually
 RAUSIM vb.tr. get rid of, banish, expel
 RAVERAVE vb.(tr?) rob
 RASHAN n. ration
 RAT n. rat
 RABISH l.n. waste matter. 2. adj.
 devoid of merit, value or standing
 RAN(E) vb.intr. run
 RANIM vb.tr. chase, hunt
 RANWEI vb.intr. run away, escape
 RAPAR n. rubber
 RAPIM vb.tr. rub
 RARAN vb.intr. keep running
 REISAR n. razor
 REISIS vb. hasten
 REK n. wreck
 REKEN vb.tr. wreck
 REKEN n. rigging
 REKORT n. record
 REKRUTA n. recruit
 RETFELA adj. red
 RETI, RETE, RERE l.adj. ready. 2. vb.
 intr. be ready. Vb.phr.: RETI
 FINISH be prepared
 RET-KALAR adj. scarlet [red in general]
 RIF n. reef
 RING n. ring
 RINGIM vb.tr. 1. ring, knock. 2. wring
 RIPITIM vb.tr. repeat [Anglicism?]
 RIT vb.intr. } read
 RITIM vb.tr. }
 RIVAR n. river
 ROLIMAP vb.tr. fold, furl
 RONG n. evil-doing, crime
 ROST(X) n. rust
 ROTIN adj. decayed
 ROUL vb.tr. roll

- ROUP n. rope. N.phr.: ROUP
 BLONG BLAT artery, vein
 ROUT n. road, path, track
 RUKSAK n. knapsack
 RULIM vb. govern [Anglicism?]
 RUM n. room. N.phr.: RUM SLIP
 bedroom
 root n. root
 (SAIT n. side
 SAIN n. sign, symbol
 SATANA n. Satan
 SARTEN n. Sergeant
 *SAUAR n. citron
 SAUN n. sound
 SAVE vb.intr., tr. know; know
 how to ...; be able, can; be
 in the habit of ...
 SAKIM vb.tr. dismiss
 SATOL n. saddle
 SAN-BICH n. beach
 SARERE n. Saturday
 SASH n. loincloth
 SAMARIN vb.intr. go under water
 SAM-(H)WER adv. somewhere
 SAM-TAIM adv. sometimes
 SAMTING n. thing (NOT something!)
 SANFELA adj. some
 SAN n. sun
 SANDRI n. Sunday
 SAPAR n. evening
 SAPRAIS adj. surprised
 SEDIM vb.tr. send
 SEDIMAUT vb.tr. emit
 SEDIMWEI vb.tr. dismiss
 SEI vb.tr. say
 SEILO n. sail
 SEILAR n. sailor
 SEIM adj. identical, same
 SEIVIM vb.tr. save
 SEKSHEN n. section
 SELIM vb.tr. sell
 SELVA n. self
 SENT n. scent
 SENTRE n. sentry
 SEPTEBAR n. September
 SEVEN (FELA) num. seven
 SHAIN n., vb.intr. shine, glare
 SHARK n. shark
 SHARP adj. sharp
 SHARPENIM vb.tr. sharpen
 SHASHAUT vb.intr. keep shouting
 SHAUT n., vb.intr. shout, yell
 SHAT(E) vb.intr. be closed
 SHATEMAP, SHAREMAP vb.tr. close
 SHAVAL n. shovel
 SHEIK(E) n. quake
 SHEIK-HAN vb.intr. shake hands
 SHEIM 1. n. shame, modesty. 2. vb.
 intr. be ashamed, be modest
 SHEIV vb.intr. } shave [new word]
 SHEIVIM vb.tr. }
 SHEL n. shell
 SHELEN n. shilling
 SHELF n. shelf
 SHIFTIM vb.tr. move, change
 SHIP n. boat, ship, vessel
 SHIPSHIP n. sheep
 SHISHIFTIM vb.tr. keep changing
 SHIT 1. n. remainder; excrement. 2.
vb.intr. defecate. N.phr.: HAUS
 SHIT latrine; SHIT BLONG FAIR ashes
 SHOLDAR n. shoulder
 SHOUIM vb.tr. show, demonstrate
 SHOR n. shore
 SHORT n. shirt
 SHORT-WIN adj. panting, out of breath
 SHU n. shoe
 SHUPIM vb.tr. push, shove
 SHUTIM vb.tr. shoot
 SHUTIMAP vb.tr. shoot up
 SHUT-LAIT n. torchlight, flashlight
 SI n. sea
 SIDAUN vb.intr. sit, sit down
 *SIGIL adj. single
 SIGLET n. jersey, singlet
 SIIM vb.tr. see [Anglicism?]
 SIK 1. n. sickness. 2. vb.intr. be sick
 SIKAR n. cigar
 SIK-HAUS n. hospital
 SIKIS(FELA) num. six
 SIKISPEN n. sixpense
 SIK-WAN n. patient, sick person, invalid
 SIKNIS n. sickness, disease
 SI-KRAP n. prawn
 SIKRET n. cigarette
 ? SIKIS-HOUL n. revolver
 SILIKY n. silk
 SIMENT n. cement
 SIN n. sin
 SING(SING) 1. n. song. 2. vb.intr. sing
 SINGAUT vb.intr. } call, shout (at)
 SINGAUTIM vb.tr. }
 SINGIM vb.tr. sing
 SINGKDAUN vb.intr. sink
 SISIS n. (pair of) scissors

Appendix 2

2.1 Non-count nouns (see §4.1.1.1)

<i>Non-count Noun</i>	Gloss
<i>aes</i>	'ice'
<i>asis</i>	'ashes'
<i>badlak</i>	'bad luck'
<i>bakua</i>	'ringworm'
<i>bata</i>	'butter'
<i>beleran</i>	'diarrhoea'
<i>belo</i>	'noon'
<i>bet</i>	'bait'
<i>biklek</i>	'elephantiasis'
<i>biknem</i>	'famous'
<i>bras</i>	'brass'
<i>dae</i>	'death'
<i>daknes</i>	'darkness'
<i>dasta</i>	'dust'
<i>delaet</i>	'daylight'
<i>dip</i>	'depth'
<i>dipsii</i>	'ocean'
<i>dipwata</i>	'deep water'
<i>disaelan</i>	'this island'
<i>disol</i>	'diesel'
<i>diswan</i>	'this one'
<i>ea</i>	'air'
<i>ej</i>	'age'
<i>faeawud</i>	'firewood'
<i>faebaglas</i>	'fibreglass'
<i>faevklok</i>	'five o'clock'
<i>flaoa</i>	'flour'
<i>foroklok</i>	'four o'clock'
<i>gol</i>	'gold'
<i>gradiuesin</i>	'graduation'
<i>graon</i>	'ground'
<i>gras</i>	'grass'
<i>gris</i>	'fat'
<i>gudlak</i>	'good luck'
<i>gudtaem</i>	'good time'
<i>hadwaka</i>	'effort'
<i>hae</i>	'height'
<i>haejin</i>	'hygiene'
<i>hafwe</i>	'midway'
<i>hani</i>	'honey'
<i>hapas</i>	'half past'
<i>helt</i>	'health'
<i>hevi</i>	'weight'
<i>hot</i>	'heat'
<i>iestade</i>	'yesterday'
<i>iis</i>	'yeast'
<i>indipendens</i>	'independence'
<i>insens</i>	'incense'
<i>ist</i>	'east'
<i>kapet</i>	'floor vinyl'
<i>kolwata</i>	'cold water'
<i>komiunion</i>	'communion'
<i>kompensesin</i>	'compensation'

<i>konkrit</i>	'concrete'
<i>kost</i>	'cost'
<i>koukou</i>	'cocoa'
<i>krim</i>	'cream'
<i>kura</i>	'card game'
<i>lan</i>	'land'
<i>lasnaet</i>	'last night'
<i>lastaem</i>	'last time'
<i>lav</i>	'love'
<i>lefsaet</i>	'left side'
<i>lelebet</i>	'a little'
<i>literasi</i>	'literacy'
<i>longtaem</i>	'long time'
<i>lukluk</i>	'appearance'
<i>luknogud</i>	'ugly'
<i>majik</i>	'magic'
<i>masi</i>	'mercy'
<i>milk</i>	'milk'
<i>mit</i>	'meat'
<i>naenklok</i>	'nine o'clock'
<i>nius</i>	'news'
<i>ovataem</i>	'overtime'
<i>pablik</i>	'public'
<i>paoda</i>	'powder'
<i>penda</i>	'paint'
<i>petrol</i>	'petrol'
<i>pi</i>	'urine'
<i>piis</i>	'peace'
<i>poesen</i>	'poison'
<i>polio</i>	'polio'
<i>raeting</i>	'writing'
<i>ragbi</i>	'rugby'
<i>rasin</i>	'ration'
<i>rasta</i>	'rust'
<i>risis</i>	'wealth'
<i>saes</i>	'size'
<i>saot</i>	'south'
<i>saplae</i>	'food'
<i>sikrap</i>	'bush'
<i>silva</i>	'silver'
<i>simen</i>	'cement'
<i>soka</i>	'soccer'
<i>soklet</i>	'chocolate'
<i>solo</i>	'salt'
<i>sotwin</i>	'asthma'
<i>spit</i>	'saliva'
<i>strong</i>	'strength'
<i>tibi</i>	'tuberculosis'
<i>tii</i>	'tea'
<i>tik</i>	'thickness'
<i>tristori</i>	'three storey'
<i>tudak</i>	'darkness'
<i>waen</i>	'wine'
<i>wanklok</i>	'one o'clock'
<i>wata</i>	'water'

2.2 Obligatorily intransitive verb (see §4.8.1.1)

Obligatorily Intransitive verb	gloss
<i>aedo</i>	smoke cigarette butts
<i>agri</i>	agree
<i>aksiden</i>	have an accident
<i>baodaon</i>	bowdown
<i>bendaon</i>	kneel
<i>bikhed</i>	stubborn
<i>bikmaos</i>	loud
<i>boelap</i>	boil up
<i>brekwin</i>	belch
<i>brus</i>	fart
<i>dae</i>	die
<i>daedae</i>	infatuated
<i>daewan</i>	accomplished
<i>dipen</i>	depend
<i>diuti</i>	duty
<i>dropaot</i>	dropout
<i>durong</i>	illicit sex
<i>enihao</i>	slipshod
<i>faming</i>	farming
<i>filgud</i>	heartened
<i>filhot</i>	feel hot
<i>filpraod</i>	proud
<i>filsoa</i>	ache
<i>filstrong</i>	feel strong
<i>filtaet</i>	tired out
<i>fising</i>	fishing
<i>flaedaon</i>	fly down
<i>fren</i>	be friends
<i>frenbaek</i>	reconcile
<i>fregud</i>	friendly
<i>fulbae</i>	sponging
<i>fuldrang</i>	drunk
<i>getius</i>	accustomed
<i>goaothaed</i>	leave secretly
<i>gohed</i>	proceed
<i>gorong</i>	stray
<i>gosoa</i>	disembark
<i>gotru</i>	goes through
<i>gudbaek</i>	restored
<i>hadwaka</i>	make effort
<i>hafded</i>	unconscious
<i>halo</i>	greet
<i>hambag</i>	illicit sex
<i>handing</i>	hunting
<i>hangraon</i>	loiter
<i>hapen</i>	happen
<i>hedspin</i>	dizzy
<i>intres</i>	interested
<i>joles</i>	jealous
<i>kaonting</i>	counting
<i>kapti</i>	drink tea
<i>karihevi</i>	burdened
<i>katkros</i>	cross over
<i>kea</i>	care
<i>keakea</i>	be careful
<i>klosis</i>	defecate
<i>kof</i>	cough
<i>komplén</i>	complain
<i>kraeaot</i>	cry out
<i>laefbaek</i>	resurrect
<i>laf</i>	laugh

Obligatorily Intransitive verb	gloss
<i>laflaf</i>	laugh
<i>lake</i>	lucky
<i>leba</i>	labour
<i>lefraet</i>	march
<i>les</i>	reject
<i>lisin</i>	listen
<i>liu</i>	hang around
<i>lukap</i>	look up
<i>lukbaek</i>	look back
<i>lukdaon</i>	look down
<i>lukgo</i>	look toward
<i>lukgud</i>	attractive
<i>lukluk</i>	look
<i>luklukgud</i>	inspect
<i>luklukraon</i>	look around
<i>luknaes</i>	look nice
<i>luksave</i>	recognise
<i>maas</i>	march
<i>meka</i>	profit
<i>mekameka</i>	profiteering
<i>mekfan</i>	jest
<i>mekful</i>	humiliate
<i>mekhae</i>	revere
<i>meknoes</i>	be noisy
<i>mekravis</i>	insult
<i>mekravis</i>	litter
<i>meksave</i>	punish
<i>meksua</i>	confirm
<i>mektambu</i>	consecrate
<i>mektrabol</i>	make trouble
<i>mimi</i>	urinate
<i>miting</i>	have a meeting
<i>nanali</i>	masturbate
<i>nego</i>	negotiate
<i>nildaon</i>	kneel
<i>noknok</i>	knock
<i>oraet</i>	all right
<i>os-os</i>	flatter
<i>píi</i>	urinate
<i>poknous</i>	interfere
<i>prea</i>	pray
<i>purubut</i>	trample
<i>raes</i>	rise
<i>ramarama</i>	copulate
<i>ranawe</i>	leave
<i>raoa</i>	argue
<i>res</i>	rest
<i>resis</i>	rush
<i>resis</i>	to race
<i>ritaeta</i>	retire
<i>rolkol</i>	role call
<i>sapraes</i>	surprise
<i>sarenda</i>	surrender
<i>satae</i>	wink
<i>satisfae</i>	satisfy
<i>savegud</i>	know well
<i>sei</i>	say
<i>sekhan</i>	shake hands
<i>seksek</i>	shiver or shake
<i>seksek</i>	worry
<i>seksek</i>	fear

Obligatorily Intransitive verb	gloss
<i>sem</i>	ashamed
<i>semsem</i>	identical
<i>sidaon</i>	reside
<i>sidaon</i>	sit
<i>sik</i>	sick
<i>sin</i>	sin
<i>siti</i>	defecate
<i>smael</i>	smile
<i>smelgud</i>	smells nice
<i>snis</i>	sneeze
<i>sore</i>	sorry
<i>sotwin</i>	exhausted
<i>sotwin</i>	breathless
<i>spak</i>	drunk
<i>spel</i>	rest
<i>spid</i>	speed
<i>stanbae</i>	ready
<i>stap</i>	stay
<i>stapbaek</i>	remain
<i>stapgud</i>	contented
<i>staphaed</i>	hidden
<i>suea</i>	curse
<i>suelap</i>	swell
<i>suet</i>	sweat
<i>tane</i>	done
<i>tekyat</i>	participate
<i>tekwin</i>	inhale
<i>tinghae</i>	respect
<i>tinghevi</i>	consider carefully
<i>tingse</i>	thought
<i>tok</i>	talk
<i>tokaot</i>	express
<i>tokbaek</i>	talk back
<i>tokfani</i>	joke
<i>tokgiaman</i>	lie
<i>tokhad</i>	scold
<i>tokhae</i>	praise
<i>tokhapi</i>	approve
<i>toklaea</i>	lie
<i>toknogud</i>	be rude
<i>tokpraod</i>	boast
<i>toksmol</i>	whisper
<i>tokstrong</i>	warn
<i>toksuea</i>	swear
<i>toktanggungio</i>	thank
<i>toktok</i>	talk
<i>toktokhaed</i>	whisper
<i>toktru</i>	speak truthfully
<i>tumaen</i>	undecided
<i>tuwet</i>	wet
<i>vomet</i>	vomit
<i>wakabaot</i>	walk
<i>wakahad</i>	work hard
<i>wanmaen</i>	agreed
<i>wanmaen</i>	decide
<i>waswas</i>	paddle
<i>wikdaon</i>	weaken
<i>wiling</i>	willing

2.3 Non-suffix taking adjectives (see §4.4.2.4)

Adjective	Gloss
<i>barava</i>	real
<i>deferen</i>	different
<i>nogud</i>	bad
<i>bolhed</i>	bald
<i>hafsenis</i>	retarded
<i>india</i>	stingy
<i>ingglis</i>	english
<i>keales</i>	careless
<i>lasbon</i>	youngest
<i>naesbola</i>	attractive
<i>nambaten</i>	worst
<i>nambawan</i>	excellent

2.4 Characteristics of Pijin Adjectives (see §4.4.2.5)

The table shows a + if the particular word takes the suffix as noted in the morphological characteristics account in §4.4.2.5. Of course semantic and collocational factors may limit how the word can be used under any one criterion.

	Adjective	Gloss	-wan	-fala
1.	<i>ben</i>	bent	+	
2.	<i>bes</i>	best	+	
3.	<i>bik</i>	large	+	+
4.	<i>bisi</i>	busy	+	
5.	<i>blaen</i>	blind	+	
6.	<i>blak</i>	black	+	+
7.	<i>blu</i>	blue	+	+
8.	<i>boela</i>	boiling		
9.	<i>bolhed</i>	bald		
10.	<i>braon</i>	brown	+	+
11.	<i>brok</i>	penniless	+	
12.	<i>dak</i>	dark	+	+
13.	<i>deferen</i>	different		
14.	<i>dia</i>	expensive	+	
15.	<i>dip</i>	deep	+	+
16.	<i>doti</i>	dirty	+	
17.	<i>drae</i>	dry	+	+
18.	<i>drae</i>	empty	+	+
19.	<i>drae</i>	useless	+	
20.	<i>drang</i>	drunk	+	
21.	<i>elektrik</i>	electric	+	
22.	<i>eli</i>	early	+	
23.	<i>emi</i>	empty	+	
24.	<i>faeba</i>	fibreglass	+	
25.	<i>faen</i>	calm	+	
26.	<i>fani</i>	funny	+	
27.	<i>fas</i>	first	+	
28.	<i>fat</i>	fat	+	+
29.	<i>flas</i>	flashy	+	
30.	<i>flat</i>	flat	+	
31.	<i>flat</i>	tired	+	
32.	<i>fres</i>	fresh	+	
33.	<i>fri</i>	free	+	+
34.	<i>ful</i>	full	+	
35.	<i>grei</i>	grey	+	+
36.	<i>gridi</i>	greedy	+	+
37.	<i>grin</i>	green	+	+

	Adjective	Gloss	-wan	-fala
38.	<i>gud</i>	good	+	+
39.	<i>had</i>	hard	+	+
40.	<i>had</i>	difficult	+	+
41.	<i>hae</i>	high	+	
42.	<i>hae</i>	expensive	+	+
43.	<i>haeap</i>	elevated	+	
44.	<i>hafhaf</i>	Unenthusiastic	+	
45.	<i>hafsenis</i>	retarded		
46.	<i>hambol</i>	shy	+	
47.	<i>hanggre</i>	hungry	+	
48.	<i>hapi</i>	happy	+	+
49.	<i>helti</i>	healthy	+	+
50.	<i>hevi</i>	heavy	+	+
51.	<i>holi</i>	holy	+	
52.	<i>hom</i>	traditional	+	
53.	<i>hot</i>	hot	+	+
54.	<i>ialo</i>	yellow	+	+
55.	<i>iang</i>	young	+	+
56.	<i>impoten</i>	important	+	
57.	<i>isi</i>	easy	+	+
58.	<i>iusles</i>	useless	+	
59.	<i>kaen</i>	kind	+	+
60.	<i>katkat</i>	cute	+	
61.	<i>keales</i>	careless	+	
62.	<i>kleva</i>	clever	+	+
63.	<i>kliā</i>	clear	+	
64.	<i>klin</i>	clean	+	+
65.	<i>kol</i>	cool	+	+
66.	<i>krangge</i>	crazy	+	
67.	<i>kros</i>	angry	+	+
68.	<i>kruket</i>	crooked	+	
69.	<i>kuaet</i>	quiet	+	+
70.	<i>kuik</i>	quick	+	+
71.	<i>laod</i>	loud	+	+
72.	<i>las</i>	last	+	
73.	<i>lasbon</i>	youngest		probably noun
74.	<i>lef</i>	left	+	
75.	<i>leit</i>	late	+	
76.	<i>les</i>	unwilling	+	+
77.	<i>levol</i>	level	+	
78.	<i>lokol</i>	rural	+	
79.	<i>long</i>	long	+	+ adj use does not occur without - <i>fala</i>
80.	<i>lou</i>	low	+	
81.	<i>lou</i>	cheap	+	+
82.	<i>maeti</i>	mighty	+	
83.	<i>marit</i>	married	+	
84.	<i>mentol</i>	insane	+	
85.	<i>metrik</i>	metric	+	
86.	<i>naes</i>	nice	+	+
87.	<i>naesbola</i>	attractive		
88.	<i>nambaten</i>	worst		
89.	<i>nambawan</i>	best		
90.	<i>nekes</i>	next	+	+
91.	<i>neket</i>	naked	+	only attrib use
92.	<i>niu</i>	new	+	+
93.	<i>nogud</i>	bad	+	+
94.	<i>olo</i>	old	+	+
95.	<i>orens</i>	orange	+	+
96.	<i>papol</i>	purple	+	
97.	<i>pokpoka</i>	dumb	+	
98.	<i>praemeri</i>	primary	+	
99.	<i>praod</i>	proud	+	+
100.	<i>pua</i>	poor	+	+
101.	<i>raep</i>	ripe	+	
102.	<i>raf</i>	rough	+	+
103.	<i>raon</i>	round	+	
104.	<i>ravis</i>	rubbish	+	

	Adjective	Gloss	-wan	-fala
105.	<i>red</i>	red	+	+
106.	<i>ris</i>	rich	+	+
107.	<i>rong</i>	wrong	+	+
108.	<i>roten</i>	rotten	+	
109.	<i>roten</i>	rusted	+	
110.	<i>saoa</i>	sour	+	+
111.	<i>saoa</i>	bitter	+	+
112.	<i>sap</i>	sharp	+	+
113.	<i>sef</i>	safe	+	
114.	<i>sekret</i>	sacred	+	
115.	<i>singgol</i>	unmarried	+	
116.	<i>skuea</i>	square/ equal	+	
117.	<i>slak</i>	slack	+	+
118.	<i>slipri</i>	slippery	+	
119.	<i>slou</i>	slow	+	+
120.	<i>smat</i>	smart	+	+
121.	<i>smol</i>	small	+	+
122.	<i>smut</i>	smooth	+	+
123.	<i>soa</i>	sore	+	+
124.	<i>sof</i>	soft	+	+
125.	<i>sot</i>	short	+	+
126.	<i>spesol</i>	special	+	+
127.	<i>stret</i>	straight	+	+
128.	<i>strik</i>	strict	+	+
129.	<i>strong</i>	strong	+	+
130.	<i>suit</i>	sweet	+	+
131.	<i>taet</i>	tight	+	+
132.	<i>taet</i>	tired	+	+
133.	<i>tambu</i>	taboo/sacred	+	+
134.	<i>tik</i>	thick	+	+
135.	<i>tol</i>	tall	+	+
136.	<i>tru</i>	true	+	+
137.	<i>waed</i>	wide	+	+
138.	<i>wael</i>	wild	+	+
139.	<i>waes</i>	wise	+	+
140.	<i>waet</i>	white	+	+
141.	<i>wet</i>	wet	+	+
142.	<i>wik</i>	weak	+	+
143.	<i>wos</i>	Worse	+	

2.5 Words classified as statives by Jourdan, with an indication of whether they may be used attributively (see §4.4.3)

Of these so-called statives, approximately 115 may be used attributively (the table indicates this with a + in the column headed “attributive”) while some 35 may not (the table indicates this with a - in the column headed “attributive”).

No.	Word	Gloss	attributive
1.	<i>ben</i>	bent	+
2.	<i>bes</i>	best	+
3.	<i>bisi</i>	busy	+
4.	<i>blaen</i>	blind	+
5.	<i>bolhed</i>	bald	+
6.	<i>brok</i>	penniless	+
7.	<i>dak</i>	dark	+
8.	<i>deferen</i>	different	+
9.	<i>dia</i>	expensive	+
10.	<i>dip</i>	deep	+
11.	<i>doti</i>	dirty	+
12.	<i>drae</i>	dry	+
13.	<i>drae</i>	useless	+
14.	<i>drang</i>	drunk	+
15.	<i>emti</i>	empty	+
16.	<i>fani</i>	funny	+
17.	<i>fat</i>	fat	+
18.	<i>fit</i>	suitable	+
19.	<i>flas</i>	flashy	+
20.	<i>flat</i>	flat	+
21.	<i>frenli</i>	friendly	+
22.	<i>fres</i>	fresh	+
23.	<i>frii</i>	free	+
24.	<i>ful</i>	full	+
25.	<i>had</i>	hard	+
26.	<i>hae</i>	high	+
27.	<i>hae</i>	expensive	+
28.	<i>hafhaf</i>	Unenthusiastic	+
29.	<i>hafsenis</i>	retarded	+
30.	<i>hambol</i>	shy	+
31.	<i>hanggre</i>	hungry	+
32.	<i>hapi</i>	happy	+
33.	<i>helti</i>	healthy	+
34.	<i>hevi</i>	heavy	+
35.	<i>holi</i>	holy	+
36.	<i>hot</i>	hot	+
37.	<i>iang</i>	young	+
38.	<i>impoten</i>	important	+
39.	<i>isi</i>	easy	+
40.	<i>iusles</i>	useless	+
41.	<i>joles</i>	jealous	+
42.	<i>kaen</i>	kind	+
43.	<i>katkat</i>	cute	+
44.	<i>kleva</i>	clever	+
45.	<i>klia</i>	clear	+
46.	<i>klin</i>	clean	+
47.	<i>kol</i>	cool	+
48.	<i>krangge</i>	crazy	+
49.	<i>kros</i>	angry	+
50.	<i>kruket</i>	crooked	+
51.	<i>kuaet</i>	quiet	+
52.	<i>kuik</i>	quick	+
53.	<i>laod</i>	loud	+
54.	<i>las</i>	last	+
55.	<i>lef</i>	left	+
56.	<i>leit</i>	late	+

No.	Word	Gloss	attributive
57.	<i>les</i>	unwilling	+
58.	<i>levol</i>	level	+
59.	<i>lokol</i>	rural	+
60.	<i>lou</i>	cheap	+
61.	<i>maeti</i>	mighty	+
62.	<i>marit</i>	married	+
63.	<i>marit</i>	married	+
64.	<i>mentol</i>	insane	+
65.	<i>naes</i>	nice	+
66.	<i>naesbola</i>	attractive	+
67.	<i>nekes</i>	next	+
68.	<i>neket</i>	naked	+
69.	<i>niu</i>	new	+
70.	<i>nogud</i>	bad	+
71.	<i>olo</i>	old	+
72.	<i>orens</i>	orange	+
73.	<i>poka</i>	dumb	+
74.	<i>praod</i>	proud	+
75.	<i>pua</i>	poor	+
76.	<i>raep</i>	ripe	+
77.	<i>raf</i>	rough	+
78.	<i>raon</i>	round	+
79.	<i>ravis</i>	rubbish	+
80.	<i>ris</i>	rich	+
81.	<i>rong</i>	wrong	+
82.	<i>roten</i>	rotten	+
83.	<i>roten</i>	rusted	+
84.	<i>saoa</i>	sour	+
85.	<i>saoa</i>	bitter	+
86.	<i>sap</i>	sharp	+
87.	<i>sef</i>	safe	+
88.	<i>singgol</i>	unmarried	+
89.	<i>skiski</i>	slippery	+
90.	<i>skuea</i>	square	+
91.	<i>slak</i>	slack	+
92.	<i>slipri</i>	slippery	+
93.	<i>slou</i>	slow	+
94.	<i>smat</i>	smart	+
95.	<i>smol</i>	small	+
96.	<i>smut</i>	smooth	+
97.	<i>soa</i>	sore	+
98.	<i>sof</i>	soft	+
99.	<i>spesol</i>	special	+
100.	<i>stret</i>	straight	+
101.	<i>strik</i>	strict	+
102.	<i>strong</i>	strong	+
103.	<i>suit</i>	pleasant	+
104.	<i>suit</i>	sweet	+
105.	<i>taet</i>	tight	+
106.	<i>taet</i>	tired	+
107.	<i>tambu</i>	taboo	+
108.	<i>tik</i>	thick	+
109.	<i>tru</i>	true	+
110.	<i>waed</i>	wide	+
111.	<i>wael</i>	wild	+
112.	<i>waes</i>	wise	+
113.	<i>waet</i>	white	+
114.	<i>wet</i>	wet	+
115.	<i>wik</i>	weak	+
116.	<i>boela</i>	boil(ing)	-
117.	<i>brek</i>	broken	-
118.	<i>dae</i>	die/dead	-
119.	<i>daedae</i>	infatuated	-
120.	<i>daewan</i>	finished	-
121.	<i>fas</i>	fast	-

No.	Word	Gloss	attributive
122.	<i>fraet</i>	fear	-
123.	<i>fulap</i>	filled	-
124.	<i>garekil</i>	injured	-
125.	<i>gudbaek</i>	restored	-
126.	<i>hafded</i>	unconscious	-
127.	<i>hedspin</i>	dizzy	-
128.	<i>meme</i>	mashed	-
129.	<i>ofsaed</i>	offside	-
130.	<i>operet</i>	operated on	-
131.	<i>ova</i>	offside	-
132.	<i>pas</i>	stuck	-
133.	<i>sandrae</i>	dried in the sun	-
134.	<i>sapraes</i>	surprised	-
135.	<i>seke</i>	surprised	-
136.	<i>seksek</i>	fear	-
137.	<i>sem</i>	ashamed	-
138.	<i>sik</i>	sick	-
139.	<i>skinbon</i>	skinny	-
140.	<i>sore</i>	sorry	-
141.	<i>sotwin</i>	breathless	-
142.	<i>spak</i>	drunk	-
143.	<i>spoel</i>	ruined	-
144.	<i>suelap</i>	swollen	-
145.	<i>taemap</i>	tied	-
146.	<i>tane</i>	done/cooked	-
147.	<i>tukol</i>	cold	-
148.	<i>tuwet</i>	wet	-
149.	<i>wanmaen</i>	agreed	-
150.	<i>wikdaon</i>	weakened	-

Appendix 3

A variety of texts with connective adverbs and connective phrases in bold. See §8.7.

Text

Edited written election speech by Aloysius Jack (North Malaita, approximate age 50)

Olketa pipol blong mi, hemi kolsap taem moa nao fo ileksin long olketa man fo gavman blong yumi. **An** hemi taem moa nao fo olketa man ya fo kam an nilam yumi long olketa suit toktok blong olketa.

Plande ileksin hemi finis an plande man i stanap finis tu, bat ples blong yumi ya hemi semsem yet. Olketa i no duim eni waka yet fo apem laef long vilij blong yumi tu. Olketa man yumi voutim i nating luksave long yumi o tingim fo duim enisamting fo yumi yet long disfala vilij. Evritaem, olketa talem enikaen laea promis nomoa long yumi. Olketa i talemse baebae olketa i duim disfala o datfala fo yumi, bat evritaem no enisamting hemi hapen nomoa.

So distaem yufala mas tingting gudfala, bikos sapos yufala tingting waswe, bae mi traem stanap fo yumi. Mi tingting strong tumas long yufala olketa pua pipol blong mi an mi wandem yufala fo voutim mi distaem.

Yufala no voutim man wea hemi garem bikfala bisnis finis bikos baebae hem warim nomoa bisnis blong hem an hemi fogetem yumi. Yufala no voutim man wea hemi garem finis biknem, bikos baebae hemi luk nomoa long olketa man wetem biknem olsem hem seleva. Yufala no voutim man wea hemi no garem eni graon, bikos baebae hemi traehad fo mekem gavman hemi registam olketa graon blong yumi, mekem hemi isi fo hemi kasem graon long gavman.

Yufala mas voutim man wea hemi olsem yufala seleva, wea hemi save long olketa hadtaem blong yumi, an hemi save welkam long yumi long ofis blong hem, an hemi save faendem wei fo haemapem lelebet wei long laef blong yumi long vilij. Yufala mas voutim mas wea hemi garem graon mekem hemi no save traehad fo faendem wei fo stilim graon bikos hem seleva hemi garem graon tu. **An** baebae hemi kanduit letem gavman fo registam olketa graon blong yumi.

Mi nao wanfala wea mi stap wetem yufala, an mi garem graon olsem yufala, an mi save tingim yufala olsem wea mi bin duim finis. **An diswan**, yufala seleva i save finis. Mi no wakem eni bikfala bisnis blong mi seleva, bat mi bin mekem finis skul fo yumi, an mi bin mekem finis klinik fo yumi, an mi bin mekem finis watasaplae fo vilij blong yumi. **An** samfala samting moa, mi tingting yet fo duim. Nomata mi no memba yet long palamen, mi gohed fo duim nomoa wanem olketa olo memba blong yumi i bin gohed fo promisim long yumi bat no enisamting hemi hapen yet ka-kam kasem distaem.

So mi tokstrong long yufala fo no vot olobaot. Tingting gudfala an vot fo mi man blong yufala olketa lou pipol, an olketa pua pipol, an olketa pipol wea i no skul o skul lelebet nomoa, an olketa pipol wea yumi onam olketa graon blong yumi.

Sapos mi stanap long gavman, baebae mi stanap long doa fo letem yufala somaot wanem yufala wandem fo duim an wanem yufala wandem gavman fo helpem yufala long hem. Help blong mi fo yufala baebae hemi olsem olketa samting wea mi bin duim finis fo yumi long vilij blong yumi ya, an eria blong yumi ya.

Yufala mas voutim mi, man mi olsem yufala nomoa an mi save gudfala long yufala an mi save garem wari long yufala. Saen blong mi nao aks, an hem nao fo mi katem long olketa rop long joles wea olketa olo memba blong yumi i bin taemapem long olketa aplae pepa blong yumi bifo ya wea yumi bin traehad bat olketa bin gohed fo torowe nomoa long ravis dram.

So hemi saet blong yufala nao. Sapos yufala tingting fo gavman hemi luksave long yumi an fo helpem yumi, yufala mas tingting gudfala an vot fo mi. Mi nao barava man blong yufala, an barava man from yufala, an barava man fo yufala. taem yu tekem go vot pepa blong yu, yu mas lukluk fo boks wea hemi garem piksa blong aks long saet blong hem. Hem nao boks

blong yu , yu pusum go pepa blong yu insaet an bae gavman hemi long saet blong yu nao. Tingting gudfala, an lukluk gudfala, an vot gudfala. Voutim aks fo kliarem rod fo yufala. Voutim aks. Voutim mi.

Text – edited written narrative by Rose Sipolo (unknown origin)

Oraet, long wanfala taem, Mista Kokosu hemi filhot tumas. Long de ya, san hemi barava saen fogud so hemi hot de fogud ya. **So** Mista Kokosu hemi krol go nao long botom long wanfala tri an hemi go sidaon kol long andanit tri ya. Bat taem hemi si-sidaon ya, hemi lukluk long skae tu ya an hemi go-gohed fo singsing seleva. !O, maekrangge! Mista Kokosu ya hemi hapi fogud nao bikos hemi faendem wanfala nambawan kol ples long botom tri ya. **Nao** seknomoa bat wanfala pisin hemi flae kam an hemi sidaon antap long tri ya nao. Bat nomata hemi olsem, Mista Kokosu no wari-wari long hem nomoa ya. Mista Kokosu hemi go-gohed fo singsing nomoa, go-go nao hemi seknomoa bat Mista Sisiu hemi singaot kamdaon long hem nao hemi sei, “Ei, ha ha. Yu save? Mi, nem blong mi Sisiu ya. Yu save, mining long nem blong mi hemi Yu mas go suim.” An bihaen hemi sei moa long Mista Kokosu, “Ei, gud aftanun Mista Kokosu. ?Wanem nao yu du-duim long andanit long tri ya? Yu no meknoes long olketa ravis singsing blong yu ya taem san hemi hot tumas olsem. Yu ya yu sotfala tumas, man. Yu lukdaon levul wetem graon ya. Fo wanem nao yu wande enikaen long olketa ravis singsing blong yu ya, man?”

Oraet, long taem ya nao Mista Kokosu ya hemi barava kros fogud nao an hemi singaot goap long Mista Sisiu olsem, “Ha ha ha, yu sei mi sot. Mi, nomata yu lukim sot olsem, bat mi save muv kuiktaem winim yu ya man. Yu ya, samting leg blong yu hemi smol tumas olsem, hemi no fitim yu fo toktok praod olsem long ae blong mi ya.” **So** Mista Sisiu hemi sei, “Mi save flae haeap long skae, an mi save winim yu tu ya, Mista Kokosu. An nomata singsing, mi save singsing gudfala winim yu tu ya. Mi save singsing tumas.”

So taem tufala toktok olsem finis, Mista Sisiu hemi sei, “**Oraet**, long sarere iumitufala mas traem fo resis nao.” **Oraet**, taem Mista Kokosu herem olsem nomoa hemi stat fo tingting had nao. **So** taem hemi kolsap kasem taem fo resis, Mista Kokosu hemi go nao fo mekem miting wetem olketa fren blong hem. Insaet miting ya Mista Kokosu hemi talem olketa fren blong hem fo helpem hem taem tufala Mista Sisiu i resis. Mista Kokosu hemi talem olketa fren blong hem fo sidaon falom sanbis raonem aelan ya mekem taem Mista Sisiu kasem wanfala long olketa, hemi mas sei, “Mi long hia ya nao, yu leit fren.”

Oraet, taem kasem long Sarere nao, tufala ya i rere fo resis nao. An long taem ya, evri fren blong Mista Kokosu i go sidaon falom sanbis raonem aelan ya nao. Nao tufala fren ya i go long ples wea tufala i rere finis, Mista Kokosu hemi sei nao, “Wan, tu, tri, go.” Semtaem nomoa Mista Sisiu stat fo flae nao bat Mista Kokosu hemi nating wari nomoa ya. Bat hemi jes lei gobaek insaet long sel blong hem an hemi slip.

Oraet, taem Mista Sisiu hemi go kasem wanfala fren blong Mista Kokosu, hemi herem go hemi singaot kam long hem nao olsem, “Mi long hia, yu leit fren.” **So** taem Mista Sisiu hemi herem olsem, hemi barava flae kuiktaem bikos hemi wandem tumas fo hemi mas winim disfala resis ya. **Bat seknomoa**, Mista Sisiu hemi taet nomoa an hemi foldaon nao an hemi dae.

Oraet, Mista Kokosu an evri fren blong hem, i kam tugeta nomoa an olketa i gohed fo kaikaim Mista Sisiu nao.

So hem nomoa en long disfala stori abaotem Mista Kokosu an Mista Sisiu ya.

Text – oral narrative by unknown North Malaitan male approx 45 years old

Okei, bae mi storim taem mifala katekis mifala go miting lo Tarana. aaa Mifala lo Fourere, mitufala Pita nomoa go lo miting ya ya. **So** save nomoa aaa Tarana ya hem stei lo aelan ya so mitufala [brief pause] Pita mitufala yusim kanu. **So** taem mitufala go [pause] aaa go kolsap lo wanfala aelan olketa kolem Tauba, mitufala mitinim wanfala katekis lo dea tu. **So**

mitufala askem sei, “Hao, bae iu go lo miting tu?” ooo Man ya hem sei “Oo ya bae mi go.” mmmm [pause] aa **So** mitufala go kasem Tarana. Mitufa araev lo Tiusde ivining. aa mitufala askem olketa so askem olketa lo Tarana sei “Haomas katekis nao araev?” Olketa sei “Oo faefala nomoa.” So ivining kam, mifala givim ten dola its fo wanfala katekis. **Okei** Tiusde [pause] ei nomoa Wensde. Wensde nao mifala miting nao lo fulde ya go kasem ivining. aaa Olketa lo Tarana sei “Oo bae mifala wakem lelebet kaikai fo yufala olketa katekis, kos aam Tosde lo moning bae yufala gobaek nao.” ooo ivining kam lo naet [pause] mmm olketa lo dea mekem danis fo mifala olketa katekis. **So** fest grup mifala katekis fastaem ya. mmm Fofala katekis [pause] mifala nao entatein lo olketa grups ya lo Tarana. Olketa lo Tarana garem [pause] trifala grups. Wanfala womans grup. Tu yut. Tri [pause] olketa yang boes. [pause] Ei naet kam nomoa mifala kaikai nao. **Kaikai finis**, fest grup nao katekis. [pause] Oketa katekis singim aaa trifala singsing blo oket. [pause] **Finis** [pause] womans grup. Womans grup oket singim faefala singsing blo oket finis aam [pause] Ota yut yut grup. Ota yut singsing finis. Yang boes. **Okei finis**, olketa sif lo dea olketa givim aaa faenel spis blo olketa nao fo mifala ot katekis. aaa Man ya Pol Misika. **Finis**, Pol Misika tok finis. mmm Mifala seaman seaman blo katekis mmm [pause] Man ya aaa [pause] Stanli Medo. [pause] Okei go-go olsem kasem taem olsem tu ouklok, mifala go slip nao. Moning kam, mifala tekem lelebeti sevis lo dea. **Finis**, mifala redi fo kambaek nao ya. Mifala redi fo kambaek, mifala sekhan wetem olketa lo Tarana wetem mifala ot katekis finis mifala kambaek. **So** kasem dea nomoa hem finis nao. Tengkiu

Non-standard words, and non-standard spellings in the last text

non-standard	standard	gloss
its		each
womans	woman	women? women's?
grups	grup	group(plural)
wensde	Wenesde	Wednesday
entatein		entertain
boes	boe	boy(plural)
lo	long	PREP
blo	blong	POSS
kos	bikos	because
mitinim	mitim	meet-TRS
mitufa	mitufala	1DLEXC
oketa	olketa	PLmkr
ota	olketa	PLmkr
oket	olketa	3PL,
ot	olketa	PLmkr
lelebeti	lelebet	a little

Appendix 4 Lexicon

The table below gives the abbreviations for word classes that are used in this lexicon. These categories are based on the description of the Pijin grammar as outlined in the body of the thesis.

adj	adjective
adv	adverb
comp	complementiser
con-adv	connective adverb
coord	coordinator
dem	demonstrative
deon.mkr	deontic marker
det	determinative
dir v	direction verb
direct.prt	direction particle
interj	interjection
interog pro-form	interrogative pro-form
loc-adv	locative adverb
mod.postn	postnominal modifier
mod.postpr	postpronominal modifier
n	noun
neg.mkr	negative marker
non-pers pro	non-personal pronoun
num	numeral
ord num	ordinal numeral
prep	preposition
preptr	transitive preposition
pro	pronoun
prop	proper noun
qntag	question tag
quan	quantifier
Rdem	recognitional demonstrative
rel	relative clause marker
SRP	subject referencing pronoun
sub	subordinator
subclsfr n	subclassifier noun
TMA	tense, mood, aspect marker
vi	intransitive verb
vm	motion verb
voc	vocative
vt	transitive verb

A – a

a'u *n.* Rennellese.

abaot *prep.* about.

abaotem *preptr.* about.

adem *vt.* add.

adoptem *vt.* adopt.

advaesa *n.* advisor.

ae₁ *n.* eye.

ae₂ *voc.* hey.

aea *interj.* good bye.

aeana₁ *n.* 1 • metal.
2 • corrugated iron.

aeana₂ 1 • *n.* an iron.
2 • *vi.* iron.

aeanem *vt.* iron.

aebro *n.* eyebrow.

aedia *n.* idea.

aedo 1 • *n.* cigarette butt.
2 • *vi.* smoking butts.

aedol *n.* idol.

aeglas *n.* spectacles.

aelan *n.* island.

aelid *n.* eye lid.

aes *n.* 1 • ice.
2 • fridge.

aesblok *n.* icypole.

aesboks *n.* icebox.

aeskrim *n.* icecream.

aevrinat *See main entry:*
hevinat.

afektem *vt.* affect.

afta *adv.* after.

aftanun 1 • *n.* afternoon.
2 • *interj.* good afternoon.

aftarem *vt.* chase after.

agen *adv.* again.

agensim *vt.* oppose.

agiu *vi.* argue.

agli *adj.* ugly.

agri *vi.* agree.

agrikalsa *n.* agriculture.

Agrikalsa an Laevstok
prop. Agriculture and
Livestock.

Agrikalsa an Lan *prop.*
Agriculture and Lands.

agrimen *n.* agreement.

akros *vm.* across.

aks *n.* axe.

aksiden 1 • *vi.* have an
accident.
2 • *n.* accident.

aksin *n.* 1 • action.
2 • skit.

alaodem *See main entry:*
alaom.

alaom *vt.* allow.

alaons *n.* allowance.

alfabet *n.* alphabet.

alimango *n.* crab.

alite *n.* 1 • tree.
2 • alite nut.

am *n.* 1 • arm.
2 • hand.

ambrella *n.* umbrella.

amen *interj.* amen.

ami *n.* army.

an 1 • *coord.* and.

andanit *loc-adv.* under.

andapans *n.* underpants.

andi *n.* aunt.

angka 1 • *n.* anchor.
2 • *vi.* anchor.

angkam *vt.* anchor it.

angkarem *See main entry:*
angkam.

angkol *n.* uncle.

Anglikan *prop.* Church of
Melanesia.

anian *n.* onion.

animol *n.* animal.

ans *n.* ant.

ansa 1 • *n.* answer.
2 • *vi.* answer.

ansam *See main entry:*
ansarem₁.

ansarem₁ *vt.* answer.

antap *loc-adv.* on.

aoa *n.* hour.

aot₁ *vi.* extinguish.

aot₂ *vm.* leave.

aotem *vt.* 1 • extinguish.
2 • remove.

aotriga *n.* outrigger.

aotsaet *loc-adv.* outside.

ap *adv.* up.

apem *vt.* lift.

apil 1 • *vi.* lodge an appeal
in court.
2 • *n.* appeal.

aplae *vi.* apply.

aplae pepa *n.* application.

apoenmen *n.* appointment.

apol *n.* apple.

aposol *n.* apostle.

ara *n.* S.E. wind.

araev *vi.* arrive.

araikwao *n.* expatriate.

aro *n.* arrow.

as *n.* buttocks.

asbisop *n.* archbishop.

Asembli *prop.* Assembly of
God church member.

asis *n.* ashes.

ask *vi.* ask.

askem *vt.* ask.

astade *n.* yesterday.

ating *adv.* possibly.

aven *n.* oven.

avokado *n.* avocado.

B – b

ba₁ *RDem.* you know, a demonstrative indicating shared knowledge between speaker and hearer.

ba₂ *n.* bar.

ba₃ *n.* steel bar.

babae *See main entry: baebae.*

babule *vi.* pregnant.

badlak *n.* bad luck.

bae *adv.* FUTURE.

baebae *adv.* FUTURE.

Baebol *n.* bible.

baeg *n.* bag.

baehan *vi.* masturbate.

baehat *vi.* memorize.

baehatem *vt.* memorize.

baek *vi.* return.

baekem *vt.* return.

baeksaet *n.* back.

baekslaeda *n.* lapsed church member.

baekwe *n.* back way.

baelek *vm.* walking.

baem *vt.* buy.

baemaot *vt.* redeem.

baero *n.* pen.

baesikol *n.* bicycle.

baet *vi.* bite.

baetem *vt.* bite.

bagarap *vi.* ruin.

bagaremap *vt.* wreck.

Bahae *prop.* member of Baha'i religion.

baka *n.* fellow.

baket *n.* bucket.

bakua *n.* ringworm.

bakuatri *n.* Cassia alata. A plant used for treating skin fungal infections.

balot *n.* ballot.

balun *n.* balloon.

bambu *n.* bamboo.

ban *n.* bun.

banana *n.* banana.

bandes *n.* bandage.

bandol *n.* bundle.

banga 1 • *vi.* collide.
2 • *n.* collision.
3 • *vi.* bump.

bangam *vt.* 1 • collide.
2 • bump.

banggol *n.* bangle.

bangk *n.* bank.

bans *n.* bunch.

baodaon *vi.* bow down.

baol *n.* bowl.

baondri *n.* boundary.

baonsa *adj.* 1 • fat.
2 • overweight.
3 • looking healthy.

baptaes *vi.* baptise.

baptaesim *vt.* baptise.

barava 1 • *adv.* really.
2 • *adj.* genuine.

barik *See main entry: barik.n.* girlfriend.

barik *n.* plantation.

bas *n.* bus.

basa *n.* bazaar.

basem *vt.* transport by bus.

basfea *n.* bus fare.

basket *n.* basket.

basket blong bebi *n.* uterus.

basketbol *n.* basketball.

basta *n.* illegitimate.

bastop *n.* bus stop.

bat *coord.* but.

bata *n.* butter.

bataflae *n.* butterfly.

baten *n.* button.

batri *n.* battery.

batrum *n.* bathroom.

bebi *n.* baby.

bed₁ *n.* bed.

bed₂ *n.* bird.

bei *n.* bay.

bekem *vt.* bake.

bele *n.* belly.

belem *vt.* bail.

belemaot *vt.* bail.

beleran *n.* diarrhoea.

belo *See main entry: belo.n.* noon.

belo *n.* bell.

Belona *n.* Bellona island.

ben *adj.* bent.

bendaon *vi.* kneel.

benediksin *n.* benediction.

benem *vt.* bend.

benet *n.* sword.

beregraon *n.* cemetery.

berem *vt.* bury.

bes *adj.* best.

besik *adj.* basic.

besin *n.* basin.

bet *n.* bait.

bi *n.* bee.

bia *n.* beer.

biad *n.* beard.

bifoa *adv.* before.

bihaen 1 • *adv.* after.
2 • *loc-adv.* at the rear.

bihaenem *vt.* follow.

bik *adj.* large.

bikde *n.* feast day.

bikfala *See main entry:*
bik.*adj.* large.
bikhed *vi.* stubborn.
biklek *n.* elephantiasis.
bikman *n.* 1 • leader.
 2 • God.
bikmaos *vi.* loud.
bikmere *n.* manageress.
biknem *n.* famous.
bikon *n.* beacon.
bikos *sub.* because.
bikrod *n.* highway.
biktaon *n.* city.
bikwata *n.* flood.
bikwin *n.* cyclone.
bildim *vt.* build.
bildimap *vt.* build.
bilion *num.* billion.
biliv 1 • *vi.* believe.
 2 • *n.* faith.
bilivim *vt.* believe.
bilnat *n.* betel nut.
bin₁ *TMA.* past.
bin₂ *n.* bean.
bisdima *n.* trepang.
bisi *adj.* busy.
bisket *n.* biscuit.
bisnis *n.* business.
bisnisman *n.*
 businessman.
bisop *n.* bishop.
bitim *vt.* beat.
biukil *n.* bugle.
blad *n.* blood.
blaen *adj.* blind.
blak *adj.* black.
blakbod *n.* blackboard.
blakfala *See main entry:*
blak.*adj.* black.
blaklip *n.* shell.
blakpen **blaksens**.*n.* copper
 coin.

blaksens *n.* copper coin.
blangket *n.* blanket.
blemem *vt.* blame.
bles *vi.* bless.
blesim *vt.* bless.
blesing *n.* blessing.
blo *See main entry:* **blong**.
blok *vi.* 1 • blocked.
 2 • frozen.
blokem *vt.* block.
blong *prep.* POSSESSIVE.
blou *v.* blow.
bloum *vt.* blow.
blu *adj.* blue.
bluflae *n.* blowfly, bluefly.
bodi *n.* body.
boding *vi.* boarding at
 school.
boe *n.* boy.
boefren *n.* boyfriend.
boekotem *vt.* boycott.
boela₁ *n.* 1 • abscess.
 2 • boil.
boela₂ 1 • *vi.* boil.
 2 • *adj.* state of boiling.
boelam *vt.* boil.
boelap *vi.* boil up.
boks *n.* box.
boksing *vi.* boxing.
bol *n.* 1 • ball.
 2 • testicle.
bolhed *adj.* bald.
bolkabis *n.* ball cabbage.
bon₁ *vi.* birth.
bon₂ *n.* bone.
bone *vi.* burn.
bonem₁ *vt.* 1 • burn.
 2 • roast.
bonem₂ *vt.* give birth.
bonito *n.* bonito.
boroem *vt.* borrow.
bos *n.* boss.

bosim *vt.* oversee.
bosta 1 • *vi.* burst or
 explode, gun discharge.
 2 • *n.* thunder.
bot *n.* boat.
botol *n.* bottle.
botom *n.* bottom.
bou *n.* bow.
bra *n.* bra.
braed *n.* bride.
braedpraes *n.* bride price.
brans *n.* branch.
braon *adj.* brown.
bras₁ *n.* 1 • brass.
 2 • copper.
bras₂ *n.* brush.
bras₃ *vi.* mow.
brasim₁ *vt.* mow by hand.
brasim₂ *vt.* brush clean.
brata *n.* brother.
bred *n.* bread.
bredfrut *n.* breadfruit.
brek *vi.* broken.
brekdaon *vi.* broken down.
brekem *vt.* break.
brekemaot *vt.* extract.
brekemdaon *vt.*
 dismantle.
brekfas *n.* breakfast.
brekwin *vi.* belch.
bren *n.* brain.
brid *vi.* breathe.
brij *n.* bridge.
bring *vi.* bring.
bringenbae *n.* fete.
bringim *vt.* bring.
bro 1 • *n.* brother.
 2 • *voc.* brother.
brok *adj.* penniless.
brum *n.* broom.
brumum *vt.* sweep.
brus *vi.* fart.

buk *n.* book.

bukim *vt.* book.

bulet *n.* 1 • bullet.
2 • lead sinker.

bulsit *interj.* nonsense.

buluka *n.* cattle.

bulumakao *n.* cattle.

buma *n.* buma fish.

bus *n.* bush.

busam *See main entry:*
busarem.

busapol *n.* bush apple.

busarem *vt.* 1 • butcher.
2 • stab.

busis *n.* bushes.

buslaem *n.* lime.

busman *n.* bush man.

busmere *n.* bush woman.

busnaef *n.* machete.

busrop *n.* vine.

but *n.* boot.

D – d

dabolem *vt.* repeat.

dadi *n.* father.

dae 1 • *n.* death.
2 • *vi.* die.

daedae *See main entry:*
dae.*vi.* infatuated.

daenamaet *n.* dynamite.

daes *n.* dice.

daesis *n.* diocese.

daeva 1 • *n.* diver.
2 • *vi.* dive.

daevam *vt.* dive.

daewan *vi.* accomplished.

dak *adj.* dark.

dakdak *n.* duck.

daknes *n.* darkness.

dans 1 • *vi.* dance.
2 • *n.* dance.

dansim *vt.* dance.

daon *loc-adv.* down.

daonem *vt.* lower.

daot *n.* doubt.

daotem *vt.* doubt.

dast *n.* dust.

dasta *n.* duster.

dastawe *con-adv.* therefore.

dastem *vt.* erase.

dat 1 • *dem.* that.
2 • *comp.* introduces complements of indirect speech, thought, hearing.

datfala *See main entry:*

dat.1 • *dem.* that.
2 • *non-pers pro.* that.

datwan *non-pers pro.* that one.

de *n.* day.

dea *loc-adv.* there.

deferen *adj.* different.

dek *n.* deck.

dekoret *vi.* decorate.

dekoretem *vt.* decorate.

delaet *n.* 1 • daylight.
2 • dawn.

deleget *n.* delegate.

demonstresin *vi.* demonstrate.

den *adv.* then.

Departmen blong *prop.* Department of ...

detaem *n.* day time.

devol *n.* spirit.

devoldevol *See main entry:*
devol.*n.* demon.

dia *adj.* expensive.

dig *vt.* dig.

digimaot *vt.* excavate.

digimap *vt.* unearth.

dikon *n.* deacon.

diksonari *n.* dictionary.

diktesin *n.* dictation.

dil *vi.* deal.

dilim *vt.* deal cards.

dina *n.* dinner.

dinggi *n.* dingy.

dip 1 • *adj.* deep.
2 • *n.* depth.

dipen *vi.* depend.

dipim *vt.* deepen.

dipsi *n.* ocean.

dipwata *n.* deep water.

dis *n.* dish.

disaelan *n.* this island.

disaepol *n.* disciple.

Disemba *n.* December.

disfala 1 • *dem.* this.
2 • *non-pers pro.* this.

disisin *n.* decision.

disk *n.* computer disk.

diskaen *subclsfr n.* type.

disol *n.* diesel.

distabem *vt.* disrupt.

distaem *adv.* now.

distrik *n.* district.

diswan *non-pers pro.* this one.

diu *n.* dew.

diuti 1 • *n.* duty.
2 • *vi.* duty.

divaed *vi.* separate.

divaedem *vt.* divide.

divelop *vi.* develop.

divelopmen *n.* development.

divos *n.* divorce.

divosim *vt.* divorce.

doa *n.* door.

dog *n.* dog.

dokiumen *n.* document.

dokta *n.* doctor.

dola *n.* dollar.

dole *n.* doll.

dolfin *n.* dolphin.

dongki *n.* donkey.

dota *n.* daughter.

doti *adj.* dirty.

drae *adj.* 1 • dry.

2 • empty.

3 • useless.

draejin *n.* gin.

draem *vt.* dry.

draesi *n.* low tide.

draetaem *n.* drought.

draeva 1 • *n.* driver.

2 • *vi.* drive.

draevam *vt.* drive.

drag *n.* drug (illegal).

dram *n.* drum.

drang *adj.* drunk.

dren *n.* drain.

dres *n.* dress.

dresa *n.* dresser.

dril *n.* drill.

drilim *vt.* drill.

drim *vi.* dream.

dring 1 • *n.* drink.

2 • *vi.* drink.

dringim *vt.* drink.

droing *n.* drawing.

drom *vt.* draw.

drop *vi.* drop.

dropaot *vi.* dropout.

dropem *vt.* drop.

dugong *See main entry:*

jiukong.

duim *vt.* 1 • do.

2 • perform.

duimhaed *vt.* do secretly.

durong *vi.* illicit sex.

E – e

ea *n.* air.

eadraea *n.* copra drier.

eafil *n.* airfield.

eakon *n.* air conditioner.

eamel *n.* airmail.

eapot *n.* airport.

earogram *n.* aerogram.

earoplen *n.* airplane.

ediukesin *n.* education.

Ediukesin an Hiuman

Risos Developmen

prop. Education and
Human Resources
Development.

Ediukesin an Hiuman

Risoses *prop.* Education
and Human Resources.

eg *n.* egg.

egplan *n.* eggplant.

ei *interj.* word of
exclamation.

Eids *prop.* AIDS.

eij *n.* age.

eit *num.* eight.

eitfala *See main entry: eit.num.*
eight.

eiti *num.* eighty.

aitin *num.* eighteen.

aitinfala *See main entry:*

aitin.num. eighteen.

eka *n.* acre.

eksam *n.* examination.

eksampol *n.* example.

eksasaes *n.* exercise.

ekskius *n.* excuse.

ekspektem *vt.* expect.

ekspiriens *n.* experience.

ekspiriensem *vt.*
experience.

eksplen *vi.* explain.

eksplenem *vt.* explain.

ekstra *n.* extra.

elbou *n.* elbow.

elektrik *adj.* electric.

eli *adj.* early.

elifan *n.* elephant.

emti *adj.* empty.

emtim *vt.* empty
something.

en *n.* end.

enem *vt.* end.

enemi *n.* enemy.

engej *vi.* be engaged.

eni *det.* any.

enihao 1 • *adv.* carelessly.

2 • *vi.* slipshod.

enikaen *subclsfr n.* any kind.

eniples *n.* any place.

enisamting *non-pers pro.*
anything.

enitaem *n.* anytime.

eniting *non-pers pro.*
anything.

eniwan *non-pers pro.* anyone.

eniwe *n.* anyway.

eniwea *n.* anywhere.

enjel *n.* angel.

enjin *n.* engine.

enkarajem *vt.* encourage.

Eprel *n.* April.

eria *n.* area.

eroplan *n.* aeroplane.

eskius *See main entry:*
ekskius.

etkuek *n.* earthquake.

evanjelis *n.* evangelist.

evri *det.* 1 • every.

2 • all.

evribet *adv.* completely.

evride *adv.* every day.

evrikaen *subclsfr n.* every
kind.

evrisamting *non-pers pro.*
everything.

evritaem *adv.* every time.

evriwan 1 • *non-pers pro.*
everyone.
2 • *adv.* all.

evriwea *loc-adv.*
everywhere.

F – f

faea *n.* fire.

faeaman *n.* fireman.

faaerem *vt.* 1 • fire from
employment.
2 • shoot.
3 • speak angrily at.

faeatrak *n.* firetruck.

faeawud *n.* firewood.

faeba *adj.* fibreglass.

faebaglas *n.* fibreglass.

faefala *See main entry:*
faev *num.* five.

fael *n.* file.

faen₁ *adj.* calm.

faen₂ *n.* fine.

faendaot *vi.* discover.

faendem *vt.* to have found
something.

faendemaot *vt.* discover.

Faenens an Treasiuri
prop. Finance and
Treasury.

**Faenens, Nesinol Rifom,
an Planing** *prop.*
Finance, National
Reform and Planning.

faenol *n.* final game.

faerem *vt.* 1 • fire.
2 • speak angrily.

faet *vi.* fight.

faetem *vt.* fight.

faev *num.* five.

faevklok *n.* five o'clock.

faewud *n.* firewood.

faki *vi.* copulate.

fakim *vt.* copulate.

faks *n.* fax.

faksim *vt.* send by fax.

faktri *n.* factory.

falo *vi.* follow.

falom 1 • *vt.* follow.
2 • *preptr.* according to.

fam *n.* farm.

famasi *n.* pharmacy.

famili *n.* family.

faming *vi.* farming.

fan *n.* fan.

fanem *vt.* fan.

fani *adj.* funny.

faol *n.* 1 • fowl.
2 • chicken.

faondesin *n.* foundation.

farawe *loc-adv.* far.

fas₁ *vi.* 1 • stuck.
2 • fixed.

fas₂ *adj.* first.

fasbon *n.* firstborn.

fasenem *vt.* fasten.

fasim *vt.* attach.

fasin *n.* behaviour.

fastaem *adv.* initially.

faswan *n.* first.

fat *adj.* fat.

fata *n.* father (RARE).

fatam *n.* fathom.

Fauro *n.* Fauro island.

fea *n.* fare.

Febuare *n.* February.

fel *vi.* fail.

fenkabis *n.* edible fern.

fens *n.* fence.

fes *n.* face.

fesim *vt.* face.

fevarem *vt.* favour.

fi *n.* fee.

fidim *vt.* feed.

fifti *num.* fifty.

fiftin *num.* fifteen.

fig tri *n.* fig tree.

fiksim *vt.* fix.

fiksimap *vt.* repair.

fil₁ *vi.* feel.

fil₂ *n.* field.

fil₃ *vi.* fill.

filgud *vi.* hearten.

filhapi *vi.* rejoice.

filhot *vi.* feel hot.

filim₁ *vt.* feel.

filim₂ *n.* film.

filimap *vt.* fill.

filing *n.* feeling.

filkros *vi.* annoyed.

filnogud *vi.*
1 • discouraged.
2 • sick.
3 • regret.

- 4 • embarrassed.
- 5 • ashamed.
- 6 • uncomfortable.

filpein *vi.* pained.

filpraod *vi.* proud.

filsem *vi.* shamed.

filsoa *vi.* ache.

filsoe *vi.* sympathetic.

filstrong *vi.* feel strong.

filtaet *vi.* tired out.

fin *n.* fin.

fingga *n.* finger.

fingganel *n.* finger nail.

finis 1 • *vi.* finish.

2 • *n.* end.

3 • *adv.* completely.

finisim *vt.* complete.

fis *n.* fish.

Fisaris an Marin

Risosos *prop.* Fisheries and Marine Resources.

fising *vi.* fishing.

fisingem *vt.* fish.

fisinglaen *n.* line.

fisingman *n.* fisherman.

fislaen *n.* line.

fist *n.* celebration.

fit₁ *n.* feet.

fit₂ *vi.* suited.

fitim *vt.* appropriate.

fiva *n.* fever.

flad *n.* flood.

flae *vm.* fly.

flaedaon *vi.* fly down.

flaefoks *n.* flying fox.

flaem *vt.* cause to fly.

flaengfoks *See main entry:*
flaefoks.

flaeovarem *vt.* fly over.

flaeraonem *vt.* fly round.

flag *n.* flag.

flaoa₁ *n.* flour.

flaoa₂ *n.* flower.

flas 1 • *adj.* flashy.

2 • *n.* camera flash.

flasim *vt.* 1 • flush.

2 • decorate.

flat₁ *adj.* 1 • flat.

2 • tired.

flat₂ *n.* apartment.

flatfis *n.* flounder.

flem *n.* flame.

floa *n.* floor.

flot 1 • *vi.* float.

2 • *n.* fishing float.

flu 1 • *n.* cold, flu.

2 • *vi.* sick with a cold.

fo 1 • *prep.* to.

2 • *prep.* for.

3 • *comp.* marks a verbal complement.

foa *num.* four.

fofala *See main entry:*

foa*num.* four.

foget *vi.* forget.

fogetem *vt.* forget.

fogivim *vt.* forgive.

fogud *adv.* very.

fohed *n.* forehead.

fok *n.* fork.

fokona *n.* rectangle.

foldaon *vi.* fall.

foldaonem *vt.* drop.

foldem *vt.* fold.

fom₁ *n.* form.

fom₂ *n.* stool.

fored *n.* bow of ship.

foreks *n.* XXXX beer.

Foren Afeas, Komas, an

Turism *prop.* Foreign Affairs, Commerce and Tourism.

Forestri *n.* Forestry department.

Forestri, Envaeronmen,

an Konsavesin *prop.* Forestry, Environment and Conservation.

foroklok *n.* four o'clock.

fos *vi.* force.

fosim *vt.* force.

foti *num.* forty.

fotifala *See main entry:*

foti*num.* forty.

fotin *num.* fourteen.

fotinfala *See main entry:*

fotin*num.* fourteen.

foto *n.* photograph.

fowad *n.* a forward in a field sport.

Fraede *prop.* Friday.

fraenem *vt.* fry.

fraengem *See main entry:*
fraenem.

fraepan *n.* frying pan.

fraet *vi.* fear.

fraetem *vt.* afraid.

fran *loc-adv.* front.

franjpiani *n.* 1 • frangipani tree.
2 • frangipani flower.

fren 1 • *n.* friend.

2 • *vi.* be friends.

3 • *voc.* friend.

frenbaek *vi.* reconcile.

Frendo *voc.* Friend.

fregud *vi.* friendly.

frenim *vt.* befriend.

fres 1 • *adj.* fresh.

2 • *n.* refrigerator.

freswin *n.* cool breeze.

fri *adj.* free.

frog *n.* frog.

from *preptr.* from.

frut *n.* fruit.

ful *adj.* full.

fulap *vi.* filled.

fulbae *vi.* freeload.

fulbaek₁ *n.* full back.
fulbaek₂ *n.* an over dependent person.
fulde *n.* day.
fuldrang *vi.* drunk.

fulnaet *n.* night.
fulneket *vi.* naked.
fulstop *n.* period.
fulumap *vt.* fill.

fulumapem *vt.* fill.
fut *n.* foot.
futbol *n.* soccer.

G – g

gad 1 • *n.* guard.
 2 • *vi.* guard.
gadem *vt.* guard.
gaden *n.* garden.
gadian *n.* guardian.
gaed *n.* guide.
gaedem *vt.* guide.
gagem *vt.* stir.
Galekana *n.* Guadalcanal.
galik *n.* garlic.
galon *n.* gallon.
gam *n.* 1 • tree resin.
 2 • chewing gum.
gan *n.* gun.
garekil *vi.* injured.
garem *vt.* have.
garem *vi.* have.
gas *n.* gas.
gasi *See main entry: gaslaet.*
gaslaet *n.* kerosine pressure lamp.
gavman *n.* government.
gavna *n.* governor.
Gavna Jenrol *prop.*
 Governor General.
geit *n.* 1 • gate.
 2 • entrance.
 3 • soccer goal posts.
geko *n.* gecko.
gele *n.* girl.
gem *n.* game.
gen *n.* gang.
ges *vi.* guess.
gesim *vt.* guess.

getap *vi.* arise.
getem *vt.* get.
getius *vi.* accustomed.
giaman *vi.* lie.
giamanem *vt.* deceive.
gif *n.* gift.
giraot *vi.* leave.
giraotem *vt.* expel.
girap *vi.* aroused.
gis *n.* 1 • Reef islander, from Reef Islands word for brother.
 2 • St Cruz person.
Giso *n.* Gizo.
gita *n.* guitar.
givap *vi.* 1 • surrender.
 2 • quit.
givhan *vi.* help.
givim *vt.* give.
givimaot *vt.* provide.
givimbaek *vt.* return.
givimhaed *vt.* give secretly.
glas *n.* 1 • glass.
 2 • mirror.
 3 • cup.
 4 • spectacles.
go 1 • *vm.* go.
 2 • *direct.prt.* when go follows a verb, it is used to indicate direction away from speaker or some other common point of reference.
go long saetsi *idiom*
 go to the toilet.
go-go *con-adv.* until.
goaot *vm.* depart.

goaot *vm.* leave secretly.
goap *vm.* ascend.
goawe *vm.* depart.
gobaek *vm.* return.
God *n.* god.
godaon *vm.* descend.
gogo *n.* journey.
gohaed *vm.* go in secret.
gohed *vi.* proceed.
gokros *vm.* go across.
gol₁ *n.* gold.
gol₂ *n.* goal in a game.
golip *n.* shell.
gopas *vm.* pass.
goraon *vm.* around.
goraonem *vm.* round.
gorong *vi.* stray.
goso *vi.* disembark.
gotru *vi.* goes through.
grabem *vt.* grab.
gradiuesin *n.* graduation.
grandadi *n.* grandfather.
granfata *n.* grandfather
 RARE.
grani *n.* 1 • grandparent.
 2 • grandchild.
granmami *n.*
 grandmother.
granmata *n.* grandmother
 RARE.
graon *n.* 1 • ground.
 2 • land.
 3 • earth.
gras *n.* grass.

grashopa *n.* grasshopper.
gravol *n.* gravel.
gred *n.* 1 • mark.
 2 • class level in primary school.
 3 • quality.
gredem₁ *vt.* to level an area with a grader.
gredem₂ *vt.* assess.
grei *adj.* grey.
greptri *n.* grapevine.
greta *n.* grater.
grev *n.* grave.
gridi *adj.* greedy.
grin *adj.* green.
grinlif *n.* sorcery.

grinpepa *n.* capsicum.
grinsneil *n.* green snail.
gris *n.* fat.
grisim *vt.* 1 • grease.
 2 • flatter.
griting *n.* greeting.
grou *vi.* grow.
grouap *vi.* grow up.
groubaek *vi.* re-grow.
groum *vt.* grow.
grup *n.* group.
Guale *See main entry:*
Galekana.
guava *n.* guava.
gud *adj.* good.

gudbae *interj.* goodbye.
gudbaek *vi.* restored.
gudfala *See main entry:*
gud *adj.* good.
gudfren *n.* friend.
gudlak *n.* good luck.
gudnaet *interj.* Evening.
gudnem *n.* good reputation.
gudnius *n.* 1 • gospel.
 2 • good news.
gudtaem *n.* good time.
gudwan *n.* good one.

 H - h

ha *voc.* ha.
haat *n.* heart.
haba *n.* harbour.
had *adj.* 1 • hard.
 2 • difficult.
hadisk *n.* computer hard disk drive.
hadkes *adj.* stubborn.
hadtaem *n.* difficulties.
hadwaka 1 • *n.* effort.
 2 • *vi.* make effort.
hae 1 • *adj.* high.
 2 • *adj.* expensive.
 3 • *n.* height.
Hae Kot *prop.* High Court.
haeap *adj.* elevated.
haebiskas *n.* hibiscus.
haed 1 • *vi.* hide.
 2 • *vi.* hidden.
 3 • *adv.* secretly.
haedem *vt.* hide.
haejin *n.* hygiene.
haem *vt.* lift.
haemapem *vt.* 1 • elevate.
 2 • honour.

haerem *vt.* hire.
haewata *n.* high tide.
haf *n.* part.
hafded *vi.* unconscious.
hafem *vt.* divide in two.
hafhaf *adj.* unenthusiastic.
hafkas *n.* half caste.
haflog *n.* log.
hafsens *adj.* retarded.
hafstik *n.* stick.
hafwe *n.* midway.
halo 1 • *interj.* hello.
 2 • *vi.* greet.
hama 1 • *n.* hammer.
 2 • *vi.* hammering.
hamam *See main entry:*
hamarem.
hamarem *vt.* 1 • hammer.
 2 • copulate.
 3 • to pound nuts or taro.
hambag *vi.* illicit sex.
hambol *adj.* shy.
han *n.* hand and arm.

handing *vi.* hunting.
handol *n.* handle.
handred *num.* hundred.
hangdaon *vi.* hang.
hangem *vt.* hang.
hanggre *adj.* hungry.
hangkasif *n.* handkerchief.
hanglav *n.* glove.
hangraon *vi.* loiter.
hani *n.* honey.
hanwas *n.* wristwatch.
hao *interrog pro-form.* how.
haomas *interrog pro-form.* how much.
haomeni *interrog pro-form.* how many.
haos *n.* 1 • house.
 2 • building.
haosboe *n.* domestic worker.
haosgele *n.* maid.
haostent *n.* tent.
hapas *n.* half past the hour.
hapen *vi.* happen.

hapi *adj.* happy.
hariap *vi.* hurry.
hasban *n.* husband.
hasis *n.* boat hatch.
hat *n.* hat.
hatem *vt.* scold.
havem *vt.* put on clothes.
havestem *vt.* harvest.
hea *n.* hair.
hed *n.* head.
hedem *vt.* head a ball.
hedkuata *n.* headquarters.
hedman *n.* chief.
hedmasta *n.* headmaster.
hedpris *n.* high priest.
hedrod *n.* end of road.
hedsoa *n.* headache.
hedspin *vi.* dizzy.
heitem *vt.* hate.
hel *n.* hell.
helikopta *n.* helicopter.
help *vi.* help.
helpem *vt.* help.
helt *n.* health.
Helt an Medikol Sevisis
prop. Health and Medical
 Services.
helti *adj.* healthy.
hem *pro.* he/she/him/her/it.
hemi *SRP.* he/she/it.
Hendison *prop.* Henderson
 airport.
here *vi.* sounds.

herehere *vi.* hear.
herem *vt.* hear.
heremgud *vt.* listen.
heremsave *vt.*
 comprehend.
heresave *vi.* comprehend.
Hets Ae Vi *prop.* HIV.
heven *n.* heaven.
hevi 1 • *adj.* heavy.
 2 • *n.* weight.
hevinat *n.* 1 • sago palm.
 2 • sago palm nut.
hia *loc-adv.* here.
hiden *n.* non-christian.
Hikstest *prop.* Secondary
 school entrance test
 given to grade six
 students.
hil *n.* hill.
him *n.* hymn.
himbuk *n.* hymnbook.
hins *n.* hinge.
hipap *vi.* gather.
hipimap *vt.* gathered.
hitim *vt.* hit.
hok *n.* hawk.
hol *n.* hole.
hole *vi.* touch.
holem *vt.* hold.
holemap *vt.* 1 • lift.
 2 • delay.
holemredi *vt.* hold ready.
holemstrong *vt.* grip.
holemtaet *vt.* clutch.
holestrong *vi.* grip.

holetaet *vi.* clutch.
holi *adj.* holy.
holide *n.* holiday.
hom 1 • *n.* home.
 2 • *adj.* traditional.
homtaon *n.* town of origin.
hon *n.* horn.
Honiara *prop.* Honiara.
honorabol, 1 • *n.* member
 of parliament.
 2 • *voc.* Honourable.
hop 1 • *n.* hope.
 2 • *vi.* hope.
hos *n.* horse.
hospaep *n.* hose.
hospaepem *vt.* bribe.
hospital *n.* hospital.
hot 1 • *adj.* hot.
 2 • *n.* heat.
hotem *vt.* 1 • heat.
 2 • cook.
 3 • scold.
hotfala *See main entry:*
hot.adj. hot.
hotwata *n.* 1 • hot water.
 2 • tea.
hou 1 • *n.* hoe.
 2 • *vi.* hoe.
houm *vt.* hoe ground.
hu 1 • *rel.* who.
 2 • *interog pro-form.* who.
huk *n.* hook.
huknaef *n.* sickle.
hukum *vt.* hook.

| - i

i *SRP.* 1 • SRP.
 2 • it.
ia *n.* ear.
iapas *n.* 1 • deaf.
 2 • japanese person.

iaring *n.* ear ring.
igol *n.* eagle.
iguana *n.* iguana.
ileksin *n.* election.

ilektem *vt.* elect.
ilfis *n.* eel.
Imigresin Divisin *prop.*
 Immigration Division.
impoten *adj.* important.

inaf 1 • *quan.* enough.
2 • *n.* enough.

india *adj.* stingy.

indipendens *n.*
independence.

Infrastraktua an

Divelopmen *prop.*
Infrastructure and
Development.

Ingglan *prop.* England.

ingglis 1 • *n.* English.

2 • *adj.* English.

ingk *n.* ink.

inlei *n.* shell inlay.

inlo *n.* in-law.

insaet *loc-adv.* inside.

insaetem *vt.* 1 • insert.
2 • copulate.

insek *n.* insect.

insens *n.* incense.

insis *n.* inch.

intres *vi.* interested.

Isabel *prop.* Isabel.

isi *adj.* easy.

ist *n.* east.

Ista *prop.* Easter.

ivining 1 • *n.* evening.
2 • *interj.* Evening.

J - j

ja *n.* jar.

jaean *n.* giant.

jaj 1 • *n.* judge.
2 • *vi.* judge.

jajem *vt.* judge.

jam₁ *vi.* jump.

jam₂ *n.* jam.

Januare *n.* January.

Japan *n.* Japan.

japani *n.* japanese.

Jastis an Ligol Afeas
prop. Justice and Legal
Affairs.

jel *n.* jail.

jem *n.* germ.

jeneresin *n.* generation.

Jenesis *n.* Genesis.

Jeova *n.* Jehovah witness.

jes *TMA.* 1 • just - recent
time.
2 • just - restrictive
focus.

jinja *n.* ginger.

Jisas *n.* Jesus.

Jiu *n.* Jew.

jiukong *n.* 1 • dugong.

2 • prostitute.

joen *vi.* join.

joenem *vt.* join.

joenri *n.* joinery.

jokem *vt.* joke with.

joles *vi.* jealous.

Jon *n.* John.

jonson *n.* outboard.

Julae *n.* July.

Jun *n.* June.

juri *n.* prostitute.

K - k

ka *n.* car.

kaat *n.* cart.

kaban 1 • *n.* companion.
may have negative
connotations.
2 • *vi.* become a
companion.

kabanem *vt.* make friends.

kabilato *n.* loincloth.

kabin *n.* cabin.

kaeba *n.* fast food outlet.

kaen₁ *adj.* kind.

kaen₂ *subclsfr* *n.* type.

kago *n.* goods.

kaibia *n.* cassava.

kaikai 1 • *vi.* eat.
2 • *n.* food.
3 • *n.* taste.
4 • *n.* meal.

kaikaim *vt.* 1 • eat.
2 • bite.

kakake *n.* giant swamp
taro.

kakamora *n.* elf.

kala *n.* colour.

kalabuk *n.* colouring book.

kalam *See main entry:*
kalarem.

kalarem *vt.* colour.

kaleko *n.* 1 • clothes.
2 • cloth.

kalenda *n.* calendar.

kalsarol afeas *n.* cultural
affairs.

kam 1 • *vm.* come.
2 • *direct.prt.* when kam
follows a verb, it is used
to indicate direction
toward the speaker or
some other common
point of reference.

kaman *interj.* come.

kamaot *vm.* come out.

kamap₁ *vm.* come up.

kamap₂ *vi.* become.

kamara *n.* camera.

kambaek *vm.* return.

kambani *n.* company.

kamdaon *vm.* come down.

kamin *vm.* come in.

kamol *n.* camel.

kampen 1 • *n.* campaign.
2 • *vi.* campaign.

kamraon *vm.* come around.

kamtru *vi.* appear.

kan *TMA.* can't.

kanaka *n.* naive person.

kanari *n.* cannery.

kandol *n.* candle.

kandora *n.* opossum.

kanduim *vt.* unable.

kanduit *TMA.* unable.

kaneri *n.* cannery.

kani *n.* vagina.

kanot *TMA.* cannot.

kansa *n.* cancer.

kanse *interj.* can't say.

kansol *n.* council.

kantin *n.* very small shop.

kantri *n.* country.

kanu *n.* canoe.

kanvas *n.* canvas.

kaon 1 • *n.* debt.
2 • *vi.* borrow.
3 • *vi.* owe.

kaondem *vt.* count.

kaonem *vt.* borrow.

kaonting *vi.* counting.

kaori₁ *n.* kauri tree.

kaori₂ *n.* cowrie.

kap *n.* cup.

kapa *n.* roofing.

kapenda *n.* carpenter.

kapet *n.* floor vinyl.

kapitol *n.* capital.

kapsaet *vi.* tip over.

kapsaetem *vt.* spill.

kapten *n.* captain.

kapti *vi.* drink tea.

kapwata *n.* cup of water.

karasin *n.* kerosene.

kari₁ 1 • *n.* load.
2 • *vi.* carry.

kari₂ *n.* curry.

karihevi *vi.* burdened.

karikiulam *n.* curriculum.

karim *vt.* carry.

karol 1 • *vi.* sing Christmas
carols.
2 • *n.* Christmas carol.

kasae *n.* cat's eye.

kasava *n.* cassava.

kasem *preptr.* reach.

kasem *prep.* reach.

kasembaek *preptr.*
returned.

kaset *n.* 1 • cassette.
2 • video.

kasholem *vt.* arrest.

kasin *n.* cousin.

kasino *n.* casino.

kastom 1 • *n.* customs.
2 • *adj.* traditional.

kastomari lan apil kot *n.*
customary land appeal
court.

kasusu *n.* crab.

kat *vi.* cut.

katapila *n.* caterpillar.

kate *vi.* circumcise.

katekis *n.* catechist.

katem *vt.* cut.

katemaot *vt.* cut out.

katemdaon *vt.* cut daon.

katemsot *vt.* shorten.

katen *n.* carton.

katkat *adj.* cute.

katkros *vi.* cross over.

katnat *n.* cutnut.

Katolik *prop.* Catholic
Church.

katres *n.* bullet.

katukatu 1 • *n.* katukatu
fish.
2 • *adj.* small.

kava₁ 1 • *n.* cover.
2 • *vi.* cover.

kava₂ *n.* carver.

kavabaek *vi.* re-cover.

kavam *See main entry:*
kavarem.

kavarem *vt.* cover.

kavaremap *vt.* cover up.

kavet *vi.* desire.

kavetem *vt.* desire.

kaving *n.* carving.

kavis *n.* vegetable.

kea *vi.* care.

keakea *vi.* be careful.

keales *adj.* careless.

kek *n.* 1 • cake.
2 • sweet roll.

kepok *n.* kapok.

kes *n.* case, box.

kev *n.* cave.

ki *n.* key.

kikim *vt.* kick.

kil 1 • *vi.* injure.
2 • *n.* injury.

kilhaed *vi.* 1 • ambush.
2 • have sex in secret.

kilim *vt.* injure.

kilimhaed *vt.* 1 • ambush.
2 • have sex in secret.

kilkil *vi.* kill.

kilo *n.* kilogram.

kilomita *n.* kilometre.

Kilufi *prop.* Kilufi hospital.

kindagaden *n.*
kindergarten.

kindi *n.* kindergarten.
king *n.* king.
kiokio *n.* kingfisher.
kipim *vt.* keep.
Kirakira *prop.* Kirakira.
kirio *n.* dolphin.
kis *vi.* kiss.
kisim *vt.* kiss.
kisin *n.* kitchen.
kiukamba *n.* cucumber.
kiurem *vt.* 1 • cure.
 2 • treat.
klab *n.* club.
klae *vi.* climb.
klaeap *vi.* climb up.
klaem *vt.* climb.
klaemap *vt.* climb up.
klaemapem *vt.* mate.
klak *n.* clerk.
klam *n.* clam.
klaod *n.* cloud.
klapem *vt.* clap hands.
klas *n.* class.
klasrum *n.* classroom.
kleva *adj.* clever.
klia 1 • *adj.* clear.
 2 • *vi.* clear.
kliafala *See main entry:*
klia.adj. clear.
kliarem *vt.* clean.
klin *adj.* clean.
klinik *n.* clinic.
klinim *vt.* clean.
klinimaot *vt.* cleanout.
klok *n.* clock.
klorokuin *n.* chloroquine.
klos *vi.* shut.
klosim *vt.* close.
klosis *vi.* defecate.
klosit *n.* toilet.
kod *n.* cord.

kod blong pikinini *See*
main entry: kod.n.
 umbilical cord.
kodiol *n.* cordial.
koel *n.* coil.
koela *n.* 1 • braid.
 2 • dreadlock.
koelam *vt.* braid hair.
kof 1 • *vi.* cough.
 2 • *n.* cold.
kofi *n.* coffee.
kokatu *n.* cockatoo.
koko *n.* penis.
koko'o *n.* grandfather
 RARE.
kokoiam *n.* yam.
kokonat *n.* coconut.
kokorako *n.* chicken.
kokoros *n.* cockroach.
kokosu *n.* hermit crab.
kol₁ *adj.* cool.
kol₂ *vi.* call.
kolej *n.* college.
koleksin *n.* collection.
kolektem *vt.* collect.
kolem *vt.* call.
kolemaot *vt.* call out.
kolfala *See main entry:*
kol₁.adj. cold.
kolget *n.* toothpaste.
kolsap 1 • *loc-adv.* close.
 2 • *adv.* nearly.
kolwata *n.* cold water.
kom *n.* comb.
koma *n.* comma.
komanda *n.* commander.
Komas, Industris, an
Emploemen *prop.*
 Commerce, Industries,
 and Employment.
komburu *n.* wind.
komem *vt.* comb.
komisna *n.* commissioner.

komiti *n.* committee.
Komiunikesin, Eiviesin,
an Mitiaroloji *prop.*
 Communication,
 Aviation and
 Meteorology.
komiunion *n.* communion.
kompensesin *n.*
 compensation.
kompiuta *n.* computer.
komplen *vi.* complain.
komplitim *vt.* complete.
kon₁ *n.* corn.
kon₂ 1 • *vi.* deceive.
 2 • *n.* deceit.
kona *n.* corner.
konbif *n.* corned beef.
kondakta *n.* conductor.
kondom *n.* condom.
konfes *vi.* confess.
konfius *vi.* confused.
konfrens *n.* conference.
konkrit *n.* concrete.
konman *n.* conman.
konsel *n.* conch shell.
konset *n.* concert.
konstitiuensi *n.*
 constituency.
konstituisin *n.*
 constitution.
kontena *n.* container.
kontrak *n.* contract.
kontrol *vi.* control.
kontrolem *vt.* control.
kopi *n.* copy.
kopim *vt.* copy.
kopra *n.* copra.
korel *n.* coral.
kores *n.* chorus.
korongis *vi.* bake.
korongisim *vt.* bake.
kos *n.* course.
kosim *vt.* cause.

kost *n.* cost.
kostem *vt.* costs.
kot *n.* court.
kotem₁ *vt.* take to court.
kotem₂ *vt.* catch.
kothaos *n.* court house.
koton *n.* thread.
kouan *interj.* hurry up.
koukou *n.* cocoa.
koukoutri *n.* cocoa tree.
krab *n.* crab.
krae *vi.* cry.
kraeao *vi.* cry out.
Kraes *n.* Christ.
krangge *adj.* crazy.
kraon *n.* crown.
kras *vi.* crash.
krasim₁ *vt.* grate.

krasim₂ *vt.* crash.
krefis *n.* crayfish.
krik *n.* swamp.
krikit *n.* cricket.
krim *n.* cream.
krip *vi.* go by stealth.
kripim *vt.* rape.
krismas *n.* Christmas.
kristin *n.* Christian.
krokodael *n.* crocodile.
krol *vm.* crawl.
kros₁ **1** • *adj.* angry.
2 • *n.* anger.
kros₂ *n.* a crucifix.
krosbim *n.* crossbeam.
krosim *vt.* crossover.
kru *n.* crew.
kruket *adj.* crooked.

kuaea *n.* choir.
kuadet *adj.* quiet.
kuestin *n.* question.
kuestinim *vt.* question.
kuik *adj.* quick.
kuiktaem **1** • quickly.
2 • *vi.* hurry.
kuin *n.* queen.
kuinin *n.* **1** • quinine.
2 • medicine.
kuk *n.* cook.
kuki **1** • *vi.* cook.
2 • *n.* saucepan.
kukim *vt.* cook.
kuking pot *n.* cooking pot.
kumara *n.* sweet potato.
kura *n.* card game.
kurukuru *n.* pigeon.

L - I

la-laf *See main entry: laflaf.*
lada *n.* ladder.
laea **1** • *n.* lie.
2 • *n.* liar.
3 • *vi.* lie.
laeawan *n.* false thing.
laebreri *n.* library.
laef *n.* life.
laefbaek *vi.* resurrect.
laefjaket *n.* lifejacket.
laek *vi.* like.
laekem *vt.* like.
laeknes *n.* image.
laem *n.* lime.
laen *n.* descendants.
laenem *vt.* line up.
laeon *n.* lion.
laesin *n.* licence.
laet *n.* light.
laetem *vt.* light.

laetning *n.* lightning.
laf *vi.* laugh.
laflaf **1** • *vi.* laugh.
2 • *n.* laughter.
lagun *n.* lagoon.
lake *vi.* lucky.
lam *n.* lamp.
lan *n.* land.
Lan an Sevei *prop.* Lands and Survey.
lane *vi.* learn.
lanem *vt.* **1** • learn.
2 • teach.
langguis *n.* language.
lanona *n.* landowner.
laod *adj.* loud.
laos *n.* lice.
laraken *n.* troublemaker.
las *adj.* last.
lasbon *adj.* youngest.

lasnaet *n.* last night.
lastaem *n.* last time.
laswan *n.* last one.
latin *n.* Latin.
lav *n.* love.
lavalava *n.* wrap-around.
lavem *vt.* love.
leba *vi.* labour.
led *n.* **1** • lead.
2 • lead sinker.
lef *adj.* left.
lefraet *vi.* march.
lefsaet *n.* left side.
lei *vi.* **1** • lay.
2 • moored.
3 • lean.
leidaon *vi.* lay down.
leik *n.* lake.
leim *vt.* lay.
leimdaon *vt.* lay down.

leit *vi.* late.

lek *n.* leg.

lelebet 1 • *non-pers pro.* a little.
2 • *adv.* fairly.

lem *n.* limb.

lemon *n.* lemon.

lepa *n.* leper.

leprosi *n.* leprosy.

les 1 • *adj.* unwilling.
2 • *vi.* reject.

lesibaga *n.* lazy person.

lesibon *n.* lazy person.

leson *n.* lesson.

leta *n.* 1 • letter.
2 • symbol.

letas *n.* lettuce.

letem *vt.* allow.

leven *num.* eleven.

levenfala *See main entry:*
leven.*num.* eleven.

level *adj.* level.

levolem *vt.* level.

lid *n.* lid.

lida *n.* leader.

lidim *vt.* lead.

lif *n.* leaf.

liftim *vt.* lift.

liftimap *vt.* lift up.

liftimapem *vt.* lift up.

ligol dokiumen *n.* legal document.

lik *n.* leak.

likim *vt.* lick.

lip *n.* lip.

lips *n.* lip.

lisad *n.* lizard.

lisin *vi.* listen.

lita *n.* litre.

literasi *n.* literacy.

liu 1 • *n.* jobless.
2 • *vi.* hang around.

liva₁ *n.* liver.

liva₂ *n.* school leaver.

livim *vt.* leave.

livrongo *n.* evangelist (SSEC).

lo *n.* law.

lo *See main entry:* **long₁**.

Lod *n.* Lord.

lodem *vt.* load.

loea *n.* lawyer.

loeaken *n.* rattan.

log *n.* log.

lok *n.* lock.

lokem *vt.* lock.

lokol *adj.* rural.

lole 1 • *n.* lolly.
2 • *n.* mangosteen fruit.
3 • *vi.* oral sex.

lon *n.* loan.

long₁ *prep.* PREP.

long₂ *adj.* long.

longfala *See main entry:*
long₂.*adj.* long.

longhan *adj.* long sleeved.

longkui *n.* trousers.

longtaem *n.* long time.

longwe *loc-adv.* over there.

lotu *n.* worship service.

lou *adj.* 1 • low.
2 • cheap.

loudaon *adv.* low.

luk *vi.* look.

lukaftarem *vt.* care for.

lukaot 1 • *vi.* beware.
2 • *v.* look after.

lukaotem *vt.* 1 • look for.
2 • watch over.

lukap *vi.* look up.

lukbaek *vi.* look back.

lukdaon *vi.* look down.

lukdaonem *vt.* disrespect.

lukgo *vi.* look toward.

lukgud *vi.* attractive.

lukim *vt.* 1 • look.
2 • see.
3 • meet.

lukluk 1 • *vi.* look.
2 • *n.* perception.

luklukgud *vi.* inspect.

luklukraon *vi.* look around.

luknaes *vi.* look nice.

luknogud *n.* ugly.

lukraonem *vt.* look around.

luksave *vi.* recognise.

lukstrong *vi.* stare.

luna *adj.* crazy.

lus *vi.* lost.

lusim *vt.* 1 • lose.
2 • leave behind.
3 • depart.

lusim paspot *See main entry:* **paspot**.no right to belong.

luva *n.* louvre.

M – m

ma *coord.* but.

maas *vi.* march.

mabol *n.* marbles.

mad *n.* mud.

maedia *interj.* my dear.

maefren *interj.* my friend.

maekrangge *interj.* crikey.

maekroskop *n.* microscope.

mael *n.* mile.
maelo *n.* milo.
maen₁ *n.* mind.
maen₂ *n.* mine.
maenas *prep.* minus.
maenasim *vt.* subtract.
maenem₁ *vt.* mine.
maenem₂ *vt.* look after.
Maens an Enaji *prop.*
 Mines and Energy.
maet *adv.* might.
maeti *adj.* mighty.
maewat *interj.* my word.
majik *n.* magic.
majistret *n.* magistrate.
Majistret Kot *prop.*
 Magistrate's Court.
mak *n.* mark.
makem *vt.* mark.
maket 1 • *n.* market.
 2 • *vi.* marketing.
Makira *prop.* Makira island.
Malaita *prop.* Malaita island.
malaria *n.* malaria.
maling *n.* canned luncheon
 meat.
mam *n.* bait.
mama *n.* priest.
mamana 1 • *n.* front.
 2 • *loc-adv.* front.
 3 • *n.* opening.
 4 • *n.* sexual organs.
 5 • *interj.* swearing.
mami *n.* mother.
mamula *n.* fish.
man₁ *interj.* man.
man₂ 1 • *n.* man.
 2 • *n.* person.
 3 • *interj.* man.
Mande *prop.* Monday.
maneja *n.* manager.
manggo *n.* mango.
mani *n.* money.
mans *n.* month.

manwan *adj.* male.
maonden *n.* mountain.
maos *n.* mouth.
marewana *n.* marijuana.
marin *n.* marine.
marit 1 • *vi.* married.
 2 • *adj.* married.
 3 • *n.* wedding.
maritim *vt.* marry.
mas *deon.mkr.* must.
Mas *prop.* March.
masi *n.* mercy.
masin *n.* machine.
masis *n.* matches.
masket *n.* gun.
masrum *n.* mushroom.
mast *n.* 1 • mast.
 2 • antenna.
masta *n.* 1 • boss.
 2 • whiteman.
 3 • term of address and
 reference to God.
masta liu *See main entry:*
liu. unemployed young
 men.
mat *n.* mat.
mata *n.* mother.
matok *n.* mattock.
matres *n.* mattress.
medikol 1 • *adj.* medical.
 2 • *n.* medical officer.
 3 • *n.* western medicine.
megapod *n.* megapode
 bird.
Mei *n.* May.
mein *adj.* main.
mek *vi.* cause.
meka *vi.* profit.
mekameka *vi.* profiteering.
mekeit *ord num.* eighth.
mekem *vt.* 1 • cause.
 2 • do.
mekemredi *vt.* prepare.
mekemrere *vt.* prepared.

mekfaev *ord num.* fifth.
mekfan *vi.* jest.
mekfifitin *ord num.* fifteenth.
mekfoa *ord num.* fourth.
mekfotin *ord num.*
 fourteenth.
mekfren *vi.* befriend.
mekful *vi.* humiliate.
mekhae *vi.* revere.
mekleven *ord num.*
 eleventh.
meknaen *ord num.* ninth.
meknoes *vi.* be noisy.
mekol *n.* globe.
mekravis *vi.* 1 • litter.
 2 • insult.
mekredi *vi.* prepare.
meksave *vi.* punish.
mekseven *ord num.*
 seventh.
meksiks *ord num.* sixth.
meksua *vi.* confirm.
mektambu *vi.* consecrate.
mekten *ord num.* tenth.
mektrabol *vi.* make
 trouble.
mektri *ord num.* third.
mektu 1 • *ord num.* second.
 2 • *n.* assistant.
mektuel *ord num.* twelfth.
mekwan *ord num.* first.
melen *n.* watermelon.
melewan *loc-adv.* middle.
meltem *vt.* melt.
memba *n.* 1 • member.
 2 • member of
 parliament.
memori *n.* memento.
mentol *adj.* insane.
mere *n.* woman.
merefala *adj.* wimp.
meresin *n.* medicine.
merewan *n.* female.

Merika *n.* America.
mesarem *vt.* measure.
mesij *n.* message.
metrik *adj.* metric.
metron *n.* 1 • matron.
 2 • female head of household.
mi *pro.* me.
midol *loc-adv.* middle.
midolbus *n.* deep in jungle.
midwev *n.* medium wave.
mifala *pro.* we EXC.
mikisim *vt.* mix.
mikisimap *vt.* confuse.
miks *vi.* mix.
milimita *n.* millimetre.
milion *num.* million.
milk *n.* milk.
milkim *vt.* 1 • extract coconut milk.
 2 • season with coconut milk direct from the coconut.
mimi *vi.* urinate.
minim *vt.* 1 • comprehend.
 2 • explain.

3 • mean.
minimgud *vt.* comprehend fully.
mining *n.* meaning.
minista *n.* minister.
ministri *n.* ministry.
Ministri blong *prop.* Ministry of ...
minit *n.* minute.
mins *n.* mince meat.
mirakol *n.* miracle.
mis *vi.* miss.
misim *vt.* miss.
misin *n.* mission.
misinare *n.* missionary.
misis *n.* 1 • wife.
 2 • white woman.
mista *voc.* mister.
mistek *n.* mistake.
mistim *vt.* missed.
mit *n.* meat.
mita *n.* metre.
mitim *vt.* meet.
miting 1 • *n.* meeting.
 2 • *vi.* have a meeting.
mitrifala *pro.* we three EXC.

mitufala *pro.* we two EXC.
moa *adv.* more.
moabeta *sub.* better.
mone 1 • *n.* morning.
 2 • *interj.* good morning.
moning *n.* morning.
mop *n.* mop.
mopem *vt.* mop.
moskito *n.* mosquito.
moto *n.* motor.
motobaek *n.* motorbike.
motoka *n.* car.
motu *n.* stone oven.
motum *vt.* bake.
mun *n.* moon.
Munda₁ *prop.* Munda.
Munda₂ *n.* Munda.
muv *vi.* move.
muvaot *vi.* move out.
muvi *n.* movie.
muvum *vt.* move.
muvumaot *vt.* move it out.
muvumap *vt.* move up.

N – n

naef *n.* knife.
naelon *n.* fishing line.
naen *num.* nine.
naenfala *See main entry:*
naen *num.* nine.
naenklok *n.* nine o'clock.
naenti *num.* ninety.
naentin *num.* nineteen.
naes *adj.* nice.
naesbola 1 • *adj.* attractive.
 2 • *n.* beautiful one.
naesfala *See main entry:*
naes *adj.* nice.

naet *n.* night.
Naha *prop.* Naha (suburb).
nalinat *n.* ngali nut.
namba *n.* number.
nambaten 1 • *adj.* worst.
 2 • *n.* cemetery.
nambawan 1 • *ord num.* first.
 2 • *adj.* best.
nambo *n.* dried breadfruit.
nanali 1 • *vi.* masturbate.
 2 • *adj.* useless.
nanigot *n.* goat.
nao 1 • *con-adv.* then.

2 • *adv.* EMPHASIS.
 3 • *foc.* TOPICALIZER.
nara *det.* 1 • another.
 2 • other.
narafala *See main entry:*
nara *det.* 1 • another.
 2 • other.
narakaen *subclsfr n.* another kind.
naraman *n.* another man.
naraples *n.* another place.
narasaet *loc-adv.* other side.
narasamting *n.* another thing.

narataem *adv.* another time.

narawan *n.* another.

narawei *n.* another way.

Nasorol Risoses *prop.*
Natural Resources.

nat *n.* nut.

nating 1 • *neg.mkr.* not.
2 • *mod.postn.*
insignificant.
3 • *adv.* freely.
4 • *adv.* purposeless.

nefiu *n.* nephew.

nego *vi.* negotiate.

neiba *n.* neighbour.

nek *n.* 1 • neck.
2 • throat.

neka *n.* cabbage.

nekeswan *n.* next one.

neket *adj.* naked.

neks *adj.* next.

nektae *n.* neck tie.

nem *n.* name.

nes *n.* nurse.

nesin *n.* nation.

Nesinol Planing an Eid

Koordinatesin *prop.*
National Planning and
Aid Co-ordination.

Nesinol Providen Fand
prop. National Provident
Fund.

Nesinol Rekonsiliesin an

Piis *prop.* National
Reconciliation and
Peace.

nest *n.* nest.

net *n.* net.

netbol *n.* netball.

netiv *n.* native.

netwaea *n.* flyscreen.

ngora *vi.* snore.

ngusungusu *n.* dollar coin.

ni *n.* knee.

nia *loc-adv.* near.

nid *vi.* need.

nidim *vt.* need.

nidol *n.* needle.

nila 1 • *n.* nail.
2 • *n.* thorn.
3 • *n.* needle.
4 • *vi.* inject.

nila₂ *n.* bribe.

nilagras *n.* thorny grass.

nilam *vt.* 1 • nail.
2 • inject.
3 • bribe.

nildaon *vi.* kneel.

niu *adj.* new.

niufala *See main entry:*
niu.adj. new.

Niugini *prop.* New Guinea.

Niujojia *prop.* New Georgia.

niemun *n.* new moon.

nius *n.* news.

niusam *n.* new comer.

Niusilan *prop.* New
Zealand.

niusim *vt.* 1 • pass news.
2 • gossip.

niusman *n.* newsman.

niuspepa *n.* newspaper.

Niutestamen *prop.* New
Testament.

niuwan *n.* new one.

no *neg.mkr.* not.

noes *n.* noise.

nogud 1 • *mod.postn.* bad.
2 • *adv.* lest.
3 • *adj.* bad.

noknok *vi.* knock.

nomata *adv.* although.

nomoa 1 • *neg.mkr.* no.
2 • *adv.* only.
3 • *interj.* not at all.
4 • *mod.postn.* EMPH.
5 • *neg.mkr.* not.

nosarem *vt.* nurture plants.

not₁ *n.* north.

not₂ *n.* note.

notbuk *n.* notebook.

notis *n.* notice.

notisbod *n.* notice board.

nous *n.* nose.

Novemba *n.* November.

novis *n.* novice of religious
order.

nudol *n.* noodle.

nudolhea *n.* tight tiny hair
braids.

O - o

O *voc.* oh.

o₁ *coord.* or.

o₂ *voc.* Oh.

obei *vi.* obey.

obeim *vt.* obey.

oda *n.* order.

odali *n.* orderly.

odarem *vt.* order.

odinesin *n.* ordination.

oel *n.* oil.

oelem *vt.* oil.

oelpam *n.* oil palm.

ofarem *vt.* offer.

ofaring *n.* offering.

ofem *vt.* turn off.

ofis *n.* office.
ofisa *n.* officer.
ofsaed *vi.* off side.
Ogus *n.* August.
okei *interj.* okay.
oketa *See main entry: olketa.*
oks *n.* second-hand goods.
oksim *vt.* clearance sale.
oktapus *n.* octopus.
Oktoba *n.* October.
olfala *See main entry: olo.* *adj.* old.
olivoel *n.* olive oil.
olivtri *n.* olive tree.
olketa 1 • *pro.* 3PL.
 2 • *det.* PLURAL.
 3 • *voc.* you all.
olo 1 • *adj.* old.
 2 • *n.* elderly person.
 3 • *n.* husband.

olobaot 1 • *adv.* everywhere.
 2 • *adj.* loose.
 3 • *vi.* behave immorally.
 4 • *vi.* careless.
oloketa! *interj.* wow.
oloman *n.* old man.
oloraonem *preptr.* around.
olowe *adv.* always.
olowoman *n.* old woman.
olsem 1 • *preptr.* like that.
 2 • *comp.* that.
olta *n.* altar.
oltaem *adv.* always.
Oltestamen *prop.* Old Testament.
olwan *n.* old one.
ona *n.* owner.
onam *vt.* own.
onarem *vt.* honour.
onem *vt.* switch on.

onorabol *See main entry: honorabol.*
open *vi.* open.
opena *n.* can opener.
openem *vt.* open.
operesin *n.* operation.
oraet 1 • *vi.* alright.
 2 • *con-adv.* then.
orens 1 • *adj.* orange.
 2 • *n.* orange.
os-os *vi.* flatter.
ot *See main entry: olketa.*
ota *See main entry: olketa.*
ova *vi.* over.
ovabae *n.* finished.
ovam *vt.* exceed.
ovarem *vt.* exaggerate.
ovasi *n.* overseas.
ovataem 1 • *n.* overtime.
 2 • *vi.* work overtime.

P – p

pablik *n.* public.
Pablik Sevis Divisin *prop.* Public Service Division.
Pablik Sevis Komisn *prop.* Public Service Commission.
padlok *n.* padlock.
padok *n.* paddock.
padol *n.* paddle.
padolem *vt.* paddle.
paelat *n.* pilot.
paenapol *n.* pineapple.
paep *n.* 1 • pipe.
 2 • smoking pipe.
paket *n.* packet.
pal *n.* pearl.
palamen *n.* parliament.
pam₁ *n.* palm.
pam₂ *n.* pump.

pamem *vt.* pump.
pamken *n.* pumpkin.
pamkentip *n.* pumpkin leaf shoots.
pamoel *n.* palm oil.
pamolo *n.* pomelo.
pamtri *n.* palm tree.
pana *n.* yam.
panadol *n.* paracetamol.
Panatina Plasa *prop.* Panatina Plaza.
pandanas *n.* pandanus.
panikin *n.* mug.
panis *n.* punishment.
panisim *vt.* punish.
pans *vi.* punch.
paoa *n.* power.
paoda *n.* powder.
paon *n.* 1 • pound.

2 • pound.
paos *n.* pouch.
papi *n.* puppy.
papol *adj.* purple.
papos *n.* purpose.
parabol *n.* parable.
paradaes *n.* paradise.
paramaon sif *n.* paramount chief.
parens *n.* parents.
paris *n.* parish.
parot *n.* parrot.
pas *vi.* stuck.
pasel *n.* parcel.
paselem *vt.* 1 • wrap.
 2 • bandage something.
pasenfrut *n.* passionfruit.
pasenja *n.* passenger.
Pasifik *prop.* Pacific.

pasim *vt.* 1 • pass.
2 • to pass an exam.

pasis₁ *n.* passage through a reef.

pasis₂ *n.* fare.

Pasova *n.* Passover.

paspot *n.* passport.

pasto *n.* pastor.

pat *n.* part.

patere *n.* priest.

pati *n.* 1 • party.
2 • party.

peg *n.* peg.

pei *n.* pay.

peim *vt.* pay.

peimaot *vt.* payout.

peimbaek *vt.* repay.

pein *n.* pain.

pej *n.* page.

penda *n.* paint.

pendam *vt.* paint.

pensin *n.* pension.

pensol *n.* pencil.

pepa *n.* paper.

petrol *n.* petrol.

pi 1 • *n.* urine.
2 • *vi.* urinate.

piis *n.* peace.

pijin *n.* pidgin.

pik *n.* pick.

pikap *vi.* pick up.

pikim *vt.* collect.

pikimap *vt.* pick up.

pikinini *n.* child.

pikpik *n.* pig.

piksa *n.* picture.

piksam *See main entry:*
piksarem.

piksarem *vt.* 1 • illustrate.
2 • imagine.

pila *n.* peeler.

pilam *vt.* peel.

pilamaot *vt.* peel.

pilo *n.* pillow.

pin *n.* pin.

pinat *n.* peanut.

pipol *n.* people.

pis *n.* piece.

pisgraon *n.* dirt speck.

pisin *n.* bird. older generic term for birds.

pisis *n.* pieces.

pisisim *vt.* smash.

plaeas *n.* pliers.

plag *n.* 1 • electric plug.
2 • electric socket.

plagem *vt.* plug in an electric appliance.

plan 1 • *vi.* plan.
2 • *n.* plan.

plande 1 • *quan.* plenty.
2 • *non-pers pro.* plenty.

planem *vt.* plan.

plantem *vt.* plant.

plantesin *n.* plantation.

plas *prep.* plus.

plasta *n.* plaster.

plastarem *vt.* 1 • bandage.
2 • plastering.

plastik *n.* 1 • plastic.
2 • plastic bag.

plei *vi.* play.

pleifil *n.* sports field.

pleim *vt.* play SPORT.

plen₁ *n.* plane.

plen₂ *n.* airplane.

plenem *vt.* plane something.

ples *n.* 1 • place.
2 • village.

plet *n.* plate.

plis *interj.* please.

poarem *vt.* pour.

poen *n.* point.

Poen Krus *prop.* Point Cruz.

poentem *vt.* point.

poesen *n.* 1 • poison.
2 • sorcery.

poesenem *vt.* 1 • poison.
2 • curse.

pofis *n.* porpoise.

poka *adj.* dumb.

pokapoka *n.* mute.

poket *n.* pocket.

poknous *vi.* interfere.

poles *vi.* polish.

polesem *vt.* polish.

polio *n.* polio.

Polis, Nesinol Sekiuriti, an Jastis *prop.* Police, National Security and Justice.

popo *n.* paw paw.

pos *n.* post.

pos ofis *n.* post office.

postem *vt.* mail.

pot *n.* pot.

praemas *n.* primus.

praemeri *adj.* primary.

Praeminista an Kabinet *prop.* Prime Minister and Cabinet.

praes₁ *n.* price.

praes₂ *n.* prize.

praevet *adj.* private.

praktikol *n.* practical training.

praktis *vi.* practice.

praod *adj.* proud.

prea 1 • *vi.* pray.
2 • *n.* prayer.
3 • *n.* service.

preabuk *n.* prayer book.

preahaos *n.* synagogue.

preis *n.* praise.

preisim *vt.* praise.

presen *n.* gift.

presiden *n.* president.

presim *vt.* 1 • press.
2 • manipulate a muscle.

primia *n.* premier.

prinsipol *n.* principal.

printim *vt.* print.

pris₁ *n.* priest.

pris₂ *vi.* preach.

prisin *n.* prison.

prising *n.* preaching.

profesi *n.* prophecy.

profet *n.* prophet.

program *n.* program.

projek *n.* project.

promis 1 • *n.* promise.
2 • *vi.* be engaged.

promisim *vt.* promise.

propela *n.* propeller.

provins *n.* province.

Provinsol Gavman an Konstitiuensi

Divelopmen *prop.*
Provincial Government
and Constituency
Development.

pua *adj.* poor.

puaman *n.* poor person.

puding *n.* pudding.

pufta *n.* male homosexual.

pul *n.* pool.

pulis *n.* police.

pulisbed *n.* myna bird.

pulisman *n.* policeman.

pulum *vt.* pull.

pulumaot *vt.* pull out.

pulumap *vt.* pull up.

pulumbaek *vt.* retrieve.

pulumrere *vt.* draw a bow.

purubut *vi.* trample.

pus *vi.* push.

puskat *n.* cat.

pusum *vt.* push.

puteto *n.* potato.

putum *vt.* put.

putumap *vt.* erect.

putumbaek *vt.* replace.

putumdaon *vt.* put down.

R - r

raba 1 • *n.* rubber band.
2 • *n.* eraser.
3 • *adj.* resilient.
4 • *n.* condom.

rabam *vt.* rub.

rabamaot *vt.* erase.

raed *vi.* ride.

raeot *n.* riot.

raep *adj.* ripe.

raepwan *n.* ripe one.

raes₁ *n.* rice.

raes₂ *vi.* rise.

raet₁ *vi.* write.

raet₂ *adj.* right.

raet₃ *n.* right.

raetem *vt.* write.

raetemdaon *vt.* write
down.

raeting *n.* writing.

raetsaet *loc-adv.* right hand
side.

raf *adj.* rough.

rafsi *n.* rough seas.

rafta *n.* rafter.

ragbi *n.* rugby.

ramarama *vi.* copulate.

ramem *vt.* 1 • pound.
2 • copulate.

ramo *n.* warrior.

ran *vm.* run.

ranaot *vi.* run out.

ranawe *vi.* leave.

randaon *vm.* run down.

ranem *vt.* 1 • run a distance.
2 • operate a business.

Ranongga *prop.* Ranongga
Island.

raoa *vi.* argue.

raon *adj.* round.

raonabaot *loc-adv.* around.

raonem *preptr.* encircle.

raontu *vi.* take a second
helping.

raonwata *n.* lake.

raosim *vt.* expel.

raosimaot *vt.* expel.

rasin *n.* ration.

rasta *n.* rust.

rat *n.* rat.

ravem *vt.* cheat.

raverave *vi.* deceive.

ravis *adj.* rubbish.

raviswan *n.* bad thing.

red *adj.* red.

redfala *See main entry:*
red *adj.* red.

redi *vi.* ready.

redim *vt.* prepare.

radio *n.* radio.

redmani *n.* valuable red
shell money.

reibot *n.* ray boat.

reik *n.* rake.

reipem *vt.* rape.

rejistam *vt.* register land.

reke *vi.* wreck.

rekod *n.* record.

rekodem *vt.* record.

reletif *n.* relative.

ren 1 • *n.* rain.
2 • *vi.* rain.

renbou *n.* rainbow.

renem *vt.* rain on.

renol *n.* Rennell.

rent *vi.* rent.

rentem *vt.* rent.

rere *vi.* prepare.

rerem *vt.* prepare.

res *vi.* rest.

resa 1 • *n.* razor.
2 • *vi.* shave.

resam *See main entry:*
resarem.

resarem *vt.* shave.

reshaos *n.* rest house.

resis 1 • *n.* race.
2 • *vi.* rush.
3 • *n.* competition.
4 • *vi.* race.

respekt *vi.* respect.

respektem *vt.* respect.

ret *n.* 1 • rates.
2 • tax.

rib *n.* rib.

riben *n.* ribbon.

rid *vi.* read.

ridim *vt.* read.

ridimaot *vt.* read aloud.

rif *n.* reef.

**Rijanol Asistens Misin
long Solomon**

Aelan *prop.* Regional
Assistance Mission to
Solomon Islands.

rili *adv.* real.

rimemba *vi.* remember.

rimembam *See main entry:*
rimembarem.

rimembarem *vt.*
remember.

ring *vi.* ring.

ringim *vt.* 1 • ring.
2 • play.
3 • telephone.

ringkek *n.* doughnut.

ringwom *n.* tinea.

ripot 1 • *n.* report.
2 • *vi.* report.

ripotem *vt.* report.

ris *adj.* rich.

risis *n.* wealth.

risit *n.* receipt.

risitim *vt.* write receipt.

rison *n.* 1 • reason.
2 • cause.

ritaea *vi.* retire.

riva *n.* river.

rod *n.* road.

rok *n.* rock.

roket *n.* 1 • rocket.
2 • chilli.

rol *vi.* roll.

roldaon *vi.* roll down.

rolem *vt.* roll.

rolemaot *vt.* roll away.

rolemap *vt.* roll up.

rolkol *vi.* role call.

ronem *vt.* chase.

rong *adj.* wrong.

rop *n.* rope.

ropnil *n.* thorny vine.

roten *adj.* 1 • rotten.
2 • rusted.

Rove *prop.* 1 • Rove
(suburb).
2 • Rove prison.

ruf *n.* roof.

rul *n.* rule.

rula *n.* ruler measuring.

rulim *vt.* 1 • rule.
2 • judge.

rum *n.* 1 • room.
2 • space.

rut *n.* root.

S - s

sa *voc.* sir.

sabat *n.* sabbath.

sado *n.* shadow.

saekloun *n.* cyclone.

saen₁ *n.* 1 • sign.
2 • miracle.

saen₂ *vi.* shine.

Saena *prop.* China.

saenakabis *n.* chinese
cabbage.

Saenaman *n.* Chinese.

Saenataon *prop.*
Chinatown.

saenem *vt.* sign.

saes *n.* size.

saet *n.* 1 • side.
2 • side of.

saetem *vt.* 1 • go alongside.
2 • side with in court.

saetsi *n.* shore.

saetwata *n.* riverbank.

safa *vi.* suffer.

Sagabo *n.* Gilbertese.

sak *n.* shark.

sakem *vt.* sack.

sakol *n.* charcoal.

sakramen *n.* sacrament.

sakrifaes *n.* sacrifice.

sakrifaesem *vt.* sacrifice.

salari *n.* salary.

salat *n.* shallot.

salem *vt.* sell.
salemaot *vt.* sell off.
salut *vi.* salute.
salutim *vt.* salute.
sam₁ *quan.* some.
sam₂ *n.* psalm.
samde *n.* someday.
samfala *See main entry:*
sam₂.1 • *quan.* some.
2 • *non-pers pro.* some.
samples *loc-adv.*
someplace.
samtaem *adv.* sometimes.
samting *non-pers pro.* thing.
samwan *non-pers pro.*
someone.
samwea *loc-adv.*
somewhere.
san₁ *n.* sun.
san₂ *n.* son.
sanbis *n.* beach.
Sande *prop.* Sunday.
sandol *n.* sandal.
sandrae *vi.* dry in the sun.
sans *n.* chance.
saoa *adj.* 1 • sour.
2 • bitter.
saon *n.* sound.
saosop *n.* soursop.
saot₁ *n.* south.
saot₂ *vi.* shout.
saot₃ *vi.* reward.
saotem₁ *vt.* shout.
saotem₂ *vt.* reward.
sap *adj.* sharp.
sapa *n.* 1 • dinner.
2 • dusk.
sapanem *vt.* sharpen.
saplae *n.* food.
saplaem *vt.* supply.
sapos *adv.* if.
sapot *vi.* support.
sapotem *vt.* support.

sapraes *vi.* surprise.
sapta *n.* chapter.
sarap *interj.* shut up.
sarenda *vi.* surrender.
Sarere *See main entry:*
Satade.
sat *vi.* shut.
Satade *prop.* Saturday.
satae *vi.* wink.
Satan *n.* Satan.
satarem *vt.* charter.
satem *vt.* shut.
satisfae *vi.* satisfy.
sau *n.* fish.
save 1 • *vi.* know.
2 • *n.* knowledge.
3 • *TMA.* ABILITY.
4 • *TMA.* HABITUAL.
5 • *TMA.* PERMISSION.
savegud *vi.* know well.
Savo *prop.* Savo.
savol *n.* shovel.
sea *n.* chair.
seaman *n.* chairman.
searaotem *vt.* share out.
searem *vt.* share.
searemaot *vt.* share out.
sef *adj.* safe.
sego *n.* sago.
sei 1 • *vi.* say.
2 • *voc.* WOW.
seil *n.* sail.
seiling bot *n.* sailing boat.
seint *n.* saint.
sek *vi.* shake.
sekap *vi.* check.
seke *vi.* startle.
sekem₁ *vt.* shake.
sekem₂ *vt.* check.
sekemaot *vt.* shake out.
sekemap *vt.* check.
sekhan *vi.* shake hands.

sekiuriti *n.* security officer.
seknomoa 1 • *adv.*
immediately.
2 • *con-adv.* unexpectedly.
sekol *n.* circle.
sekon *ord num.* second.
sekondri *adj.* secondary.
sekonri *See main entry:*
sekondri.
sekret₁ *n.* secret.
sekret₂ *adj.* sacred.
sekretri *n.* secretary.
seksek *vi.* 1 • shiver or
shake.
2 • fear.
3 • worry.
seksin *n.* section.
sel₁ *n.* shell.
sel₂ *n.* prison cell.
selebretem *vt.* celebrate.
seleni *n.* money.
seleva *mod.postn.* 1 • self.
2 • EMPHASIS.
3 • alone.
selmani *n.* shell money.
sem₁ *adj.* same.
sem₂ 1 • *n.* shame.
2 • *vi.* ashamed.
semkaen *subclsfr n.* same
kind.
semsamting *n.* same
thing.
semsem *vi.* identical.
semtaem *n.* same time.
sen *n.* chain.
sendem *vt.* send.
sendemaot *vt.* send out.
sendre *n.* sentry.
senem *vt.* chain.
sens *vi.* change.
sensas *n.* census.
sensbaek *vi.* change back.
sensim *vt.* exchange.
sensimbaek *vt.* replace.

senso *n.* chainsaw.
sentā *n.* 1 • centre.
 2 • building.
sentemita *n.* centimetre.
sentens *n.* sentence.
sentrol *adj.* central.
Septemba *n.* September.
seremoni *n.* ceremony.
sest *n.* chest.
setifiket *n.* certificate.
sev₁ *vi.* save.
sev₂ *vi.* shave.
sevei *vi.* survey.
sevem₁ *vt.* save.
sevem₂ *vt.* shave.
seven *num.* seven.
Sevende *prop.* Seventh Day Adventist.
sevenfala *See main entry:*
seven.*num.* seven.
seventi *num.* seventy.
seventin *num.* seventeen.
seventiseven *num.* seventy seven.
sevia *n.* saviour.
sevis *n.* service.
si *n.* sea.
sid *n.* seed.
sidaon *vi.* 1 • sit.
 2 • reside.
sidnat *n.* seedling.
sif *n.* chief.
sigal *n.* outboard motor.
sigaret *n.* cigarette.
siginasa *n.* signature.
sik 1 • *vi.* sick.
 2 • *n.* illness.
sikman *n.* sick man.
siknes *n.* disease.
sikos *n.* coast.
Sikos *n.* SSEC.
sikrap *n.* bush.

siks *num.* six.
siksfala *See main entry:*
siks.*num.* six.
siksti *num.* sixty.
sikstin *num.* sixteen.
sil₁ *n.* shield.
sil₂ *n.* seal.
silik *n.* silk.
silva *n.* silver.
Simbo *prop.* Simbo Island.
simen *n.* cement.
sin 1 • *n.* sin.
 2 • *vi.* sin.
sing *vi.* sing.
singa *n.* sewing machine.
singaot *vi.* call.
singaotem *vt.* call.
singdaon *vi.* sink.
singgol *adj.* unmarried.
singim *vt.* sing.
singk *n.* 1 • sink.
 2 • bathroom hand basin.
singsing 1 • *n.* song.
 2 • *vi.* sing.
sios *n.* church.
sip *n.* ship.
sipsip *n.* sheep.
sisel *n.* chisel.
sisis *n.* scissors.
sisiu *n.* heron.
sison *n.* season.
sista *n.* sister.
sitbed *n.* bed sheet.
siti₁ 1 • *n.* faeces.
 2 • *vi.* defecate.
siti₂ *n.* city.
sitsit *vi.* shit.
siusim *vt.* choose.
siusimaot *vt.* select.
skae *n.* sky.
skel₁ *n.* scales.

skel₂ *n.* fish scales.
skelem₁ *vt.* weigh.
skelem₂ *vt.* scale.
sket *n.* skirt.
skin *n.* skin.
skinbon *adj.* skinny.
skinim *vt.* peel.
skiski *adj.* slippery.
skoa *n.* score.
skolasip *n.* scholarship.
skon *n.* scone.
skopion *n.* scorpion.
skras *vi.* 1 • scratch.
 2 • itch.
skrasim *vt.* 1 • scratch.
 2 • scrape.
skrepa *n.* scraper.
skrepam *vt.* scrape.
skrin *n.* computer monitor.
skru *n.* screw.
skrumekol *n.* screw in torch globe.
skuea 1 • *n.* square.
 2 • *adj.* equal.
skuearem *vt.* equalise.
skuis *vi.* squeeze.
skuisim *vt.* squeeze.
skuisimaot *vt.* squeeze out.
skul 1 • *n.* school.
 2 • *vi.* study.
skulim *vt.* teach.
slak *adj.* slack.
slakem *vt.* slacken.
slapem *vt.* slap.
slev *n.* slave.
slip *vi.* sleep.
slipa *n.* thongs.
slipri *adj.* slippery.
slou *adj.* slow.
sloum *vt.* slow something down.
smael *vi.* smile.

smas *vi.* smash.
smasem *vt.* mash.
smat *adj.* smart.
smel *n.* odour.
smelem *vt.* smell.
smelgud *vi.* smells nice.
smok 1 • *n.* smoke.
 2 • *vi.* smoking.
smokem *vt.* smoke.
smol *adj.* small.
smolfala *See main entry:*
smol.adj. small.
smolwan *n.* small one.
smut *adj.* smooth.
smutim *vt.* smooth it.
snapa *n.* snapper.
snek *n.* snake.
snekbin *n.* snake bean.
snis *vi.* sneeze.
snou *n.* 1 • snow.
 2 • mist.
so 1 • *con-adv.* so.
 2 • *adv.* so.
soa₁ 1 • *adj.* sore.
 2 • *n.* sore.
soa₂ *n.* shore.
soa₃ *n.* saw.
soalek *n.* sore leg.
soaot *vi.* demonstrate.
Soesol *prop.* Choiseul.
sof *adj.* soft.
soing *n.* sewing.
sok *n.* chalk.
soka *n.* soccer.
sokem₁ *vt.* brace a building.
sokem₂ *vt.* soak.
soklet *n.* chocolate.
solda *n.* shoulder.
soldia *n.* soldier.
Solomon *n.* Solomon
 Islands.

Solomon Aelan *prop.*
 Solomon Islands.
solt *n.* salt.
soltem *vt.* preserve with
 salt.
solwata *n.* sea.
som₁ *vt.* show.
som₂ *vt.* sew.
somaot *vt.* show out.
somap *vt.* sew.
somapem *vt.* sew.
sop₁ *n.* soap.
sop₂ *n.* shop.
sopem *vt.* soap up.
sore 1 • *vi.* sorry.
 2 • *n.* sorrow.
sosa *n.* saucer.
sosaeti *n.* society.
sosej *n.* sausage.
sospen *n.* saucepan.
sot *adj.* short.
sote *n.* shirt.
sotfala *See main entry:*
sot.adj. short.
sotkat *n.* short cut.
Sotlan *prop.* Shortland
 Islands.
sotwan *n.* short one.
sotwev *n.* radio.
sotwin 1 • *vi.* breathless.
 2 • *n.* asthma.
 3 • *vi.* exhausted.
spak *vi.* drunk.
spakmasta *n.* drunkard.
spana *n.* spanner.
speawan *n.* extra.
spel *vi.* rest.
spelem *vt.* spell.
speling *n.* spelling.
spendem *vt.* spend.
spes *n.* space.
spesem *vt.* space.

spesem pikinini *See main
 entry: spesem.practice*
 birth control.
spesol *adj.* special.
spesolwan *n.* special one.
spia *n.* 1 • spear.
 2 • tobacco.
spialaen *n.* boundary.
spiarem *vt.* spear.
spid *vi.* speed.
spidim *vt.* accelerate.
spikim *vt.* speak.
spirit *n.* spirit.
spit 1 • *vi.* spit.
 2 • *n.* saliva.
spasem *vt.* splash.
splitim *vt.* split.
spoel *vi.* ruin.
spoelem *vt.* damage.
sponsarem *vt.* sponsor.
spred *vi.* spread.
spredaot *vi.* spread out.
spredem *vt.* spread.
sprei *vi.* spray.
spreim *vt.* spray.
spring *n.* spring.
springwata *n.* spring
 water.
spun *n.* spoon.
ssst *interj.* ATTRACT
 ATTENTION.
sta *n.* 1 • star.
 2 • firefly.
stabod *n.* starboard.
stadi *vi.* study.
stadim *vt.* study.
stael *n.* style.
staelem *vt.* style.
staka 1 • *quan.* many.
 2 • *non-pers pro.* heaps.
stakem *vt.* stack.
stam *n.* stamp.
stambem *vt.* stamp.

stanap *vi.* stand.
stanbae *vi.* ready.
standad *n.* grade level in primary school.
stanemap *vt.* make stand.
stanpaep *n.* standpipe.
stap *vi.* stay.
stapbaek *vi.* remain.
stapgud *vi.* contented.
staphaed *vi.* hidden.
stat *vi.* start.
statem *vt.* start.
step 1 • *n.* stair tread.
 2 • *vi.* step.
stepem *vt.* tread on.
stesin *n.* outstation.
stia 1 • *vi.* steer.
 2 • *n.* rudder.
stiaem *vt.* steer.
stik *n.* 1 • stick.
 2 • magnet.
stikim *vt.* 1 • prick.
 2 • stab.
stil *vi.* steal.
stilim *vt.* steal.
stoa *n.* store.
stoaman *n.* store owner.
stoarem *vt.* store.
stoarum *n.* storeroom.
stom *n.* storm.
ston *n.* stone.
stop *vi.* stop.
stopem *vt.* 1 • stop.
 2 • forbid.
 3 • prevent.

stori 1 • *n.* story.
 2 • *vi.* tell.
 3 • *vi.* chat.
storim *vt.* tell a story.
stov *n.* stove.
straek 1 • *n.* industrial action.
 2 • *vi.* strike.
stragol *vi.* struggle.
strap *n.* belt.
strensa *n.* stranger.
stret *adj.* straight.
stretem *vt.* straighten.
stretfala *See main entry:*
stret.adj. straight.
stretwan *n.* straight one.
stretwe *adv.* immediately.
strik *adj.* strict.
string *n.* 1 • string.
 2 • tendon.
 3 • vein.
 4 • muscle.
stringban *n.* local music group.
strong 1 • *adj.* strong.
 2 • *n.* strength.
strongfala *See main entry:*
strong.
strongim *vt.* strengthen.
strongwan *n.* strong one.
student *n.* student.
stul *n.* stool.
su₁ *n.* shoe.
su₂ *n.* shoe.
sualom *vt.* swallow.
sualomdaon *vt.* swallow.

suam *n.* swamp.
subi *n.* club.
sud *deon.mkr.* should.
suea 1 • *vi.* curse.
 2 • *n.* swearing.
suelap *vi.* swell.
suet *vi.* sweat.
suga *n.* sugar.
sugaken *n.* sugarcane.
sugam *See main entry:*
sugarem.
sugarem *vt.* 1 • sweeten.
 2 • flatter.
 3 • bribe.
suim *vi.* 1 • bathe.
 2 • swim.
suip *vi.* sweep.
suipim *vt.* sweep.
suit *adj.* 1 • sweet.
 2 • pleasant.
suitim *vt.* 1 • sweeten.
 2 • flatter.
sulu *n.* wrap-around.
sunami *n.* tsunami.
supsup 1 • *n.* soup.
 2 • *adj.* mixed.
susu 1 • *n.* breast.
 2 • *n.* breast milk.
 3 • *vi.* breastfeed.
susum *vt.* breastfeed.
sut *vi.* shoot.
sutim *vt.* 1 • shoot.
 2 • throw.
sutlaet *n.* torch.

T - t

tabalo *n.* cargo hold.
taea *n.* tyre.
taed *n.* tide.
taedolwev *n.* tidal wave.

taem 1 • *n.* time.
 2 • *sub.* when.
taemap *vt.* tie.
taemapem *vt.* tie up.
taengem *vt.* fasten.

taengemap *vt.* fasten.
taepem *vt.* type.
taepraeta *n.* typewriter.
taet₁ *adj.* tight.

taet₂ *adj.* tired.
taetem *vt.* tighten.
taetol *n.* title.
tafula'ae *n.* length of traditional shell money.
tagetem *vt.* 1 • hit a target.
 2 • copulate.
Taina *n.* Polynesian.
taio *n.* Taiyo.
taks *n.* tax.
taksi *n.* taxi.
talem *vt.* tell.
talemaot *vt.* declare.
talemhaed *vt.* whisper.
talemse *vt.* claim.
tamborin *n.* tambourine.
tambu 1 • *adj.* taboo.
 2 • *n.* forbidden.
 3 • *n.* in-law.
tambuhaos *n.* temple.
tambuples *n.* sacred site.
tanda *n.* thunder.
tane₁ *vi.* turn.
tane₂ *vi.* done.
tanebaek *vi.* turn back.
tanem *vt.* 1 • turn.
 2 • alter.
tanemraon *vt.* turn round.
taneraon *vi.* turn around.
tang *n.* tongue.
tangk *n.* tank.
taoa *n.* tower.
taol *n.* towel.
taon *n.* town.
taosen *num.* thousand.
tap *n.* tap.
taro *n.* taro.
tasim *vt.* touch.
tasiu *n.* Melanesian brother.
tatu *n.* tattoo.
tatuim *vt.* tattoo.
tebol *n.* table.

teip₁ *n.* tape.
teip₂ *n.* 1 • cassette.
 2 • cassette player.
teipim *vt.* record on cassette tape.
teist₁ *vi.* taste.
teistim *vt.* taste.
tekaot *vi.* remove.
tekaotem *vt.* remove.
tekawe *prep.* minus.
tekem *vt.* take.
tekemaot *vt.* take out.
tekembaek *vt.* return.
tekemdaon *vt.* take down.
teknikol *n.* technical training.
tekova *vi.* take over.
tekrpat *vi.* participate.
teksaet *vi.* take sides.
tekwin *vi.* inhale.
tel *n.* tail.
telefon *n.* telephone.
Temotu *n.* Temotu.
ten *num.* ten.
tenfala *See main entry:*
ten*num.* ten.
tengkiu *interj.* thank you.
tenkomanmen *n.* ten commandments.
test₂ *n.* test.
testem *vt.* test.
teti *num.* thirty.
tetifala *See main entry:*
teti*num.* thirty.
tetin *num.* thirteen.
ti *n.* tea.
tias *n.* tears.
tibi *n.* tuberculosis.
tik 1 • *adj.* thick.
 2 • *n.* thickness.
tiket *n.* ticket.
Tikopia *prop.* Tikopia.

tim *n.* team.
timba *n.* timber.
tin *n.* can.
ting *vi.* think.
tingabaotem *vt.* consider.
tingdaonem *vt.* disrespect.
tinghae *vi.* respect.
tinghevi *vi.* consider carefully.
tingim *vt.* think.
tingimbaek *vt.* remember.
tingimse *vt.* thought.
tingse *vi.* thought.
tingting 1 • *vi.* think.
 2 • *n.* thoughts.
tingtinghevi *vi.* worry.
tipot *n.* teapot.
tis *vi.* teach.
tisa *n.* teacher.
tisim *vt.* teach.
tising *n.* teaching.
tit *n.* teeth.
tiub *n.* inner tube.
tiun *n.* tune.
tiunim *vt.* tune.
Tiusde *prop.* Tuesday.
tivi *n.* TV.
tobako *n.* tobacco.
toelet *n.* toilet.
tok *vi.* talk.
tokabaotem *vt.* discuss.
tokagensim *vt.* speak against.
tokaot *vi.* express.
tokbaek *vi.* talk back.
tokdaonem *vt.* insult.
tokfani *vi.* joke.
tokgiaman *vi.* lie.
tokhad *vi.* scold.
tokhae *vi.* praise.
tokhaed *n.* secret.

tokhapi 1 • *vi.* approve.
2 • *n.* commendation.
toklaea *vi.* lie.
toknogud *vi.* be rude.
tokpiksa *n.* parable.
tokpraod *vi.* boast.
tokraonem *vt.* discuss.
toksmol *vi.* whisper.
toksore 1 • *n.* apology.
2 • *n.* condolences.
3 • *vi.* apologise.
4 • *vi.* express sympathy.
tokspoelem *vt.* ridicule.
tokstrong *vi.* warn.
toksuea *vi.* swear.
toktanggio *vi.* thank.
toktok 1 • *vi.* talk.
2 • *n.* speech.
3 • *n.* language.
toktokhaed 1 • *vi.* whisper.
2 • *n.* secrets.
toktru *vi.* speak truthfully.
tol *adj.* tall.
toľfala *See main entry: tol.adj.*
tolwan *n.* tall one.
tomeo *n.* tomahawk.
ton *n.* thorn.
toraot *vi.* vomit.
toraotem *vt.* vomit.
torowe *vi.* dispose.
torowedaon *vi.* drop.
torowem *vt.* throw away.
Tosde *prop.* Thursday.

tosim *vt.* shine a torch.
toslaet *n.* torch.
totel *n.* turtle.
totes *n.* tortoise.
trabol *n.* trouble.
trae *vi.* try.
traehad *vi.* exert.
traem *vt.* try.
trak *n.* truck.
tralala *n.* social dance.
transfa *vi.* job transfer.
translesin *n.* translation.
transletem *vt.* translate.
transpot *n.* transport.
trasis *n.* shorts.
trast *vi.* trust.
trastem *vt.* trust.
trenem *vt.* train someone.
tri₁ *n.* tree.
tri₂ *num.* three.
trifala *See main entry: tri₂.num.*
three.
trik 1 • *vi.* trick.
2 • *n.* trick.
trikim *vt.* trick.
triklok *n.* three o'clock.
tristori *n.* three storey.
tritim *vt.* treat.
trokas *n.* trochus.
trolaen *vi.* fishing.
trom *vt.* 1 • throw.
2 • cast.

tron *n.* throne.
trot *n.* throat.
tru *adj.* true.
truwan *n.* true one.
tu₁ 1 • *mod.postn.* also.
2 • *adv.* too.
tu₂ *num.* two.
tu-tri *quan.* a few.
tudak *n.* darkness.
tude *n.* today.
tuel *num.* twelve.
tuelfala *See main entry:*
tuel.num. twelve.
tuelklok *n.* twelve o'clock.
tuenti *num.* twenty.
tufala *See main entry:*
tu₂.1 • *num.* two.
2 • *pro.* those two.
tugeta 1 • *adv.* together.
2 • *mod.postpr.* together.
tuin *n.* twins.
tukol *n.* 1 • chill.
2 • cold.
tul *n.* tool.
tumaen *vi.* undecided.
tumas *adv.* very.
tumerik *n.* turmeric.
tumoro *n.* tomorrow.
tunaet *n.* tonight.
turis *n.* tourist.
tuwet *vi.* wet.
tuwetem *vt.* dampen.

U - u

ukalele *n.* ukalele.

umu *n.* oven.

ura *n.* crayfish.

V - v

vaen *n.* vine.**vali** *n.* valley.**vara** *n.* coconut seedling.**varanda** *n.* verandah.**ves** *n.* verse.**vilij** *n.* village.**visit** *vi.* visit.**visitim** *vt.* visit.**voes** *n.* voice.**volibol** *n.* volleyball.**volkeno** *n.* volcano.**vomet** *vi.* vomit.**vot** 1 • *vi.* vote.
2 • *n.* vote.**votem** *vt.* vote.

W - w

waea *n.* wire.**waealas** *n.* radio.**waed** *adj.* wide.**waedfala** *See main entry:*
waed *adj.* wide.**waef** *n.* wife.**wael** *adj.* wild.**waen** *n.* wine.**waes** *adj.* wise.**waesman** *n.* wise man.**waet** *adj.* white.**waetans** *n.* termite.**waetfala** *See main entry:*
waet *adj.* white.**waetspot** *n.* tinea
versicolor.**waf** *n.* wharf.**waka** 1 • *vi.* work.
2 • *n.* work.**wakabaot** *vi.* walk.**wakaboe** *n.* servant.**wakahad** *vi.* work hard.**wakaman** *n.* workman.**wakamere** *n.* maid.**wakem** *vt.* 1 • make.
2 • construct.**wakemaot** *vt.* develop.**wakembaek** *vt.* restore.**waku** *n.* chinese.**wan** 1 • *num.* one.
2 • *det.* a.**wan-tent** *n.* tithe.**wande** *vi.* want.**wandem** *vt.* want.**wanem** *interog pro-form.*
what.**wanfala** 1 • *num.* one.
2 • *det.* a.**wankaen** *subclsfr n.* one
kind.**wanklok** *n.* one o'clock.**wanlaen** *n.* same clan.**wanmaen** *vi.* 1 • decide.
2 • agreed.**wanples** *n.* one place.**wans** *adv.* when.**wansaet** *n.* one side.**wantaem** 1 • *adv.* once.
2 • *n.* one time.**wantok** *n.* relative.**wari** *vi.* worry.**warim** *vt.* worry.**was** *vi.* wash.**wasim** *vt.* wash.**wasimaot** *vt.* washout.**waswas** *vi.* paddle.**waswe** *interog pro-form.* why.**wat** *interog pro-form.* what.**wata** *n.* water.**wataem** *interog pro-form.*
what time.**watafol** *n.* waterfall.**watakres** *n.* watercress.**watarem** *vt.* irrigate.**watasaplae** *n.* water
supply.**watkaen** *interog pro-form.*
what kind.**watsaet** *interog pro-form.*
what side.**wea** 1 • *interog pro-form.*
where.
2 • *rel.* that.
2.1 • *comp.* that.**wei** *n.* way.**weit** *vi.* wait.**weitem** *vt.* wait for.**wejis** *n.* wages.**wekap** *vi.* awake.**wekapem** *vt.* wake up.**wel** *n.* well.**welkam** *vi.* welcome.**welkamem** *vt.* welcome.**Wenesde** *prop.* Wednesday.**wepon** *n.* weapon.**werem** *vt.* wear.**west** *n.* west.**westem** *vt.* waste.**Westen** *n.* Western.**wet** *adj.* wet.**wetem** *vt.* wet.**wew** *n.* wave.**wid** *n.* weed.**widim** *vt.* weed.**wido** *n.* widow.

wik₁ *n.* week.

wik₂ *n.* wick.

wik₃ *adj.* weak.

wikdaon *vi.* weaken.

wiked *n.* pagan belief and practice.

wiken *n.* weekend.

wiket *n.* wicket.

wikfala *See main entry:*
wik₃*adj.* weak.

wil *n.* wheel.

wiling *vi.* willing.

win₁ *vi.* win.

win₂ *n.* wind.

windo *n.* window.

wing *n.* wing.

winim 1 • *vt.* defeat.

2 • *vt.* win.

3 • *preptr.* beyond.

wip *vi.* whip.

wipim *vt.* 1 • whip.

2 • beat.

3 • abuse.

wisolem *vt.* whistle.

witnes *vi.* testify.

witnesim *vt.* witness something.

wivim *vt.* weave.

woa *n.* war.

woasip *n.* warship.

wod *n.* word.

wokingstik *n.* walking stick.

wol₁ *n.* world.

wol₂ *n.* wall.

woling *n.* walling.

wolston *n.* stone wall.

wom *n.* worm.

woman *n.* woman.

womit *See main entry:* vomet.

wonem *vt.* warn.

woning *n.* warning.

wos *adj.* worse.

wosip *vi.* worship.

wosipim *vt.* worship.

wud *n.* wood.

Y - y

ya 1 • *dem.* this, that, these, those, the.

2 • *foc.* EMPHASIS.

3 • *interj.* yes.

4 • *qntag.* QN.

yam *n.* yam.

Yandina *prop.* Yandina.

yang *adj.* young.

yanga *n.* young people.

yangfala *See main entry:*
yang*adj.* young.

yangman *n.* young man.

yangwan *n.* young one.

yangwoman *n.* young woman.

yelo *adj.* yellow.

yes *interj.* yes.

yestade *n.* yesterday.

yet *adv.* still.

ya *n.* year.

yist *n.* yeast.

yu *pro.* you (singular).

yufala *pro.* you (plural).

yumi *pro.* we (inclusive).

yumitrifala *pro.* us three (inclusive).

yumitufala *pro.* us two (inclusive).

Yunaeted *prop.* United Church.

yunian *n.* union.

yunifom *n.* uniform.

yunivesiti *n.* university.

yuropian *n.* European.

yus *vi.* use.

yusim *vt.* use.

yusles *adj.* useless.

yut *n.* youth.

yutrifala *pro.* you three.

yutufala *pro.* you two.