

PARALLELS IN STRUCTURE OF LEXICON AND SYNTAX BETWEEN NEW HEBRIDES BISLAMA AND THE SOUTH SANTO LANGUAGE AS SPOKEN AT TANGOA*

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1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. THE NEW HEBRIDES

The islands of the New Hebrides lie in southern Melanesia, between the British Solomon Islands Protectorate to the north and the French territory of New Caledonia to the south. Together with the Banks and Torres Islands, to their immediate north, they form a single group of islands jointly administered by Great Britain and France as a condominium. According to the 1967 Census Report, the total population of the territory was then 76,582 people, 70,837 of whom were indigenous. Current estimates indicate that the indigenous population is now, (1974), approaching 80,000, with the total population near 90,000. A survey of the languages spoken in the area is being carried out by D.T. Tryon of the Australian National University.¹ His initial report has tentatively listed 110 languages in use, with the reservation that further investigation of possible dialect chaining may vary this figure. The official languages of administration, education and commerce within the condominium are English and French. Bislama is in use throughout the area as a lingua franca among the indigenous population and between them and the expatriate minority. Together with English and French, Bislama is used on the programmes of the condominium's only radio station, and some use of it is also made in the regular newsletters of both British and French residencies. Over the last five years some Christian literature has been published in Bislama.

1.2. BISLAMA, THE NEW HEBRIDES-ENGLISH PIDGIN ENGLISH

The name 'Bislama' (in this form) is used throughout this discussion to refer to the New Hebrides-English Pidgin English in use within this territory. In the past, the name 'Beach-la-mar' has been applied to

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Melanesian-English Pidgin English, and even to Pacific-English Pidgin English implying a general uniformity in the pidgin in use throughout the whole region. During the last half of the last century, people were taken from all parts of Melanesia to work on the Queensland sugar plantations, and in this period, it may have been possible to have spoken of a single pidgin, "Beach-la-mar", in use throughout Melanesia. However, from the turn of the century, New Guinea, the Solomon Islands and the New Hebrides have maintained a largely separate existence from each other. Within each territory, that "Beach-la-mar" has undergone rapid development, largely as the lingua franca of the Melanesian population in each case, to the point where the use of a single name for the pidgins of the three areas is now confusing. On the 200-word Swadesh list, Bislama and Neo-Melanesian share 73 per cent common cognates, and on Tryon's extended Swadesh list of 309 items, they again share 73 per cent common items. Tryon indicates that he treats listings with less than 81 per cent common items as probably coming from separate languages. In seeking to account for this very rapid diversification, first to geographically isolated dialects and then to separate languages, within a period of eighty years, it is significant that both Bislama and Neo-Melanesian have developed primarily as the *lingue franche* of the Melanesian population, in regions where a large number of structurally diverse traditional languages have continued to flourish and to exert direct and indirect pressure on their development.

It is not possible to state precisely how many New Hebrideans at present speak Bislama. In the period 1850-1920 there was a widespread acceptance of the Christian faith among the New Hebrideans, with some consequent adaptation to European culture, bringing particularly a considerable increase in the mobility of the population. In these 'Christian' areas, now comprising more than 80 per cent of the population, virtually everyone of school-age understands Bislama, and all but a few of the older women speak it, at least with other New Hebrideans. In the areas that have retained most of their traditional culture virtually all adult males understand Bislama, and a substantial majority speak it. However, in these areas a minority of the women and few of the children understand or speak it to any great extent. Estimates generally place the number of speakers in excess of 50,000. During the last ten to fifteen years, with rising educational standards bringing increased work opportunities, further increased mobility and an increased acceptance of non-traditional life-styles, marriage across language barriers has become much more common, and in most cases, in both urban and rural situations, the children of these marriages speak Bislama as a first language. There are substantial New Hebridean

populations in the two towns of Vila and Luganville, numbering almost 10 per cent of the population of the territory. Among the children of these communities, Bislama is in use even by the very young, both among their age-mates and in their homes, and frequently as a first language.

1.3. THE TANGOAN LANGUAGE

In this discussion, some comparisons are made between the structure of lexicon and syntax of Bislama and Tangoan. Tangoan is the language spoken on Tangoa, a small island off the south coast of Santo, in the northern part of the New Hebrides. From Tryon's listing, it is an Austronesian language of the Oceanic type, belonging to his 'Northern New Hebrides Grouping'. This group comprises 44 languages having 50-80 per cent common cognates on his extended Swadesh list. Together with the Efatese language from the central New Hebrides, also an Oceanic type language, these languages have approximately 25,000 speakers, slightly less than a third of the total population.² Bislama is in active use throughout this entire area. The use of Tangoan for this comparison is not intended to imply that it has any special relationship with Bislama not shared by other New Hebridean languages, or at least by other Oceanic type languages. As a language with a relatively small number of speakers, such a relationship would be most unlikely. Rather, Tangoan is regarded as broadly representative of this substantial group of Oceanic type languages, with the implication that a comparison between Bislama and any other such language, while almost certainly differing in detail, would probably show roughly comparable results. In fact, large languages with a sufficient number of speakers to have had a more direct influence on the development of Bislama within the New Hebrides, may be expected to show closer lexical and structural parallels with Bislama than Tangoan.³

2. PARALLELS IN STRUCTURE OF THE LEXICON

2.1. ANALYSIS OF THE BISLAMA LEXICON

The vocabulary of Bislama is predominantly derived from roots of English origin. In an unpublished listing of Bislama words, now numbering slightly more than 2,000 items, more than 90 per cent are of recognisably English origin. Of the remaining words, less than 5 per cent are derived from Melanesian languages, less than 3 per cent are unequivocally from French and less than 2 per cent are from other language sources. (A few words which could have been regarded as having come from either French or English, e.g. *eneme*, '*enemy*' are treated as

of English origin in this count.) However, an examination of the areas of meaning of the words in Bislama, shows that the meanings of many words have been substantially defined by their Bislama usage, rather than by their usage in the language of origin. Some words have a relatively simple area of meaning, as the names of simple objects or actions, e.g. *jen* 'chain', *benem* 'to bend', (tr.)⁴. Most words, however, have a central area of meaning, with a number of extensions of that central meaning in various directions.

In preparing a dictionary Bislama-English, it has been found that for more than 85 per cent of the words listed, English equivalents can be found having substantially the same central area of meaning, with sufficient extensions of that meaning in common with the Bislama words, to make definition of the meaning of the Bislama word a fairly simple matter. However, in repeating that work against Tangoan, it has been found that such equivalents are available for more than 90 per cent of the Bislama listings. Restating, more than 80 per cent of these Bislama forms have good equivalents in both English and Tangoan. Of the remainder, about 10 per cent have good equivalents with Tangoan but not with English, about 5 per cent have good equivalents with English but not with Tangoan, about 1 per cent have good equivalents only with French and the remainder have no single good equivalent with English, French or Tangoan.

There are two direct implications from that analysis. Firstly that most of the Bislama vocabulary occurs and functions in those parts of the lexicon in which there is substantial parallelism in areas of meaning between English and Tangoan lexical units. This accords with its history as a second language, where communication has depended on the speaker using the Bislama 'tri' and thinking in terms of say, the Tangoan /vipacai/ having substantially a common area of meaning in mind, with the speaker using tri and thinking in terms of the English 'tree', or say the Upma speaker from the island of Pentecost, using tri and thinking in terms of /bukuka/. The agreement is hardly surprising, but indicates that while the Bislama lexical structure looks basically English to a native speaker of English, it also looks basically Tangoan to a native speaker of Tangoan. The second implication is that while some 5 per cent of Bislama words have an area of meaning derived from their use in English, which has to be learnt by Tangoan speakers as a change in their understanding of lexical area of meaning, substantially more Bislama words, 10 per cent of the list, have an area of meaning derived from language sources parallel with the structure of the Tangoan lexicon, and these have to be learnt by the English speakers coming to Bislama.

2.2. PARALLELS IN AREA OF MEANING OF BISLAMA AND TANGOAN LEXICAL ITEMS

2.2.1. Nouns

Bislama words with close parallels in Tangoan but not in English include some of the kinship terms, *papa blong mi*, /*tamaku*/, 'my father, my father's brother', *angkel blong mi*, /*tacaraku*/, 'my mother's brother', body parts, *han blong mi*, /*limaku*/, 'my arm, my hand', *tingga blong mi*, /*pisuku*/, 'my finger, my toe', and colours *blu*, /*ceja*/, 'blue, green', *red*, /*cacara*/, 'red, purple'.

2.2.2. Verbs

The group includes a number of verbs⁵ some of which maintain very close parallelism with the corresponding Tangoan verbs. Thus *harem /rogo/*, 'to hear, taste, smell, feel either by touch or by emotions'. The following examples illustrate the parallelism:

/na	rogo	nom	reti/	mi	harem	tok	blong	yu
pred	hear	poss	word	pred	hear	word	poss	pron
mkr		mkr-		mkr			mkr	2.s.
real		pron		l.s.				
l.s.		2.s.						

'I hear what you say.'

/na	rogo	na	ponana/	mi	harem	smel	blong	hem
pred	hear	obj	smell-	pred	hear	smell	poss	pron
mkr		mkr	pron	mkr			mkr	3.s.
real			3.s.	l.s.				
l.s.								

'I smell it.'

/na	rogoa	mo	memeje/	mi	harem	i	swit
pred	hear-	pred	stat	pred	hear	pred	stat
mkr	pron	mkr	sweet	mkr		mkr	sweet
real		real		l.s.		3.s.	
l.s.		3.s.					

'It tastes sweet to me.'

/na	rogoa	mo	cisu/	mi	harem	i	muv
pred	hear-	pred	move	pred	hear	pred	move
mkr	pron	mkr		mkr		mkr	
real	3.s.	real		l.s.		3.s.	
l.s.		3.s.					

'I feel it move.'

/na	rogo	cinau	sei	mo	tatacolo/	mi	harem	samting	ya	i	stret
pred	hear	thing	dem	pred	stat	pred	hear	thing	dem	pred	stat
mkr			adj	mkr	straight/	mkr			adj	mkr	straight/
real			this	real	correct	l.s.			3.s.	correct	
l.s.				3.s.							

'I feel this to be correct.'

/na rogo pageku mo cajlau/ mi harem bel blong mi i soa
 pred hear stomach- pred hurt- pred hear stomach poss pronpred stat
 mkr pron mkr pron mkr
 real l.s. real l.s. l.s. 3.s.
 l.s. 3.s.

'I have a stomach ache.'

/na rogoa mo tutuni/ mi harem i hot
 pred hear pred stat pred hear pred stat
 mkr pron mkr hot mkr mkr hot
 real real l.s. 3.s.
 l.s. 3.s.

'It (weather) is hot.'

'It (object) feels hot to me.'

/na rogoa mo maloloji/ mi harem i saen
 pred hear- pred stat pred hear pred stat
 mkr pron mkr smooth/ mkr mkr smooth/
 real real shiny l.s. 3.s. shiny
 l.s. 3.s.

'It feels smooth/shiny.'

/na rogoa na maloko/ mi harem mi taed
 pred hear- pred stat pred hear pred stat
 mkr pron mkr tired mkr mkr tired
 real 3.s. real l.s. l.s.
 l.s. l.s.

'I feel tired.'

/na rogo mo sati/ mi harem nogud
 pred hear pred stat pred hear mod
 mkr pred bad pred bad
 real real l.s.
 l.s. 3.s.

'I feel bad/I am upset.' (emotionally and physically)

There is a set of verbs of the type slip, /juruvi/, 'to lie down, to sleep'.

/mo lo juruvi/ i stap slip
 pred dur lie pred dur lie
 mkr asp down mkr asp down
 real 3.s.
 3.s.

'He is lying down.'

/mo juruvi moiso/ i slip finis
 pred lie compl pred lie compl
 mkr down asp mkr down asp
 real mkr 3.s. mkr
 3.s.

'He is asleep.'

Thus draon, /pute/, 'to be submerged, to be drowned'.

lus, /ticai/, 'to be lost, to be dead'.

ded, /mate/, 'to be unconscious, to be dead'.

olfala, /vajiaca/, 'to be old, to be senile'.

There are notable parallels in the areas of meaning of the verbs involved in honesty. In both Tangoan and Bislama, the normal verb '*to lie, to deceive*' includes the further meaning '*to mislead accidentally, or unintentionally*'.

/a sopo caluco, na sopo eñi vereaa/
 pred neg *lie-* pred neg cap *tell-*
 mkr mkr pron mkr mkr asp pron
 irr 2.s. real mkr 3.s.
 l.s.

mbae mi no gyaman long yu mi no save talem
 irr pred neg *lie* rel pron pred neg cap *tell*
 mkr mkr mkr mkr 2.s. mkr mkr asp
 l.s. l.s. mkr

'I won't mislead you, I can't tell you.'

In both Tangoan and Bislama, the verbs involved in the denial of an allegation demand a judgement about the truth or falsity of the denial. If the denial is thought to be dishonest, a verb '*to hide*' is used in referring to it, and if the denial is accepted as honest, both languages employ a form '*to say one did not do it*'.

/na usia cinia pani mo vunivunla/
 pred ask- rel- but pred *hide-hide-*
 mkr pron pron mkr pron
 real 3.s. 3.s. real 3.s.
 l.s. (he) (it) 3.s.

mi askem long hem be i haedem
 pred ask rel pron but pred *hide*
 mkr mkr 3.s. mkr
 l.s. 3.s.

'I asked him about it, but he denied it.'
 (implying rejection of the denial)

/na usia cinia pani mo vereaa vara mo sopo vaia/
 pred ask- rel- but pred *tell- say* pred neg *make-*
 mkr pron pron mkr pron mkr mkr pron
 real 3.s. 3.s. real 3.s. real 3.s.
 l.s. (he) (it) 3.s. 3.s.

mi askem long hem be i talem se i no mekem
 pred ask rel pron but pred *tell say* pred neg *make*
 mkr mkr 3.s. mkr mkr mkr
 l.s. 3.s. 3.s.

'I asked him about it but he denied it (implying acceptance of the denial).'

Again, in both languages, '*to make an excuse*', is '*to give a dishonest reason*', the alternative being '*to give one's word (of explanation)*'.

/na usia cinia pani mo pepeli mo vara...../
 pred ask- rel- but pred *give* pred *say*
 mkr pron pron mkr *excuse* mkr
 real 3.s. 3.s. real real
 l.s. 3.s. 3.s. 3.s.

mi askem long hem be i mekem eskyus, i se.....
 pred ask rel pron but pred make excuse pred say
 mkr mkr 3.s. mkr mkr
 l.s. 3.s. 3.s.

'I asked him about it but he made an excuse, saying ".....".'
 (implying rejection of the excuse as dishonest)

/na usia cinia moiso mo vere nona reti, mo vara...../
 pred ask- rel- then pred tell poss word pred say
 mkr pron pron mkr mkr- mkr
 real 3.s. 3.s. real pron real
 l.s. 3.s. 3.s. 3.s. 3.s.

mi askem long hem nao i talem tok blong hem, i se.....
 pred ask rel pron then pred tell word poss pron pred say
 mkr mkr 3.s. mkr mkr 3.s. mkr
 l.s. 3.s. 3.s.

'I asked him about it and he gave me his excuse, saying".....".'
 (implying acceptance of the excuse as genuine)

2.2.3. The Aspect Marker 'save'

There is close parallelism in the areas of meaning of the capability aspect marker /eñi/, save, 'to be able to, to be allowed to, to know how to, to be in the habit of'.

/enau na eñi cacau, paloku mo ñucu moiso/
 pron pred cap walk leg- pred stat compl
 l.s. mkr asp pron mkr good asp
 real mkr l.s. real mkr
 l.s. 3.s.

mi mi save wokbaot, leg blong mi i gud finis
 pron pred cap walk leg poss pron pred stat compl
 l.s. mkr asp mkr l.s. mkr good asp
 l.s. mkr 3.s. mkr

'I am able to walk, my leg has healed.'

/cañarici sei i eñi laci, tamana mo sopo mele coroa/
 girl dem pred cap marry father- pred neg inc forbid-
 adj mkr asp pron mkr end dur pron
 this irr mkr 3.s. real asp 3.s.
 3.s. 3.s. mkr

gei ya i save mared, papa blong hem i no moa blokem hem
 girl dem pred cap marry father poss pron pred neg inc forbid pron
 adj mkr asp mkr 3.s. mkr end dur 3.s.
 3.s. mkr 3.s. asp
 mkr

'This girl is allowed to marry, her father no longer forbids her (marriage).'

/enau na eñi evievi matana vajiaca sei mo vujagiau/
 pron pred cap read reas old dem pred teach-
 l.s. mkr asp mkr person adj mkr pron
 real mkr because this real l.s.
 l.s. 3.s.

mi mi save rid from we olfala ya i tijim mi
 pron pred cap read reas cla old dem pred teach pron
 1.s. mkr asp mkr mkr person adj mkr 1.s.
 1.s. mkr 3.s.

'I am able to read because this old man taught me.'

/caratu posina, i eñi reti socena/
 dem manner pred cap talk mod
 pron pron mkr asp like-
 that irr mkr pron
 3.s. 3.s.

hemia fasin blong hem, i save tok olsem
 dem manner poss pron pred cap talk mod
 pron mkr 3.s. mkr asp like
 3.s. mkr

'That's his manner, he regularly talks like that.'

2.2.4. The Modifier 'tumas'

In Tangoan, there is a modifier /jea/ 'very much', 'too much', used with adjectives, adverbs, noun phrases functioning as verb modifiers and with verbs. The double area of meaning of this modifier as both an intensive and excessive marker, is closely paralleled by the Bislama modifier *tumas*, 'very much', 'too much'.

/enia mo vajlaca jea pani mo lo suica/
 pron pred stat mod but pred dur stat
 3.s. mkr old- very/ mkr asp strong
 real person too real mkr
 3.s. 3.s.

hem i olfala tumas be i strong yet
 pron pred stat mod but pred stat mod
 3.s. mkr old- very/ mkr strong still
 3.s. mkr too 3.s.

'He is very old, but he is still strong.'

/enia mo vajlaca jea, mo sopo eñi mele cacau/
 pron pred stat mod pred neg cap inc walk
 3.s. mkr old- very/ mkr mkr asp asp
 real person too real mkr mkr
 3.s. 3.s. end dur asp mkr

hem i olfala tumas, i no moa save wokbaot
 pron pred stat mod pred neg inc cap walk
 3.s. mkr old- very/ mkr end dur asp
 3.s. mkr too 3.s. asp mkr
 mkr

'He is too old, he can't walk any more.'

/carici mo tavera jea, o lanañici na sopena/
 dem pred stat mod pred take- obj part-
 pron mkr big very/ mkr out mkr pron
 this real too irr 3.s.
 3.s. 2.s.

hemia	i	bigfala	tumas,	yu	tekemaot	haf	blong	hem
dem	pred	stat	mod	pred	take-	part	poss	pron
pron	mkr	big-	very/	mkr	out		mkr	3:s.
		3.s. mkr	too	2.s.				

'This is too much, take some of it away.'

2.3. PARALLELS IN AREA OF MEANING OF BISLAMA AND ENGLISH LEXICAL ITEMS

Bislama words with close parallels in English but not Tangoan are frequently the second of a pair, where English and Bislama both use two words in an area of meaning where Tangoan normally uses one.

2.3.1. Nouns

Thus, with nouns, *smel*, '*pleasant odour, scent*', /ponana/, and *sting*, '*bad odour*', /ponana/; *rafta*, '*rafter*', /řaja/ and *rib blong hem*, '*his, her, its ribs, of a human being, animal or boat*', /řajana/; *tok blong hem*, '*his word, what he said*', /nona reti/, and *lanwis blong hem*, '*his language*', /nona reti/; *brij*, '*bridge*', /vala/, and *wof*, '*wharf, jetty*', /vala/.

2.3.2. Verbs

With verbs, the same pattern occurs, but much less commonly. Thus *kaontem*, '*to count (tr.)*', /evi/, and *ridim*, '*to read (tr.)*', /evi/; *bodaon long*, '*to bend down towards, to bow before*', /ololo cin/, *ona long*, '*to honour*', /ololo cin/, and *obei long*, '*to obey (tr.)*', /ololo cin/; *tingbaot*, '*to think about, consider (tr.)*', /řomi/, and *fogivim*, '*to forgive (tr.)*', /řomi/.

2.3.3. Residuals

There is a small group of words which have a close English equivalent, but which have no closer Tangoan equivalent than a lexical phrase. Thus

/na	jigo	ima/,	afsaed,	'outside'
rel	loc	house		
mkr	mkr			
	mouth			

where the Tangoan phrase is used for the adverb '*outside*', whether it be outside the house, or building, outside, on the fringe of, the village, or 'on the outer' of a group of people. However, a number of the expressions of this type are widely regarded in the rural areas as 'recent' or 'town' Bislama, occurring alongside older forms more closely paralleling vernacular patterns. Thus,

/na naco ima/ 'in front of the house', has a traditional parallel,
 rel loc house
 mkr mkr
 face

long fes blong haos and a modern form long fran blong haos
 rel face poss house rel front poss house
 mkr mkr mkr mkr

'in front of the house'.

The Tangoan /na řalavuco jea/ 'early in the morning' has parallels
 rel morning mod
 mkr very/
 too

in the archaic long moning tumas and the current long eli moning.
 rel morning mod rel adj morning
 mkr very/
 too mkr early

Again, /řomitoco/, 'to hope', has parallels hop 'to hope' and the older
 think-remain

form still current putum tingting i stap long
 put mind- pred remain rel
 heart mkr mkr
 3.s.

2.4. PARALLELS IN AREA OF MEANING OF BISLAMA AND FRENCH LEXICAL ITEMS

In Bislama, words with close parallels in French but not in either English or Tangoan are generally words of obvious French origin. Thus the Bislama si 'yes, to a negative question' parallels the French 'si' 'yes, to a negative question', where English usage is 'yes', and Tangoan usage /ece/, 'no'. Similarly saye from the French 'ca-y-est' occurs in Bislama, paralleling the French usage without clear parallels in either English or Tangoan. Some Bislama words however, have adapted a word of English origin, to a French lexical area, an example being the Bislama ki, 'key, spanner' taken from the English 'key' but paralleling the area of meaning of the French 'clef', 'key, spanner'. The Tangoan, having neither key nor spanner indigenously, has taken the Bislama word as its loan, /ki/, 'key, spanner'.

2.5. BISLAMA WORDS WITH NO CLOSE PARALLELS IN TANGOAN OR ENGLISH LEXICON

In Bislama, there is a group of words which have an area of their meaning closely paralleled by the area of meaning of words in either Tangoan or English, but have significant areas of meaning for which this parallelism does not hold. Prominent in the group are the relationals blong, long and from.

2.5.1. blong

The Bislama blong functions as a relational, as first word in noun modifying phrases indicating possessor, purpose, characteristic or place of origin of the head noun. Phrase fillers may be nouns, pronouns, noun phrases or verbs. In Tangoan, the various forms of the possessive construction may function as the relational introducing noun modifier phrases indicating possessor, purpose or characteristic of the head noun. Phrase fillers may be pronouns, nouns or noun phrases. Thus klos blong woman, /ruru non cañai/ may each be *'the woman's clothes'*, *'the clothes for the woman'* or *'women's clothing'* determined only by the surrounding discourse. But

man	blong	gyaman	/tamlocl	calu/	'a habitual liar'
man	poss	tell	man	tell	
mkr		lie		lie	

are parallel but are structurally different and separate. Similarly, while man Narango, /mara Narago/, *'a man from Narango village'* is closely parallel in form, the construction is universal in Bislama and severely limited in Tangoan by the class of fillers, and the alternative Bislama phrase usually used in criticism man blong Narango *'a man from Narango village'* has no parallel in Tangoan.

However, in Bislama, in definitive equational-type clauses in which the 'predicate' is filled by a phrase defining the 'subject' of the equation, blong functions as a relational introducing phrases indicating possessor, purpose, characteristic or place of origin of the subject. Thus,

akis	ya	i	blong	papa	blong	mi
are	dem	cop	poss	father	poss	pron
	adj	sing	mkr		mkr	l.s.

'This are belongs to my father.'

akis	ya	i	blong	katem	kenu
are	dem	cop	poss	cut	canoe
	adj	sing	mkr		

'This are is for cutting canoes.'

akis	ya	i	blong	bifo
are	dem	cop	poss	earlier
	adj	sing	mkr	time

'This are is from the past/belongs to an earlier period.'

akis	ya	i	blong	wan	dei	nomo
are	dem	cop	poss	num	day	mod
	adj	sing	mkr	adj	only	
				one		

'This are is only going to last one day!'

akis	ya	i	blong	Santo
are	dem	cop	poss	Santo
	adj	sing	mkr	

'This are is from Santo (culture).'

In Tangoan, a similar definitive equational-type clause construction occurs in which phrases occur as fillers of the 'predicate' but there is neither a relational nor a construction which parallels the use of *blong*. Thus

/ripa sei enia non tamaku/
 are dem cop poss- father
 adj sing noun pron
 this mkr l.s.

'This are belongs to my father.'

/ripa sei enia mata tatai aka/
 are dem cop purp cut- canoe
 adj sing mkr cut
 this

'This are is for cutting canoes.'

/ripa sei enia cina tuai/
 are dem cop qual stat
 adj sing mkr old-
 this thing

'This are is "old-type"/from the past.'

/ripa sei enia cinau mata rani matea letelete/
 are dem cop thing purp day num mod
 adj sing mkr adj only-
 this one only

'This are is only going to last one day!'

/ripa sei enia cinau noni na mara Santo/
 are dem cop thing poss- plur mkr Santo
 adj sing noun mkr person-
 this mkr from

'This are is something made by the Santo people.'

Again, *blong* functions as a relational, introducing noun and verb modifying phrases of purpose, and verb modifying clauses of purpose. But in Tangoan, noun and verb modifying phrases of purpose are introduced by /mata/, (see also below under *from*, p.67) and verb modifying clauses of purpose are introduced by the relational *vara* lit. 'say' 'in order that, in order to'. Thus

akis blong katem kenu /pavi mata tatai aka/'an adze for cutting canoes'
 are poss cut canoe adze purp cut- canoe
 mkr mkr cut

However, in Bislama there is a considerable difference in the structures of the verb modifying phrases and clauses, from the corresponding structures in Tangoan. Thus,

mi kam blong lukluk mared
 pred come poss see- marriage
 mkr mkr see
 l.s.

/na mai vara a cite na laci/
 pred come say pred see part marriage
 mkr mkr
 real irr
 l.s. l.s.

'I came to see the marriage.'

mi kam blong mared /na mai vara a laci/ *'I came to get*
 pred come poss marry pred come say pred marry *married.'*
 mkr mkr mkr mkr
 l.s. real irr
 l.s. l.s.

In Bislama, a purpose clause using blong also occurs. Thus paralleling the above construction, but carrying more explicit information,

mi kam blong mi mared *'I came to get married.'*
 pred come poss pred marry
 mkr mkr mkr
 l.s. l.s.

Thus a phrase of purpose occurs only when the 'subject' of the verb filler of the phrase is the same as that of the verb modified.

mi kam blong katem /na mai vara a taia/ *'I came to cut it.'*
 pred come poss cut pred come say pred cut-
 mkr mkr mkr mkr pron
 l.s. real irr 3.s.
 l.s. l.s.

hem i sanem mi blong mi katem
 pron pred send pron poss pred cut
 3.s. mkr l.s. mkr mkr
 3.s. l.s.

/enia mo ñuleau vara a taia/
 pron pred send- say pred cut-
 3.s. mkr pron mkr pron
 real l.s. irr 3.s.
 3.s. l.s.

'He sent me to cut it.'

Thus while it may be seen that there is more parallelism between the structure of possessive-type phrases and phrases and clauses of purpose in Bislama and Tangoan than there is in Bislama and English, there is no direct parallel to the Bislama relational blong in either Tangoan or English.

2.5.2. long

Similarly, the Bislama long has no direct parallels in either English or Tangoan. It functions as a relational, as first word in verb-modifying phrases indicating location, instrumentality, or time, as an object marker with one class of verbs, and as a relational in statements of comparison of size, shape, value, etc. With verb-modifying phrases indicating location, direction to or from is either part of the verb-

meaning, or else is carried by a separate verb-modifying clause indicating direction. In Tangoan, the verb modifying phrase structure and related clause structure closely parallels the Bislama, but with several different relationals corresponding to long.

(1) In Tangoan verb-modifying phrases indicating location, four different relation forms occur, depending on the various phrase fillers. When the phrase filler is a place name, no relational occurs. Thus

/mo	lo	toco	Tagoa/	i	stap	long	Tangoa	'He is/was at Tangoa.'
pred	dur	remain	Tangoa	pred	remain	rel	Tangoa	
mkr	asp			mkr		mkr		
real	mkr			3.s.				
3.s.								

When the phrase filler is a person the relational is /isan/ or /isa-/ with a bound pronoun suffix, noun type, (see below p.88). Thus

/mo	sivo	isan	Pita/	i	godaon	long	Pita	'He went (down) to Peter's.'
pred	go	rel-	Peter	pred	go-	rel	Peter	
mkr	down	noun		mkr	down	mkr		
real		mkr		3.s.				
3.s.								

When the phrase filler is a noun or noun phrase, the relational is /na/. Thus

/mo	vano	na	ima/	i	go	long	haos	'He went to the house.'
pred	go	rel	house	pred	go	rel	house	
mkr		mkr		mkr		mkr		
real				3.s.				
3.s.								

When the phrase filler is a noun focussed by a demonstrative, the relational is /cin/. When the filler is a pronoun substituting a non-personal noun, the relational is /cini-/ immediately followed by a pronoun suffix of the verb type, (see p.88). Thus

/mo	lo	toco	cin	ima	sei/	i	stap	long	haos	ya
pred	dur	remain	rel	house	dem	pred	remain	rel	house	dem
mkr	asp		mkr		adj	mkr		mkr		adj
real	mkr			this		3.s.				
3.s.										

'He is/was in this house.'

(ii) In Tangoan verb-modifying phrases indicating instrumentality, the three relationals /na/, /cin/ and /cini-/ occur in the corresponding distribution with respect to the classes of phrase fillers.

(iii) In Tangoan verb-modifying phrases indicating time, the relationals /na/ and /cin/ occur, again in corresponding distribution with respect to the classes of the phrase fillers.

(iv) With a class of Tangoan verbs, the relationals /na/, /cin/ and /cini-/ function as object markers, being used respectively with nouns and noun phrases, nouns and noun phrases focussed by a demonstrative, and pronouns. Many of the verbs of this class parallel Bislama verbs following which long functions as an object marker.

/egko	ko	vujagiau	cinla/	yu	yu	tijim	ml	long	hem
pron	pred	teach-	rel-	pron	pred	teach	pron	rel	pron
2.s.	mkr	pron	pron	2.s.	mkr		l.s.	mkr	3.s.
		real	l.s.			3.s.		2.s.	
		2.s.							

'You (s.) taught me / about it/it to me.'

(v) In the Tangoan structure describing the difference in size, shape, value, etc., where the second element of the comparison is a noun, noun phrase or demonstrative pronoun, the relational is /cin/, and where the second element is a pronoun, the relational is /cini-/ immediately followed by a pronoun suffix of the verb type (see p.88).

/ima	sei	mo	mele	tavera	cin	ima	atu/
house	dem	pred	inc	stat	rel	house	dem
	adj	mkr	asp	big	mkr		adj
	this	real	mkr				that
		3.s.					

haos	ya	i	bigfala	moa	long	haos	ya	longwe
house	dem	pred	stat	inc	rel	house	dem	mod
	adj	mkr	big-	asp	mkr		adj	distant
		3.s.	mkr					

'This house is bigger than that one over there.'

In that the Bislama long substitutes for four Tangoan relationals in many closely parallel structures, it appears at first sight that it has an area of meaning paralleling the totality of the four Tangoan forms, but this is not so in that long does not exhaust the use of the Tangoan relationals, and they do not exhaust the Bislama long.

Thus in verb-modifying phrases of location, Bislama distinguishes between 'at' and 'with' when the phrase filler is a person. Thus

/mo	lo	toco	isan	Pita/	i	stap	wetem	Pita	<i>'He is with Peter.'</i>
pred	dur	remain	rel-	Peter	pred	remain	rel	Peter	
mkr	asp		noun		mkr		mkr		
	real	mkr		mkr		3.s.		person	
	3.s.								

And at the same time, the widespread use of long as a supplementary relational with what would be from meaning, 'prepositions', frequently has no direct parallel in Tangoan. Thus

/aulu	na,	cin,	cini-/	antap	long	<i>'above/on top of/higher than'</i>
/atano	na,	cin,	cini-/	daon	long	<i>'below/under/lower than'</i>
/marivita	na,	cin,	cini-/	kolosap	long	<i>'near to'</i>

but

/usuri/ biaeen long 'after/with/in the group led by'
/na lolol/, /na lolon/ insaed long 'inside/into/in'

In English, the group of relationals 'in', 'on', 'at', 'to', 'from', 'with', 'by', etc. do not give rise to structural parallels for the Bislama long phrases, and their usages are not nearly covered by the Bislama long because frequently they carry meaning which in Bislama is carried by another segment of the clause or sentence.

2.5.3. from

The Bislama relational from marking a phrase expressing reason has parallels both in Tangoan, /mata/, and in English, 'because of/on account of', extending in both languages to parallel the use of 'from we' marking a clause expressing reason, in Tangoan by /matana/, and in English by 'because'. Thus,

mi	kam	from	mared	/na	mai	mata	laci/
pred	come	reas	marriage	pred	come	reas	marriage
mkr		mkr		mkr		mkr	
l.s.			real				
			l.s.				

'I came because of the marriage.'

mi	kam	from	we	wan	sista	blong	mi	bambae	i	mared
pred	come	reas	cla	num	sister	poss	pron	irr		pred marry
mkr		mkr	mkr	adj		mkr	l.s.	mkr	mkr	
l.s.				one						3.s.
				extended family						

'I came because my cousin (fem) was getting married.'

/na	mai	matana	vevavuneku	matea	i	pa	laci/
pred	come	reas	male's	num	pred	def	marry
mkr		mkr-	sister-	adj	mkr	asp	
real		pron	pron	one	irr	mkr	
l.s.	3.s.	l.s.			3.s.		
			extended family				

'I (male) came because my cousin (fem) was getting married.'

!mi	kam	from!	/na	mai	matana/
pred	comereas		pred	come	reas
mkr		mkr	mkr		mkr-
l.s.			real		pron
			l.s.		3.s.

'I came because of it/That's why I came!'

However, the Bislama distinction between reason and purpose is not maintained in the same way in Tangoan, (see use of /mata/ in phrases of purpose in 2.5.1. above), nor is it normally maintained to the same degree in English in 'why' questions. Thus

?yu	kam	from	wanem?	/ko	mai	mata	sa?/
pred	come	reas	pron	pred	come	reas	pron
mkr		mkr	int	mkr		mkr	int
2.s.		what		real		what	

'Why/For what reason did you come?'

?yu	kam	blong	wanem?	/ka	mai	vara	sa?/
pred	come	poss	pron	pred	come	say	pron
mkr		mkr	int	mkr			int
2.s.		(purp)	what	real			what
				2.s.			

'Why/For what purpose did you come?'

The relationals blong, long and from have been discussed under lexicon rather than syntax, in terms of their 'different meanings' as allocated from English, although the discussion has involved description of the structures with which those 'meanings' are associated. The treatment highlights the extent to which the terms 'lexicon' and 'syntax' are arbitrary in their application to Bislama, in that the appropriate approach to the lexical definition of these items is in terms of the structures to which they relate, rather than the areas of meaning in English to which they give expression.

2.6. PARALLELS IN FORMATION OF COMPOUND VERBS IN BISLAMA AND TANGOAN

A number of Bislama verbs have formed compounds either by the linking of two roots to form a new root with a new meaning, or by the addition of a suffix as a bound form on the root, instead of a free form modifier. Some of these compounds closely parallel corresponding compounds in Tangoan. Thus, harem, /rogo/, 'to hear, feel etc.'; save, /levosaci/, 'to know (tr.) (people, facts etc.)'; luk, /cite/, 'to see (tr.)' give rise to haremsave, /rogovosaci/, 'to understand'; luksave, /citevosaci/, 'to perceive, recognise (tr.)'. As an example of the suffix type of compound, there is a Bislama verb suffix -aot, Tangoan /-nañici/ meaning 'out' or 'away from'. There are at least 18 Bislama-Tangoan parallels of the type wasem, /coje/, 'to wash (tr.)', wasemaot, /cojenañici/, 'to wash away' and only four transitive verbs to which -aot is suffixed in Bislama which do not show this parallelism. With the suffix -gud, Tangoan /-mamacuni/, 'well, effectively', all nine Bislama transitive verb forming compounds with this suffix have direct parallels with the corresponding Tangoan parallel forms, e.g. /lasi/, fasem, 'to tie (tr.)', /lasimamacuni/, fasemgud, 'to tie securely (tr.)'.

2.7. PARALLELS IN PSYCHOLOGICAL AND SPIRITUAL TERMS IN BISLAMA AND TANGOAN

In Tangoan, four terms are used relating different aspects of human personality to specific areas of behaviour. Two further terms are used which have interaction into what in English would be a 'spirit' world, though no clear distinction is seen between two worlds, in Tangoan thinking. The terms are /patuku/ 'my head, my mind', /řomiku/ 'my heart, my mind', /loloku/ 'my inside (not intestines)', /mapuku/ 'my breath', /tanumeku/ 'my spirit' and /nunuaku/ 'my messenger spirit'.

These terms have separate areas of meaning, as follows, /patuku/ 'my head, my mind' has primary reference to the physiological head. Its extension of meaning is in the area of knowledge, judgement and ability to learn. A child with a 'good head' is intelligent and learns readily, while an adult so spoken of is wise, able to give sound leadership and advice.

/řomiku/ 'my heart, my mind' has no physiological reference, coming from the verb stem /řomi/ 'to think'. It describes the area of personality from which emotions spring, and some eighty compounds of the verb stem are used to describe various aspects of emotional and psychological behaviour. Thus love, joy, patience, affection, anticipation, excitement, determination, forgiveness, compassion, kindness, sorrow, disappointment, anger, jealousy and many more related aspects of behaviour are said by Tangoans, to 'come out from "my mind/heart"'. Relationships between persons are described in terms of /řomiku/ but a relationship with God may be spoken of either in terms of /řomiku/ or /tanumeku/, (below). Conscience functions in terms of /řomiku/ and judgements concerning right and wrong are described as coming out from /řomiku/.

/loloku/ 'my insides' has no specific physiological reference, but is the area of personality associated with intense emotions of hostility and anger. Some related verb compounds occur, /lolokoru/ lit. *inside-burn* 'to be angry', and /lolosati/ lit. *inside-bad* 'to be bitter', but intense emotions in the areas of anger, jealousy, rage, bitterness and general active hostility are described by Tangoans as 'coming out of my "inside"'.

/mapuku/ 'my breath' has physiological reference to breath, and has a limited extended use in describing the impact of sorrow or shock, or in expression of sympathy. These emotions, frequently associated with death are described by the Tangoans as 'felt/heard in my "breath"'.

/tanumeku/ 'my spirit' has no physiological reference, but is that which survives death. In traditional culture, it may leave the body during life, if the person has the necessary power to achieve this, and may take on various human or animal forms while outside the body. After

death, traditionally, it may linger temporarily in the area if distressed, but normally sets out on a prelearned course across the Santo mainland to the home of spirits located off the south west cape of the island. In Tangoan, some syncretism in the adoption of the Christian faith is reflected in the current usage of /tanumeku/ both for '*my spirit*' which may haunt the area following my death, and '*my spirit*' which returns to God, both statements being made from time to time, about the spirit of the same person. /tanumeku/ is involved in the present personality to the extent that a person temporarily deranged, or delirious through illness is spoken of as /tanumena mo avu/ '*his "spirit" flew*', but this involvement does not concern thought, emotions, etc. The same root, /tanume/ is used to describe the class of spirit beings which inhabit the bush, rocks, swamps, rivers etc., and which are generally hostile to people.

/nunuku/ '*my messenger spirit*' has no physiological reference and is used to describe the spirit which may appear as an omen to relations at the time of, or following a person's death, or at some other time of intense crisis necessitating their return to his side.

In Bislama, the corresponding field is covered by four terms, showing some parallelism and some divergence from the areas of meaning of the Tangoan terms. The Bislama terms are hed blong mi '*my head, my mind*', tingting blong mi '*my heart, my mind*', speret blong mi '*my God-given spirit*', devel blong mi '*my spirit*'.⁶

These terms have separate areas of meaning as follows:

hed blong mi '*my head, my mind*' has primary reference to the physiological head. Its extension of meaning is to the area of knowledge, judgement and ability to learn. A child with a 'good head' is intelligent and learns readily, while an adult so spoken of is wise, able to give sound leadership and advice.

tingting blong mi '*my heart, my mind*' has no physiological reference, coming from the verb stem ting '*to think*'. It describes the area of personality from which emotions spring, and so love, joy, patience, affection, anticipation, excitement, determination, forgiveness, compassion, kindness, sorrow, disappointment, anger, jealousy and many more are said by New Hebridean Bislama speakers to '*come out from my "mind/heart"*'. Relationships between persons are described in terms of the tingting, and a relationship with God is also normally spoken of in terms of tingting. Conscience functions in terms of the tingting, and judgements concerning right and wrong are described as coming out from the tingting. tingting is involved in the personality, to the extent that when a person is temporarily deranged or delirious through illness, it is normally said that tingling blong hem i ius/flae '*his*

mind/heart was lost/flew'.

speret blong mi *'my God-given spirit'* appears the Bislama of Christians of all traditions, and is described as being a spirit given by God at conversion or baptism which returns to Him at death. Very few people speak of a relationship with God in terms of this speret.

devel blong mi *'my spirit'* has no physiological reference, but is that which survives death. In traditional culture, it may leave the body during life if the person has the necessary power to achieve this, and may take on various human or animal forms while outside the body. After death, traditionally, it may linger temporarily in the area if distressed, but normally sets out on a prelearned course to the local home of the spirits. In most areas of the New Hebrides and among all denominations of the Christian church, usage of devel in this way occurs fairly widely alongside the adopted use of speret, with varying degrees of awareness of the syncretism involved. The same root devel is used to describe the class of spirit beings which inhabit the bush, rocks, swamps, rivers, etc., and which are generally hostile to people.

devel blong hem is used to describe the messenger spirit which may appear as an omen to relations at the time of, or following a person's death, or at some other time of intense crisis necessitating their return to his side.

In sections of the New Testament translated into Tangoan in the period 1890-1930, /tanume řucu/ *'good spirit'* was normally used to describe both *'Holy Spirit'* and *'Spirit'* when referring to the Spirit of God. In the life of the church, /tanume tapu/ *'holy spirit'* is also commonly heard. In Bislama, tabu speret *'holy spirit'* has been used to describe both *'Holy Spirit'* and *'Spirit'* when referring to the Spirit of God. This usage is not universal in Bislama, holi speret occurring in some areas where tabu appears to have the meaning *'forbidden'* in Bislama without a primary numinous focus underlying it. There is a strong positive correlation between these areas using tabu in Bislama with a numinous sense and the vernaculars using some form of /tapu/ with a similar sense, but no corresponding correlation has been established between those areas where holi occurs more commonly than tabu for *'holy'* in Bislama, and the vernaculars having some root other than /tapu/, such as /konkon/ in the area of the numinous.

2.8. PARALLELS IN LANGUAGE VIEWED AS 'SWEARING' IN BISLAMA AND TANGOAN

In Tangoan, a collection of words and expressions are rejected from ordinary use by the community and grouped under the single heading /reti sasati/ *'bad words'*, the group including three categories, swear

words adopted as such from English and to a lesser extent French, probably via Bislama, traditional obscenities, and the flouting of taboos on the use of kinship terms. Till comparatively recently, Bislama has been spoken almost entirely as a second language and such constraints as were recognised by Bislama speakers were virtually identical with the constraints they recognised in the use of their first language. Some expatriate speakers particularly have spoken Bislama as if no constraints whatsoever existed within it. However, regardless of whether they abide by the criteria or not, there is a widely accepted consensus among New Hebrideans as to what is socially acceptable language in Bislama in all circumstances, what can be used in the presence of female members of one's family, what can be used in the presence of a group of senior men by a young man, and what can be used in the presence of a young man's contemporaries. A grouping *tok swea* 'swearing' is firmly established, with three subdivisions closely paralleling those of the Tangoan groups. The constraints discussed here regarding Bislama have been drawn from the Bislama of non-Tangoans, generally from areas well away from Tangoa.

In both languages, the most common swear words taken over from English would be /plate/, blare, /paka/, бага, /pastig/, basted, /vakig/, fakin and /sit/, sit together with various combinations of these familiar from English. The use of the name of God or of Jesus Christ is relatively very rare against English, in either language, but possibly somewhat more common in Bislama than in Tangoan.⁷ It is noteworthy that the stative *bagarap* 'to be worn out, broken, impossible to repair' of things mechanical is completely acceptable, and *wok blong bagarap* 'to work to no purpose, with no result likely' is also virtually completely acceptable, though pressures from English education are causing other uses of *bagarap* to become increasingly unacceptable on formal occasions.

In Tangoan, acceptable and unacceptable terms exist for excretion and excreta. Thus /teku/ 'my faeces' is acceptable within constraints discussed below, but /jaoku/ 'my faeces' is always regarded as crude, and is more strongly rejected than 'my shit' would be in English. The 'good' terms are used easily to refer to children or to sickness, even in mixed company, though women may be embarrassed to use them in front of strangers. However, the same terms in abuse /tem mo lo toco na patum/ 'You have faeces in your head' is traditional obscenity, and clearly rejected as such by the community. These terms occur frequently in traditional stories, and their use is acceptable in some instances and rejected in others as against the community standards, in terms of whether they are naturally part of the story, or particularly the focus of it.

In Bislama, the terms for excreta sit blong mi *'my faeces'*, and pispis blong mi *'my urine'*, are used freely in referring to children and to sickness, but their use in abuse is rejected as obscene and stories that centre round excreta, while common enough in Bislama, are recognised as outside the community standard and not told in front of female relations, the normal test of obscenity.

In both Tangoan and Bislama, numerous euphemisms occur for *'to go to the toilet'*. Thus in Tangoan, /sivo tacuna/ lit. *'to go down south (to the closet area of the island)*, /cacau/ *'to walk'*, /cacau na urata/ *'to walk in the bush'*, and in Bislama, wokbaot *'to walk'*, go long bus *'to go to the bush'*.

In Tangoan, reference to genitals, or to sexual intercourse, in any sort of open company, is only by euphemism. Open reference to any such items is viewed as obscene. Castration of an animal is not *'hard to talk about'*, but castration of a person, or reference to penile incision in open company is described both as *'hard to say'* and *'swearing'*.

In Bislama, precisely parallel constraints occur, and comparable euphemisms are in use. Thus for intercourse /juruvi isani/, slip wetem *'to sleep with'*, or in the presence of female relations

/mo	lo	toco	isana/	i	stap	wetem	hem
pred	dur	remain	loc-	pred	remain	rel	pron
mkr	asp		pron	mkr			3.s.
3.s.	mkr		3.s.	3.s.			

'he stays with her' or *'she stays with him'*. Tangoan uses the euphemism /nacoku/ *'my face'* for genitals, but Bislama usually uses either samting blong mi *'something of mine'*, or simply the subject pronoun alone, (see p.88). For animal intercourse, both languages use an expression parallel with English, /vele cini/, klaem long, *'to mount'* (lit. *'to climb onto'*, in both cases), or a form of the expression above, *'to stay with'*.

In most areas of the New Hebrides, the traditional taboos associated with kinship terms and with specific relations are breaking down. Thus traditional Tangoan constraints on naming one's sister or one's mother-in-law have now largely disappeared, being reflected only in the vocabulary /tapuku/ *'my mother-in-law'* and in the disappearing practice of using one's sister's name in oaths, and as a feature of some traditional stories. Older people who retain them in Tangoan, retain them in their Bislama.

In areas more remote from towns than Tangoa, however, these constraints are recognised both in the vernaculars and in the Bislama spoken by people who have married into the communities. Thus it is common to find people who refuse to name a sister while speaking Bislama, and who will call on somebody else not so obligated by custom, to do the task. It

may be argued that this type of constraint is a feature of the local culture rather than of Bislama, but the same speakers are very frequently not aware of the same constraints when speaking English or French, and have explained this fact with the comment that Bislama *losem lanwis blong mifala* 'Bislama is like our own language'.

3. PARALLELS IN SYNTAX

3.1. INTRODUCTION

In discussion of the origin of the 'European-language-based pidgins' attention is frequently drawn to the fact that they have a number of syntactic features in common. At the level at which these common features are usually discussed, they are almost all features of most of the languages of the New Hebrides. Because of the contacts that existed between pidgins being spoken in China and Australia in the first half of the nineteenth century and the contact situation in the New Hebrides when 'Beach-la-mar' first began to be spoken there, it may well be that these 'shared' features are present in Bislama because the pidgin was imported substantially intact, and thereafter only modified to a limited extent to meet local conditions. The point of interest for this study is that had the pidgin so introduced not had these features, the local language structure would have exerted pressure on it for it to include them. A developing lingua franca would have been under pressure to adopt discourse structures which do not depend on a definite article or the marking of number and gender on nouns and adjectives. It would have been under pressure to develop a set of pronouns which distinguish duals and trials as well as plurals, and which mark first person inclusive and exclusive of hearer categories, but there would not have been any pressure for the inclusion of third person pronouns marking gender. There would have been pressure for it to adopt a verb system built round tense-aspect categories, marked by particles, but there would have been no pressure to accept inflexion to mark tense or aspect, and little pressure towards verb stem morphology. There would have been pressure for patterns of reduplication on verb and adjective/stative stems, and so the list may be extended. The type of pressure that languages structurally related to Tangoan could have exerted on the developing pidgin are shown in the parallels discussed.

If these structures were features of the pidgin introduced a hundred and thirty years ago, then their presence would certainly have eased its adoption by the people of the New Hebrides. But if it isn't shown that these features were present in that pidgin, their presence in

Bislama could so clearly be due to the pressure of the local languages that that presence cannot reasonably be used to establish a relationship between the pidgins of that period or any 'proto-pidgin' and present-day Bislama. The relationship may well exist, but in the presence of many of the features commonly cited as evidence for it does not establish it.

3.1.1. The 'Definite Article'

In Tangoan, there is no contrasting definite article/indefinite article structure. Nouns indefinite in number may be marked by /te/ 'some, one, more than one' preceding the noun. Following the noun, the numeral /matea/ 'one' and the demonstrative adjectives /sei/ 'this' and /atu/ 'that' all enter the same slot and all function to identify referents in discourse. (Other cardinal numbers function as predicates in noun modifier clauses.) The numeral /matea/ may carry the specific meaning 'one' or may function similarly to an English indefinite article. When the meaning 'one' is in focus, this is shown by a further modifier /letelete/ 'only', or by the surrounding discourse. The demonstratives /sei/ and /atu/ contrast things near and distant in space or time, but as referent markers they also contrast things in near and distant focus in discourse. Thus,

/o lavi te ripa/
pred take num axe
mkr adj
irr some
2.s.

'Take an axe/some of the axes/some axes.'
(number being indicated in the surrounding discourse)

/o lavi ripa matea/
pred take axe num
mkr adj
irr one
2.s.

'Take an/one axe.'
(normally with the force of 'an' unless the meaning 'one' is established from the surrounding discourse)

/o lavi ripa matea letelete/
pred take axe num mod
mkr adj only-
irr one only
2.s.

'Take only one/one axe.'
(normally with the force 'only one' unless the meaning 'one' is established from the discourse)

/o lavi na ripa/
 pred take obj are
 mkr mkr
 irr
 2.s.

'Take the are/axes.'

(number being indicated in the surrounding discourse)

/o lavi ripa sei// atu/
 pred take are dem dem
 mkr adj adj
 irr this that
 2.s.

'Take this// that are.'

(near to or distant from the speaker)

/o lavi ripa atu řa reti cinia na novi/
 pred take are dem pred talk rel- rel yesterday
 mkr adj mkr pron mkr
 irr that real 3.s.
 2.s. l.p.1.

'Take the/that are we spoke about yesterday.'

/o lavi ripa sei na vereco cinia/
 pred take are dem pred tell- rel-
 mkr adj mkr pron pron
 irr this real 2.s. 3.s.
 2.s. l.s.

'Take the/this are I told you about.'

This set of markers thus provides a continuum in showing focus within the discourse and/or in showing the number of the noun, in that with nouns focussed by /sei/, /atu/, marking of plural number is obligatory.

In Bislama, there is no contrasting definite article/indefinite article structure. Nouns indefinite in number may be marked by wan⁸ 'one', sam 'some' or ol the plural marker. The numeral differs from the other two numeral markers quoted and from the markers plante 'many', evri 'each', every' and olgeta 'all' and the remaining numerals, all of which enter the noun phrase at the same slot, in that it alone does not occur with a noun focussed by the demonstrative adjective ya 'this, that'. Because wan and ya do not co-occur in the same phrase⁹ and because both function to identify referents in discourse, they are both to be treated as demonstratives. Thus, the numeral wan may carry the specific meaning 'one' or may function similarly to an English indefinite article. When the meaning 'one' is in focus, this is shown by a further modifier nomo 'only', or by the surrounding discourse. The demonstrative ya focuses a noun previously introduced into discourse, and focuses a noun occurring within a phrase, modified by a following clause. The contrast between near and distant in space, time, or within discourse is shown by a further noun modifier, or noun modifier phrase or clause, attaching to

the noun focussed by ya. Thus,

yu tekem sam akis
pred take num axe
mkr adj
2.s. some

'Take some of the axes/some axes.'

(meaning being indicated in the surrounding discourse)

yu tekem wan akis
pred take num axe
mkr adj
2.s. one

'Take an/one axe.'

(normally with the force of 'an' unless the meaning 'one' is established from the surrounding discourse)

yu tekem wan akis nomo
pred take num axe mod
mkr adj only
2.s. one

'Take one/only one axe.'

(normally with the force of 'only one' unless the meaning 'one' is established from the discourse)

yu tekem akis
pred take axe
mkr
2.s.

'Take the axe/axes.'

(number being indicated in the surrounding discourse)

yu tekem akis ya
pred take axe dem
mkr adj
2.s.

'Take this/that axe.'

(meaning indicated by pointing, or by the surrounding discourse)

yu tekem akis ya longwe
pred take axe dem mod
mkr adj distant
2.s.

'Take the/that axe over there.'

yu tekem akis ya we mi talem long yu
pred take axe dem cla pred tell rel pron
mkr adj mkr mkr mkr 2.s.
2.s. 1.s.

'Take the/this/that axe I told you about.'

Thus, while there are fewer markers in Bislama than in Tangoan, their function is to provide a continuum showing focus within discourse and/or the number of the noun, in that with nouns focussed with ya, marking of plural number is obligatory.

3.1.2. Marking 'Number' on Nouns

Tangoan does not mark number on noun stems. The number of a noun the subject of a predicate is shown by the predicate marker, /mo/ or /i/ with a singular subject, /la/ or /lla/ with a plural subject. The number of a noun filler in an equational clause is shown by the copula if occurring, /enia/ with a singular noun, /enra/ with plural nouns. Plural kinship nouns with a bound suffix indicating relationship are shown to be plural by an obligatory marker /na/ preceding the noun. Plural noun fillers in noun modifier phrases introduced by /non/ 'the property of', /can/ 'the food of', /man/ 'the drink of', /pulan/ 'the husbandry of', /isan/ 'to, at, with, from', /usuri/ 'following, with' and /cin/ 'relational in phrases of location, time, instrumentality, etc.' are shown to be plural by an obligatory marker /na/ following the relational. Plural nouns focussed by the demonstrative adjectives /sei/, /atu/ and occurring in phrases headed by /cin/, /usuri/, as object of a class of verbs which otherwise mark the object by the particle /na/, or in an equational clause with no copula are shown to be plural by the obligatory marker /la/ preceding the noun. The number of the noun in other environments is not obligatorily marked, being shown by the surrounding discourse. Thus at the phrase level or the clause level, the number of a noun may be indeterminate.

/tamloci	la	sopo	mai/
man	pred	neg	come
	mkr	mkr	
	real		
	3.p.		

'The men didn't come.'

/tamloci	sei	enra	tamloci	suica/
man	dem	cop	man	adj
	adj	plur		strong
	this			

'These men are strong men.'

/na	venatuna	la	malokoloko/
plur	daughter-	pred	stat
mkr	pron	mkr	tired-
	3.s.	real	tired
		3.p.	

'His daughters are lazy.'

/poi	can	na	tamloci/
pig	poss	plur	man
	eat-	mkr	
	noun		
	mkr		

'pig for the men to eat'

/mo mai usuri la tamloci sel/
 pred come follow plur man dem
 mkr mkr adj
 real this
 3.s.

'He came with these men.'

/la mai na akara/
 pred come rel canoe
 mkr mkr pron
 real 3.p.
 3.p.

'They came in their canoe/canoes/'
 (number indicated in the surrounding discourse)

/la tai na tali molso/
 pred cut obj rope compl
 mkr mkr asp
 real mkr
 3.p.

'They have/had cut the rope/ropes.'
 (number indicated in the surrounding discourse)

There is a limited class of stems which show plural by the addition of an infix -va-. Thus /natirici/ 'child, boy', /natuvarici/ 'children, boys', and /cařarici/ 'girl', /cařavarici/ 'girls'.

Bislama does not mark number on noun stems. There is a plural marker *ol* which normally marks plural number on nouns, occurring first word in the noun phrase. However, *ol* does not occur in the presence of other plural number markers *sam* 'some', *plante* 'many', *evri* 'each, every', *olgeta* 'all'. Its use preceding a numeral indicates a collective sense 'the set of', 'the group of'. Some expressions are always plural and are always so indicated, thus *ol pipol* 'the people' and *ol ting blong mi* 'my possessions, goods'. Some forms are presumed plural by meaning and are not normally so indicated, thus *bodi blong olgeta* 'their bodies'. Plural nouns focussed by the demonstrative adjective *ya* are always shown as plural by one of these plural markers. Thus

ol man oli go
 plur man pred go
 mkr mkr
 3.p.

'The men went.'

ol fo man oli ded wantaem nomo
 plur num man pred dead mod mod
 mkr adj mkr at-one only
 four 3.p. time

'The four men died simultaneously.'

However, the marking of number on plural nouns is not strictly obligatory, although its omission is not common. In speaking of a class of items the plural marker may be omitted. Thus

yu yu tekem aks, mi mi tekem bag
 pron pred take axe pron pred take bag
 2.s. mkr l.s. mkr
 2.s. l.s.

'You take the axe/axes, I'll take the bag/bags.'

In Tangoan, there is a generic construction used for making general statements about a group in the singular. At the same time, the more common form for such statements is as a plural. Thus,

/ta Mapo enia tamloci tinapua/
 mkr Malo cop man adj
 person- sing different
 from

'The Malo man is different.'

/ta Mapo enra tamloci tinapua/
 mkr Malo cop man adj
 person- plur different
 from

'The Malo people are different.'

Similarly, in Bislama, there is a generic construction for making general statements about a group in the singular, though again, the more common form for such statements is a plural. Thus,

man Malo i narafala
 man Malo pred stat
 mkr different
 3.s.

'Ths Malo man is different.'

ol man Malo oli narafala
 plur man Malo pred stat
 mkr mkr different
 3.p.

'The Malo people are different.'

In Tangoan, the distributive noun phrase is considered to be plural, rather than singular as in English. Thus,

/tamloci catecateaci la vano isana/
 man mod pred go rel-
 one-at-a- mkr pron
 time real 3.s.
 3.p.

'The men one at a time went to him/Each man went to him individually.'

In Bislama, the distributive noun phrase is considered to be plural, rather than singular as in English. Thus,

olgeta man wanwan oli pas long hem
 all man mod pred go- rel pron
 one-at- mkr to mkr 3.s.
 a-time 3.p.

'All the men one at a time went to him/All the men went to him individually.'

For many speakers, *evri* 'each, every' has a distributive sense rather than a collective meaning, and for most Bislama speakers the following clause would have a similar but less specific meaning than the one above.

<i>evri</i>	<i>man</i>	<i>oli</i>	<i>pas</i>	<i>long</i>	<i>hem</i>
<i>each</i>	<i>man</i>	<i>pred</i>	<i>go</i>	<i>rel</i>	<i>pron</i>
		<i>mkr</i>	<i>to</i>	<i>mkr</i>	<i>3.s.</i>
		<i>3.p.</i>			

'Each man went to him.'

3.1.3. Marking 'Number and Intensification' on Adjectives

In Tangoan, the number of the head noun is not marked on the adjective. A class of adjectives occurs which may function either as attributive adjectives following the head noun, or as statives in noun modifier clauses. A further class of adjectives occurs which function only as statives in noun modifier clauses. In these modifier clauses, the predicate marker indicates number on the head noun. There is a limited class of adjectives which precede the head noun, the ordinal numbers, /te/ 'some', /makomo/ 'few', /matuva/ 'many' and /tari/ 'all, every'. Only one attributive adjective occurs with any head noun, and it may be followed by a modifier or by a class of adjectives comprising the numeral /matea/ 'one', the demonstrative adjectives /sei/ 'this', /atu/ 'that' and the numeral adjectives /matuvana/ 'many', /catecateaci/ 'each, every', and /tari/ 'all, every'. Following this slot, a further class of adjectives marking location may occur, such as /atano/ 'below', /aulu/ 'above'.

/mo	lo	juruvi	atano,	na	epa/
pred	dur	lie-	mod	rel	mat
mkr	asp	down	low-	mkr	
real	mkr		level		
3.s.					

'He was lying down at a low level/on the floor, on a mat.'

/mo	lo	juruvi	na	epa	atano/
pred	dur	lie-	rel	mat	adj
mkr	asp	down	mkr	low-	
real	mkr			level	
3.s.					

'He was lying down on a mat at a low level/on the floor.'

Where more than one adjective is used with a head noun, adjectives of size or shape are more commonly the attributive than are adjectives of quality or condition, which are more commonly the attributive than adjectives of colour. Where more than one adjective occurs with a head noun, an adjective without modifier occurs as an attributive, while an adjective plus modifier occurs as stative plus modifier in a noun modifier clause. With attributive adjectives, several patterns of stem reduplication occur, some adjectives occurring only as 'reduplicated'

forms, /ricirici/ 'small', /tatacolo/ 'straight', while others do not reduplicate at all, /tuai/ 'old, of things'. Where a stem and its reduplicated form both occur as attributives, the reduplication indicates intensification but the reduplicated form is only used as an attributive, with 'plural' nouns. Thus /tamloci tavera sei/ 'this big man', /tamloci tatavera sei/ 'these big men.' Intensification of adjectives functioning as attributives or as statives in noun modifier clauses may be indicated by a following modifier, but where an adjective functions as a stative in a modifier clause, intensification also occurs by the repetition of the entire clause. Thus,

/paceu tavera ŕucu/
 shark adj mod
 big good
 'a big shark indeed'

/paceu lulu matea mo tavera jea/
 shark adj num pred stat mod
 white adj mkr big very/
 one real too
 3.s.
 'a very big white shark'

/paceu lulu matea mo tavera mo tavera/
 shark adj num pred stat pred stat
 white adj mkr big mkr big
 one real real
 3.s. 3.s.
 'an enormous white shark'

In Bislama, plural number of the head noun is not marked on the adjective. A class of adjectives occurs which may function either as attributive adjectives preceding the head noun, or as statives in noun modifier clauses. A further class of adjectives occurs which function only as statives in noun modifier clauses. In these modifier clauses, the predicate marker generally indicates number on the head noun. There is a limited class of adjectives which precede the attributive adjectives, consisting of the numerals, the group numerals tufala 'the pair', trifala 'the three' and less commonly fofala 'the four', sam 'some', plante 'many', evri 'each, every', olgeta 'all' and ol the plural marker. There is a small class of adjectives which function only as attributives preceding the head noun, including prapa 'genuine', adjectives of direction including not 'north', lef 'left' and the class of swear-words which function as adjectives, such as blare 'bloody'. There is a small class of adjectives which function as attributives following the head noun, including nogud 'bad, morally bad', olbaot 'of no status', 'conforming to no accepted pattern' so 'immoral', afsaed 'not belonging to the group'. The demonstrative adjective ya 'this/that'

follows this second class of adjectives where they occur, and following the demonstrative, a further class of adjectives marking location may occur, such as daon 'below', antap 'above'. Thus

i stap slip daon, long mat
 pred dur lie mod rel mat
 mkr asp down low- mkr
 3.s. mkr level

'He was lying down at a low level/on the floor, on a mat.'

i stap slip long mat daon
 pred dur lie rel mat adj
 mkr asp down mkr low-
 3.s. mkr level

'He was lying down on a mat at a low level/on the floor.'

When more than one adjective is used with a head noun, adjectives of size and shape are more commonly the attributive than are adjectives of quality or condition, which are more commonly the attributive than adjectives of colour. An attributive adjective plus modifier does not occur in Bislama. With attributive adjectives, stem reduplication of some adjectives occurs. Some adjectives occur only in a 'reduplicated' form konkon 'bitter' etc., and others never reduplicate, naes 'pretty, attractive', dip 'deep'. Where a stem and its reduplicated form both occur as attributives, the reduplication indicates intensification, but the reduplicated form is only used as an attributive with plural nouns. Thus bigfala man ya 'this big man', ol bigbigfala man ya 'these big men'. Intensification of adjectives functioning as statives in noun modifier clauses may be indicated by a following modifier,¹⁰ but intensification of such adjectives also occurs by the repetition of the clause with a singular predicate marker. Thus,

wan waet sak we i bigfala tumas
 num adj shark cla pred stat mod
 adj white mkr mkr big- very/
 one 3.s.mkr mkr too

'a very big white shark'

wan waet sak we i bigfala we i bigfala
 num adj shark cla pred stat cla pred stat
 adj white mkr mkr big- mkr mkr big-
 one 3.s.mkr 3.s.mkr

'a huge white shark'

3.1.4. Marking 'Gender' on Nouns

In Tangoan, the indication of gender on nouns is normally by the meaning of the root. Thus, /tamloci/ 'man, person (male or female)', /lamane/ 'male, man' and /cañai/ 'woman, female', /natirici/ 'child, boy', /cañarici/ 'girl'. Gender is marked on names and some kinship

terms by a female prefix /ve-/. Thus /Vuti/ *'Vuti, a common male name'* and /Vevuti/ *'Vevuti, a common female name'*. This prefix is almost universal on traditional names and has been applied to some adopted English names. Also /tasiku/ *'my younger brother, spoken by a male'* and /vetasiku/ *'my younger sister, spoken by a female'*. This pattern is not universal on kinship terms, thus /pua/ *'my grandparent, gender indicated by the discourse'* and /vevavuneku/ *'my sister, spoken by a male'*, /maneku/ *'my brother, spoken by a female'*. However it does occur with most kinship terms. With animals, indication of gender is not obligatory, but when in focus, is shown by a noun phrase /viriu lamane/ *'dog, male'* and /viriu cañai/ *'dog, female'*.

In Bislama, indication of gender in nouns is normally by the meaning of the root. Thus man *'man, person, male'*, woman *'woman, female'*, boe *'boy, young unmarried male'*, gel *'girl, young unmarried female'*. Indication of gender on kinship terms usually follows the usage of English from which the terms are derived. However, in some areas in which the local language terms follow a pattern of one term for the sibling of the same sex and another for the sibling of the opposite sex, the use of brata for the former and sista for the latter is found in informal local use of Bislama. With animals, the marking of gender is not obligatory, but when in focus is shown by a predicate, dog we i man//woman *'dog, male//female'*, or by a noun phrase, two forms of which occur, dog man//woman or in 'urban Bislama', man//woman dog, *'dog, male//female'*. Terms such as bul *'bull'*, kao *'cow'*, stia *'steer'*, are common, while pairs such as rusta, faol man *'rooster'* are used interchangeably.

3.1.5. The Formation of Noun Phrases

In Tangoan, a noun phrase occurs consisting of a head noun followed by a second noun which modifies it. The second noun may indicate purpose or characteristic of the head noun, particularly its species or the type of materials used in its construction. Following a class of 'measure/container' nouns, the second noun may indicate content. Thus /peri ima/ *'post house'* (*'post for a house'*), /ima toa/ *'house fowl'* (*'house for fowls'*) where the second noun indicates purpose, /palo poi/ *'leg pig'* (*'a leg of a pig'*), /esle avua/ *'egg turtle'* (*'a turtle egg'*), /rau niu/ *'leaf coconut'* (*'a coconut leaf'*) where the second noun indicates species, /taga viveu/ *'basket pandanus-tree'* (*'a pandanus leaf basket'*), /ima rato/ *'house sago-palm'* (*'a house thatched with sago-palm leaves'*), /jilivi lepa/ *'pot ground'* (*'a clay pot'*) where the second noun indicates material of construction and /taga peta/ *'basket taro'* (*'a basket of taro'*), /paketi uai/ *'bucket water'* (*'a*

bucket of water'), where the second noun indicates contents. (Currently, most terms for containers have been taken into Tangoan from either Bislama or English.)

In Bislama, a noun phrase occurs consisting of a head noun followed by a second noun which modifies it. The second noun may indicate purpose or characteristic of the head noun, particularly its species, or the type of material used in its construction. Following a class of 'measure/container' nouns, the second noun may indicate content. Thus *haos prea* 'house prayer' ('a house for prayer'), *boks tul* 'box tool' ('a tool box') where the second noun indicates purpose, *lif kokonas* 'leaf coconut' ('a coconut leaf'), *lif aranis* 'leaf orange' ('an orange leaf') where the second noun indicates species, *haos kava* 'house sheet metal' ('a house with a galvanised iron roof') where the second noun indicates material used in construction and *baket wota* 'bucket water' ('a bucket of water'), *savel simen* 'shovel cement' ('a shovelful of cement'). There are some phrases used in more than one sense, *bag suga* 'bag sugar' ('a bag of sugar', 'a sugar bag') where *suga* may indicate either content or characteristic of 'bag' while *bag blong suga* also occurs 'a bag for sugar'. Apart from *lif* and *sel* in the phrase *sel kokonas* 'a coconut shell' the use of a phrase of this type to identify species is rare in Bislama, and is commonly rejected when heard by New Hebrideans as an intrusion of a local vernacular structure. However, in Bislama, the Tangoan noun phrase in which the second noun indicates purpose or species of the head noun is commonly expressed by a noun plus noun modifier phrase introduced by *blong*. Thus *haos blong faol* 'a fowl house', *pos blong haos* 'a post for a house' where the modifier indicates purpose and *stampa blong kokonas* 'a trunk of a coconut, a coconut tree', *eg blong totei* 'a turtle egg' where the modifier indicates species. Again, in Bislama, the Tangoan noun phrase in which the second noun indicates a purpose or characteristic of the head noun, including the material used in its construction, is commonly expressed by a compound noun, which from phonology, (single word stress), distribution (occurrence with adjectives) and frequently meaning, are seen to be single words. Thus *haeanso* 'a hacksaw, a saw for iron' where the first part of the compound indicates purpose, *solwota* 'the sea, the ocean, seawater', *solmit* 'salted meat' (also 'prostitute'), *bensinmases* 'a cigarette lighter (matches of the 'benzine' type)' where the first part of the compound indicates characteristic, and *graonpot* 'a clay pot', *lifhaos* 'a house thatched with leaves' where the first part of the compound indicates materials used in the construction.

In Tangoan, a noun phrase occurs consisting of a head noun followed by a verb or transitive verb plus noun object. The verb or verb plus noun object may indicate purpose or characteristic of the head noun, though the aspect of meaning in focus is frequently indeterminate at the phrase level. Thus /tamloci calu/ 'man tell-lie' ('a liar'), /tamloci cani poi/ 'man eat pig' ('a man who likes to eat pork'), where the verb or verb plus noun indicates a characteristic, but /uai inu/ 'water drink' ('water to drink, or drinking water'), as distinct from /uai coje ruru/ 'water wash clothes' ('water to wash clothes in, or water for washing clothes') where either purpose or characteristic may be in focus.

In Bislama, the Tangoan noun phrase consisting of a head noun followed by a verb or transitive verb plus noun object is commonly expressed by a noun plus noun modifier phrase introduced by blong, in which the phrase filler may be a verb or a transitive verb plus noun object. This noun modifier phrase may indicate purpose or characteristic of the head noun, though the aspect of meaning in focus may be indeterminate at the phrase level. Thus man blong gyaman 'man rel tell-lie' ('a liar'), man blong kakae pig 'man rel eat pig' ('a man who likes to eat pork') where the modifier phrase indicates a characteristic, but wora blong dring 'water rel drink' ('water to drink, or drinking water'), as distinct from wora blong wasem klos 'water rel wash clothes' ('water to wash the clothes in, or water for washing clothes'), where either purpose or characteristic may be in focus.

There is significant difference in the structure of the Tangoan noun plus noun, noun plus verb and noun plus transitive verb plus noun object phrases on the one hand, and the parallel Bislama noun plus blong plus noun or verb or transitive verb plus object, which is shown in the different possibilities in the placement of the demonstrative adjective. In Tangoan, the demonstrative adjective focuses the whole phrase as a unit, but in Bislama, the demonstrative adjective may focus either the head noun or the second noun in the construction or the whole construction as a unit, depending on the surrounding discourse. Thus /maji uai sei/ 'creature water this' ('this fresh-water fish') never has the meaning 'fish from this water, this river'. But fis blong wora ya 'fish rel water focus', may mean 'this fresh-water fish' and 'fish from this river, this water', and fis ya blong wora 'fish focus rel water', occurs with the meaning 'this fresh-water fish' in contrast with other fresh-water fish. Similarly, in Tangoan, /tamloci voro ima sei/ 'man build house this' ('this builder') never has the meaning 'the man to build this house'. But in Bislama, man blong wokem haos ya 'man rel work house focus', may mean 'this builder'

or '*the man to build this house*', while *man ya blong wokem haos* '*man focus rel work house*', also occurs with the meaning '*this builder*' in contrast with other builders.

3.1.6. The System of Pronouns

In Tangoan, there are fifteen free-standing pronouns which may function as the subject of a predicate, enter an equational clause etc. They are first, second and third person singular, first person inclusive and exclusive of hearers, second and third person, dual, trial and plural. None of them mark the gender of the noun they replace.

The dual and trial series of pronouns arise by the suffixation of the numeral statives /*rua*/ '*two*' and /*tolu*/ '*three*' to the plural pronouns. A numeral pronoun subject for groups greater than three is formally different, the numeral being indicated by a predicate modifying the plural pronoun. The use of these forms is not obligatory, their occurrence as referent markers serving to remove ambiguity in discourse, particularly in traditional stories.

There are two sets of pronoun suffixes. One set occurs with a class of transitive verbs and a class of relationals, as pronoun objects. In this set, the first person plural exclusive of hearers and the second person plural forms are identical with the free-standing pronouns and are not suffixed. The remaining five are suffixes, being the final morpheme of the equivalent free-standing 'subject' forms. The second set occurs with a class of nouns, largely kinship terms and body parts, with a set of four possession markers and with a class of relationals. All seven forms are suffixed, the four plural forms being the final morphemes of the equivalent free-standing 'subject' forms. Dual and trial forms of these pronoun suffixes do not occur, number being specified either by a numeral predicate as a modifier clause of number, or by the repetition of the dual or trial pronoun in apposition.

In Bislama, there are fifteen pronouns which may function as subject of a predicate, object of a transitive verb, 'object' of a relational, possessor, etc. They are first, second and third person singular, first person inclusive and exclusive of hearers, second and third person, dual, trial and plural, none of which mark the gender of the noun they replace. Dual and trial forms are not obligatory in Bislama, but their use among Tangoan speakers speaking Bislama is generally more widespread than is the same speaker's use of the equivalent Tangoan forms. A shortened variant form occurs for each of the first person dual and trial pronouns inclusive of hearers, being used in

urgent 'commands' and to some extent in rapid speech.¹¹

In Tangoan, the following subject pronouns occur,

	Singular	Dual	Trial	Plural
1.	enau	inc. en̄rarua exc. kamamrua	en̄ratolu kamam̄tolu	en̄fa kamam
2.	egko	kamimrua	kamim̄tolu	kamim
3.	enia	enrarua	enratolu	enra/enlra

together with the following pronoun suffixes.

	Singular Noun Suffixes	Verb Suffixes	Plural Noun Suffixes	Verb Suffixes
1.	-ku	-au	inc. -̄ra exc. -mam	-̄ra kamam
2.	-m	-co	-mim	kamim
3.	-na	-a	-ra	-ra

In Bislama, the following pronouns occur.

	Singular	Dual	Trial	Plural
1.	mi	inc. yumitufala yumitu exc. mitufala	yumitrifala yumitri mitrifala	yumi mifala
2.	yu	yutufala	yutrifala	yufala
3.	hem	tufala	trifala	olgeta

3.1.7. The Predicate Markers

In Tangoan, there are two sets of seven predicate markers, one set indicating a realis aspect of the following predicate, the other indicating an irrealis aspect. Both sets of predicate markers show number and person of the predicate. In short utterances and at an informal 'domestic' level of conversation, predicate clauses in which an implicit noun or pronoun subject is not explicitly named are common, number and person of the implicit subject being indicated by the predicate marker. In long utterances and at a more formal level of language use, such as story-telling to strangers, public speaking etc., this practice is consciously rejected. The various subjects and subject changes are indicated by the use of nouns and pronouns, subsequent reference to them being maintained by the appropriate use of predicate markers.

In Bislama, there is a single set of predicate markers, some of which show number and person. In short utterances and at an informal 'domestic' level of conversation, predicate clauses in which an implicit first, second or third person singular or third person plural noun or pronoun subject is not explicitly named are common, number and person

of the subject being indicated by the predicate marker. In longer utterances and at a more formal level of language use, the various subjects and subject changes are indicated by the use of nouns and pronouns, subsequent reference to them being maintained by the appropriate use of predicate markers. In the first and second person dual, trial and plural forms however, the subject noun or pronoun is never omitted.

In Tangoan, the following predicate markers occur.

Realis Predicate Markers				Irrealis Predicate Markers		
	Singular	Dual, Trial, Plural		Singular	Dual, Trial, Plural	
1.	na	inc. ãa exc. kama		a	inc. ãa exc. ama	
2.	ko	ka		o	ca	
3.	mo	la		i	ila	

In Bislama, the following predicate markers occur.

	Singular		Dual		Trial		Plural
1.	mi	inc.	i		i		Ø, i (yumi)
			Ø		Ø		
		exc.	i		i		i
2.	yu		i		i		i
3.	i		i, oli		i, oli		oli, i

The occurrence of two forms of predicate marker with the third person dual, trial and plural subject in Bislama indicates a significant difference in use of predicate markers in Bislama from that reported in other Pacific pidgins. The marker *i* normally indicates an identified 'group subject' or collective, and the marker *oli* a distributed plural subject. Thus with dual and trial subjects which are very commonly identified groups, *i* has been described as standard, but *oli* does occur in predicates where two or three persons act individually. In the same way, modifying clauses describing a shared attribute or group action of a dual, trial or plural subject indicate this group aspect of the predicate by the marker *i*. The usage has been complicated by dialect variation, particularly in areas where a significant number of community leaders have been educated in the Solomon Islands. In Bislama, there is limited use of the pronoun *ol*, as a variant of *olgeta* 3rd person plural pronoun following verbs and relationals. It never occurs as a pronoun subject (see 3.9.) but commonly expresses scorn, disparagement, rejection of a group, e.g. *hemia bisnes blong ol* 'That is their affair/Leave them to it'. The pronoun *en* is known by old people as an obsolete variant of *hem* 3rd person singular pronoun,

but has never been heard. Following the pronoun subjects yumitu, yumitri and yumi with no following modifier, no predicate marker occurs. When the subject yumi is modified by a word or phrase (yumi ya, yumi evriwan, yumi man Santo), the predicate marker i normally occurs, though in some dialects the modified pronoun is treated as a complex subject and the pronoun yumi repeated.

3.1.8. Verb Stem Morphology

In Tangoan, the verb structure features a tense-aspect system realised by a number of particles together with the double set of predicate markers. Together with this system, however, there are a number of widely distributed changes to the structure of the verb stems.

The most common of these changes is the reduplication of the stem or of the first morpheme of the stem, to express intensification of the stem meaning. Thus /ale/ 'to look for', /aleale/ 'to search diligently for, to hunt for' and /tai/ 'to cut', /tatai/ 'to carve, hollow out'. Frequently overlapping with this, reduplication expresses repetition of the action. Thus /vere/ 'to tell', /verevere/ 'to tell repeatedly'. With a large class of verbs, the reduplicated form of a transitive stem expresses an intransitive stative form, sometimes with extensions of meaning. Thus /cani/ 'to eat', /canicani/ 'to be eating (int.)', /reve/ 'to pull, incl. to pull a fish', /revereve/ 'to be fishing (int.)'. Verb stem reduplication is also involved in the reciprocal structure. Thus,

/enrarua	la	case	opopoirā/
pron		pred recip	love-
3.d.	mkr	asp	love-
	real	mkr	pron
	3.p.		3.p.

'They love each other.'

The addition of a suffix to verb stems of several classes has the effect of transforming an intransitive or stative form to an active transitive form, frequently a causative form. The suffix has a large number of allomorphs, /-i/, /-ti/, /-vi/, /-si/, /-ci/, /-mi/, /-ni/, and /-gi/. Thus /sua/ 'to paddle', /suai/ 'to paddle (tr.)', /inu/ 'to drink (int.)', /inumi/ 'to drink, swallow', /keco/ 'to be hanging', /kecoci/ 'to hang (tr.)', /pute/ 'to be submerged', /puteci/ 'to submerge, cause to be submerged'.

The addition of a prefix to verb stems of several classes has the effect of transforming an active transitive form to a stative form. The suffix has several allomorphs /ma-/, /ma-/ and /ta-/. Thus /rapu/ 'to break (a rope, cord etc.) (tr.)', /marapu/ 'to be broken (rope,

cord etc.) (stat.)', /ʔari/ 'to tear' /maʔari/ 'to be torn (stat.)'.

Many verb stems are involved in more than one of these changes. Thus /kosai/ 'to break (eggs, china etc.) (tr.)' /kosakosai/ 'to shatter (tr.)' /takosa/ 'to be broken, (stat.)'. /kuresi/ 'to roll (logs, drums etc.) (tr.)' /makurekure/ 'to be rolling (stat.)', /caleci/ 'to move in socket, to loosen (tooth, post) (tr.)', /macalecale/ 'to be loose, wiggly, wobbly (stat.)', /loloso/ 'to be washing (body) (stat.)', /losovi/ 'to wash (tr.)'.

There is a causative structure involving the verb /vai/ 'to make (tr.)' which forms a construction with stative forms which parallels the suffixed form having a causative sense, with no contrast in meaning. Thus

/mo	vaia	mo	pute/	/mo	putecia/
pred	make-	pred	submerge	pred	submerge-
mkr	pron	mkr		mkr	cause to-
real	3.s.	real		real	pron
3.s.		3.s.		3.s.	3.s.

'He caused it to be submerged.'

In Bislama, the verb structure features a tense aspect system realised by a number of particles. Together with this, there are several widely distributed changes in the structure of verb stems which parallel those occurring in Tangoan, though by no means always in corresponding roots.

In Bislama, reduplication of the verb stem occurs, primarily to express repetition of the action. (Thus it usually occurs with a durative aspect marker indicating action over a prolonged period.) Thus *purumbut* long 'to walk on', *purumpurumbut* long 'to trample on', *katem* 'to cut, cut up'; *katkatem* 'to cut up into small pieces'. Reduplicated forms frequently occur with a plural subject and are also frequently used with modifiers expressing intensification, but there is not sufficient evidence to associate either of these meanings with reduplication. Thus *ol woman oli krakrae tumas* 'the women wailed a great deal'. There is dialect variation in Bislama in the expression of the reciprocal structure, but in the northern part of the New Hebrides a reduplicated form is frequently used. Thus *tufala i laeklaekem tufala* 'they love each other', *olgeta evriwan oli stap asaskem long olgeta* 'they were all asking one another'. In some areas, notably the islands of *Epi*, *Paama*, and *Malekula* reduplication is less common in Bislama, than it is generally in the north, and this has correlated with reports that reduplication is less common in the languages of those areas than it is in the languages to the north.

In Bislama, the most common change to the verb stem is the addition of a suffix which has the effect of transforming an intransitive or stative form to an active transitive form, frequently a causative form. This suffix has three phonologically determined allomorphs, -im to stems

of which the immediate preceding vowel is i, -em to stems of which the immediate preceding vowel is e, a or o, and -um to stems of which the immediate preceding vowel is u. Thus stil 'to steal (int.)', stilim 'to steal (tr.)', rol 'to roll (int.)', rolem 'to roll (tr.)', sut 'to shoot (int.)', sutum 'to shoot (tr.)'. sat 'to be shut (stat.)', satem 'to shut (tr.)', bon 'to be born (stat)(int.)', bonem 'to bear, to father (tr.)', flat 'to be flat (stat.)', flatem 'to make flat (tr.)', draon 'to be submerged (stat.)', draonem 'to cause to be submerged (tr.)'.

There is a limited developing set of forms in Bislama in which a transitive verb has been formed from an English simple active, and a stative from an English past form of the same English verb. These forms are much more common in the towns but their usage in rural Bislama is increasing. Thus, brek 'to break (int.)', brekem, brebrekem 'to break (tr.)', brok, brokbrok 'to be broken', blou 'to blow (int.)', bloem 'to blow (tr.)', blu 'to be blowing (stat.)(of the wind, etc.)'.

There is a causative construction involving the verb mekem 'to make' which forms a construction with stative forms which parallels the suffixed forms having a causative sense, with no contrast in meaning. Thus i mekem hem i draon, i draonem hem 'he caused it to be submerged'.

While there is not always direct parallelism in the morphological changes made to the various stems to produce corresponding changes in meaning in Tangoan and Bislama verbs, this parallelism does occur very frequently in corresponding roots. For example, there is direct parallelism in the formation of these forms, for roots in the two languages, for more than two hundred Bislama transitive forms considered.

In Tangoan, there is a further class of stative forms derived from noun stems by the addition of a suffix /-ca/. Statives of this class function regularly as attributive adjectives and as statives in noun modifier clauses. Thus /patu/ 'head', /patuca/ 'intelligent, to be intelligent, to have a formed "head"', /vutivuti/ 'hill', /vutivutica/ 'hilly, to be hilly, uneven'.

In Bislama, there is a stative forming construction with the verb gat, 'to have' forming lexical phrases which function regularly as statives in noun modifier clauses. Thus hed 'head', gat hed 'intelligent, to be intelligent, to have a formed "head"', hil 'hill', gat hil 'hilly, to be hilly, uneven'. Twelve such parallel forms are in common use in Tangoan and Bislama, of fifteen such Tangoan forms listed.

3.1.9. The Verb Phrase

In Tangoan, aspect of the verb is indicated by a series of particles. As described above, there are two sets of seven predicate markers occurring predicate initial and marking number and person of the subject

of the predicate, one set marking realis aspect of the predicate, the other set marking irrealis aspect of the predicate. The realis predicate is used to describe all events which have actually commenced and all conditions which actually exist. The irrealis predicate is used to describe all events which have not actually commenced and all conditions which do not actually exist. This predicate expresses the command forms, the immediate and more distant future forms, and is used in unrealised clauses consequent on condition, hope, expectation, doubt, fear etc., and in clauses stating purpose.

Between the predicate marker and the verb form, there are four slots which are optionally filled from four classes of markers. The fillers of the first slot are aspect markers, /pa/ definite aspect, /to/ attemptive aspect, /pete/ inceptive aspect and /tapuna/ commencing aspect. The filler of the second slot is the negative, /sopo/. The fillers of the third slot are the aspect markers, /lo/, durative marker and /eñi/, capability, habit, permission marker. The fillers of the fourth slot are aspect markers, /mele/, repetitive or incrementive marker, /case/, 'subject acting alone' aspect, /rua/, 'subject acting as pair' aspect, /tolu/, 'subject acting as trio or group' aspect. The latter three markers may occur in predicates the subjects of which are singular, dual and trial/plural respectively. With subject and object of the verb identical and singular, /case/ indicates a reflexive act, but with dual, trial and plural subjects, /case/ may indicate a reflexive or a reciprocal action, shown by surrounding discourse.

The verb may be a transitive, intransitive or stative form. Several classes of transitive forms may be followed by a pronoun object either as a suffix or as a free form following the verb form. Some other classes of transitive verbs may be followed by a particle to which the pronoun object is suffixed or which it will follow. There may then follow one or more verb modifiers, words, phrases or clauses. One or more such modifiers to the head verb of the clause may also occur clause final. These modifiers functioning together with the particles of the verb phrase may define the tense of the action of the predicate, but it is common for the tense of the predicate to remain indeterminate at the clause level.

In Bislama, aspect of the verb is indicated by a series of particles. As described above there is a single set of four predicate markers together with a zero form which occurs with some first person inclusive pronouns, some of the predicate markers indicating number and person of the predicate subject. These markers occur predicate initial in a realis predicate, which is used to describe all events which have actually commenced and all conditions which actually exist. The realis

predicate is also used to express command forms. There is an irrealis predicate, most commonly marked by an irrealis marker *bambae*, either preceding the subject slot or immediately preceding the predicate marker. There is a dialect variant of this marker, *mbae* in limited use in rapid speech in many areas and in general use in some districts. The irrealis predicate is used to describe all events which have not actually commenced and all conditions which do not actually exist. This predicate expresses the immediate and more distant future forms and is used in unrealised clauses consequent on condition, hope, expectation, doubt, fear etc. In some areas, in clauses following a condition, a realis predicate is sometimes used if it has a capability aspect (*save*) a negative aspect (*no*), is a command or a question. However, in most areas an irrealis predicate marked by *bambae* is used in these clauses also. (The fact that the third person plural forms with the pronoun and *bambae* are *bambae olgeta oli* and *olgeta bambae oli* but never *oli bambae i* substantially establishes the difference between the Bislama form *olgeta oli* and the Tok Pisin form *oli i*. This difference is further confirmed by the fact that modifiers to the subject pronoun in forms such as *olgeta wanwan oli*, *olgeta nomo oli*, *olgeta evriwan i* occur only between *olgeta* and either *oli* or *i*.) The conditional clause marker *sipos* 'if' functions as an irrealis marker in that it occurs within the clause in the same distribution as *bambae* and always marks an irrealis predicate. *sipos* occurs preceding the subject phrase or immediately preceding the predicate marker, and the predicate is always viewed as uncommenced, regardless of whether it is set in past or future time. *sipos* and *bambae* do not co-occur within the one clause. Two other markers *neva* 'never' and *kolosap* 'almost but not quite' function as aspect markers with the same distribution as *bambae*, giving rise to irrealis predicates which describe English past events which did not actually occur. These structures are widespread, involving most but not all dialects of Bislama. In some areas, *neva* occurs as a filler in the same slot as the simple negative *no*, and in other dialects *neva* and *kolosap* occur, together with *bambae* placed after the subject slot to form an irrealis predicate describing what would be in English a future event, either certain never to take place or about to take place respectively.

Between the predicate marker and the verb form there are five slots which are optionally filled from five classes of markers. The fillers of the first slot are aspect markers and their negators. Thus *stap* durative aspect, *moa* incrementive aspect, *no moa* cessation of durative, *mas* obligative, *mas no* obligative negative, *stat* commencing, *no* negative. The second slot is not filled in an irrealis predicate.

The fillers of the second slot are bin antecedent, out of sequence marker nobin negator of antecedent, neva bin absolute negator of antecedent, jes inceptive. The fillers of the third slot are the aspect marker save habituate, capability, permission marker and the auxiliary aspect marker wantem the desiderative, to want to. The filler of the fourth slot is the aspect marker auxiliari traem the attemptive, to try to. The fillers of the fifth slot are direction indicators of motion involved in the predicate go 'motion of the subject, usually also from the speaker', kam 'motion of the subject, usually also toward the speaker'. No more than two fillers of the three final slots have been found in any one predicate.

The verb may be a transitive, intransitive or stative form. Following the verb root, there is a slot filled by a group of modifiers which may be words or phrases, which carry both a time and an aspect component. In this slot, the aspect component of meaning is in focus, more strongly than the time component. There is then an object slot, following which there is then a further time modifier slot, which may be filled with the class of modifiers just described, or by a separate class of time modifiers which do not fill that slot or carry aspect. There is then a further slot filled by the modifier finis showing completed aspect. There is a further time modifier slot clause final which may be filled from either of the two classes described, and which may be followed by finis. The modifiers together with the particles of the verb phrase may define the tense of the action of the predicate, but it is common for the tense of the predicate to remain indeterminate at the clause level.

An outline structure of the verb phrase for Tangoan and Bislama is shown on the following pages.

3.1.10. Discourse Level Features of 'Verb Structure'

In both Bislama and Tangoan, there are two 'higher level' structures which would normally be regarded in English as 'verb structure', and which are thus grouped with the previous material.

In Tangoan discourse, events are normally described in experiential order. In narrative, it is possible to insert a 'flashback', virtually as a parenthesis, but this is usually recognised by Tangoans as probably due to a lapse in memory. Hearing a taped story, the speaker frequently prefers to rephrase such material in experiential order. Variation in order of clauses within a sentence and of sentences within a paragraph also occurs to achieve focus on the segment placed at the head of the section. Limited use of this type of variation in order is regarded as good style. This feature of Tangoan discourse forms

THE ORDER OF THE MARKERS IN THE TANGOAN VERB PHRASE

Pred. Marker	Aspect Marker	Negat. Marker	Aspect Marker	Aspect Marker	Pred. Filler	Object Phrase	Modif. Word or Phrase	Modif. Clause Final
<u>Realis</u> sg 1. na 2. ko 3. mo pl 1.1.řa 1.e.kama 2. ka la	pa (Defin Asp)	sopo (Neg Mkr)	eñi (Cap Asp)	mele (Incr/ Repet Asp)	Trans. Forms Intran. Forms Stat. Forms	Noun Noun Phrase Pron Relatnl. plus Noun, Noun Phrase, Pron.	moiso (Compl Asp/ Modif) 'Already' tarea (Contin Asp/ Modif) 'Always' tIroma (Anteced Asp/ Modif) 'First' tuai (Past Asp/ Modif) 'Long ago' etc.	moiso (Compl Asp/ Modif) 'Already' tarea (Contin Asp/ Modif) 'Always' tiroma (Anteced Asp/ Modif) 'First' tuai (Past Asp/ Modif) 'Long ago' etc.
<u>Irreal</u> sg 1. a 2. o 3. i pl 1.1.řa 1.e.ama 2. ca 3. ila	pete (Incept Asp) tapuna (Commen Asp)	The co-occurrence of /sopo/ + /mele/ indicates cessation of a previous durative aspect of the predicate.						

THE ORDER OF THE MARKERS IN THE BISLAMA VERB PHRASE

Irreal Marker	Subj. Phrase	Irreal Marker	Pred. Marker	Aspect Marker	Aspect Marker Realis	Asp./ Aux. Marker	Asp./ Aux. Marker	Asp./ Aux. Marker	Pred. Filler	Aspect Modif Marker	Object Phrase	Modif. Aspect Marker	Modif. Aspect Marker
bambae (Defin Asp)	Noun, Noun Phrase	bambae (Defin Asp)	sg 1. mi 2. yu 3. i pl 1. i.Ø/i 1.e. i 2. i 3. oli/i	stap (Dur Asp)	bin (Antec Asp)	save (Cap Asp/ Aux)	traem (Attem Asp/ Aux)	go (Dirn Asp/ Aux)	Trans Form Intr. Form	moa (Incr Asp/ Modif)	Noun Noun Phrase	moa (Modif/ Incr Asp)	moa (Modif/ Incr Asp)
sipos (Cond Asp)	Pron Pron Phrase	sipos (Cond Asp)		moa (Inc Asp)	no bin (Neg Antec Asp)	wantem (Desir Asp/ Aux)		kam (Dirn Asp/ Aux)	Stat. Form	finis (Compl Asp/ Modif)	Pron plus Noun, Noun Phrase, Pron	finis (Modif/ Compl Asp)	finis (Modif/ Compl Asp)
neva (Abs Neg Asp)		neva (Abs Neg Asp)		no moa (End Dur Asp)	neva (Abs Neg Asp)					oltaem (Cont Asp/ Modif)		oltaem (Modif/ Cont Asp)	oltaem (Modif/ Cont Asp)
kolosap (Near Asp)		kolosap (Near Asp)		mas (Oblig Asp)	neva bin (Abs Neg Antec Asp)					bakegen (Repet Asp/ Modif)		bakegen (Modif/ Repet Asp)	bakegen (Modif/ Repet Asp)
				mas no (Oblig Neg Asp)						bifo (Past Asp/ Modif)		bifo (Modif/ Past Asp)	bifo (Modif/ Past Asp)
				stat (Comm Asp)						etc.		etc.	etc.
				No Neg Mkr									

an aspect of the timing of any event, and so of defining the 'tense' of any predicate.

In Bislama discourse, events are normally described in experiential order. In narrative, it is possible to depart from this order by the use of predicates involving the marker *bin* as an antecedent, out of sequence marker. (The use of this marker for an English pluperfect occurs in 'town Bislama' but is rejected in rural areas.) Variation of order of clauses within a sentence and of sentences within a paragraph occurs and achieves focus on the segment placed at the head of the section. Limited use of this type of variation in order is regarded as good style. This feature of Bislama discourse forms an aspect of the timing of any event, and so of defining the 'tense' of any predicate.

In Tangoan discourse, the actor involved is always the subject of the predicate, and there is no 'passive' mode of expression. As discussed briefly above, there are several classes of statives, some of which are adjectives functioning in noun modifier clauses, some of which are derived from nouns and some of which are only ever verbs which readily become transitive forms with a 'causative' sense. However the subject of all such predicates is always the actor involved.

In Bislama discourse, the actor involved is always the subject of the predicate, and there is no 'passive' mode of expression. As discussed briefly above, there are several classes of statives, some of which are adjectives functioning as predicates, some of which are derived from nouns and some of which are only ever verbs which readily become transitive forms with a 'causative' sense. However, the subject of all such predicates is always the actor involved.

In earlier descriptions of both these languages, and especially of Bislama, it has been usual to describe this feature of the languages as 'the absence of any passive structure' at the level of the verb phrase. Such an approach is rejected here, because it presupposes the existence of a passive mode of thinking and assumes the possibility of a passive structure at some point in the verb phrase structure, both of which assumptions are gratuitous.

3.1.11. The Order of Constituents in a Clause

In Tangoan, the order of constituents in a transitive clause is normally subject, verb, object. However, the clause initial position is always occupied by the constituent which is in focus in the surrounding discourse. Thus,

/tamaku	i	pa	voli	kamim/	'My father is going to pay you (pl.).'
father-	pred	def	pay	pron	
pron	mkr	asp		2 p.	
l.s.	irr.	mkr			
	3.s.				

has variant forms

/tamaku, enia	i	pa	voli	kamim/	'My <u>father</u> is going to pay you (pl.).'
father-	pron	pred	def	pay pron	
pron	l.s.	mkr	asp		'My father is the one who is going to
l.s.		irr	mkr		pay you.'
		3.s.			
/kamim, tamaku	i	pa	voli	kamim/	'You will be paid by my father.'
pron	father-	pred	def	pay pron	'As for you people, my father will
2.s.	pron	mkr	asp	2.p.	pay you.'
	l.s.	irr	mkr		
		3.s.			

In Bislama, the order of constituents in a transitive clause is normally subject, verb, object. However, the clause-initial position is always occupied by the constituent which is in focus in the surrounding discourse. Thus,

bambae	papa	blong	mi	i	pem	yufala
irr	father	poss	pron	pred	pay	pron
mkr		mkr	l.s.	mkr		2.p.
				3.s.		

'My father is going to pay you (pl.).' (definite aspect)

has variant forms relating to surrounding discourse

papa	blong	mi	bambae	i	pem	yufala
father	poss	pron	irr	pred	pay	pron
	mkr	l.s.	mkr	mkr		2.p.
				3.s.		

'My father will pay you.'

bambae	papa	blong	mi,	hem	i	pem	yufala
irr	father	poss	pron	pron	pred	pay	pron
mkr		mkr	l.s.	3.s.	mkr		2.p.
				3.s.			

'Certainly my father will pay you.'

papa blong mi bambae hem i pem yufala

'My father will pay you.'

papa blong mi, hem bambae i pem yufala

'My father is the one who will pay you.'

yufala, bambae papa blong mi i pem yufala

'You are going to be paid, by my father.'

'As for you, certainly my father will pay you.'

yufala, papa blong mi bambae i pem yufala

'You people will be paid by my father.'

'My father will pay you people.'

In transitive clauses with 'direct' and 'indirect' objects, the same type of variations occur in both languages. Thus, in Tangoan,

/tamaku mo	sile	tavaiku	cin	lepa	sei/
father-	pred	give	older	rel	ground
pron	mkr		brother-	mkr	adj
l.s.	real		pron		this
	3.s.		l.s.		

'My father gave this piece of ground to my older brother.'

has variants

/tamaku, enia mo sile tavaiku cin lepa sei/

'My father is the one who gave this piece of ground to my older brother.'

/tavaiku, tamaku mo silea cin lepa sei/

'My father gave this piece of ground to my older brother.'

'My older brother was given this piece of ground by my father.'

/lepa sei tamaku mo sile tavaiku cinia/

'This piece of ground was given to my older brother by my father.'

And in Bislama,

papa	blong	mi	i	givim	graon	ya	long	brata	blong	mi
father	poss	pron	pred	give	ground	dem	rel	brother	poss	pron
	mkr	l.s.	mkr			adj	mkr		mkr	l.s.
			3.s.							

'My father gave this piece of ground to my brother.'

has variants

papa blong mi, hem i givim graon ya long brata blong mi

'My father is the one who gave this piece of ground to my brother.'

brata blong mi, papa blong mi i givim graon ya long hem

'My father gave this piece of ground to my brother.'

'My brother was given this piece of ground by my father.'

graon ya, papa blong mi i givim long brata blong mi

'This piece of ground was given to my brother by my father.'

In Tangoan, in both transitive and intransitive clauses, the position of predicate modifiers of time or place in the clause initial position in contrast to a clause final position expresses focussing on the timing or placement of the predicate 'event'. Thus

/na	novi	na	silea	cinia/
rel	yesterday	pred	give-	rel
mkr		mkr	pron	pron
		real	3.s.	3.s.
			l.s.	

'Yesterday I gave it to him.'

/na silea cinia na novi/

'I gave it to him yesterday.'

/na	lolo	vanua	la	lo	retireti/
rel	inside	village	pred	dur	talk-talk
mkr			mkr	asp	
			real	mkr	
				3.p.	

'In the village they are having a discussion.'

/la lo retireti na lolo vanua/

'They are having a discussion in the village.'

And in Bislama, similar focussing occurs. Thus,

yestedei mi givim long hem
yesterday pred *give* rel pron
 mkr mkr 3.s.
 l.s.

'Yesterday I gave it to him.'

mi givim long hem yestedei
'I gave it to him yesterday.'

insaed long velej oli stap toktok
inside rel *village* pred dur *talk-talk*
 mkr mkr asp
 3.p. mkr

'In the village they are having a discussion.'

oli stap toktok insaed long velej
'They are having a discussion in the village.'

In equational clauses of identity the order of the constituents expresses focussing in concord with the surrounding discourse. In Tangoan, the copula in this construction is the third person subject pronoun, marking number on the constituents and is optional. Thus,

/sipa sei (enia) noku/
knife dem cop. poss
 adj sing mkr-
this pron
 l.s.

'This knife is mine.'

/noku sipa (enia) sei/
 poss *knife* cop dem
 mkr- sing adj
 pron l.s. *this*

'This is my knife. / My knife is this one.'

/carici (enia) noku sipa/
 dem cop poss *knife*
 pron sing mkr-
this pron
 l.s.

'This is my knife.'

In Bislama, the copula is the third person 'predicate marker', showing number on the constituents and is optional except when the second constituent is a demonstrative pronoun, in which case it is omitted. Thus,

naef ya (i) blong mi ya
knife dem cop poss pron dem
 adj sing mkr l.s. adj

'This knife is mine.'

naef blong mi hemia
knifeposs pron dem
 mkr l.s. pron

'This is my knife. / My knife is this one.'

hemia (i) naef blong ml
 dem cop knife poss pron
 pron sing mkr l.s.
 sing

'This is my knife.'

In both Bislama and Tangoa, the consistent use of the copula in these equational clauses is a feature of the formal level of the use of language, in contrast with the informal and domestic levels.

In several types of question clauses there is an 'interrogation segment' which may occur clause initial or clause final. In clauses where this segment occurs clause initial, the resulting questions are direct and forceful, frequently rhetorical expressing strong emotional content. When the same or related segment occurs clause final, the questions are mild, courteous and unambiguously seeking information. Thus in Tangoan,

/care sei?/ 'Who is this?'
 who? dem
 adj
 this

/tamloci sei care?/ 'Who is this man?' (asking for him to be
 man dem who? described)
 adj
 this

/sa cinau sei?/ 'What's this?' (doubting its value)
 pron thing dem
 int adj
 what? this

/cinau sei sa?/ 'What is this thing?' (seeking information)
 thing dem pron
 adj int
 this what?

/ko mai nike socena sa?/ 'How did you come here?'
 pred come here mod pron
 mkr like- int
 real pron what?
 2.s. 3.s.

/mo socena sa ko mai nike?/ 'How did you get here?' meaning
 pred like- pron pred come here 'You have no valid right here!'
 mkr pron int mkr
 real 3.s. what?real
 3.s. 2.s.

/ko mai nike mata sa?/ 'What reason did you have in coming here?'
 pred come here reas pron (seeking information)
 mkr mkr int
 real what?
 2.s.

/mata sa ko mai nike?/ 'What reason did you have in coming here?'
 reas pron pred come here meaning 'You have no reason to be here!'
 mkr int mkr
 what?real
 2.s.

/ko mai nike vara sa?/ 'What purpose did you have in coming here?'
 pred come here say pron (seeking information)
 mkr int
 real what?
 2.s.

/vara sa ko mai nike?/ 'What purpose did you have in coming here?'
 say pron pred come here here?
 int mkr meaning 'You have no valid purpose here!'
 what real
 2.s.

/ko to ko mai nike?/ 'What are you trying to do, coming here?'
 pred try pred come here meaning, 'Don't come here again!'
 mkr ? mkr
 real real
 2.s. 2.s.

And in Bislama,

? hu ya ? 'Who is this?'
 who? dem
 adj

? man ya hu ? 'Who is this man?' (asking for him to be described)
 man dem who?
 adj

? wanem hemia ? 'What's this?' (doubting its value)
 pron dem
 int pron
 what?

? hemia wanem ? 'What is this?' (seeking information)
 dem pron
 pron int
 what?

?yu kam long ples ya olsem wanem? 'How did you come here?'
 pred come rel place dem mod pron
 mkr mkr adj like int
 2.s. what?

?olsem wanem yu kam long ples ya? 'How did you get here?'
 mod pron pred come rel place dem meaning 'You have no valid
 like int mkr mkr adj right to be here!'
 what? 2.s.

?yu kam long ples ya blong wanem? 'What did you come here to do?'
 pred come rel place dem purp pron
 mkr mkr adj mkr int
 2.s. what?

?blong wanem yu kam long ples ya? 'What did you come here to do?'
 purp pron pred come rel place dem (expressing open distrust)
 mkr int mkr mkr adj
 what? 2.s.

?yu kam long ples ya from wanem? 'What reason did you have for coming here?'
 pred come rel place dem reas pron
 mkr mkr adj mkr int
 2.s. what?

?from wanem yu kam long ples ya? 'What reason did you have for coming here?' (expressing open distrust)
 reas pron pred come rel place dem
 mkr int mkr mkr adj
 what? 2.s.

?weswe yu kam long ples ya? 'What do you mean by coming here?'
 rhet pred come rel place dem
 ques mkr mkr adj
 mkr 2.s.
 why?

3.1.12. Focussing through Variation in Clause Order

In sentences consisting of more than one clause, in which the clause order is not bound to experiential clause order, the normal order of clause may be varied to achieve focussing on one clause and thus relationship with the surrounding discourse. Typically, dependent clauses following verbs of seeing, hearing, saying, knowing, discovering, etc., may be focussed at the head of the sentence. Thus in Tangoan, in the sentence

/vara moli i levosacia vara ka lo vaia socena, i pa
 "say" chief pred know- say pred dur make- like- pred def
 cond mkr pron mkr asp pron pron mkr asp
 mkr irr 3.s. real mkr 3.s. 3.s. irr mkr
 if 3.s. 2.p. 3.s.

lolokoru cin kamim/
 stat rel pron
 angry mkr 2.p.

'If the chief knew that you were doing that, he would be angry with you (pl).'

the clause order may be varied to achieve focus on the dependent clause,

/ka lo vaia socena pan vara moli i levosacia, i pa
 pred dur make- like- but "say" chief pred know pred def
 mkr asp pron pron cond mkr pron mkr asp
 real mkr 3.s. 3.s. mkr irr 3.s. irr mkr
 2.p. if 3.s. 3.s.

lolokoru cin kamim/
 stat rel pron
 angry mkr 2.p.

'What you are doing would make the chief angry with you, if he knew.'

Similarly, in Bislama, in the sentence

sipos jif i save we yufala i stap mekem olsem, bambae
 irr chief pred know cla pron pred dur make mod irr
 cond mkr mkr 2.p. mkr asp like mkr
 mkr 3.s. 2.p. mkr
 if

i kros long yufala
 pred stat rel pron
 mkr angry mkr 2.p.
 3.s.

'If the chief knew that you were doing that, he would be angry with you (pl).'

the clause order may be varied to achieve focus on the dependent clause,

yufala i stap mekem olsem, be sipos jif i save, bambae
 pron pred dur make mod but irr chief pred know irr
 2.p. mkr asp like cond mkr mkr
 2.p. mkr mkr 3.s.
 i kros long yufala if
 pred stat rel pron
 mkr angry mkr 2.p.
 3.s.

'What you are doing would make the chief angry with you, if he knew.'

In Tangoan discussion type material, there is no obligatory clause order in relation to cause and effect. The clause order in such sentences relates to the segment of the sentence in focus in the surrounding discourse, the focussed clause occurring sentence initial. Thus,

/tata i pa lolokoru jea matana mo reti cinia moiso/
 Father pred def stat mod because pred talk rel- compl
 mkr asp angry very/ mkr pron asp
 irr mkr too real 3.s. mkr
 3.s. 3.s.

'Father will be angry, because he has already spoken about it.'

/matana tata mo reti cinia moiso, i pa lolokoru jea/
 'Because Father has already spoken about it, he will be very angry.'

In Bislama discussion type material, there is no obligatory clause order in relation to cause and effect. The clause order in such sentences relates to the segment of the sentence in focus in the surrounding discourse, the focussed clause occurring sentence initial. Thus,

bambae papa i kros tumas, from we hem i tokbaot
 irr father pred stat mod reas cla pron pred speak of
 mkr mkr angry very/ mkr mkr 3.s. mkr
 3.s. too because 3.s.
 samting ya finis
 thing dem compl
 adj asp
 mkr

'Father will be very angry, because he has already spoken about this.'

from we papa i tokbaot samting ya finis, bambae hem i kros tumas.

'Because Father has already spoken about this, he will be very angry.'

3.2. DIFFERENCES IN SYNTAX IN BISLAMA AND TANGOAN

Within the material presented, some significant non-parallels in the syntax of Bislama and Tangoan have appeared.

3.2.1. The Placement of Adjectives

In Bislama, a single attributive adjective most commonly precedes the noun, but in Tangoan, the attributive adjective follows the noun.

3.2.2. The Form of the Demonstrative

In Bislama, there is a single demonstrative adjective, *ya* while in Tangoan, there are the two discussed above, /*sei*/ and /*atu*/, and at an informal level of language, there is widespread use of /*nike*/ '*here*', shading in meaning from the modifier '*here*' to a demonstrative device '*here, adjacent in space/time/discourse*', so '*this*'.

3.2.3. The Form of Noun Phrases

In Bislama, nouns modifying a head noun are linked by the relational *blong*, but in Tangoan, apart from body-part nouns which precede the head noun, modifying nouns follow the head noun functioning as a class of 'adjectives'.

3.2.4. The Irrealis Predicate

There is significant parallelism between Bislama and Tangoan in the use of irrealis predicates, as shown by the common contrary-to-fact construction.

yestedei mi	stap	lukaot	man ya,	mo	sipos mi	faenem	hem
yesterday	pred	dur	look man dem	conj	irr	pred	find pron
	mkr	asp	for adj	and	cond	mkr	3.s.
		l.s. mkr			mkr	l.s.	
					if		
bambae mi	givim	basket	ya long	hem,	be mi	no	faenem hem
irr	pred	give basket	dem rel	pron	but	pred neg	find pron
mkr	mkr		adj mkr	3.s.		mkr mkr	3.s.
		l.s.				l.s.	
/na novi	na	lo	ale tamloci	atu,	moiso	vara	a vileia
rel yesterday	pred	dur	look man	dem	conj	say	pred find-
mkr	mkr	asp	for	adj	and		mkr pron
		real mkr		that			irr 3.s.
		l.s.					l.s.
a	pa	silea cin	taga	sei	pani	na	sopo vileia/
pred def	give-	rel	basket	dem	but	pred neg	find-
mkr	asp	pron mkr		adj		mkr mkr	pron
irr mkr	3.s.		this	irr		3.s.	
l.s.	him			l.s.			

'I was looking for the man yesterday, and if I had found him I would have given him the basket (but I didn't find him).'

However, the use of a realis predicate in Bislama for command forms provides a significant difference.

3.2.5. The Clause Marker 'We'

A further significant difference exists in the occurrence of the Bislama dependent clause marker *we*. In Tangoan, a dependent clause modifying a noun occurs with no clause marker, its function as a dependent clause rather than a predicate within a chain of predicates being

shown by intonation and sometimes by various focussing devices on the head noun. Thus,

/tamloci	sei	mo	paru	mo	malokoloko/
man	dem	pred	stat	pred	stat
	adj	mkr	fat	mkr	tired-
		real		real	tired
		3.s.		3.s.	

'This man is fat and lazy' or 'This man who is fat and lazy'

is shown to be either two predicates or one predicate with a complex subject slot filler, by the presence of a single or a double clause intonation pattern as shown.

/tamloci sei mo paru mo malokoloko/ *'This man is fat and lazy.'*

/tamloci se mo paru mo malokoloko/ *'This man who is fat and lazy'*

(Here an assertive intonation pattern is displayed, but while other intonation patterns vary the tones, the single/double clause contrast is always manifested.) A dependent clause is formally so defined if the head noun is focussed within the sentence. Thus,

/tamloci	sei	mo	paru	enia	mo	malokoloko/
man	dem	pred	stat	pron	pred	stat
	adj	mkr	fat	3.s.	mkr	tired
	<i>this</i>	real			real	tired
		3.s.			3.s.	

'This man who is fat and lazy'

In Bislama, a dependent clause modifying a noun is introduced by the clause marker *we*. Thus,

man	ya	we	i	gat	gris,	i	les
man	dem	cla	pred	<i>has</i>	fat	pred	stat
	adj	mkr	mkr			mkr	lazy
			3.s.			3.s.	

'This man who is fat is lazy.'

In most sentences, the use of the marker *we* has been differently analysed by speakers of English and speakers of Melanesian languages. Thus in a sentence such as

pig	ya	we	i	blong	kakae	i	ronwe
pig	dem	cla	pred	purp	eat	pred	run-
	adj	mkr	mkr	mkr		mkr	away
			3.s.			3.s.	

'The pig for the feast ran away.'

English speakers have tended to see *we* as a relative pronoun whereas Melanesians with whom structure has been discussed have generally seen *we* as a relational but not a 'pronoun', the reference to pig in the dependent clause being made through the predicate marker *i*.

4. DISCUSSION OF MATERIAL PRESENTED

In seeking to draw conclusions from the examples of parallelism described in this paper there is difficulty in assessing the significance to be given to the features of Bislama discussed, in relation to the structure of the language as a whole. If Bislama is to be seen primarily as the product of an interaction between a superstrate English and a substrate New Hebridean group of languages, in which its surface structure reflects the substrate, the features discussed will be seen as surface structure. However, if the occurrence of these features in a number of 'European-language based pidgins and creoles' is to be seen as providing any evidence at all for their relationship with an original proto-pidgin of some form, then the features considered have to be significant to the overall structure of Bislama, for that discussion of relationship to have meaning.

The differences between English and the English-based pidgins and between English and Bislama in particular have frequently been described in terms of 'simplification' in which features of English such as those discussed in this paper are said to have been dropped from use. The implication is also frequently present, that this has led inevitably to a limitation of the areas in which communication may occur, together with inherent ambiguities and a low level of redundancy¹² leading frequently to ineffective communication, shown by unavoidable misunderstandings. This type of assertion may hold true for a pidgin which never develops beyond the level of the *boe, yu putum bensin long trak* type of communication, but it is clear in the minds of the New Hebrideans that Bislama became a language of general communication among equals on the cane-fields of Queensland almost a hundred years ago. The frequency with which elements of meaning of a phrase or clause in Bislama may be indeterminate at the particular phrase or clause level, has been seen as evidence for this type of intrinsic ambiguity in Bislama. However in all instances of this type of ambiguity investigated, the same type of ambiguity occurs in the corresponding Tangoan structure, indicating that a more complex process is operating in both languages. Ambiguity in certain Bislama (and Tangoan) phrases and clauses is not due to the absence of appropriate markers, but to the fact that the discourse structure is different, in that the precise determination of the number of nouns or tenses of predicates is not necessarily achieved at the level of phrase or clause, but only at some other level of the discourse unit. Of course, this process operates in both directions, in that the ambiguities in English which are resolved only at a discourse level, such as whether the first plural pronoun '*we*' includes or excludes the hearers, may well be obligatorily

resolved at the word or phrase level in Bislama and Tangoan. Similarly, the use of bound possessive forms with nouns, and the use of a singular, dual, trial and plural system with pronouns in Bislama and Tangoan, provide many instances where the English structures, ambiguous at the word, phrase or clause level but determined at some higher level of the surrounding discourse, is determined in Bislama and Tangoan at the lower level. The fact that the change in level at which various features are marked in Bislama and Tangoan is a primary source of confusion to English speakers learning the language as they attempt to 'keep track' of sustained discourse, is in itself further evidence that some process other than simplification of English is in operation.

The evidence presented by the parallels discussed here suggests a different type of description to account for the difference which exists between English and Bislama. Rather than supporting a process of 'simplification', this evidence suggests that structures unknown in the New Hebridean languages have frequently disappeared, to be replaced by structures similar to those of the New Hebridean languages, not necessarily functioning at the same level as the English structures which they replace. Thus the number of a noun, usually marked on the stem in English, may be marked in Bislama at the level of the stem, the phrase, the clause, the sentence or the paragraph, or left unfocussed, this Bislama structure being closely parallel to the corresponding Tangoan structure, both in concept and at a number of points, in its structure. The tense of the verb, usually marked in English by stem inflexions, is not normally in focus in Bislama. Rather, a set of markers indicates that a Bislama predicate describes an uncommenced event, regardless of whether that event is located in 'past' or 'future' time, while the absence of those markers indicates that the predicate describes a commenced event, without reference to 'present' or near or distant 'past' time. The timing of the event may be indicated elsewhere in the clause, or sentence or paragraph. Thus an English system of verb structuring has been replaced in Bislama by a different structuring principle, closely paralleling that found in the Tangoan realis-irrealis verb division, fundamental to the structure of the Tangoan verb phrase. The English adjectives precede the noun, but in Bislama, whilst most adjectives may precede the noun, only one adjective precedes any one noun and in fact, only one attributive adjective occurs with any one noun. Further adjectives occur as predicate fillers in modifying clauses, as do modified adjectives. Intensification of adjectives may be by reduplication of stem, or by modifier following the adjective or by both means, or by the repetition of the modifier clause. Again, the English system of noun modifiers has been replaced in all but its

simplest forms, by a system much more closely parallel to that found in Tangoan and other New Hebridean languages.

This understanding implies that these features are not 'surface structure', taken from the local languages and imposed over the top of a basically English 'deep structure'. Since they involve areas such as the view of time and timing reflected in the predicate structure and in the manner in which discourse is assembled, since they involve what features of participants in discourse are marked and what may be ignored, or again, since they involve the manner in which participants in discourse are focussed, both by markers and by the ordering of segments, it can be argued that they are structures basic to the language itself. Their presence in Bislama is to be seen, not as the end product of a process of simplification, but rather as the result of pressure upon the lingua franca from the New Hebridean languages of the many speakers who have used it.

This type of statement is not viewed as relating primarily to the manner in which Bislama developed in the early nineteenth century. There is no reason to reject the suggestion that the early English-speaking Bislama speakers were influenced by Chinese-English Pidgin English and Aborigine-Australian Pidgin English, and that these pidgins influenced the developing Bislama. However it is clear from the differences between Bislama and Neo-Melanesian that these languages have been diverging rapidly over the last eighty years. The time-depth in Bislama of the parallels discussed in this paper is unknown and unlikely to be discoverable, since accurate records of sustained Bislama discourse are unavailable, but since some of them involve divergence from the corresponding Neo-Melanesian structures, that time-depth may not be great. For that reason, any conclusion to be drawn from them should be related to the present structure of the language, rather than to its history.

5. CONCLUSIONS

The following conclusions may be drawn from the evidence presented above.

(i) Measured in terms of correspondence of area and meaning, the parallelism between the structure of the lexica of Bislama and Tangoan is substantially greater than the parallelism between the structure of the lexica of Bislama and English.

(ii) There is a high degree of parallelism between a number of structures in the syntax of Bislama and Tangoan, particularly the structure of the noun phrase, the verb phrase and in the formation of

some sentence types.

(iii) The type of parallelism discussed at both levels suggests that while Bislama has tended to develop using structures common to both English and the 'New Hebridean languages', as represented here by Tangoan, where these structures have been divergent, Bislama at present shows greater parallelism with the New Hebridean language grouping than with English.

(iv) This parallelism suggests that certain features of Bislama are the result of pressure from the Oceanic-type languages spoken in the New Hebrides, rather than say 'simplification' of English.

(v) In that the parallelism involves significant features of the structure of Bislama, it indicates that Bislama should currently be viewed as a 'New-Hebridean-type' language, rather than as an 'English-type' language.

N O T E S

1. See D.T. Tryon, 'The Languages of the New Hebrides; A Checklist and General Survey' (1972).
2. Subsequent to the presentation of this paper, Tryon indicated a revision of this classification, see D.T. Tryon, *New Hebrides Languages: An Internal Classification* (1976:81ff). In this classification, Tangoan falls within the Northern and Central New Hebrides Group (77 languages), the West Santo Sub-group (24 languages), the classification being made by comparing cognates from an extended Swadesh list, 30 per cent to 49 per cent common cognates indicating 'same Group, different Sub-group' and 50 per cent to 79 per cent common cognates indicating 'same Sub-group, different Language'. The total number of languages was reduced to 105, three of which are recognised as Polynesian Outlier languages. From Tryon's earlier paper, population figures for the Group and Sub-group would be 46,430 and 4,810 respectively.
3. There is widespread belief among New Hebrideans, for example, that in their most widely used form, the Bislama names for trees have been taken from the languages of the Efate-Tonga area of the New Hebrides.
4. Material in both Bislama and Tangoan is presented in the practical orthography in current use in the language. A description of the Bislama orthography is given in *A Descriptive Dictionary, Bislama to English*, Pastor Bill Camden, 1977. The Tangoan orthography is fully phonemic, with the following consonants

/p/	/p/ ¹	/t/	/k/
		/j/ ² , /s/	/c/ ³
/v/	/v/ ¹		
/m/	/m/ ¹	/n/	/g/
		/l/, /r/ ⁴ , /r̃/ ⁵	

and vowels

/i/⁶
/e/⁷

/u/⁶
/o/⁷
/a/⁷

Thus: 1. An apico-labial series of full phonemes in active contrast with the bilabial series, but in restricted distribution, occurring before /a/, /i/ and /e/. These phonemes define the learned, prestige dialect used by males in oratory, serious discussion, traditional storytelling etc., and with less consistency in ordinary speech. The dialect is generally accepted as 'true Tangoan', though women and children are not expected to use these phonemes and rarely do, replacing them with the corresponding bilabial phonemes, with a resulting increase in the number of homophones. 2. A voiceless alveolar grooved affricate, with a backed variant before back vowels. 3. A velar fricative, voiced medially to some extent by some speakers, but most commonly voiceless in all environments. 4. A voiced retroflexed flap. 5. A voiced retroflexed trill. 6. A vowel phoneme with two submembers, the higher close vowel occurring in stressed syllables, and the lower open vowel in unstressed syllables. 7. A vowel phoneme with two submembers, the lower open vowel occurring in stressed syllables and the higher close vowel in unstressed syllables. Syllables are either CV or V, with syllabic nasals functioning as V syllables, and stress is predictable, with primary stress on the penultimate syllable, secondary stress on the first syllable of words of four or more syllables and light stress on the fourth syllable of seven syllable words and the fourth and sixth syllables of eight syllable words.

Tangoan material and material from other New Hebridean languages is presented within obliques, e.g. /vipacai/; Bislama material is presented in bold type, e.g. **tri**; and English meanings given within the text are presented in italics in single quotes, e.g. '*tree*'. Double oblique lines // are used to show two forms which may substitute in the same position in a structure, and an oblique line / is used in showing some English meanings to allow first literal and then idiomatic English equivalents to be shown.

5. Throughout this discussion, the use of terms 'noun', 'verb', 'pronoun' and 'adjective' is only approximate, indicating relationships by analogy from English grammar, which apply within any one utterance, rather than a set of classes in either Bislama or Tangoan, among which words may be permanently allocated. If such classes exist, it is clear that they bear little relationship to the classes of English.

6. In this grouping, the occurrence of the Bislama *pija blong mi* 'my reflection, my picture, my photo, a picture of mine, a photo of mine' with the recent urban addition *foto blong mi* 'my photo, a photo of mine' presents an interesting departure from the Tok Pisin distribution of these items, the more so in view of the link between the Tangoan items /*nunuaku*/ 'my messenger spirit', /*niniuku*/ 'my reflection, my picture, my photo' and /*noku niniu*/ 'my camera, a picture of mine, a photo of mine'.

7. It is recognised that as a Presbyterian Pastor, the writer is normally granted significantly greater respect by both Tangoan speakers and New Hebridean Bislama speakers than he is by speakers of English in either the New Hebrides or Australia, and that attitude of respect could possibly account for this result.

8. In contrast with the Tok Pisin forms for numerals, in Bislama, simple numerals and numeral adjectives do not carry the suffix *-fala*. The forms *tufala* 'a group of two, a pair', *trifala* 'a group of three' and less commonly *fofala* 'a group of four' contrast as numeral adjectives with *tu* 'two', *tri* 'three' and *fo* 'four' and form part of a series, the following members of which are *ol fo* 'a group of four (in some dialects)', *ol faef* 'a group of five' etc.

9. The exclamation *wan bigfala man ya* and its longer form *hemia wan bigfala man ya* 'This/He is really a big man!' are not exceptions to this rule, in that the utterance-final *ya* in each case is not part of the noun phrase but an obligatory part of the exclamation phrase and clause structure.

10. In Bislama, the modifier *moa* following a predicate adjective has the sense 'greater' and in comparisons, 'greater than another which also possesses the quality predicated'. The same modifier preceding a predicate adjective only occurs in direct comparisons and then with the significantly different sense 'greater than another which does not adequately possess the quality predicated'. Thus *hemia i longfala moa* spoken of one of two items, means 'This is longer (than the other which is long)', while *hemia i moa long* means 'This is longer (than the other which is not long enough)'. Because of this significant difference, *moa* in this second usage is treated as a 'verb particle' under the verb phrase, 3.1.8.

11. Investigation of the form tuketa reported by J.B.M. Guy, *Handbook of Bichelamar*, (1974:16), and described by him as a third person dual collective pronoun, has established that this form tugeta and the corresponding trial form trigeta are known as archaic forms of the vastly more common forms tufala and trifala, rare in the speech of the very old but remembered in the speech of the previous generation in at least Santo, Malekula and Ambrym. As numeral adjectives, tufala and trifala indicate a defined group, and a dual or trial subject so marked is normally followed by the predicate marker i co-ordinating with this 'collective' sense. In the same way, the pronouns tufala and trifala are normally used of two subjects and three subjects respectively acting together and are followed by the predicate marker i. However, utterances including tu man oli and tri man oli are not rare, and are widely defended as standard.

12. There is direct evidence for a substantial level of redundancy in Bislama, in that the Cloze technique for testing the style and intelligibility of a piece of writing has been meaningfully applied to Bislama material. For this test, the material is submitted to a group of readers with every fifth word omitted and the readers are asked to fill in the blanks thus created. Their ability to do so is a measure of their intelligence and of their literacy, and of the intelligibility of the piece of writing and its conformity to their dialect, and the function of the test depends on the normal redundancy features of the language being properly incorporated into the material being tested to establish adequate predicability and hence comprehension. Results of tests on Bislama material showed good correlation against results of other tests on the candidates, i.e. intelligence etc., and other tests on the material being examined.

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