

**English-based tongue with Oceanic flavour:
A Comparison of Pronouns and Agreement Marking in Bislama and Raga**

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Key to Abbreviations

Linguistic categories

ADJ: adjective

ADV: adverb

AGR: agreement marker

ART: article

AUX: auxiliary

coll: collective

DEM: demonstrative

DET: determiner

DL: dual

excl: exclusive

foc: focal particle eg ia

Foc. Pronoun: focal pronoun

incl: inclusive

IRR: Irrealis Marker

LOC: locative marker

MR: modified root

NEG: negation

Num mrkr: Numeral Marker

obj: object

PFP: preposed focus pronoun

PL mkr: plural marker

PL: plural

POSS: possessive

PREP: preposition

pres. tense mrkr: present tense marker

SG: person singular

SRP: subject referencing pronoun

strong: strong pronoun

subj: subject

TAM (des): Tense Aspect Mood marker indicating desiderative action

TAM (fut): Tense Aspect Mood marker indicating future action

TAM (past): Tense Aspect Mood marker indicating past action

TAM (prog): Tense Aspect Mood marker indicating progressive/ongoing action

TRS: transitive

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Abstract

This thesis explores the pronominal and agreement marking systems of the Bislama and Raga languages. A feature characteristic of the Bislama language, which has been subject to a great deal of debate, is pronoun doubling and trebling. The debate has centred on what syntactic categories ought to be given to the pronominal elements in pronoun doubling and trebling constructions and it has been proposed that the preverbal "mi" is either the genuine subject pronoun or the agreement marker. Using questionnaire and conversational data obtained from speakers of Raga and Bislama, I argue that the preverbal "mi" in pronoun doubling and trebling constructions is becoming an agreement marker. Thus, we are seeing a regularisation of the Bislama agreement marking paradigm in which agreement markers are extending into 1SG and 2SG persons. While regularisation of the agreement marking paradigm and grammatical reanalysis have been argued to be features of creolisation, I demonstrate that although pronoun trebling may be associated with creolisation, it is not necessarily a feature that distinguishes speakers who occupy different points in the creole continuum.

Chapter One

Introduction

Vanuatu is home to around one hundred indigenous languages all of which belong to the Oceanic sub group of the Austronesian language family. Bislama is a variety of Melanesian pidgin used mainly as a main language in the urban centres of Port Vila and Luganville (Figure 1) and as a lingua franca amongst the Ni-Vanuatu population scattered around the 80 islands forming the Vanuatu archipelago. The island of Pentecost is known to have five different languages, one of which is called Raga. This language is spoken in the northern part of the island and has an estimated 6,500 speakers (Gray, 2008). The linguistic divisions of the island are shown in Figure 2.

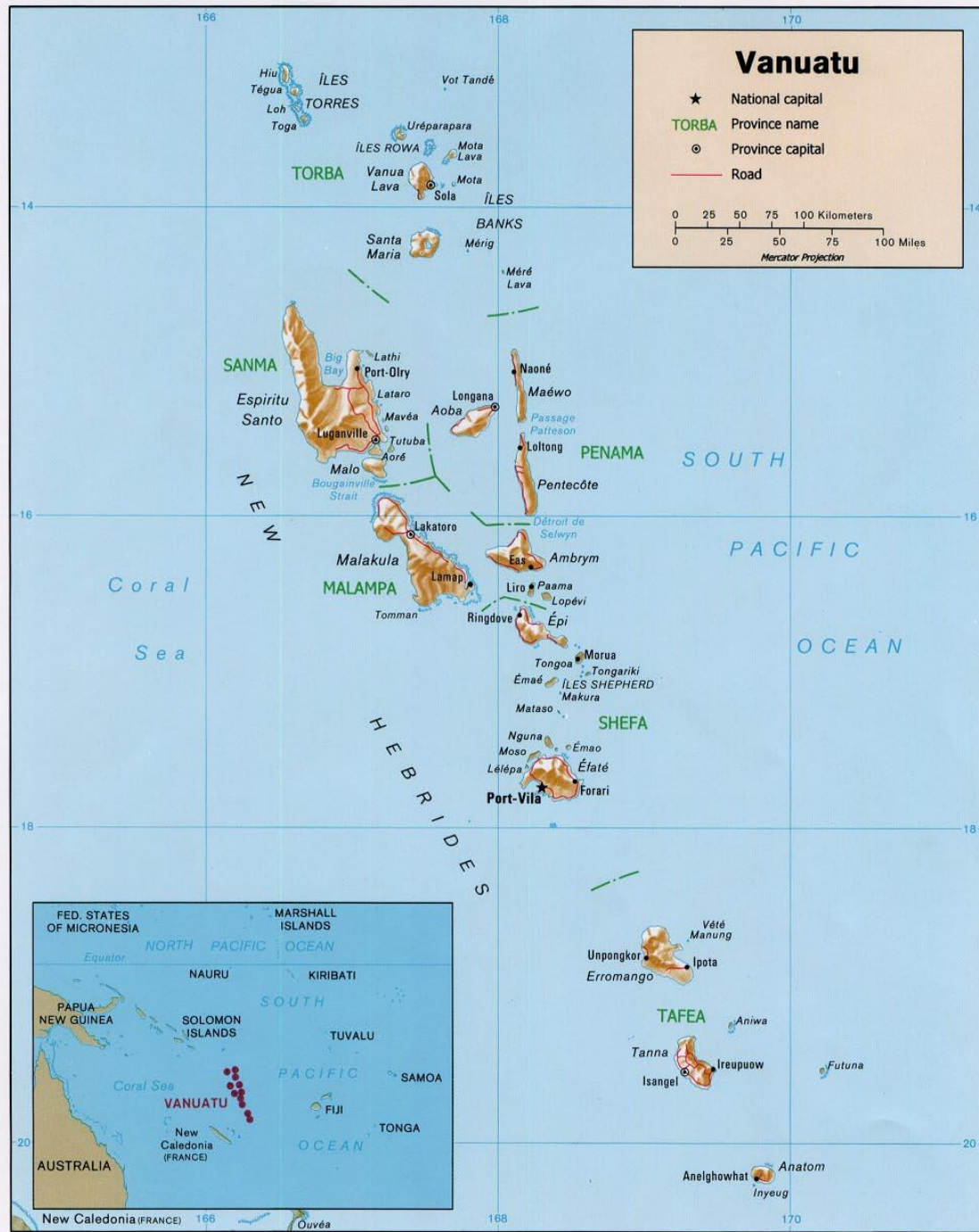
This thesis explores the pronominal and agreement marking systems of the Bislama and Raga languages. The aim of this thesis is to investigate the Oceanic factor, as exemplified by the Raga language, in the development of the Bislama pronominal and agreement marking systems. The central focus of this thesis is a characteristic feature of Bislama, known as "pronoun doubling" (1), whose description and analysis has been somewhat controversial.

There have been conflicting arguments over what syntactic category ought to be given to the pronouns:

- 1) Mi bae mi kakae raes.
1SG IRR 1SG eat rice
"I will eat rice"

It has been argued (Crowley, 1990: 235; Camden, 1977: xxv) that the initial "mi" is the subject pronoun and the second "mi" is the predicate marker, as shown in 2). However, other studies (Meyerhoff, 2000:213-214; Crowley, 1990:240) have proposed that the first "mi" is in fact a preposed focussed pronoun while the second "mi" is the real subject pronoun, as shown in 3).

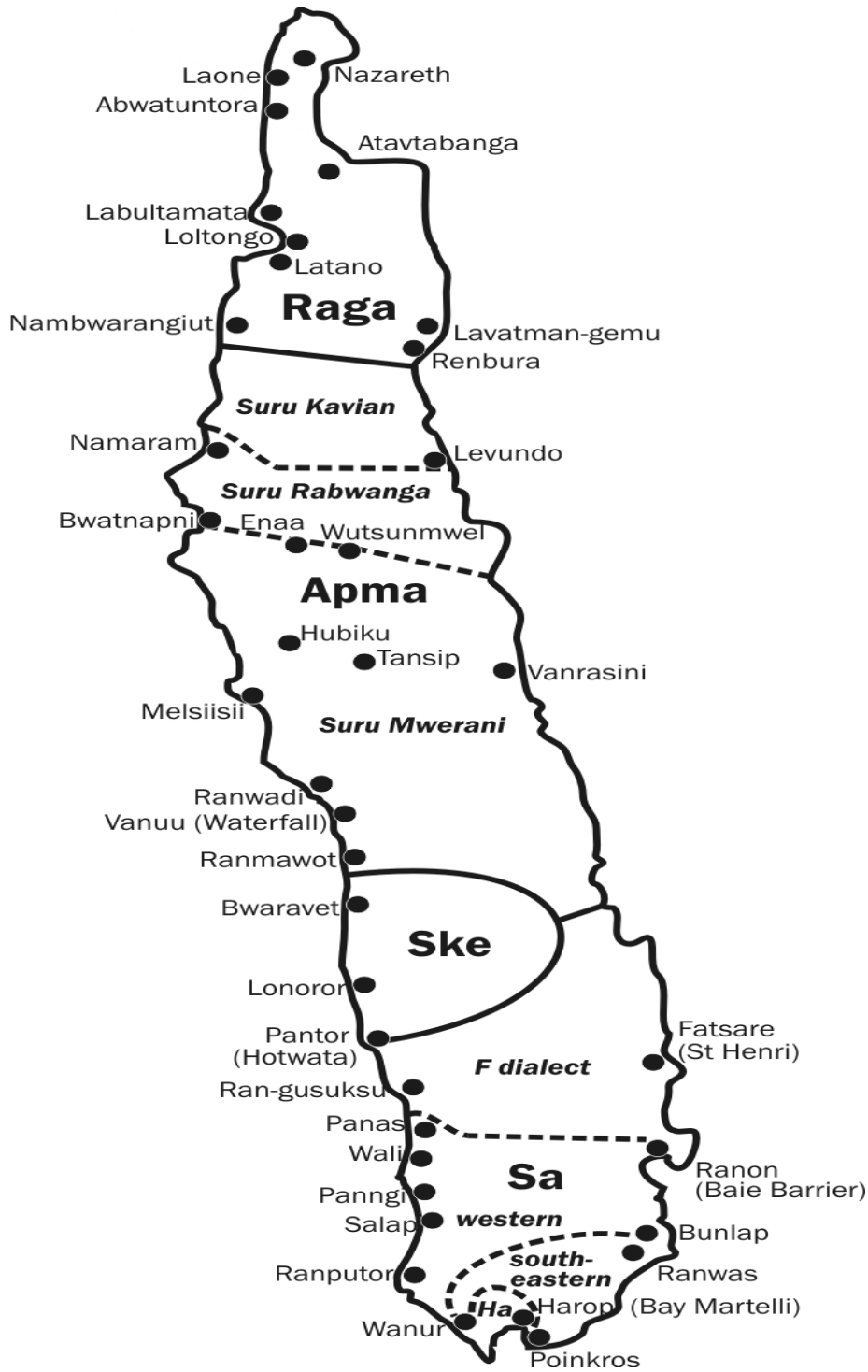
Figure 1 Location of Port Vila, Luganville and Pentecost



Base 802624 (800811) 12-98

Source: http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/australia/vanuatu_rel98.jpg

Figure 2 Languages of Pentecost



Source: Andrew Gray, personal communication, 3 March 2009

2) **Mi** bae **mi** kakae raes.
 Pronoun IRR Pred.mrkr eat rice
"I will eat rice"

3) **Mi** bae **mi** kakae raes.
 Foc. Pron IRR pronoun eat rice
"I will eat rice"

Neither of these contending theories have taken into account the fact that "pronoun trebling" as in 4) below is also characteristic of the Bislama language and has the potential to shed more light on the status of the pronominal elements in pronoun doubling constructions.

4) **Mi** bae **mi** **mi** no go
 1SG IRR 1SG 1SG NEG go
"I will not go"

The pattern in 5) suggests that in constructions containing doubled 1SG pronouns, the initial pronoun is the genuine subject pronoun and the second pronoun is the agreement or predicate marker. However, the existence of constructions such as 6) suggests that in 1) the initial 1SG pronoun is the preposed focussed 1SG pronoun while the second instance is the genuine subject pronoun and the agreement marker is not overt. The pattern in 6) also suggests that the third instance of the 1SG pronoun in 4) is the agreement marker.

5) **Hem** bae **i** no go.
 3SG IRR AGR NEG go
"S/he will not go"

6) **Hem** bae **hem** **i** kakae raes.
 3SG IRR 3SG AGR eat rice
"S/he will eat rice"

This has, therefore, prompted my re-examination of the issue. This re-examination includes a fieldwork component in which I collected quantitative and qualitative data from 14 Bislama and Raga speaking Ni-Vanuatus in Port Vila and North Pentecost. Being a native speaker of Bislama myself and growing up with the Raga language, I interviewed the informants in Bislama regarding their perceptions on their usage of certain constructions which include

doubled and trebled pronouns. Similarly, the informants were recorded relating their plans for a future date. In this thesis I trace the development of the Bislama pronominal and agreement marking paradigms from the earliest available written records and illustrate several areas in which Oceanic patterns, as exemplified by the Raga language, may have had an influence. Similarly, I argue that the label "focal" pronoun which prior studies have attached to a category of Raga pronominal elements ought to be replaced with the term strong pronoun. Furthermore, with the quantitative and qualitative data extracted from the interviews, I demonstrate how both of the proposed theories on pronoun doubling carry weight. This may suggest that the preverbal "mi" in pronoun doubling and trebling constructions turning into an agreement marker and, therefore, undergoing grammatical reanalysis. I argue that the Bislama agreement marking paradigm is undergoing regularization whereby the agreement markers are being extended to the 1SG and 2SG pronouns. While grammatical reanalysis has been associated with creolisation in Solomon Islands Pijin (cf. Table 34), pronoun trebling is not necessarily a feature that distinguishes different speakers who are at different stages of the creole continuum and this finding applies to Bislama.

The exploration of these themes is structured as follows in this thesis: Chapter Two comprises a discussion of the development of the Bislama pronominal and agreement marking systems. I trace the development of these two features from the earliest attested written records of Bislama that may have originated in Oceanic patterns, as exemplified by the Raga language, as well as other vernacular Vanuatu languages. Chapter Three reviews two prior discussions on the pronominal and TAM marking features of the Raga language. Given that the Oceanic influence, as exemplified by the Raga language, on Bislama in the area of pronouns and agreement marking is the theme of this thesis, an understanding of the Raga pronominal and TAM marking features is essential. More importantly, the data

collected during the fieldtrip comes from speakers who all use Bislama and Raga to some extent. Chapter Four is the methodology chapter, in which the methods used in the fieldwork to extract quantitative and qualitative data are discussed. Chapter Five is a presentation of the data obtained in the quantitative surveys and qualitative analyses of the conversational interviews during the fieldwork and discusses their implications regarding the pronoun doubling and trebling constructions. Chapter Six is a discussion of Bislama in the context of creolistics. The absence of the pronoun trebling in prior studies, in particular in those carried out in the 20th century, suggests that the phenomenon is perhaps of recent origin and is perhaps produced by Bislama "creole" speakers as opposed to Bislama "pidgin speakers". Therefore, this chapter will be devoted to exploring whether pronoun trebling constructions are a feature of the creolisation process. Chapter Seven is the conclusion.

At the outset, I would like to emphasise the point that, where Bislama pronominal and agreement marking properties are shown to be a reflection of equivalent Raga properties in this thesis, this is not intended to imply that the influence is specifically emanating from the Raga language alone (cf. Paviour-Smith, 2003:25-33). Space constraints prevent me from showing how other Oceanic languages exhibit similar properties, but most of the data presented here can be taken as representative of general Oceanic patterns.

Chapter Two

The Development of Pronouns and Agreement Marking in Bislama

2.1 Introduction

The pronominal and agreement marking systems of Bislama are topics that have been widely discussed in literature related to Vanuatu languages (Camden, 1977; Crowley, 1990; Meyerhoff, 2000; Meyerhoff, 2002). Crowley (1990) appears to provide the most comprehensive description and is considered to be the definitive treatment of the historical development of Bislama. Studies point to the early 19th century as the period which saw the emergence of a precursor of Melanesian pidgin, out of which Bislama eventually emerged (Shineberg, 1967:84; Keesing, 1988:15). Shineberg (1967: 84) states that it was during the quest for sandalwood when traders employed native Melanesians on their ships, that ‘sandalwood English’ became the lingua franca. A problem that has been encountered by scholars interested in investigating the origin of the three Melanesian pidgin dialects (Tok Pisin, Solomon Islands Pijin and Bislama), is the absence of sufficient textual evidence. Crowley (1990: 187) notes that written records of the Bislama spoken from the 1840s to the 1860s are scarce. Another point worthy of note is that the orthographic representations of this early form of Bislama usually lean towards the orthographic representations of the writers’ language and may, therefore, be unreliable in terms of pronunciation (cf. Keesing, 1988: 150).

This chapter deals with the pronominal and agreement marking paradigms of Bislama. There are two sections: the first section will be devoted to exploring the historical development of the Bislama pronominal system and the second section will deal with the development of the agreement marking system. The role of vernacular languages in the development of these two features will also be briefly discussed. In the section devoted to the Bislama pronominal

system, I discuss the pronominal paradigm attested from the 1840s up until the 20th century. I highlight some examples of pronominal usage in certain primary sources and use the Raga language as an example of the possible Austronesian Oceanic influence on certain Bislama pronominal features.

2.1.1 The Historical Development of Pronouns in Bislama

Crowley (1990: 193) claims that the following pronominal categories shown in Table 1 below existed between the 1840s and 1860s.

Table 1 Pronouns that existed between the 1840s and 1860s

Person	Subject	Object
First-person	<i>mi, ae</i>	<i>mi</i>
Second-person	<i>yu</i>	<i>yu</i>
Third-person	<i>i</i>	<i>im</i>

Construction 7) below is an example of the variety of Bislama spoken in 1859 with the pronouns italicised.

- 7) “*You* see, no good missionary stop Tanna. Suppose missionary stop here, by and by *he* speak ‘Very good, all Tanna man make a work.’ *You* see that no good: Tanna man *he* no too much like work. By-and-bye missionary speak, ‘No good woman make a work: very good, all man *he* only get one woman’ Tanna man no save work... *he* too much lazy; *he* too much gentleman!” (McFarlane, 1873: 106)

In this utterance, the speaker is arguing against having a missionary on the island of Tanna. His reasons are that the missionary will say that Tanna men ought to work while Tanna men do not really like working. He continues to argue that the missionary will then say that it is not good for women to work and men should only have one wife, but Tanna men cannot

work. They are too lazy. The above utterance raises a number of crucial questions about the status of "he". Firstly, does it function only as a third-person subject pronoun or does it also serve as a predicate or agreement marker? Is it possible that it can concurrently play both roles? A point worthy of note in relation to the distribution of "he", is that it appears in three different environments. Firstly, it can stand on its own as illustrated in the clause "by and by he speak ...". Secondly, the element may follow singular noun phrase subjects as in "Tanna man he no too..." and, lastly, it appears to occupy the slot subsequent to plural noun phrase subjects as shown in the clause "all man he only get one woman". This, therefore, implies that, apart from maintaining pronominal reference and incorporating singular reference, the element "he" may have incorporated plurality as well (cf. Crowley, 1990:194).

In the sentence "Suppose missionary stop here, by and by he speak..." "he" undoubtedly serves as a pronoun, referring back to the noun phrase subject "missionary" in the preceding clause. Keesing (1988:144) assumes that to non-Oceanic speakers of pidgin at that time the "he" in the clause "Tanna man he no too..." was treated as a resumptive pronoun while to speakers of Oceanic languages it was a subject referencing pronoun. He goes further to suggest that when "he" occurs as a pronominal subject in example 7), it is a de-stressed independent pronoun which references a noun subject (Keesing, 1988: 152). Givón (1984: 353) proposes that de-stressed independent pronouns diachronically develop from independent pronouns although there is no clear indication whether or not an independent pronoun and a de-stressed independent pronoun can occur at the same time. Crowley's analysis of the evolution of the Bislama predicate marker suggests that the latter developed from copied subject pronouns and this, therefore, implies that in clauses such as "Tanna man he no too..." "he" is a subject pronoun (1990:242). Crowley assumes that during that period words beginning with "h" may or may not have had the initial "h" pronounced, which suggests that loss of stress was already occurring (1990: 221). This is a particularly important

observation since (Givón, 1984: 353) claims that grammatical agreement markers first start out as stressed independent pronouns that eventually lose their stress and end up functioning as agreement markers. So it looks like the functional transition from the 3SG pronoun to the 3SG agreement marker in the forerunner of Bislama was already starting to take place between the 1840s and 1860s.

Givón argues that agreement markers may continue their former anaphoric roles but when their presence becomes obligatory alongside the noun in the clause then they no longer have their anaphoric functions (1984: 362). In example 7) from McFarlane (1873: 106), it is plausible to consider "he" as a pronoun and a predicate marker or agreement marker when it appears beside the noun, as in the clause "all man he only get one woman..." However, it is also clear that its presence immediately following the noun is not obligatory because in the same utterance we have "Tanna man no save work..." in which the noun phrase "Tanna man..." does not have a predicate marker "he" immediately following. This implies that at this stage in history "he" has not yet fully assumed the status of predicate marking or agreement marking. Crowley proposes that "he" as a pronominal copy became a predicate marker after the 1920s (1990:246). Modern Bislama is claimed to have emerged between 1906 and 1926 and there are three reflexes of "he" in the current Bislama namely "i", "e" and "ie", although the former is more commonly used.

Crowley (1990: 219) states that by the 1890s, the Bislama pronominal system came to incorporate more categories for the number dimension, namely dual and trial as well as more distinctions in the person dimension. These additional pronominal categories appear in italics in Table 2. The question marks indicate the possible existence of the pronominal forms in the Table which are not manifested in written records. As observed by scholars of the Bislama

language, the inclusive/exclusive and singular/dual/trial and plural distinction is of Austronesian Oceanic origin (Walsh, 1986: 133; Paviour-Smith, 2003:24; Crowley, 1990:226-227).

Table 2 Pronouns that existed by the 1890s

Person	Singular	<i>Dual</i>	<i>Trial</i>	<i>Plural</i>
1 ¹ (incl.) (excl.)	mi	<i>yumi</i> ?	<i>yumi trifala</i> ?	<i>yumi olgeta</i> <i>mifala,</i> <i>wi(fala?)</i>
2	yu	?	?	<i>yufala</i>
3	hem/i	<i>tufala</i>	<i>trifala</i>	<i>olgeta(fala),</i> <i>hemfala</i>

The following are some sentences from the 1890s. Utterances 8) to 10) below were recorded by Dr. Robert Lamb, a New Zealander, while he was stationed on Ambrym in the 1890s (Lamb, 1905). The pronouns are in bold.

- 8) “Hai! **We** **two fellow** plenty hungry”
“The two of us are very hungry” (Lamb, 1905:160)
- 9) “Doctor, my nose **he** no good. **He** all same bad pipe; **he** no draw”
“My nose is not good. It’s like a bad pipe; it can’t draw” (Lamb, 1905: 165)
- 10) “...What name (wherefore) white man **he** make **him**? Poison? No fear! **Me fellow** no fool”
“Why did the white man make it? Poison? No fear! We are not fools.”
(Lamb, 1905:87)

¹ inclusive means including the person(s) spoken to and exclusive means excluding the person(s) spoken to.

- 11) “Plenty work along make book, and **we** no look out good along **him!**”
“A lot of work goes into making a book and we do not take good care of it”

(Paton, 1903: 115)

The first and last examples indicate that either "we" can occur on its own as a plural pronoun or it can be followed by "two fellow" which is written as "tufala" in Table 2. Data collected by Pionnier suggests that "yumi trifala" could be a compound form or "trifala" could be a numeral modifier (cf. Crowley, 1990: 219). Pionnier's (1913) data comprises a short grammatical description and a religious text in the variety of early Bislama he encountered while working as a Marist missionary in the New Hebrides (Vanuatu). In example 12) below "trifala" is added to the plural inclusive pronoun "yumi" thereby rendering trial reference. Pionnier (1913: 187) suggests that on its own, the plural inclusive pronoun can only refer to two people. This is an interesting observation since the element can and must refer to more than two people in current Bislama, and "yumitu" is the plural inclusive dual pronoun that is predominantly used for dual reference.

- 12) Bambaille you mi trifala go. (Pionnier 1913:189)

Table 2 suggests that by the 1890s when occurring on their own the elements "tufala" and "trifala" are the dual and trial pronouns respectively. It is interesting to note that in 8) and even in modern Bislama numeral modifiers fill in the slot after the plural pronouns as shown in the examples 13) and 14).

- | | | | | | |
|-----|---------------|-----------|-----|-----------------------|----|
| 13) | Mifala | fo | i | bin | go |
| | 1PL. excl. | four | AGR | past participle mrkr. | go |
| | swim. | | | | |
| | swim. | | | | |

“The four of us went swimming”

- 14) * **Fo mifala** i bin go swim
 Four 1PL. excl AGR past participle mrkr. go swim

If we take a look at corresponding constructions in the Raga language we find similar patterns as outlined in 15) and 16) below.

- 15) **Gida gai tolu** ta-v gagaru lol
 1PL. excl three 1PL. excl. subj. – TAM (fut) swim PREP.

tahi.

sea

'The three of us will swim in the sea'

- 16) * **Gai tolu gida** ta-v gagaru lol tahi.
 three 1PL. excl 1PL. excl. subj. – TAM (fut) swim PREP sea

However, this pattern in which numerals modifying the pronouns occupy the position subsequent to the pronouns is also evident in the English language as shown in construction 17) below (cf. Quinn, 2005: 293).

- 17) We three will go.

This suggests that the pattern in which numeral modifiers follows pronouns may have been the result of the merging of a similar pattern in the main superstrate (English) and a shared substrate influence, during the formative years of Bislama.

When we consider constructions 9) and 10) which are repeated here below "he" may also be interpreted as functioning as a predicate marker and a pronoun. This can be seen especially in construction 9) where it appears after the noun phrase "my nose" and as the subject pronoun in the subsequent sentences. In construction 10) "him" is used as an object pronoun.

9) “Doctor, my nose **he** no good. **He** all same bad pipe; **he** no draw”

“My nose is not good. It’s like a bad pipe; it can’t draw”

(Lamb, 1905: 165)

10) “...What name (wherefore) white man **he** make **him**? Poison? No fear! **Me fellow** no fool”

“Why did the white man make it? Poison? No fear! We are not fools.”

(Lamb, 1905:87)

Sentence 9) also suggests that "my" was used as a possessive pronoun. Utterance 18) taken from the same source indicates that the possessive pronoun "your", the object pronouns "us" and "them" were also in use.

18) “Doctor **your** word is bad! You assured **us** that the road was safe. **We** came. Now look! These people shoot. Suppose **you** bring a man-o’-war and punish **them**, good! If not, **we** fight.”

(Lamb, 1906: 176)

Crowley (1990: 219) does not include "your", "us" and "them" in the pronominal system of Bislama of that 1890s. His disregard of these elements implies that either the utterance was written in a manner bent towards the writer’s language or the speaker was not using Bislama but his variety of English in these instances. Example 19) below shows that "hemfala" was used as a possible third-person plural pronoun (c.f. Crowley, 1990: 220).

19) *Hemfala olsem manbus*

Him fellow all same man-a-bush

“They were fools (i.e. bush people) (Schuchardt, 1980:19)

Textual evidence from this period also shows the use of the English object pronoun form "him" in Bislama, as illustrated in construction 10). Crowley (1990: 286) proposes that the element was a free morpheme in between the 1840s and 1860s but became a transitive suffix

on the verb by the time of the First World War (Crowley, 1990: 286; 221). Examples 11) and 20) below illustrate how the element changed from being an object pronoun to a transitive suffix.

- 11) “Plenty work along make book, and **we** no look out good along **him!**”
“*A lot of work goes into making a book and we do not take good care of it*”
(Paton, 1903: 115)

- 20) “...*me put im blue.*”
“I put blue”
(Giles, 1968: 57)

In construction 11) "him" is a free morpheme and is functioning as a third-person prepositional object, referring to the "book". It is interesting to note that while "him" can only be associated with animate referents in English, the manner in which "him" is used in the above construction suggests that it was associated with inanimate referents as well in Bislama. Crowley (1990: 221-222) also notes that apart from functioning as the third-person singular pronoun and as the third-person prepositional object, the element may also function as a verbal object (as in 10)). In construction 20) the element "im" is suffixed to the verb "put" forming a transitive verb and the noun phrase "blue" is functioning as an object. In this case it is clear that "im" is a transitive suffix.

According to Crowley (1990: 222), evidence from the late 19th century seems to indicate that "i" was the third-person singular subject pronoun. However, Schuchardt's (1980:19) data contain two examples which suggest that "hem" was also used as the third-person singular pronoun. Schuchardt's data comes from the 1880s (Schuchardt, 1990: 14). The two examples below taken from Crowley (1990:222) illustrate this:

21) He go finiche

'He has gone'

(Pionnier, 1913: 189)

22) Hem verigud sapos yu mo save.

Him very good suppose you more savvy. (Schuchardt, 1980:19)

'He should have been smarter'

By the 1970s, the once restricted pronominal paradigm had undergone considerable expansion as shown by Camden's data (1977: xvi) which is reproduced in Table 3 on the following page.

Crowley (1990: 224) considers that the use of the additional pronominal categories began at the commencement of the 19th century and by the end of the 1920s and also variation in the 1SG pronoun and 3SG pronominal forms was also reduced in that period. "Ae" was no longer used and was replaced by "mi" and in the third-person singular, "hem" replaced "i" as the canonical pronoun (Crowley, 1990: 224).

Crowley (1990:224) also suggests that it was also during that period that the second-person plural pronoun "yutufala" emerged. He explains that the manifestation of the trial category is different from that of the dual category in that the plural "mifala" encompasses the meaning of "mitrifala", as illustrated in 23) below while it cannot include the meaning of "mitufala" (Crowley, 1990: 224).

23) Mitrifala i kakae raes.

Mifala i kakae raes

"We (three) are eating rice"

Table 3 Pronouns attested in the 1970s

Person	Singular	Dual (2 persons)	Trial (3 persons)	Plural
1	mi			
1 incl		yumitu, yumitufala	yumitri, yumitrifala	yumi
1 excl		mitufala	mitrifala	mifala
2	yu	yutufala	yutrifala	yufala
3	hem			
3 ² coll		tufala	trifala	olgeta
		tugeta	trigeta	
3 dist				olgeta

In the utterances in 23) on the previous page, "mitrifala" and "mifala" can both be used with trial reference. However, if only two people are intended, only "mitufala" can be used. This distinction still holds in current Bislama. An interesting observation that Crowley makes regards the existence of the forms "tugeta" and "trigeta" in archaic Bislama (c.f Table 3) (1990: 231). I have never heard of the form "trigeta" and it is certainly outdated and not used in the variety of Bislama I use. Crowley (1990: 231) states that "tugeta" and "trigeta" are the collective third-person dual and third-person trial pronouns respectively. He states that "trigeta" can only be used when three people are seen together as a group while "trifala" does not have that specific collective reference (Crowley, 1990: 226). Although Camden (1977: xvi) classifies "trifala" and "trigeta" as third person trial collective pronouns, there is nothing to indicate what exactly constitutes the difference between the two forms. Crowley (1990: 226) suggests that the development of "tugeta" and "trigeta" is the result of pressures from

² The distinction between collective and distributive in particular in relation to the pronoun "olgeta" is made clearer when associated with their respective agreement markers (cf. Table 13). Camden (1997:77) states that when the "olgeta" is subject pronoun and is recognised as a group (collective), then it takes "i" as an agreement marker. However, if the pronominal element is considered as a plural (distributive) then it takes "oli" as its agreement marker.

within the Bislama language and not from the substrates or superstrates. However, he acknowledges the fact that the development of the modern Bislama pronominal system is largely due to external pressures (1990: 226).

Using Paamese as an example, he illustrates how Vanuatu languages make the same set of distinctions in their pronominal categories (Crowley, 1990:227). He observes that the phonological shapes of the pronouns in modern Bislama are derived mainly from English while their semantic structures are derived from the substrate languages (cf. Crowley, 1990:226; Walsh 1978:190; Walsh, 1986: 133; Camden, 1979:88).

Crowley (1990: 229) asserts that a feature of the pronominal system, which may have been a direct influence from the substrate languages, is the use of "en" instead of "em" as the third-person singular pronoun following the possessive preposition "blong"(24).

- 24) Woman blong *en*
 Woman blong *em*
 “*his woman/wife*”

A feature characteristic of all Vanuatu languages is that they mark possession by suffixing possessive pronominal elements to possessive constituents which occur after nouns and which are attached to some noun categories themselves (Crowley, 1990:229). Table 4 includes examples from two Vanuatu languages which Crowley (1990: 229) used for comparison and my own example from the Raga language. As shown in the last column all the 3SG possessive suffixes commence with "-n". Constructions 25) and 26) from the Raga language contain third-person pronominal possession to further illustrate this.

trial first-person inclusive pronoun is becoming increasingly omitted. Thus it is common to hear utterances such as 27) but 28) is very rare.

Table 5 Pronouns attested in the mid-1970s

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

Table 6 Pronouns attested in the 1990s

	Singular	Dual	Trial	Plural
1 incl.	mi	yumitu(fala)	yumitrifala	yumi
excl.		mitufala	mitrifala	mifala
2	yu	yutufala	yutrifala	yufala
3	hem/em	tufala	trifala	olgeta

27) Yumitu kakae raes.
 1DL.incl. eat rice
“Let’s eat rice”

28) Yumitufala kakae raes.
 1DL.incl. eat rice
“Let’s eat rice”

"Mifalatri" and "yufalatri" are variants of the first-person exclusive trial "mitrifala" and the second-person trial "yutrifala" respectively. Occasionally, the second-person plural "yufala" has second-person dual and second-person trial reference. It can be used when referring to two or three people.

2.1.2 Conclusion

Thus far it has been shown that the once restricted Bislama pronominal paradigm of the 1840s has undergone major extensions, in particular, in the inclusion of more categories for number and the inclusive and exclusive distinction. These two features have been argued to originate in corresponding Austronesian Oceanic patterns. The position of numeral modifiers in relation to subject pronouns has also been shown to be perhaps a product of interaction between equivalent patterns in English and Austronesian Oceanic languages, as exemplified by the Raga language. Two features of the Bislama pronominal system whose existence did not last were the forms "trigeta" and the use of "en" after the possessive preposition "blong".

2.2 The Historical Development of the Bislama Agreement Marking System

2.2.1 Introduction

In this section I trace the historical development of "i" and "oli" and discuss the putative role of Oceanic languages as exemplified by the Raga language in its development. Qualitative analyses will predominate as these are more relevant to the nature of this discussion. In this respect, I take available samples of Bislama from written records and examine the environments in which these two elements occur. I will then discuss the possible contribution of languages like Raga to the diachronic development of the agreement markers. The relevant syntactic patterns in Raga are present in various other Oceanic languages which are likely to

in cases where I am discussing examples put forward by predicate marker proponents using their labels. Otherwise, the label "agreement marker" will be used, the reason being that apart from marking the predicate part of a sentence, the element also shows agreement with the subject. For the predicate marker advocates, these elements serve to mark the base that follows as a verb phrase (Tryon, 1987: 17) and the beginning of the predicate (Mihalic, 1971: 23, 24; Hall, 1966:83; Hall, Bateson, Whiting and Gill, 1943:8). However, the existence of sentences without verb phrases in which the elements "oli" and "i" are present, for example "Im 'e woman Maré" in Table 10, run counter to the claim that the predicate marker only marks the beginning of the verb phrase (cf. Crowley, 2004: 109). Even though I prefer the term agreement marker, the label is arguably problematic as shown in sentences with agreement markers but lacking in subjects such as meteorological expressions (cf. Crowley, 2004: 118-119). However, while agreement marker seems to be thus far the best possible label for the elements, the discrepancies outlined above certainly call for a re-examination of these labels, an issue which is, however, beyond the scope of this thesis.

2.2.3 Early Bislama – The 1840s to the early 1900s

Early Bislama texts have rendered the forerunner of the agreement marker "i" as "he" or "'e ". Supporting his claims with quantitative analyses of Bislama constructions from available records, Crowley suggests that "he" was a copied subject pronoun before assuming the role of predicate marker (1990:242). At this stage copied subject pronouns occur after nominal subjects. Written records available point to text 7) repeated here as 31), as the earliest available written record of Bislama, believed to have been uttered in the 1840s.

31) “You see...no good missionary stop Tanna. Suppose missionary stop here, by
You see, having a missionary on Tanna won't be good. If a missionary stays here
 and by he speak ‘Very good³, all Tanna man make a work.’ You see that no good:
he will say ‘ all Tanna men should work . You see that's not good:

Tanna man **he** no too much like work. By-and-bye missionary speak,
Tanna men do not really like to work. Then the missionary will say,

‘No good woman make a work: very good, all man **he** only get one woman.
‘women must not work: men must have only one wife.

‘You see Tanna man no like that: he speak ‘Very good plenty woman:
‘You see Tanna men don't like that: he says ‘must have a lot of women:

very good woman make all work. ‘Tanna man no save work...
women must do all the work. ‘Tanna men don't know how to work ...

he too much lazy; he too much gentleman’.”
he is too lazy; he is too gentleman like’ (McFarlane, 1873:106)

With the English language being the main lexifier, it goes without saying that the form "he" is derived from the third-person singular pronoun form in English. This borrowing, as it may be called, raises questions pertaining to its syntactic properties namely,

a) ‘does this element serve the similar function as in the English language, in this utterance?’

That is to say ‘does it substitute noun phrases only?’

and

³ Crowley (1990:188) analyses "very good" as should, ought and must.

b) ‘does it occupy the same syntactic position as it does in the English language (in serving as a substitution for noun phrases)?’

In English, "he" is a subject pronoun bearing the nominative case. Similarly, as stated by Hall (1966:83), some non-standard varieties of English employ pronouns to repeat a noun subject, and they do so by filling in the slot immediately after the noun. Thus we find sentences such as "Mary, she likes ice cream" in which the subject "Mary" is repeated by means of the third-person singular feminine pronoun. Hall (1966:83) infers that the use of "he" in South Seas pidgin English is an outcome of the convergence of the syntactic properties of English and the Melanesian-Micronesian languages. Hall (1966:83) states that a pronoun in the latter recapitulates subjects and introduces predicates, as illustrated in construction 32) in the Raga language.

32) Ira vavine rav hae.
PL mrkr women subj. clitic.AGR:TAM(fut) go up
“The women will go up”

Hall's (1966:83) theory of convergence of English and Melanesian substrates conflicts with Mihalic (1971: 25) who hypothesizes that the evolution of "i" in Melanesian pidgins has nothing to do with the English "he" but rather that the element is purely of Austronesian grammar and its usage in pidgin corresponds to its usage in Austronesian languages. Evidently, the case for a possible influence from the French language has not been well discussed although this may have some import in relation to Bislama in Vanuatu, where the French have been around since the latter part of the 1800s (Lini, 1980:17; Kele-kele et al., 1977: 17). Current colloquial French spoken in Vanuatu allows constructions such as 33) below in which the pronoun "je" could be treated as a subject clitic which has been argued as

having the status of an agreement marker (cf. Jakubowicz & Rigaut 1997:57). The Bislama used by New Hebrideans during the 1800s (when the sandal wood and labour trade was rife) was used in various other locations such as New Caledonia and Australia (Schuchardt, 1980: 16) and therefore there is the possibility that their exposure to the Francophone environment in countries such as New Caledonia may have reinforced the use of the syntactic element in question (cf. Takau, Gegeo and Quinn, 2009).

33) **Moi je** vais à la bibliothèque.

In passage 31) "he" fills in the slot immediately after a noun in two out of the nine instances in which nouns are subjects. It is interesting to note that in the first of these two instances the noun phrase (line 3) "Tanna man" could be interpreted as plural or singular and in the second these two cases, (line 4-5) "all man" seems to be a plural element. This suggests that the occurrence of "he" is not dependent on the number feature of the preceding noun. In lines 3 and 4 it looks like these two pronominal elements occupy the same position as in the English example "Mary, she likes ice cream". However, in the other remaining instances, "he" is serving as a subject pronoun by itself. The absence of "oli" in this early text indicates the possibility that it was not yet in use during this period.

In stating that predicate markers started out as copied subject pronouns, Crowley (1990:242) is inferring that the elements in bold in construction 31) are copied subject pronouns. At this particular point in time, they are still essentially retaining their pronominal function and have not yet been fully reanalysed as a predicate marker or agreement marker. Crowley (1990:242) states that by the 1890s there was an increase in the number of instances in which the singular pronominal element "he" or "i" as he renders it, occupied the position subsequent to nominal subjects. An example of the variety of Bislama spoken in the 1890s is given on the next page.

34) “Poison? Missionary!” “Ha, ha! No good you speak all same. *Drink, he* finish
“Poison? Missionary! Ha ha! Its not good you say that. No more
drinks

along Noumea? Eh? *White man he* finish drink a long time (cease to drink?)
at Noumea? Eh? White man has stopped drinking long time ago?

Eh? Eh? *Grog, he* finish along man-o’-war? Eh? Me savey;

Eh? Eh? Man-o-war doesn’t have grog? Eh? I know;

suppose *grog he* good along white man, *he* good along black fellow.

If grog is good for white men, then it’s good for black men

Me no make him; what name (wherefore) *white man* he make him?

I didn’t make it; why did white man make it?

Poison? No fear! Me fellow no fool. (Lamb, 1905:87)

Poison? No fear! We are not fools

In construction 34) above, the noun phrase subjects and the immediately subsequent pronominal element "he" are in italics and in bold respectively. These are set out in the table on the next page for clarification.

It can be seen that "he" occurs after every noun phrase subject regardless of its position on the animacy hierarchy. For example "white man" is an animate noun subject and "grog" is an inanimate noun subject and yet they are both immediately followed by "he". Genuine pronominal elements such as "me" and "me fellow" (first-person singular and first-person

Table 7 Subject nouns and pronominal elements

Subject nouns	Pronominal element
drink	he
white man	he
grog	he
grog	he...he
white man	he

plural exclusive) in lines three, five and six respectively do not have "he" occurring after them. It is difficult to establish whether the use of "he" regardless of the animate and inanimate nature of the preceding noun is an extension of the earlier use of "he" in the late 1800s, since evidence from textual data from the mid 1800s indicate that there was never a separate pronoun corresponding to the English "it".

Pionnier's (1913:109-117, 184-198) data and grammatical description of the variety of Bislama used in the early twentieth century give valuable insight into the status of "i" at the turn of the century. Although he states that "i" always fills in the slot before adjectives and verbs, his set of data reveals that there is more to say about the context than just the following element when the data is given a closer examination (Pionnier, 1913:187). The absence of "oli" after the third-person plural pronoun "olguita" (olgeta) and plural nouns such as "ol tigne" suggests that "oli" had not yet obtained the status of plural agreement marker at that time. It is important to bear in mind also that Crowley suggests that it may be within the first two decades of the twentieth century that the transition from copied subject pronoun to predicate marker took place, coinciding with "hem" assuming the role of third-person singular pronoun (1990:244).

Table 8 on the following page shows the generalizations which can be drawn from Pionnier's set of data with reference to the contexts in which "he" occurs in the variety of Bislama spoken in the early twentieth century. Pionnier's data show that "hem" (hème) as the third-person singular pronoun never occurred on its own in subject position immediately preceding "i" (1913:109-117, 184-198). The third-person singular form "hem" occurs only in cases in which it is part of a possessive construction modifying the noun subject such as in example 35) below and also in a) and h) in Table 8 and when it is in object position as illustrated in example 36) below.

35) "When sikine bilong hèm i dèd..." (Pionnier, 1913:193)

When s/he dies of an illness...

36) "I kasèm hèm..." (Pionnier, 1913: 195)

He caught him...

We don't find any examples such as 37) below in which "hem" is in subject position.

37) *Hème i goud.

The generalizations made in relation to the environments in which "i" occurs reveal some interesting developments. To begin with, whereas it had typically occupied the position between the subject noun phrase and the verb or adjective phrase such as in examples a) to d), it now extended to other environments as well. Constructions e) and f) constitute examples of such environments and are interesting in the sense that two possible analyses present themselves. The first is either the subject is null, illustrated by construction 38) on page 31 or "i" is the subject as shown in construction 39).

Table 8 Contexts in which "i" occurs in Pionnier's (1913) data

<i>Context</i>	<i>Examples</i>	<i>Meaning</i>
a) Noun Phrase ending with possessive + i + Adj.	"Bèle bilong hème i goud." (Pionnier, 1913:109)	His soul is good.
b) Noun + i + Adj	"Man i dèd." (Pionnier, 1913: 110)	A man/person is dead.
c) Pronoun + i + Adj	"Trifala ia ⁴ i stet." (Pionnier, 1913:194)	These three are one.
d) Noun + i + Verb	"Solouara i kam chore." (Pionnier, 1913:110)	The tide is in.
e) i + Adj. (meteorological expressions)	"I col." (Pionnier, 1913:112)	It's cold.
f) i + Verb + Noun or Noun Phrase (existential expressions)	"I got ouine." (Pionnier, 1913:112) "I stap onetap Bigfala Masta." (Pionnier, 1913:193)	It's windy. There is a big master on top.
g) In between serial verbs in serial verb constructions ie. Verb + Noun + i + Verb/Adj. (Giving instructions)	"Koukime ouata i hot." (Pionnier, 1913:117) "Tèke plète i go." (Pionnier, 1913:117)	Boil the water. Take the plate there.
h) i + Noun phrase	"I crou bilong hème." (Pionnier, 1913:117)	Pionnier renders the French equivalent of this as 'germe' which would be 'a sprout' in English, although the literal meaning may be ambiguous, either 'it is his sprout' or 'its sprout.'

38) ∅ i col.
 AGR cold.

39) i col.
 subject cold

⁴ In this case "ia" is a demonstrative. The element also functions as a focus particle.

When it comes to expressing meteorological conditions, Bislama only allows nouns such as "ples" in subject position (cf. Crowley, 2004: 118). Crowley (2004:118) associates this element with the dummy subject noun equivalent to the dummy pronoun "it" in English. He describes constructions such as e) as consisting of adjectives and verbs expressing meteorological events which must be preceded by the predicate marker ("i") but the presence of a subject noun phrase is not obligatory (2004:118). Thus according to Crowley, "i" cannot be the subject as shown in construction 39). This same notion applies to construction f) in which "i" is not in subject position but occurs before verbs expressing existence. These two constructions indicate that "i" was losing its function of maintaining reference in discourse. Crowley (1990:240) states that no pronoun can fill in the slot before the predicate marker in such constructions and this suggests that either the "i" still has pronominal status and therefore does not allow pronouns to co-occur with it or the process whereby "i" was being reanalysed to what Crowley labels a predicate marker, was already underway during this period.

Jacomb (1914:92) writing around the same period as Pionnier indicates that "i" or "e" as he renders it, was widely used after the noun and before the verb. This includes both animate and inanimate nouns as illustrated in examples 40) and 41) respectively.

40) “Kai-kai e stop.” (Jacomb, 1914:93)

“Dinner is ready”

41) “Master e no stop.” (Jacomb, 1914: 93)

“My master is out”

An examination of Jacomb's data also reveals that plurality of nouns may be marked by the occurrence of what appears to be the third-person plural pronoun "altogether" preceding the noun. Example 42) illustrates how "altogether" may be considered a third-person plural pronoun and example 43) illustrates its use with nouns.

- 42) "Altogether 'e plant 'im finish." (Jacomb, 1914:96)
He has already been buried. (They have already buried him)

- 43) "All together man 'e look 'im arm belong 'im 'e sore..."
Everyone's arms were hurting them... (Jacomb, 1914:93)

The English translation of example 42) is a passive construction. Current Bislama does not allow passive constructions although a construction may have a passive-like meaning if it is one which has been labelled by Crowley as a subject-less predicate construction which is marked by the third-person plural agreement marker "oli" (2004: 121). Example 42) suggests that in the period of Jacomb's writing, passives may have been expressed with the use of the third-person plural pronoun "altogether" in subject position. However, the point of using this example is to illustrate that if "altogether" was indeed a third-person plural pronoun then the occurrence of the following "e" suggests that it was used with both plural and singular nominal subjects. Example 43) illustrates a similar state of affairs whereby the plural noun phrase in subject position "altogether man" is followed by "e".

Another point worthy of note is the inclusion of two examples of pronoun-doubling in Jacomb's data, both of which appear below as 44) and 45). Jacomb (1914:104) simply describes this as the repetition of pronouns, stating that it is one of the tricks of the Bislama language.

- 44) Me me break 'im. (Jacomb, 1914:95)
I broke it.

- 45) Me me catch 'im pae belong me finish. (Jacomb, 1914:96)
I have been paid.

In relation to pronouns in subject position, Jacomb's (1914) set of data reveals that "e" or "i" only follow the third-person singular and third-person plural pronouns which are "'im" and "olgeta" (derived from "all together"). Crowley (1990:244) assumes that it was sometime between 1900 and 1920 that the third-person singular pronoun "hem" or "'im" as rendered above was systematically followed by "i" when they appear in subject position. This is illustrated by constructions 46) and 47) below which were attested in Asterisk's correspondence in 1912.

- 46) “Im 'e wan woman Maré.” (Asterisk, 1923: 328)

She is a woman from Maré

- 47) “... 'im 'e fire 'im off...” (Asterisk, 1923:330)

S/he fired the gun...

Keesing (1988:146-147) notes that "i" was also used to embed relative clauses in the written texts provided by Pionnier and Jacomb in the early 1900s. The following are two examples from these two authors which illustrate how clauses are embedded using "i", with Keesing's (1988:147) translations and syntactic labels. I have inserted some of the relative clauses which are embedded using "i" inside bold square brackets.

48) wen man i mekem nogud

when man SRP(he) do-TRS bad

‘If a man does wrong,

sapas man ia i ded

if man DEM SRP be dead

when this man dies

bel bilong hem i kapsae daon

soul POSS him SRP(it) sink down

his soul sinks

ples [i nogud]

place SRP(it) be bad

to a bad place.’ (Pionnier, 1913:194; Keesing, 1980: 147)

Keesing equates the "i" in constructions 48) and 49) with subject referencing pronouns (SRPs) which exist in the Oceanic languages (1988:146-147). Keesing treats the elements labelled as subject pronouns by Walsh (1995) in Table 9 (page 36) as SRPs. Giving an example in the Kwaio language in the Southeast Solomonian grouping, Keesing illustrates how SRPs in the latter embed relative clauses (1988: 146). Thus he argues that islanders using pidgin during that period were using the pronoun "i" to maintain pronominal reference and also to embed relative clauses, the latter function being in line with corresponding syntactic patterns in the Oceanic languages (1988:146-147).

49) yu go tek-em wan-fala samting
 You AUX take-Trs one-DET thing
 ‘You go and take something

[i stap long rum bilong mi]
 it be LOC room POSS me
 from my room

[i stap long big-fala bokis klosap long window]
 it be LOC big-ADJ box near LOC window
 which is in a big box near the window.

hem i belong mek mak long pepa hem i
 it it for make mark LOC paper it it
 It’s for making marks on paper; its

bilak hem i sumol-fala oltaem yu luk-im
 black it it small-ADJ always you see-Trs
 black, it’s small; you often see

mi mek mak long pepa long hem. (Jacomb, 1914:147-148)
 me make mark LOC paper with it
 me making marks on paper with it.

Table 9 Raga focus and subject personal pronouns (1964 - 1995)

Person/Number	Focus pronoun	Subject pronoun
1SG	inau	na-
2SG	ginggo	xo-
3SG	kea	xo-
1DL incl.	gida-ru	ta-ru
1TR incl.	gida gai-tolu	ta-tol ~ta-T/A-dol
1PL incl.	gida	ta-
1DL excl.	kama-ru	ga-ru
1TR excl.	kamai gai-tolu	ga-tol ~ga-T/A-dol
1PL excl.	kamai	ga-
2DL	kimi-ru	gi-ru
2TR	kimiu gai-tolu	gi-tol ~gi-T/A-dol
2PL	kimiu	gi-
3DL	---	ra-ru
3TR	---	ra-tol ~ra-T/A-dol
3PL	kera	ra-

In example 50) we have evidence of focussed nominal subjects followed by the third-person pronoun "hem" and "i". These elements are italicised.

50) “All time Harry *'im 'e* stop down...” (Asterisk, 1923:331)

Harry was still down... (cf. Crowley, 1990: 245)

Crowley (1990:245) states that the emergence of this pattern indicates that "hem" is now the third-person singular pronoun and "i" has lost its pronominal property and is completely reanalysed as predicate marker. He proposes that this transition was fully established possibly after the 1920s (Crowley, 1990:246).

Commenting on the pronoun-doubling phenomenon, in particular with respect to the first and second-person singular, Crowley (1990:245) states that expressions such as 44) and 45) which are taken up here again below, are simply instances where the pronouns in subject position are focussed, resulting in two identical forms in direct sequence, and that this is done to achieve contrastive stress.

44) Me me break 'im. (Jacomb, 1914:95)

I broke it.

45) Me me catch 'im pae belong me finish. (Jacomb, 1914:96)

I have been paid.

It ought to be noted however, that Crowley does not provide a consistent analysis for this pronoun-doubling phenomenon in particular in the case of the first and second-person singular pronouns. Another analysis he provides in his historical grammatical discussion of Bislama (1990:235) is that when a constituent intervenes between the first and second-person singular pronouns in subject position and the verb then these two pronouns become obligatory, filling in the slot between the intervening constituent and the verb and therefore, their manifestations immediately preceding the verb are in fact predicate markers. His most recent work (2004:113) simply renders the second instances of pronouns in pronoun-doubling sequences as repeated pronouns.

2.2.4 Bislama in the 1920s

Textual evidence from the 1920s reveals interesting developments in relation to the contexts in which "i" occurs. These are outlined in Tables 10, 11 and 12. The examples in 51 (a-g) show that "i" systematically occurs after any noun phrase subjects regardless of its position on the animacy hierarchy and plurality. Examples 51 (a-c) and f) have singular noun phrases

as subjects and these are followed by "i" while examples 41 e) and g) have plural noun phrases as subjects and are, also, followed by "i". Example 51d) illustrates what may be a new innovation, in that the noun phrase "Harry" seems to be focussed with the use of the third- person singular pronoun "him" or "hem". This also seems to be the case in example 51 e) where the plural noun phrase "Mis Collins mo missus b'long him" is focussed with the pronoun "two-feller" (tufala). Example 51 f) seems to be a combination of two clauses "you fight 'im" and "'e singout."

The examples in 52 in Table 10 also show that "i" follows certain pronouns which occur in subject position. Evidently it is clear that by the 1920s, "hem" was now the third-person singular pronoun (cf. example 52a) and other pronouns which are followed by "i" in this textual evidence include "two feller" (tufala). Example 52 c) suggests that what may be the current plural agreement marker morpheme "oli" was once two separate morphemes. However, not all pronominal elements occurring in subject position are followed by "i" as illustrated in the two examples in Table 11.

Table 10 Contexts in which "i" occurs in the 1920s

Contexts	Examples	Meaning
51) Subject noun phrase + i + verb	a) Master 'e speak. (Alexander, 1927:214) b) Harry 'e stop long house. (Asterisk, 1923:328) c) Salt water 'e wash 'im Harry. (Asterisk , 1923:329) d) All time Harry 'im 'e stop down longa saltwater? (Asterisk, 1923:331)	The master says/is talking. Harry is at the house. The saltwater washed Harry Harry is always down at the sea.

Table 10 (cont) Contexts in which "i" occurs in the 1920s

Contexts	Examples	Meaning
51)	<p>e) Mis Collins more missis b'long him two-feller 'e come long dinghey. (Asterisk, 1923:238)</p> <p>f) ...One bokkis you fight 'im 'e singout. (Alexander, 1927: 214)</p> <p>g) Four-feller more dog 'e fight. (Asterisk, 1923:329)</p>	<p>Miss Collins and his wife are coming by the dinghy.</p> <p>Literally: A box which sings out when you fight it (piano)</p> <p>The four of them and the dog are fighting.</p>
52) Pronoun + i + verb	<p>a) 'Im 'e no stop. (Asterisk, 1923:235)</p> <p>b) Two feller 'e go Vila finish. (Asterisk, 1923:328)</p> <p>c) All 'e take 'im go where? (Asterisk, 1923:330)</p>	<p>S/he is not here</p> <p>The two of them have gone to Vila.</p> <p>Where did they take him/her/it to?</p>
53) Subject noun phrase + i + Adj	Missis b'long 'im 'e derronk too. (Asterisk, 1923:328)	His wife was drunk
54) Existential expressions	'E got big-feller sea longa beach. (Asterisk, 1923:328)	The sea was rough
55) Pronoun + i + noun phrase	'Im 'e wan woman Maré. (Asterisk, 1923:328)	She is a Maré native.

Table 11 Pronouns in subject position which are not followed by "i".

Examples	Meaning
56) More better you me two-feller sit down (Asterisk, 1923:328)	It is better for the two of us to sit down.
57) Altogether cry plenty (Alexander, 1927:214)	They all cried together.

Example 56) in Table 11 show that the pronoun "you me two-feller" (yumitufala) is not followed by "i". Example 57) suggests that the current third-person plural pronoun "olgeta" may have been derived from "altogether" in this construction and given the existence of the two separate morphemes "all 'e" (oli) in example 52 c), at this time "all 'e" was not yet the third-person plural agreement marker. Pronoun-doubling was also a feature of the Bislama spoken in the 1920s as illustrated in the examples outlined in Table 12. The doubled pronominal elements are in bold.

Table 12 Pronoun doubling

Examples	Meaning
58) you you stop time Mis Collins 'e bin shoot 'im Jack? (Asterisk, 1923:328)	Were you there when Miss Collins shot Jack?
59) Time you more Harry two-feller you stop long house you look Mis Collins 'e come? (Asterisk, 1923:328)	When you and Harry were at the house, did you see Miss Collins come?
60) Me me fright long Mis Collins. (Asterisk, 1923:329)	I am scared of Miss Collins.
61) Me me go pay 'im copperah (Asterisk, 1923:331)	I am going to buy copra.
62) Me me go Ambrym (Asterisk, 1923:331)	I am going to Ambrym.
63) Now you sickis feller you along big feller boat. (Alexander, 1927:214)	The six of you in the big boat.
64) Me feller me go along boat. (Alexander, 1927:214)	We are going to the/by boat
65) Me sickis feller me catch 'im. (Alexander, 1927:214)	The six of us caught/got it

It is interesting to note that in the examples of pronoun-doubling given in Table 12, there is no evidence of doubling in constructions involving the future tense marker "bambae" (bae) although Crowley (1990: 209) states that since the 1920s certain pronouns in subject position were followed by the future tense marker. Similarly, it seems as if doubling is only a feature

of the first-person and second-person singular pronouns and is also triggered when a constituent (in these cases, numeral modifiers) appears after the first instance of the pronoun from the beginning of the constructions. In examples 58) and 60) - 62) we find that the second-person and first-person singular pronouns respectively occur in direct sequence. However, in examples 63) and 65) there are numeral post-modifiers after the subject pronoun, specifying the total number of participants, followed by the pronominal copies of the subject. Example 59) is even more interesting in that the pronoun "you" and the noun "Harry", both linked by the coordinator "mo", occupy the subject position. The numeral post-modifier immediately follows these two elements and the pronominal copy of the pronoun in subject position fills in the slot before the predicate. In constructions 59), 63) and 65) the subject is a more complex structure than just a singular pronoun and these examples seem to indicate that the pronouns in the slot immediately preceding the predicate copy only the person feature of the subject pronoun and not the number feature, since the latter is expressed by the numeral post- modifier.

A question which arises is ‘is there a corresponding pattern in the vernacular languages of Vanuatu, illustrated in this case by the Raga language?’ Evidently, this characteristic of the early Bislama grammar cannot be seen as coming from the direction of the superstrate since English very rarely allows constructions such as 66) below where a numeral post- modifier occupies the position immediately after a pronoun in subject position.

66) * We two will go⁵.

The following are constructions from the Raga language illustrating corresponding patterns.

⁵ Although this was permissible in 17th century English as seen in the line “When shall we three meet again” in Macbeth (Spencer, 1961:79)

67) Gida gaitolu gida ta-v
 1PL. excl. Foc three 1PL.excl. Foc 1PL. excl Subj – TAM (fut)

hae.

go up

“The three of us will go up”.

68) Ginggo bul-mai Vira kimiru
 2SG. Foc together with Vira 2DL. Foc

gi-ru vi hae.

2DL.subj - two TAM (fut) go up

“You together with Vira, the two of you will go up”

69) Ginggo, ginggo go-v
 2SG. Foc 2SG. Foc 2SG. subj – TAM (fut)

hae.

go up

“You will go up”.

70) *Ginggo ginggo go-v hae.

In construction 67) the numeral post-modifier "gai tolu" fills in the slot after the first- person exclusive focus pronoun "Gida". The second instance of the first-person plural exclusive pronoun is optional and may be omitted. Walsh (personal communication, August 12, 2009) states that occurrences of doubled focus pronouns in the Raga used between 1965 and 1995 were not frequent. However, going back to the discussion of example 67), in the absence of a numeral post-modifier, the two forms of first-person plural exclusive focus pronouns cannot

occur in direct sequence unless there is an intonation break after the form in subject position. Constructions 69) and 70) clarify this state of affairs using the second-person singular focus pronoun. In construction 68) where the noun phrase in subject position consists of a pronoun coordinated with a proper noun, there are two slots before the verb in which two pronominal elements may fill. This corresponds to construction 59) taken up here again, in which two positions (subsequent to the subject noun phrase) are filled in by two pronominal elements, "tufala" and "you".

- 59) Time you more Harry two-feller you stop long house you look Mis Collins 'e
 Time you mo Harry tufala you stop long house you look Mis Collins i
When you and Harry were at the house, did you see Miss Collins

come? (Asterisk, 1923:328)

come

come?

An interesting observation made by Crowley (1990:246) concerning constructions like 59) above (which have complex subject structures) is that the pronoun immediately before the verb is a copy of the pronoun in subject position but the former is marked only for person and not marked for number. Construction 68) is its corresponding construction in Raga and the second-person focus pronouns and subject pronouns are both marked for person and number while the "ru" particle specifies duality. Therefore, since the Raga language syntax allows two slots preceding the noun subject and before the verb to be filled by pronominal elements and evidence of similar patterns are found in the early Bislama, it is plausible to consider the emergence and stabilization of the pronoun-doubling phenomenon as partly motivated by the syntactic properties of languages like Raga; properties that are exhibited by many other Oceanic languages as well (cf. Crowley, 2006: 56-58).

2.2.5 The Mid and later Twentieth Century Bislama

Since the focus thus far has been primarily on the singular predicate or agreement marker, the plural predicate marker "oli" will now be examined, prior to discussing the agreement marking features in the mid and later twentieth century. From the available written records of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, nominal subjects were commonly followed by "i". Crowley (1990:247) notes the difficulty in tracing the diachronic development of "oli", attributing this to lack of sufficient data. However, he proposes that "oli" was the reanalysed variant of the sequence *ol + i*, appearing consecutively at some stage in the formative years of Bislama before being completely reanalysed into "oli" (Crowley, 1990:249). The lack of sufficient data on this element will evidently render any analysis incomplete; therefore it would be more profitable to concentrate on its status in the mid and later twentieth century, in which period a lot of data may be extracted.

The following example is taken from the 1950s. Evidently "i" or "e", as rendered in the example, fills in the slot immediately after the noun phrases "missionary", "him" and "Jesus" respectively. This shows that nominal subjects were commonly followed by "i".

- 71) Which way missionary e no stop with em you me long one table. Him e
Why missionary i no stap wetem yumi long one table Hem i
Why is the missionary not sitting me us on the same table, He preached that

preach Jesus e say love one another, e preach e no do it. (Guiart, 1956:168)
preach Jesus i say love one another, i preach i no do it
Jesus says love one another, he preaches but he doesn't do it.

Camden (1977:xxv) labels "i" and "oli" as predicate markers and proposes the following environments, outlined in Table 13, in which they occur in relation to pronouns. These predicate markers are underlined.

Table 13 Predicate markers in relation to pronouns

Person	Singular	Dual (two persons)	Trial (3 persons)	Plural
1 st	mi <u>mi</u>			
1 st inclusive		yumitu <u>Ø</u> , yumitufala <u>i</u>	yumitri <u>Ø</u> , yumitrifala <u>i</u>	yumi <u>Ø</u> , <u>i</u>
1 st exclusive		mitufala <u>i</u>	mitrifala <u>i</u>	mifala <u>i</u>
2 nd	yu <u>yu</u>	yutufala <u>i</u>	yutrifala <u>i</u>	yufala <u>i</u>
3 rd	hem <u>i</u>			
3 rd coll		tufala <u>i</u>	trifala <u>i</u>	olgeta <u>i</u>
		tugeta <u>i</u>	trigeta <u>i</u>	
3 rd dist				olgeta <u>oli</u>

These predicate markers are underlined. Evidently, "i" comes immediately after almost all of the dual, trial and plural pronouns except in the case of the third-person distributive plural pronoun and the first-person inclusive dual, trial and plural pronouns where the predicate marker may be either "i" or zero. Camden (1977:xv) also argues that in instances where two identical pronouns appear in direct sequence, in particular the first-person singular and second-person singular pronouns, the second pronouns are in fact predicate markers (Camden, 1977:xxv). Charpentier (1979: 307) shares a similar view, proposing that "i" and "oli" are ‘modalités personnelles’ and applying this label to the second pronouns in *mi mi* and *yu yu* sequences as well.

The element "olketa" in constructions 74a) and b) above is not behaving like the third-person plural pronoun but rather like a plural marker. It is only in construction 73a) above that the element is functioning as a pronoun, maintaining reference to a noun phrase in a previous clause. Construction 75) may shed more light on the status of the element.

75) Olgeta | (oli) boe evriwan.

They are all boys (males)

Construction 75) may be classed as an equational sentence, following the pattern described by Crowley (2004:115-116) whereby two noun phrases follow each other without a predicate marker and they are separated only by an intonation break as shown in 75). In this case "oli" may be omitted and "olgeta" is the third-person plural pronoun, indexing a noun phrase in a previous clause. Walsh (personal communication, January 2, 2010) suggests that "olgeta" in example 73 may be functioning as a pronominal collective indicator which could be translated as "they together". If the assumption that the element is derived from "altogether" in English is tenable, the form in English inherently has a collective semantic value and this may have been retained in the form "olgeta" in Bislama although, "modified to some extent to the latter's grammatico-semantic needs" (D. Walsh, personal communication, January 2, 2010).

Crowley (2004: 29) also classifies "olgeta" as functioning as a plural marker as well as a pronominal modifier, a post-verbal modifier, interjection and vocative device (2003: 196).

The element may also be used as an object pronoun as shown by example 76) below.

76) John i givim pepa long olgeta.

John AGR give paper to 3PL

John gave them the paper.

In relation to focussing, example 77) below illustrates how focussing of plural noun phrases is achieved by means of the third-person plural pronoun.

77) Ol boe olgeta oli stap dring.
 The boy 3PL AGR pres. tense mrkr drink
 “The boys, they are drinking”

"Ol" in 77) above is the shortened form of "olgeta". In this case, the genuine third-person plural pronoun appears after the plural noun phrase "ol boe", the position occupied by the third-person singular pronoun in the focussing construction below.

78) Mary hem i stap dring.
 Mary 3SG AGR pres. tense mrkr drink
 “Mary, she is drinking”

Construction 79) contains a verb serialization construction.

79) Stat long Tautu i ko kasem Norsup...
 Start PREP Tautu AGR go reach Norsup.
 “Starting from Tautu to Norsup.”
 (Unnamed author, 1977:8)

Amongst the different kinds of serial verb constructions which exist in Bislama, Crowley (2004:167) describes these types of serial verb constructions as consisting of two verbs, the first of which incorporates a directionality property and the second of which is a motion verb. In example 79) they are "stat" and "ko" respectively. This example suggests that there is only one agreement marker, however this does not portray a representative picture as

illustrated by construction 80) below which suggests that the agreement marker preceding the verb "stat" in example 79) above is in fact not overt.

80) I Stat long Tautu i go kasem Norsup.

"Starting from Tautu to Norsup."

As observed by Crowley (1990: 120-121), there are some sentences in Bislama in which the "oli" cannot be preceded by a subject. The types of constructions which fall under this category express actions whose agents are not expressed, equivalent to agent less passives, gerunds or nominalised verbs in English. Construction 81) falls into this category.

81) Passives

Oli kolem 'World Council of Churches'

Pred/AGR mrkr. call World Council of Churches

"It is called the World Council of Churches"(Unnamed author, 1976:4)

While pronoun doubling already occurred in the 1920s, it is evident that by the 1970s the pronoun doubling process was extending to other pronouns as shown in example 85). Lack of sufficient Bislama written records in the 1960s makes it impossible to locate the period in which the doubling process extended to the other remaining pronouns. The following three examples illustrate the environments in which pronoun doubling occurs in the 1970s.

82) Be mi, mi wantem talem long yufala evriwan long New Hebrides...
But I, I want to say to you all in New Hebrides...

"As for me, I want to say to you all in New Hebrides..."

(Unnamed author, 1976:5)

In example 82) there is an intonation break between the first and second occurrence of the first-person singular pronoun. In cases such as this, it is clear that the pronouns are repeated to express contrastive stress. Prior to uttering the above sentence, the speaker talked about other people's opinion on a particular issue and the "mi, mi" sequence is a device the speaker uses to stress how his opinion contrasts with the other people's opinion (cf. Crowley, 1990:240).

In constructions 83) and 84) we find what seems to be the doubling of the third person dual collective pronoun.

- 83) Mifala i lukim se tufala Administration ya
 We pred/AGR see that 3DL. coll administration the
 tufala i jenisim lo...
 3DL coll AGR change law...

"We see that the two administrations are changing the law..."

(Unnamed author, 1976:2)

- 84) Bambae tufala kapman blong Niuhebrides
 IRR 3DL.coll government POSS New Hebrides
 bambae tufala i mekem rot...
 IRR 3DL.coll AGR make road

"The two New Hebrides government will take the necessary steps to..."

(Unnamed author, 1976:4)

2.3. Conclusion

Thus far, the Bislama agreement marking system has been shown to develop from an interaction between substrate and superstrate syntactic features. The absence of sufficient data does not permit one to determine the exact period in which the 3PL agreement marker emerged as "all + i" to one morpheme. While it is generally held that the 3PL agreement marker is restricted to 3PL subjects, it is shown that the 3SG agreement marker may also be used with 3PL subjects. Furthermore, while the 3SG agreement marker initially occupied the position between subject noun phrases and verb or adjective phrases, by 1913, the particle had extended to other contexts such as in between serial verb sequences. Pronoun doubling was also shown to have emerged quite early in the development of Bislama.

Chapter Three

Pronouns and Verbal Particles in Raga

3.1 Introduction

In the literature related to the Raga language, grammatical descriptions are very minimal. Codrington's (1885) pioneering discussion of Raga grammar, while disregarding the phonological domain, provides a good description of the morphosyntactic features of the Raga language used in the 1880s. According to Walsh (1995: 808), Codrington's description was based on data collected from Raga speakers who were attending clerical training on Norfolk Island. Ray's (1926,) and Ray & Fraser (1893?) comparative study of the New Hebridean languages was primarily concerned with lexical items and he touches briefly on the phonological and grammatical properties of Raga. Walsh's (1978, 1995) descriptive works on the grammar of the Raga language provide an all-encompassing description of the language's grammatical properties. His first grammatical description espoused the structuralist model, while the later publication follows the functional model for language description. With specific reference to pronouns in Bislama, Walsh (1986:133) highlights the influence of Oceanic languages, exemplified by the Raga language, on the semantic values associated with the pronominal system of the Bislama language spoken in the 1980s. A recent study (Lynch, Ross & Crowley, 2002) provides a grammatical description of the language, as a means of illustrating the morphosyntactic properties characteristic of the Oceanic Austronesian language family.

In this chapter, I describe the Raga pronominal system and the elements labelled by various authors (Walsh, 1995; Lynch, Ross & Crowley, 2002) as tense, aspect and mood markers. I also investigate the distribution of the tense, aspect and mood markers associated with the

first-person singular pronoun, second-person singular pronoun, third-person singular pronouns and first-person plural pronouns in a range of environments. Previous analyses (Walsh, 1978; 1995; Lynch, Ross & Crowley, 2002) have not labelled any of the particles in the Raga clause structures as agreement markers. However, it appears that the Raga clause structure has an element that occupies the same structural position that is occupied by the agreement markers in the Bislama clause structure. This is illustrated in 87) and 90) below.

87) Kea mwa hav hamai tehe.
 3SG 3SG: TAM (prog) NEG1 come NEG2
“S/he didn’t come.”

88) Inau nam hav hamai tehe.
 1SG 1SG: TAM (prog) NEG1 come NEG2
“I didn’t come.”

89) Hingo gom hav hamai tehe.
 2SG 2SG: TAM (prog) NEG1 come NEG2
“You didn’t come.”

90) Hem i no kam.
 3SG AGR NEG come
S/he didn’t come

A property characteristic of these two languages is that in constructions such as 87) to 90) the pronominal elements in subject position can be dropped as shown in 91) to 94).

- 91) Ø mwa hav hamai tehe.
 92) Ø nam hav hamai tehe.
 93) Ø gom hav hamai tehe.
 94) Ø i no kam.

It is clear that apart from its tense, aspect and mood marking property, the element immediately following the third-person singular subject pronoun, the first-person singular subject pronoun and the second-person singular subject pronoun in 87) to 89) incorporates the number and person feature corresponding to the number and person feature of the preceding pronoun or noun in subject position. Similarly, as illustrated by 95) it maintains reference to a subject noun or pronoun in an antecedent clause.

- 95) Ira vavine ran hae huba.
 PL women 3PL: TAM (past) go up already.
 Ran hae lol wangan tano.
 3PL: TAM (past) go up PREP truck
“The women have already gone up. They went by truck.”

This gives us plausible reasons to investigate whether the distribution of these portmanteau elements matches the environments in which we would find "i" occurring in Bislama.

3.2 Previous Analyses of Pronouns, Verbal Particles and TAM markers in Raga

In this section I review previous analyses of the pronominal elements and tense, aspect and mood markers of the Raga language. Although various prior studies present themselves, only three will be discussed, due to lack of space. The three chosen provide a solid basis towards a

better understanding of relevant patterns in the Raga language which may have contributed to the emergence and use of the relevant corresponding features in Bislama. These are studies done by Codrington (1885), Walsh (1995) and Lynch, Ross and Crowley (2002) respectively, although Gray's (f.c) contribution regarding certain elements will also be briefly mentioned. This discussion encompasses only the types of pronouns that are relevant to the theme of the paper and excludes other pronominal elements such as demonstrative pronouns and interrogative pronouns.

Among the types of pronouns outlined by Codrington are personal pronouns, which encompass those used as the object of a verb, subject pronouns and possessives (1885: 433-434). The object pronouns outlined in Table 14 are suffixes which can only be used as the object of a verb or preposition, while those in the column headed subject may be either subject or object pronouns (Codrington, 1885:433). Although there is no clear distinction made between the independent subject pronouns and object pronouns, Codrington states that the longer forms in the singular, plural, dual and trial forms are used with more emphasis (1885:443).

It is interesting to note that there is no indication of a third-person dual subject pronoun although Codrington states that the third-person singular and plural pronouns consist of the demonstrative "ke-" prefixed to pronouns "-a" and "-ra" (1885:433). Codrington (1885: 433) notes that the dual and trial forms are composed of the plural stems with the numeral marker "-ru" or "-tolu" respectively. The data in the columns in Table 14 related to first, second and third-person dual and trial forms suggest that the plural stems outlined in Table 15 were the ones that were used.

Table 14 Subject, object and possessive pronouns in Raga

	Subject	Object	Possessive
1SG	<i>inau, nau, na</i>	<i>-au</i>	<i>gu, ku, k</i>
1PL incl	<i>igita, gita, ta</i>		<i>da</i>
1Pl excl	<i>ikamai, kamai, ka</i>		<i>mai</i>
1DL incl	<i>gitaru, taru</i>		<i>daru</i>
1DL excl	<i>kamairu, karu</i>		<i>maru</i>
1TR incl	<i>tatol</i>		
1TR excl	<i>katol</i>		
2SG	<i>igigo, gigo</i>	<i>-go</i>	<i>ma</i>
2PL	<i>ikimiu, kimiu, kimi</i>		<i>miu</i>
2 DL	<i>kimiru, kiru</i>		<i>miru</i>
2 TR	<i>kitolu</i>		
3SG	<i>kea</i>	<i>-a,-e,-i</i>	<i>na, n</i>
3PL	<i>ikera, kera, ra</i>		<i>ra</i>
3 DL			<i>raru</i>
3 TR	<i>Ratolu</i>		

Table 15 Dual and trial forms and corresponding plural stems

Dual and Trial forms		Corresponding plural stems used
1DL incl	<i>gitaru, taru</i>	<i>gita-, ta-</i>
1 DL excl	<i>kamairu, karu</i>	<i>kamai-, ka-</i>
1TR incl	<i>tatol</i>	<i>ta-</i>
1TR excl	<i>katol</i>	<i>ka-</i>
2 DL	<i>kimiru, kiru</i>	<i>kimi-, ki-</i>
2 TR	<i>kitolu</i>	<i>ki-</i>
3 TR	<i>ratolu</i>	<i>ra-</i>

Codrington (1885:435) notes the existence of verbal particles namely, "man", "nu", "vi", "i" and "me" and states that they are affixed to all shortened pronoun forms apart from the third-person singular (Codrington, 1885: 435). In discourse every verb has to be preceded by the verbal particle as shown in example 96) below.

- 96) **Ram** galiau, **ram** gitai
 3PL :TAM (prog) prove 3PL:TAM (prog) see

 nogu lalaigova.
 1SG :POSS works.
 They proved, they saw my works. (Codrington, 1885: 435)

Codrington (1885: 435) states that the pronoun and verbal particle combination may be used singly without the subject pronouns in a subsequent clause when the subject has already been mentioned in a previous clause. This corresponds to the function of the third-person singular and plural agreement markers in Bislama which refer to the already established subject and also appear in subsequent sentences where the subject has the same referent as illustrated in 97).

- 97) Mary i go swim afta i kaka. I kaka
 Mary AGR go swim then AGR eat. AGR eat

 finis, i go long wok.
 finish, AGR go PREP work.

“Mary showered then ate. After eating, she went to work.”

- 102) Ram dogo.
 3PL: verbal particle sit
"They sit." (Codrington, 1885:436)

With respect to "-man", Codrington's data suggest that the particle "-ma" has the allomorphs "mu" when it is followed by the dual numeral particle "-ru" (1885: 436). Therefore we have:

- 103) Gamuru dogo
 1PL incl: verbal particle: DL numeral particle sit
"We two sit down." (Codrington, 1885: 436)

- 104) Ramuru dogo
 3PL: verbal particle: DL numeral particle sit
"They two sit." (Codrington, 1885:436)

The second particle, "nu", indicates past tense (affirmed more strongly in conjunction with the adverb "hupa") and is also affixed to the pronouns, ⁶though not to third-person singular pronouns (Codrington, 1885: 436). This is illustrated in example 105) below. The sentence literally means "he died already".

- 105) Nu mate hupa
 verbal particle dead already
"He is dead already." (Codrington, 1885:436)

Example 105) highlights a point that is worthy of note: while the third- person pronoun "kea" is absent, the verbal particle in question incorporates the person and number feature. Table 16

⁶ There is a zero morpheme for 3SG.

1885:436). In these cases, it appears that "i" is affixed to the shorter variants of the pronouns while third-person singular and inanimate noun subjects take "vi" instead of "i" as verbal particles (Codrington, 1885:436).

The last verbal particle "men" is distinct from the above-mentioned ones in that it is not affixed to pronouns but occurs in the slot immediately after the short stems in all persons and numbers except in the third-person singular where there is no accompanying pronoun (Codrington, 1885: 436). Examples 112) and 113) below illustrate these conditions. The sequence "na men vano" can also be preceded by the focus pronoun "inau" as in "inau, na men vano", although this may render the expression more emphatic.

112)	Na	men	vano.
	1SG	verbal particle	go
	<i>"I am going."</i>		

113)	Men	hae.
	3SG: verbal particle	go up
	<i>"S/he or is going up."</i>	

Example 113) can only be used when the element to which reference is made to has been established in a prior clause or is contextually clear. Employed in indicative sentences, the particle is also used in embedded clauses (Codrington, 1885:436).

Walsh (1995:813-814) attaches somewhat different labels to the elements in question and makes the distinctions shown in Table 17.

Table 17 Pronouns in Raga

	Focal	Subject	Object	Possessive
1SG	<i>inau</i>	<i>na-</i>	<i>-au, -u</i>	<i>-ku, -gu, -k</i>
2SG	<i>γigo</i>	<i>γo-</i>	<i>-γo</i>	<i>-m^wa, -m</i>
3SG	<i>kea</i>	<i>∅-, γe-</i>	<i>-a, -e</i>	<i>-na, -n</i>
1DL incl	<i>γidaru</i>	<i>ta-ru</i>	<i>γidaru</i>	<i>-daru</i>
1PL incl	<i>γida</i>	<i>ta-</i>	<i>γida</i>	<i>-da</i>
1DL excl	<i>kamaru</i>	<i>γα-ru</i>	<i>kamaru</i>	<i>-maru</i>
1PL excl	<i>kamai</i>	<i>γα-</i>	<i>kamai</i>	<i>-mai</i>
2DL	<i>kimiru</i>	<i>γi-ru</i>	<i>kimiru</i>	<i>-miru</i>
2PL	<i>kimiu</i>	<i>γi-</i>	<i>kimiu</i>	<i>-miu</i>
3DL	-	<i>ra-ru</i>	-	-
3PL	<i>kera</i>	<i>ra-</i>	<i>-ra</i>	<i>-ra</i>

Some of the pronoun forms described by Codrington (1885:435) as subject pronouns are labelled as focal pronouns by Walsh (1995:810) and Gray (f.c). Walsh (1995:810) notes that while certain trial forms exist, they are no longer being used. In Table 17 the en dash symbol indicates whether the elements are prefixed or suffixed to a constituent. The data in the table indicates that all subject pronouns are bound while all DL forms are not prefixed. These bound subject forms are prefixed to tense, aspect and mood particles, whereas the object pronouns are suffixed to verbs and to some directional particles as illustrated in example 114) below (Walsh, 1995:810).

- 114) ∅ mwa lai-a lalai-au.
 3SG : TAM (prog) give-it LOC-1SG obj
 “S/he gave it to me.”

suggests that "inau" is a strong pronoun as are other pronouns in the same category. Some of these positions (ie. contexts in which strong pronouns occur) are outlined in 118) to 122).

118) Exception structures (cf. Quinn, 2005: 67)

Tari mwa gitae **kera** ngano.

Tari 3SG:TAM see 3PL.STRONG only

"They were the only ones whom Tari saw."

* Tari mwa gitae **ra-** ngano.

119) Coordination (cf. Quinn, 2005 : 68)

Kea bul-mai Tari rav hae.

3SG together with Tari 3PL subject: TAM (fut) go up.

"Him/he and Tari will go up."

* **ra-** bul-mai Tari rav hae.

120) Comparatives (cf. Quinn 2005 : 68)

Kea gaivuha liu **hingo**

3SG big than 2SG strong

"S/he is bigger than you."

* Kea gaivuha liu **go-**.

121) Identificational (Quinn, 2005 : 68)

Inau ngano, Tari.

1SG strong only, Tari

"It's only me, Tari." (as answering the question "who's there?")

* **Na-** ngano, Tari.

122) Stripping/ bare argument ellipsis (cf. Quinn, 2005: 68)

Inau mulei.

1SG strong too.

"Me too."

* **Na-** mulei.

Since the above syntactic environments have been associated with strong pronouns in other languages and given that the Raga pronouns classed as focal do not necessarily have a focal interpretation, this implies that "strong pronoun" would perhaps be a better label than focal pronoun for pronouns like "inau" and "kea".

Walsh (1995: 813-814) distinguishes five tense, aspect and mood particles (all labelled as verbal particles by Codrington) and gives a more comprehensive analysis in relation to their distribution and variants. The first particle "m^wa" signifies action in progress and has the following variant forms outlined in Table 18 (Walsh, 1995: 813). Walsh (1995:813) describes the "-mu-" particle as being an infix and its distribution is restricted to the slot preceding the "-ru" particle in subject personal pronouns. Example 123) is given to illustrate this.

123) ra- mu- ru mosomoso
 3DL TAM (prog) 3DL play
"They (dual) are playing."

Table 18 3SG TAM signifying action in progress

-mu-
-m-
-m ^w a
- Ø
-m

This implies that the distribution of the "-mu-" particle is strictly restricted to dual subject pronouns and it is certainly the case when all the dual pronouns are investigated as shown in Table 19.

Table 19 TAM markers with corresponding dual markers and pronouns

Person	Example
1DL incl	ta- <i>mu</i> -ru
1DL excl	γa- <i>mu</i> -ru
2DL	γi- <i>mu</i> -ru becoming γi- <i>m</i> -ru especially in fast speech
3DL	ra- <i>mu</i> -ru

Walsh (1995:813) states that "-m-" occurs only before "-dol", the trial for subject personal pronouns, as illustrated by example 124) below.

- 124) Ra- m- dol hae
 3PL TAM (prog) TR go up
 “*They (trial) go up.*” (Walsh, 1995:813)

The third variant occurs after the zero allomorph of the 3rd singular subject personal pronoun as shown in example 125) below (Walsh, 1995: 813).

- 125) Ø - m^wa rovo.
 TAM (prog) run
 “*S/he /it is running.*”

The particle is not overt when it occurs before /b/ or /b^w/ as shown in example 126) below (Walsh, 1995:813).

- 126) Ra - Ø bol lolle lolle sitoa.
 3PL buy lolly LOC store
"They buy the lolly at the store." (Lollies are bought from the shop)

The last form (-m) occurs in all other remaining contexts as shown in example 127) below (Walsh, 1995:813).

- 127) Kimiu gim lolle gina vate?
 2PL foc 2PL subj: TAM (prog) do something
"Are you (pl) doing something?"

The second tense, aspect and mood marker, "nu" denotes an action that is completed and has three forms depending on the environment in which it occurs (Walsh, 1995:813). Firstly, the form "-nu" only occurs after the zero allomorph of the third-person singular subject personal pronoun as shown in example 128) below (Walsh, 1995:813).

- 128) Ø -nu gan ginou huba.
 TAM (past) eat food already
"S/he /it has already eaten"

The second variant form is "-Ø-", which occurs only before "-ru" (the dual number for subject personal pronouns) and "-tol" (the trial number for subject personal pronouns) as shown in example 129) below (Walsh, 1995:813).

- 129) Ra- Ø-ru lol-ia ninovi.
 1DL excl do-it yesterday
"They did it yesterday."

134) Na-i vwirihi-a
 1SG subj -TAM squeeze-it
"I will squeeze it".

135) Ra-v tun damu vaigogo.
 3PL-TAM (fut) roast yam tomorrow
"They will roast yams tomorrow."

The fourth tense, aspect and mood marker, occurring in the form "-si" and "-s" indicates conditional action and while the full form is described as occurring in two contexts, namely, after the zero allomorph of the third singular personal pronoun and after the dual or trial subject personal pronouns, the shorter form occurs in all other environments (Walsh, 1995:814). Examples 136) - 137) illustrate these conditions.

136) Ø si loli-a kuni-a.
 TAM (cond) do-it like this
"If s/he does/did it like this"

137) Ra-tol si hae.
 3PL-trial TAM (cond) go up
"If they (trial) go up." (Walsh, 1995:814)

138) Kebe ra-s loli-a ninovi Ø si nogo huba
 If 3PL- TAM (cond) do-it yesterday TAM(cond) finish already
"If they had done it yesterday, it would have finished already."

- 139) Ta-s lako.
 1PL incl-TAM (cond) walk
“If we walk.”

The last tense, aspect and mood particle, "-men" indicates ‘desiderative action’ (Walsh, 1995:814). Gray states that this particle embodies potentiality (f.c). Unlike the other particles, occurring in varying forms and the distribution of which is conditioned by the preceding pronominal elements and in some cases the composition of the verbs that follow, this particle has only one form which is affixed to any subject personal pronouns (Walsh, 1995:814). The data in (140)-(141) suggest that this tense, aspect and mood marker can only be affixed to what Walsh categorizes as subject pronouns, and not focal pronouns (1995:810).

- 140) * kamaru-men gitae video
 1DL excl foc-TAM (des) watch video
- 141) ya-ru-men gitae video
 1DL excl subj -TAM (des) watch video
- “The two of us want /should watch video.”*

3.3 Influence on Pronoun Doubling

This section is a brief discussion of the contexts in which the doubling of the first-person singular and second-person singular pronouns occurs in Bislama and in comparable contexts in Raga. Similarly, some of the environments in which the third-person singular and plural agreement markers occur in Bislama will be investigated and compared with Raga portmanteau TAM patterns to examine whether the Bislama agreement marking patterns may be a reflection of the Raga (and the wider Oceanic) TAM patterns. Due to space constraints, the discussion will not include the contexts in which the third-person plural agreement marker is found in Bislama.

The studies outlined in 3.2 reveal certain characteristics of the Raga pronouns and TAM elements which raise a number of questions in relation to the pronoun doubling and trebling pattern in the Bislama language. The investigation of the pronominal and tense, aspect and mood marking features of the Raga language reveal some points which will be recapitulated here as they prove important to the current investigation of the distribution of pronouns and agreement marking in Bislama. To begin with, the TAM markers in the Raga language co-index the focus pronouns in subject position. This suggests that two positions preceding the verb may be filled by elements incorporating pronominal properties. In fact other Vanuatu languages such as the Ura language spoken on Erromango also exhibit a similar property, whereby a pronoun is followed by a pronominal incorporating element, both of which may occur before the verb as shown in 142) below.

142)	Qa	ki-narufu	
	2SG	2SG:FUT-MR ⁷	sing
	<i>“You will sing”</i>		(Crowley, 1999: 127)

At this point it is difficult to verify the hypothesis that this phenomenon may have perhaps provided the impetus for the pronoun doubling phenomenon in Bislama, where two pronouns are doubled in direct sequence in a construction. If there is a substrate motivation for this, then do the pronominal elements in question have the same status as the corresponding elements in the Raga language, that is, focus pronoun and subject pronoun? It is interesting to note that the phonological shapes of pre-verbal subject marking particles and pre-verbal realis subject markers in certain Vanuatu languages are similar to that of the 3SG agreement marker in Bislama, as illustrated in Table 20 (cf. Crowley, 1990: 250).

⁷ MR means Modified root

Table 20 Third person singular subject clitics or subject markers in three Vanuatu languages.

Language	Form
Nakanamanga (pre-verbal subject marking particle)	(t) e
South Efate (pre-verbal realis subject marker)	i
V'ënen Taut (realis subject prefix)	i-
Tirax (pre-verbal realis subject markers)	i

Thus the emergence of the 3SG agreement marker in Bislama may have been the result of the somewhat analogous phonological shapes of pre-verbal realis and subject markers along with other influences proposed by Crowley as comprising the substratum dimension, converging with factors such as syntactic iconicity (1990: 252).

3.3.1 Pronoun Doubling in Direct Sequence

The first written evidence of the doubling process in Bislama arose in the 1920s and was associated with the first-person singular pronoun, second-person singular pronoun and other variant forms incorporating numerals. These constructions are outlined again in Table 21 with their corresponding constructions in English. It is interesting that there are two kinds of doubling attested in the 1920s, namely direct doubling of the pronoun such as in 144) and 145) and the doubling of the first subject pronoun from the beginning of the clause, the second occurrence of which is subsequent to a numeral post-modifier or coordinated noun phrase, as illustrated in 143) and 146).

Table 21 1920 constructions involving pronoun doubling

Bislama	English
143) Me sickis feller me catch 'im. (Alexander, 1927:214)	The six of us catch/are catching it.
144) Me me fright long Mis Collins. (Asterisk, 1923:329)	I am afraid of Miss Collins.
145) you you stop time Mis Collins 'e bin shoot 'im Jack? (Asterisk, 1923:328)	Were you there when Miss Collins shot Jack?
146) Time you more Harry two-feller you stop long house you look Mis Collins 'e come? (Asterisk, 1923:328)	When you and Harry, where at the house, did you see Miss Collins come?

Doubling of subject pronouns preceding post-numeral modifiers would be rendered in current Bislama as 147).

147) **Mifala** siks **mifala** i kasem.
1PL six 1PL AGR catch-it
"The six of us caught it."

In construction 143) only the stem "me" is repeated but in 147) the whole pronoun "mifala" is repeated. Consider construction 148) in Raga.

148) **Kamaru** **gai** **rua** **kamuru** gitae nunu.
1DL excl Num.mrkr two 1DL:TAM (prog):dual look photo.
"The two of us are looking at the photo."

The sequence of the elements in bold in 148) is as follows:

Pronoun + numeral post-modifier + Pronoun + TAM + Numeral.

Codrington (1885:433) notes that the dual and trial forms pronominal forms are formed by plural stems with the numeral marker "-ru" or "-tolu" respectively. Thus the plural stem of the 1DL excl pronoun "kamaru" in 148) could be either "ka-" or "kama-". It is interesting to note that in the second instance of the portmanteau form "kamuru", only the plural stem "ka-" is repeated, the other particles "-mu" and "-ru" being the infix TAM marker and dual particle respectively. This therefore suggests that the occurrence of the second instance of the pronoun "me" in 143) may have been the result of the speaker pulling the pidgin in the direction of Oceanic patterns in which the stems of corresponding initial pronouns are repeated. In relation to sequences such as 144) and 145) in which what may be called direct doubling is occurring, Table 22 outlines some of their discourse characteristics and compares them to similar constructions in Raga.

Table 22 Discourse characteristics of constructions involving 1SG doubling and constructions not involving 1SG doubling.

Raga	Discourse nature	Bislama	Discourse nature
149) Nam hae	-not emphatic -only used if subject has already been established or is contextually clear.	151) Mi go	-not emphatic, although emphasis can also be achieved by placing stress on the 1SG pronoun.
150) Inau nam hae	- used for emphasis although it also used in non-emphatic contexts.	152) Mi mi go	-used for emphasis although it is also used in non-emphatic contexts.

Whereas "na-" can only be used when the subject has already been established or is contextually clear (149), this restriction cannot be applied to any one instance of the first-person plural pronoun occurring on its own (151). Although the use of the strong pronoun

and deficient pronoun in direct sequence in Raga may be an emphasis marker, it is also used in non-emphatic contexts and its use in speech does not necessarily imply that the subject pronouns are being emphasised (150). This also applies to 152) in Bislama. The question then is "is the first instance of the 1SG pronoun in 152) a strong pronoun followed by the deficient pronoun which is arguably an agreement marker analogous in form?" Considering the pattern in 150), there seems to be strong indication that the first pronoun in 152) is a strong pronoun and the second instance the agreement marker. If that is the case then it would be plausible to assume that it would occur in environments in which the 3SG agreement marker "i" occurs. Therefore, we will investigate some environments in which the 3SG agreement marker occur in Bislama and examine what kinds of elements occurs in comparable contexts in the Raga language. Table 23 outlines some of the environments in which we find the 3SG agreement marker.

Table 23 Some environments in which the 3SG agreement marker is present in Bislama.

Context	Bislama	Context	Raga	English
Pronoun + Agr + Verb	153) Hem i wajem TV.	Pronoun + TAM+ Verb	154) Kea mwa gita nunu.	S/he is watching TV
NP + AGR+NP	155) Tari i wan jif.	Noun + NP	156) Tari ratahigi vate.	Tari is a chief
AGR+ADJ	157) I hot.	TAM + ADJ	158) Nu aruaru.	It's hot

In construction 153) and 154), the predicate is a verb phrase and the agreement marker and TAM precede the verb in both Bislama and Raga. However, when the predicate is a noun phrase as in 155) and 156) Raga does not allow the presence of a TAM marker while Bislama requires the occurrence of the agreement marker, the absence of which would render the construction ungrammatical. Constructions 157) and 158) show that the comparable sequences in both Bislama and Raga are permissible. In consideration of these three contexts,

it is evident that the contexts in which the agreement marker is found do not necessarily match the contexts in which the TAM marker is found in Raga.

3.3.2 Interrupted Pronoun Doubling

This refers to the situation in which a constituent comes in between two pronouns such as in 159).

159) Mi bae mi kam.
 1SG IRR 1SG come
 “I will come.”

Bislama allows adverbials, in particular time-related adverbs (irrealis marker) and focus or emphasis markers, to intervene between two pronouns, in which case the preverbal pronoun then becomes obligatory (cf. Crowley, 1990:235). In construction 159) above, the preverbal pronoun is an obligatory element. A similar state of affairs arises when focus elements or emphasis markers intervene between the two pronouns as shown in construction 160).

160) Mi ia mi pem.
 1SG Foc. mrkr 1SG buy.
 “It was I who bought it.”

It is interesting to note that Raga permits similar elements to occupy the positions between two pronouns, as illustrated in 161) and 162) respectively.

161) Inau ninovi nan gan toi.
 1SG. yesterday 1SG :TAM(past) eat sugar cane.
 “Yesterday, I ate sugarcane.”

162) Inau hangea nan hambwe nom buka.
 1SG Foc.mrkr 1SG: TAM(past) find 2SG:POSS book.

“It was I who found your book.”

It is, also, interesting to note that these particular elements in Raga and Bislama can only occur in other positions which are illustrated in 163) to 166), but not in the positions as illustrated in 167) to 172) in both languages, showing a symmetry that cuts across both languages.

163) **yestede** mi mi kam.

164) mi mi kam **yestede**.

165) **ninovi** inau nan mai.

166) inau nan mai **ninovi**.

167) *Mi mi **yestede** kam.

168) *Inau nan **ninovi** mai.

169) ***Ia** mi mi pem

170) ***Hangea** inau nan hambwe nom buka.

171) *mi mi **ia** pem.

172) *Inau nan **hangea** hambwe nom buka.

This set of data shows a uniform pattern in the distribution of the adverbial elements in relation to doubled pronouns in both Raga and Bislama. Further investigation reveals the fact

that when the time adverbial is positioned in between the pronoun and the other pronoun incorporating element, the latter is obligatory in both languages. Refer to 173 and 174 below.

173) *Mi yestede kam.

174) *Inau ninovi mai.

175) *Inau ninovi -n mai.

176) *Mi ia pem.

177) *Inau hangea hambwe nom buka.

178) *Inau hangea -n hambwe nom buka.

Again, here we find that the obligatory nature of the second instances of the pronominal elements, from the beginning of the clause, is characteristic of patterns in both Bislama and Raga.

3.4 Conclusion

Three analyses regarding the pronominal elements of the Raga language have been noted. While Codrington (1885) distinguishes between plain pronominal forms and subject pronoun forms, Walsh (1995) prefers the terms focal and subject pronouns. However, Lynch, Ross and Crowley (2002) label the pronominal elements considered as plain pronouns and focal pronouns by Codrington (1885) and Walsh (1995) respectively as independent pronouns. Data from the fieldwork suggests that perhaps focal and subject pronouns ought to be labelled as strong and deficient pronouns respectively. In relation to TAM markers, Codrington (1885) uses the label verbal particles while Walsh (1995) uses the term TAM markers. According to Walsh (1995) these TAM markers are associated with action in progress, completed action, future action, conditional action and desiderative action. Investigation of

the pronominal and TAM marking elements in Raga, suggests that two positions preceding the verb may be occupied by elements incorporating pronominal properties and this pattern is also exhibited by other Vanuatu languages. Similarly, examples of Bislama pronoun doubling sequences in the 1920s, namely direct doubling and interrupted doubling, seem to follow Oceanic patterns, as illustrated by the Raga language. While the preverbal Raga pronominal elements have been argued to be strong and deficient pronouns, it is not clear yet whether the pronoun doubling phenomenon in Bislama is a reflection of this pattern, which would mean that the preverbal pronoun in Bislama is a deficient pronoun or agreement marker. The following chapter outlines the methods used to collect current data on pronoun doubling and trebling patterns in Bislama in order to ascertain the status of these elements.

Chapter Four

Methodology

4.1 Introduction

As discussed in Chapter Two, written records in Bislama seem to suggest that the pronoun doubling phenomenon emerged in the 1920s. It was seen that, generally, all the pronouns except for the 1SG and 2SG pronouns are associated with an agreement marker. The central focus of this thesis is to ascertain whether the preverbal "mi" in pronoun doubling and trebling constructions is an agreement marker or simply a genuine subject pronoun. The discussion in Chapter Three highlighted the observation that the pronouns which have been labelled as subject pronouns by previous scholars of the Raga language, may be better labelled as deficient pronouns which have been argued to be agreement markers. If this is so then the preverbal "mi" in pronoun doubling and trebling constructions in Bislama could be treated as agreement markers. However, the nature of the Raga elements does not have a direct bearing on the classification of the Bislama pronominals. An examination of pronoun doubling and trebling constructions in both the rural and urban settings would shed more light on the status of the preverbal pronominal elements in pronoun doubling and trebling constructions.

4.2 Selection of Participants

The data used for the analysis described in Chapter Five was collected during a fieldtrip carried out in Vanuatu from the 8th of July 2009 to 30th of August 2009. The data was elicited from 14 informants in Vanuatu, seven of whom live in Abwatuntora village and surrounding areas in North Pentecost and the other seven in Port Vila. All the informants in North Pentecost are originally from North Pentecost and while the majority of informants in Port Vila are originally from North Pentecost there were a couple who were of mixed

parentage. However, in these cases, one of the parents is from North Pentecost and Raga is the dominant language these informants are exposed to rather than the vernacular language of the other parent. The age range investigated is between 10 and 65 years of age. Table 24 shows the age ranges investigated and the number of informants in each of the age ranges. Since this research may be considered as a preliminary investigation of the issues under question, having a large number of informants was not deemed necessary. Although the sex of the informants was also noted, this research is not aimed, however, at investigating gender related issues.

Table 24 Total number of informants and their age range

Age range	Number of Informants	
	Port Vila	North Pentecost
10-19	2	3
20-39	2	2
40-65	3	2

At this stage it may be worth mentioning that the majority of the informants are people whom I personally knew from my childhood years while growing up in North Pentecost and Port Vila and given that the time limit for the fieldwork was especially short, it was indeed an asset to interview familiar people, in the sense that cultural protocol which would otherwise have been necessary, such as obtaining permission from chiefs to work in their area, was not necessary.

My choice of including informants living in both Port Vila and North Pentecost was based on the following reasons. To begin with, Port Vila is one of the main urban centres in Vanuatu in which Bislama is thriving and is predominantly used as a main language. The village in North

Pentecost on which this study was focussed may be considered as a rural setting and, generally, Bislama is not used as a main language there. Bislama would be used, however, in the presence of non-Raga speaking visitors such as crews of visiting vessels or a visiting preacher. Data from these two settings would illustrate whether there is a difference between urban Bislama speakers and rural Bislama speakers in the area of pronouns and agreement marking. I was aware of the usage of pronoun trebling constructions mainly in Urban Port Vila so data from the rural setting would also clarify whether this feature is also characteristic of the variety of Bislama spoken in the rural setting. As we will see in Chapter Six, traditional creolisation theory would classify some Bislama speakers in Port Vila as creole speakers of the pidgin. Therefore, the inclusion of speakers from both Port Vila and North Pentecost may assist in investigating whether there are any differences in the usage of pronouns and agreement markers by speakers of creole Bislama as opposed to speakers of non-creole Bislama. Furthermore, the influence of the vernacular languages on the Bislama used by speakers of these languages is widely noticeable on the phonological level. By recording informal interviews with the informants in Port and North Pentecost, the extent to which the Raga language has influenced their usage of syntactic Bislama structures may be investigated. It is expected that, generally, for informants who use Raga as a main language and who are not widely exposed to English and French (in particular in the rural setting) there would be a greater influence from Raga as opposed to the Bislama variety used by speakers who use it as a main language and are widely exposed to English and French.

4.3 Data Collection

The data was collected in three ways, namely, a questionnaire, informal interviews and participant observation. As mentioned above, most informants are people I personally knew and this familiarity enabled them to speak with ease and confidence in airing their views. I

noticed that informants whom I did not personally know were a bit hesitant in voicing their opinions, as if the interviews (in particular those in which questionnaires were used) were some kind of formal test where there were right and wrong answers and I was the judge. Some of the other informants are close family members with whom I grew up and having the background information which came out from prior association with them also assisted in accounting for the choices they made. The questionnaire contained 142 Bislama sentences divided into the following categories:

- a) simple positive and negative sentences containing agreement markers and pronouns and containing pronoun doubling in different numbers and persons but mainly in the 1SG and 3SG.
- b) sentences containing trebling of the 1SG and 1PL incl pronoun.
- c) sentences containing negative polarity items.
- d) sentences containing adverbials.

The questionnaire was aimed at obtaining a quantitative representation of the informants' perceptions of certain constructions containing agreement markers and the doubling and trebling of some of the Bislama pronouns. Informants were asked in Bislama whether or not they used the given constructions and in certain cases, whether the meanings matched those of other constructions. The rationale behind the questionnaire was to investigate whether certain constructions involving 1SG and 2SG pronouns pattern like 3SG constructions containing agreement markers and, therefore, give clues to the status of the doubled or trebled pronominal elements involved. The questionnaire was also targeted to obtain other background information investigated, namely, the languages used when growing up, the languages used mostly at home and the language of instruction used in the schools attended by the informants. A sample of this questionnaire is attached as Appendix One and English translations of the grammatical constructions in the Questionnaire are attached as Appendix

Two.

The questionnaire was supplemented with informal interviews aimed at eliciting constructions involving the doubling and trebling of the 1SG, 2SG, 3SG and 3PL pronouns. Since the doubling and trebling of pronouns is closely associated with the irrealis marker "bae" which indicates the future tense, informants were asked to describe their plans in the Bislama language and for those who had a competent level of the Raga language and the time, they were asked to describe the same things in the Raga language. First of all, participants were asked to talk about what they will do at some future date. Depending on the time of the informal interviews, events which were occurring in the immediate future were picked so that the participants could relate to them and therefore have more to say. For example the informal interviews held in Port Vila were held before the 30th of July which was independence celebrations. Therefore, I asked participants to talk about what they had planned for that day.

I also had different scenes on three A4 size papers depicting various activities and asked the informants to imagine that the scenes were to take place at some future date and they were to describe their involvement or other people's involvement in these activities. In effect they were going to use the 1SG, 3SG and 3PL as subjects of the sentences they were to produce. Since doubling and trebling is mainly associated with the future tense marker "bae", the pictures were aimed at drawing out doubling and trebling constructions from the informants. As previously discussed, doubling is also associated with focus particles such as "ia", however, depicting scenes which could possibly draw out doubling and trebling with focus particles is a bit problematic. Another aim of having the informants describe the pictures was to find the discourse environments and features of pronoun doubling and trebling in the 1SG,

3SG and 1PL persons. In cases where I felt the descriptions were too short, I asked questions related to topics they were interested in or of which they had considerable knowledge so that they were not restrained. The activities in the scenes were simple activities which the participants could relate to such as preparing a laplap (Vanuatu traditional dish) and playing games. These scenes are attached in Appendix Three.

While Meyerhoff (2000:207) investigated the pronoun doubling issue using a corpus of conversational Bislama recorded in one year and examining the phonological and discourse environments in which the subject forms are distributed, time constraints did not permit me to fully collect conversational data on the distribution of pronominal subjects in these environments. Similarly, using a conversational corpus of Bislama from other sources such as Radio Vanuatu would have been time-consuming and too in-depth for a project of this size. Therefore, in spite of recording informants relating their future plans and describing pictures designed to elicit pronoun doubling and trebling constructions, the questionnaire was intended to extract the vital information which would perhaps not be present in the conversational interviews, given the limited time.

The questionnaire data was entered into an Excel spreadsheet for quantitative analysis. The conversational interviews were segmented in Transcriber and exported to Toolbox for transcription. Being a native speaker of Bislama with the advantage of growing up speaking the Raga language meant that my own intuitions could be tapped as well in the analysis. Unless otherwise noted, the references used in the following chapter identify the speaker's pseudonym and the language being used.

Chapter Five

Findings

5.1 Introduction

To recap, the main issues in this research are to investigate the nature of pronoun doubling and trebling patterns in Bislama and determine whether the patterns in the Oceanic languages, as exemplified by the Raga language, may have been the stimulus for their emergence. The sections in this Chapter outline the results obtained from the questionnaire and informal interviews.

Section 5.2 presents the data collected from the informants in North Pentecost and Port Vila in relation to positive declarative constructions. To begin with, there will be a discussion of constructions in which 1SG, 3SG, 1PL inclusive and 3PL pronouns occupy the subject position and are not subject to any doubling or trebling. This will be followed by an outline of results relating to constructions containing doubled 1SG, 3SG, 1PL inclusive and 3PL pronouns in subject position. These are compared with the data on the trebling of 1SG and 1PL inclusive pronouns. Section 5.3 deals with results relating to positive declarative constructions in which the 1SG, 3SG and 1PL inclusive pronouns are focussed and are subject to doubling and trebling.

Section 5.4 focuses on the results pertaining to negative declarative sentences involving the 1SG and 3SG pronouns which are not subject to doubling or trebling. Section 5.5 compares the results for negative declarative sentences involving the 1SG and 3SG pronouns which are subject to doubling and trebling. Section 5.6 considers constructions involving the 1SG and 3SG subjects with the future tense marker "bae" and the negative particle "nomo" in sentence final position. Section 5.7 outlines the results for constructions involving 1SG and 3SG

subjects and "nomo" in a position before the verb. Section 5.8 outlines the qualitative results from the conversational interviews and Section 5.9 is a discussion of results relating to pronoun doubling with an intervening constituent. Similarly, results relating to 1PL and 3SG pronominal doubling are discussed in Section 5.10 and Section 5.11 concludes this chapter.

5.2 Positive Declarative Constructions

The positive declarative constructions which will be considered first of all are those in which the elements occupying the subject position are the 1SG, 3SG, 1PL inclusive and 3PL pronouns and are not subject to any doubling or trebling. Table 25 outlines the results obtained from the informants in North Pentecost and Port Vila.

Table 25 Results for positive declarative constructions

Constructions	Port Vila Informants		North Pentecost Informants	
	Frequency		Frequency	
	Yes	No	Yes	No
<i>Mi kam</i>	7	0	7	0
<i>I kam</i>	7	0	7	0
<i>Hem kam</i>	0	7	0	7
<i>Hem i kam</i>	7	0	7	0
<i>Yumi kam</i>	7	0	7	0
<i>Yumi i kam</i>	2	5	2	5
<i>Oli kam</i>	7	0	7	0
<i>Olgeta kam</i>	0	7	2	5
<i>Olgeta oli kam</i>	7	0	7	0

In relation to the construction "Mi kam" all the informants in both Port Vila and North

Pentecost responded that this is a plausible construction for them. When we consider the results for "I kam", in which "i" is an agreement marker and the subject is not overt, again all the informants in both Port Vila and North Pentecost regard this as a grammatical construction. It ought to be noted here that the construction "I kam" can stand on its own in the context where a subject pronoun or NP has already been established or is contextually clear. Responses regarding the construction "Hem kam" and "Hem i kam" show that the 3SG agreement marker is an obligatory element for all the informants in both Port Vila and North Pentecost. Since a central focus of this thesis is to investigate the syntactic labels which may be attached to the pronoun doubling and trebling phenomenon, the responses relating to the distribution of agreement marking elements in the constructions outlined above may prove essential to the investigation. A question which arises, at this point, is that should the singleton occurrence of "mi" in the construction "Mi kam" be considered as the 1SG subject pronoun or the 1SG agreement marker? If it is considered as an agreement marker then we would surmise that in this particular sentence the genuine subject pronoun is not overt, analogous to the construction "I kam", in which the genuine subject pronoun is not overt (cf. Takau, Gegeo & Quinn, 2009). This analysis is outlined in 179) and 180) below:

179) Ø mi kam.
 AGR come
 "I am coming."

180) Ø i kam.
 AGR come
 "S/he/it is coming."

Another issue which crops up is should the properties of the 3SG agreement marker be used as the criterion for defining whether or not an element is an agreement marker. To

recapitulate, two properties of the 3SG agreement marker which have been noted in the constructions in this section are that:

- the element may stand on its own when the 3SG subject pronoun (or noun phrase) is already established or contextually clear

and

- it is obligatory

Therefore, if the singleton occurrence of "mi" in "mi kam" is functioning as an agreement marker, the question is does it fulfil these two conditions? This will be further discussed in the next section when we consider results for the doubling and trebling of certain subject pronouns.

Results relating to the constructions containing the 1PL inclusive pronoun subjects present an interesting case. The construction "Yumi kam" can be analysed as having a zero agreement marker, in which case "yumi" is the subject pronoun, or the subject pronoun is not overt and this singleton occurrence of "yumi" is in fact the agreement marker. Table 25 shows that all the participants in both Port Vila and North Pentecost consider the construction "Yumi kam" as grammatical. However, when we consider the results for the construction "Yumi i kam", Table 25 shows that two of the informants in Port Vila regard the construction as grammatical and we get a similar result from the North Pentecost data. The informants who rated the construction as ungrammatical attributed its ungrammaticality to the presence of the agreement marker "i". The construction has been noted to be of an archaic nature (cf. Crowley, 1990: 234) and it would, therefore, be logical to surmise that it exists in the speech of the older generation. This assumption is supported by the Port Vila results as both of the informants who considered the construction as grammatical are in their 60s and are the oldest

in the sample population. However, the two informants in North Pentecost who regarded this construction as grammatical are aged between 9 and 19. This suggests that there may be other factors triggering the use of this construction. Some of the characteristics which differentiate these two particular speakers from the rest are that they are the only two speakers who grew up using Raga alone and Raga is the only language that dominates their social interactions. Similarly they have very minimal contact with current Bislama and, interestingly, the older of the informants was even taught in the Raga language. It ought to be noted here that Raga always has an agreement marker with the TAM particle with the 1PL and perhaps these two speakers were using this Raga pattern in their variety of Bislama.

The fact that these four speakers indicated that it is plausible to have "i" as the agreement marker for constructions in which the 1PL inclusive pronoun is the subject, suggests that the agreement marker "i" may be an optional element in these constructions in their variety of Bislama. However, even though the two speakers in Port Vila stated that in their speech, the 1PL pronoun has the agreement marker "i", patterns in the conversational data did not seem to corroborate their responses in Table 25. In all of their constructions following the sequence 1PL pronoun + verb, there is no agreement marker "i" intervening. The only exception is the construction below which was produced by one of those two speakers.

181) Yumi i nogat. (ref/ Vira 27)

"There is none with us." (as for us, there is none)

However, I feel that this is more an existential-like expression but with the 1PL preposed and focussed. The normal reading would be as in 182).

182) I nogat lo yumi.

Even though there were no agreement markers associated with the 1PL pronoun in their speech, I would be very cautious to take this as a sign that they do not produce this pattern in

their speech, given their age and, more importantly, given that one of them produced patterns which would not be considered normal Bislama such as in 183) below.

183) taem mi mi aot be ship i problem be
 when 1SG 1SG out but ship AGR problem but

 oli save hao blo swim. (ref/Cece 75)
 AGR know how to swim

“If the ship has a problem when I am not around, they know how to swim.”

A normal rendition of the construction would be as shown in 184) in which the conditional "sipos" precedes "ship" and the alternative verbs which ought to occupy the slot before the noun "problem". It is normally expected that one of the verbs such as "kasem", "fesem" and "gat" will occupy the slot between the agreement marker "i" and the noun "problem".

184) taem mi mi aot be **sipos** ship i **kasem/fesem/gat** problem be oli ...

The short length of the conversational interviews may also be a possible factor in the absence of the agreement marker associated with the 1PL pronoun. In relation to the other two speakers in North Pentecost, a similar explanation could be given to the absence of the 1PL agreement marker "i" in their conversational data, although in their case the acceptance of "yumi i kam" is not necessarily attributed to their age but rather to the relatively minimal degree of exposure they have had to Bislama as spoken in the towns.

Table 25 furthermore shows that the construction "oli kam" which consists of the 3PL agreement marker and the verb "kam" is considered by all the informants in both Port Vila and North Pentecost to be grammatical. However, the construction "olgeta kam" which lacks an overt 3PL agreement marker, is considered to be ungrammatical by all the informants in

Port Vila while two of the informants in North Pentecost deem this grammatical. The two informants who considered this grammatical are the same ones who considered "yumi i kam" as grammatical, which suggests that there is intra-speaker variation in relation to the usage of agreement markers. In relation to the construction "olgeta oli kam", the results in Table 25 show that all the participants in both locations consider the construction as grammatical. This data suggests that the 3PL agreement marker may be an optional element in the variety of Bislama that is spoken by the informants in North Pentecost who considered the construction "olgeta kam" as also grammatical. It is interesting to note that in the constructions consisting of a 3SG pronoun in subject position these two informants seem to consider "i" as an obligatory element.

As for the status of the singleton occurrence of the 1SG pronoun, the results from the table show that the construction "Mi kam" patterns like the results for the constructions "I kam", "Hem i kam", "Yumi kam", "Yumi i kam", "Oli kam" and "Olgeta oli kam". This suggests that the singleton occurrence of "mi" could be either the agreement marker, in which case the subject pronoun is not overt, or the subject pronoun, in which case there is a zero agreement marker.

We now turn to results relating to the doubling and trebling of certain pronouns in positive declarative constructions. The pronouns investigated and results obtained from informants in the two locations are outlined in Table 26 on the next page. The elements which are subject to doubling or trebling appear in bold font in the 'Constructions' column.

Results for the construction "mi mi kam" show that it is regarded as a grammatical construction by the majority of the informants in both Port Vila and North Pentecost. It is interesting to note that the one informant in Port Vila who stated that 1SG doubling is not a

feature of her speech, produced the doubling pattern in her conversational interview. This implies that speakers are sometimes unconscious of the patterns they produce and their perceptions regarding these speech patterns are not necessarily true. When the 1SG pronoun is trebled and the forms appear in consecutive sequence we find that five informants in both Port Vila and North Pentecost consider the construction as ungrammatical, attributing this to the trebling of the 1SG pronoun.

Table 26 Results for pronoun doubling and trebling in positive declarative constructions

Constructions	Port Vila Informants		North Pentecost Informants	
	Frequency		Frequency	
	Yes	No	Yes	No
<i>Mi mi kam</i>	6	1	7	0
<i>Mi, mi mi kam</i>	2	5	2	5
<i>Hem hem i kam</i>	3	4	6	1
<i>Yumi yumi kam</i>	6	1	6	1
<i>Yumi yumi i kam</i>	0	7	2	5
<i>Yumi, yumi yumi kam</i>	3	4	1	6
<i>Olgeta, olgeta oli kam</i>	3	4	2	5

It ought to be noted here that in the elicitation of responses for the construction "mi mi mi kam", the first instance of the 1SG pronoun is stressed and pause was made after this first element. In a sequence such as this, this is the only way in which the construction may be grammatically uttered. The two informants in Port Vila who considered the construction as grammatical differed from the others in that they are the oldest (60+) in the sample

population. Although differences in age may be a motivating factor for the usage of "mi mi mi kam" in the Port Vila sample, there is no evidence to suggest that a similar factor may be operating in the North Pentecost samples since the two informants in the North Pentecost for whom this construction is grammatical are aged 58 years and 14 years. In relation to the construction "hem hem i kam", three informants in Port Vila and six informants in North Pentecost regard this as grammatical. It therefore appears that this pattern is more highly favoured by informants in North Pentecost than the informants in Port Vila. The conversational data shows that the construction "hem hem i kam" did not appear in the speech of the four informants in Port Vila who indicated that they did not use the construction. The pattern "hem hem i" surfaced in the speech of only three of the informants in North Pentecost and, interestingly, one of them is the one who responded that he does not use construction with the 3SG doubling pattern. This again implies that speakers' perceptions on the usage of certain constructions are not necessarily a true reflection of the patterns that are actually produced. At the same time, I have to consider the possibility that the absence of these patterns do not mean that they are not produced by the speakers, but that they would probably surface had the conversational interviews been lengthier.

When we consider results for the construction "yumi yumi kam", which involves the doubling of the 1PL inclusive pronouns, six informants in Port Vila and in North Pentecost considered the construction grammatical. In relation to the construction "yumi yumi i kam" all the informants in Port Vila stated that this is ungrammatical mainly due to the presence of the agreement marker. However, in North Pentecost, two of the informants considered this grammatical and these two informants were the ones who accepted "yumi i kam" and have very minimal contact with current Bislama, as the Raga language their dominant language, compared to the other informants. Data from the conversational interviews show the pattern

"yumi yumi i" did not crop up in their conversational interviews, even though they responded positively in relation to its usage in their speech. Again I would be very careful about considering this as another case in which actual speech patterns did not match the speakers' perceptions, as there may be other factors external of the speaker causing the absence of these patterns in this particular corpus.

When the 1PL inclusive pronoun is trebled and the forms appear in consecutive sequence as in the construction "yumi yumi yumi kam", the first instance of the pronoun is stressed and a pause is made after it. Table 26 shows that in Port Vila, three informants regarded this grammatical, while only one informant in North Pentecost considered the construction grammatical. The construction "olgeta olgeta oli kam" is considered grammatical by three informants in Port Vila and by two informants in North Pentecost.

A general conclusion which may be drawn from the responses to the constructions in Table 26 is that doubling of the 1SG and 1PL inclusive (with no overt agreement marker) seems to be common in the variety of Bislama used both in Port Vila and North Pentecost. The responses to the constructions raise some questions in relation to the syntactic labels which may be given to the doubled and trebled instances of the pronouns. In the previous section brief mention was made of the issue surrounding the status of singleton occurrences of the 1SG pronoun. The crux of the matter was whether to consider singleton instances of the 1SG pronoun as the agreement marker and whether the distributional properties of the 3SG agreement marker ought to be used as the standard for defining any other element as an agreement marker. First of all, we will examine the first issue in relation to results from Table 25 and Table 26.

If we assume that the singleton occurrence of "mi" in "mi kam" occupies the same syntactic

position as the 3SG agreement marker in the construction "i kam", it would be logical to assume that in constructions such as "mi mi kam" in Table 26, the first "mi" is the subject pronoun and the second "mi" is the agreement marker. Table 27 compares the responses to items involving 1SG and 3SG pronoun. For informants in North Pentecost, both "mi mi kam" and "mi kam" pattern like "Hem i kam" rather than "Hem hem i kam" although the difference is not significant. This suggests that for the North Pentecost informants, the preverbal "mi" may either be the genuine subject pronoun or an agreement marker. For the Port Vila informants, the constructions "mi mi kam" and "mi kam" pattern more like "Hem i kam" rather than "Hem hem i kam". Again this suggests that "mi" could be treated as either an agreement marker or the genuine subject pronoun. However, it is also evident that "mi mi kam" resembles more closely "Hem i kam" rather than "Hem hem i kam", therefore, implying that the preverbal "mi" may be an agreement marker, as outlined in construction 185) and 186).

Table 27 Responses regarding constructions involving doubling of the 1SG and 3SG pronouns

Constructions	Port Vila Informants		North Pentecost Informants	
	Frequency		Frequency	
	Yes	No	Yes	No
<i>Mi mi kam</i>	6	1	7	0
<i>Mi kam</i>	7	0	7	0
<i>Mi, mi mi kam</i>	2	5	2	5
<i>Hem i kam</i>	7	0	7	0
<i>Hem hem i kam</i>	3	4	6	1

- 185) mi mi kam
 1SG AGR come
- 186) hem i kam
 3SG AGR come

It must be noted here that the speaker in Port Vila who indicated that the pattern "mi mi kam" does not characterise her speech patterns did produce this pattern in her conversational interview. In relation to the informants in North Pentecost, the conversational data of one of the informants did not reveal this pattern. However, the pattern was produced by the speaker at a time outside of the interview. This suggests that the absence of a particular pattern in the conversational interviews do not necessarily mean that the pattern is not being produced by speakers. In relation to the construction "mi, mi mi kam", the pattern "mi, mi mi" did not surface in the conversational interviews of the informants in Port Vila and North Pentecost who indicated that this pattern exists in their speech. The pattern did not surface either in the speech of speakers who gave a negative response in relation to the usage of this pattern.

On the same note, the construction "hem hem i kam" did not appear in the conversational interviews with the four informants in Port Vila who indicated that they did not use the construction. The pattern "hem hem i" did surface in the speech of three of the informants in North Pentecost and, interestingly, one of them is the one who responded that he does not use the construction with the 3SG doubling pattern. As mentioned earlier, this implies that speakers' perceptions on the usage of certain constructions are not necessarily a true reflection of the patterns that are actually produced. Nevertheless, given that the interviews were not lengthy, it is possible that unattested patterns would have surfaced had the interviews been lengthier, a feat which beneficial though it would have been, was beyond the scope of this study.

We now compare results for certain constructions in order to find out whether the doubled 1SG forms and 1PL inclusive behave like the 3SG and 3PL pattern pronoun plus agreement marker. Table 28 outlines the constructions and the results.

Table 28 Comparison of 1SG and 1PL doubling with non-doubling constructions

	Port Vila Informants		North Pentecost Informants	
Constructions	Frequency		Frequency	
	Yes	No	Yes	No
<i>Mi mi kam</i>	6	1	7	0
<i>Yumi yumi kam</i>	6	1	6	1
<i>Hem i kam</i>	7	0	7	0
<i>Olgeta oli kam</i>	7	0	7	0

Table 28 shows that for most of the informants in Port Vila, the construction "Mi mi kam" patterns like "Yumi yumi kam", "Hem i kam" and "Olgeta oli kam". This suggests that doubling of the 1SG subject pronominal forms is perhaps a case of pronoun plus pronoun sequence and pronoun plus agreement marker sequence. The results for the North Pentecost show that for most of the informants "mi mi kam" patterns like all the other three constructions therefore suggesting that the preverbal 1SG pronoun is either the agreement marker or the genuine subject pronoun. The conversational data reveal that the informant in North Pentecost, who gave a negative response in relation to the usage of the doubled 1PL pronoun such as in the construction "Yumi yumi kam", did not produce the pattern in the conversational interviews. The same applies to the informant in Port Vila who also gave a negative response. However, it is interesting to note that the pattern did not crop up either in the conversational interviews of the six informants in North Pentecost who indicated that they produced such a pattern. Nevertheless, outside the interview sessions, four of them produced

this pattern.

Up till now results from the questionnaire data seem to support both the theory that the second instance of "mi" could be an agreement marker and the theory that it is the genuine subject pronoun. We now turn to the responses of the informants regarding positive declarative constructions in which the subject pronouns are focussed.

5.3 Positive Declarative Constructions with Focussed Subjects

Table 29 shows the results for positive declarative sentences in which the focusing of the subject pronouns results in the doubling and trebling of pronouns in certain cases. In these constructions, the left dislocated pronouns are co referent with the subject of the clause and appear with adverbial elements such as the focus particles "ia" and "nao". The table shows that for all informants in Port Vila and North Pentecost, the construction "Mi ia nao mi karem i kam" patterns like "Hem ia nao yestede hem i bin kukum raes" and "Yumi ia nao yumi karem i kam". This would seem to suggest that the preverbal instance of "mi" and "yumi" in the two constructions under question, are the genuine subject pronoun and, therefore, there is a zero agreement marker for these two persons. However, when we compare the Port Vila results for the constructions "Mi ia nao mi karem i kam" with "Hem ia nao i karem i kam" and "Hem ia nao hem i karem i kam" we find that "Mi ia nao mi karem i kam" patterns more like "Hem ia nao i karem i kam" rather than "Hem ia nao hem i karem i kam" for two speakers. This suggests that for these speakers the preverbal 1SG is an agreement marker.

Results from North Pentecost informants relating to similar constructions reveal a slightly different picture. According to Table 29 the construction "Mi ia nao mi karem i kam" patterns more like "Hem ia nao hem i karem i kam" rather than "Hem ia nao i karem i kam" for one speaker. This therefore suggests that for this North Pentecost informant, the preverbal

instance of the first-person singular pronoun in the sentence "Mi ia nao mi karem i kam" may be the genuine subject pronoun, with zero agreement marking.

Table 29 Responses regarding constructions involving focussed 1SG and 3SG subject pronouns

Constructions	Port Vila Informants		North Pentecost Informants	
	Frequency		Frequency	
	Yes	No	Yes	No
<i>Mi ia nao mi karem i kam</i>	7	0	7	0
<i>Hem ia nao yestede hem i bin kukum raes</i>	7	0	7	0
<i>Mi ia nao mi mi karem i kam</i>	4	3	3	4
<i>Mi ia nao yestede mi mi bin kukum raes</i>	6	1	5	2
<i>I ia nao karem i kam</i>	0	7	1	6
<i>Hem ia nao karem i kam</i>	0	7	1	6
<i>Hem ia nao i karem i kam</i>	7	0	6	1
<i>Hem ia nao hem i karem i kam</i>	5	2	7	0
<i>Yumi ia nao yumi karem i kam</i>	7	0	7	0
<i>Yumi ia nao yumi yumi karem i kam</i>	4	3	3	4

For one North Pentecost informant the construction "Yumi ia nao yumi karem i kam" patterns more like "Hem ia nao hem i karem i kam" rather than "Hem ia nao i karem i kam". This suggests that the preverbal instance of the 1PL pronoun may be the genuine subject pronoun,

in which case there is zero agreement marking. For the remaining North Pentecost informants, the second instance of the 1PL pronoun could be the agreement marker in which case the genuine subject pronoun is not overt. This would lead us to expect that doubling of the 1PL pronoun immediately before the verb is acceptable. While this may be possible, results for both Port Vila and North Pentecost informants regarding the construction "Yumi ia nao yumi yumi karem i kam" reveal that this construction is not particularly well favoured. Ungrammaticality of the constructions, as reasoned by the informants, is due to the presence of two 1PL pronouns immediately before the verb: so for many, only one instance of the pronoun is permitted immediately before the verb in such constructions. The status of the 1PL element is further complicated by the nature of responses regarding the construction "Yumi i kam" as illustrated in Table 25. While the majority of informants in both Port Vila and North Pentecost regard the construction as ungrammatical due to the presence of "i", four informants considered the construction grammatical. The presence of "i" as a 1PL agreement marker has been noted as an archaic usage (cf. Crowley, 1990: 234). For informants who also considered "i" as the 1PL agreement marker, the results for the construction "Yumi ia nao yumi karem i kam" in Table 29 suggest that "i" as an agreement marker is an optional element that is overt in certain circumstances and not overt in others. If that is the case, then in the construction under question, the preverbal instance of the 1PL pronoun is in fact the genuine subject pronoun while the initial instance is the preposed focussed pronoun. This scenario is illustrated in 187).

187) Yumi ia nao yumi Ø
 focussed1PL ADV ADV subject 1PL
 karem i kam.
 carry/bring AGR come.

"It was us that brought/carried it here."

In relation to the obligatory nature of the 3SG agreement marker, Table 29 shows that for all informants in Port Vila and the majority of informants in North Pentecost, the agreement marker is an obligatory element. This is illustrated in responses regarding the constructions "Hem ia nao karem i kam" in which the 3SG agreement marker is absent and "Hem ia nao i karem i kam" in which the element is overt.

In relation to responses regarding the construction "Mi ia nao mi mi karem i kam" in Table 29, four of the informants in Port Vila and three of the informants in north Pentecost regarded it as grammatical. When another adverbial is inserted such as in the construction "Mi ia nao yestede mi mi bin kukum raes" we find that the construction seems to be more favoured than the former. Regarding the latter sentence, six informants in Port Vila and five informants in North Pentecost consider the construction as grammatical. Since it appears that there are three instances of the 1SG pronoun, the question that arises then is that whether the third instance of the 1SG pronoun occupies the position allocated to agreement markers. This is illustrated in construction 188).

188) **Mi** ia nao yestede **mi mi** bin kukum
raes.

Hem ia nao yestede **hem i** bin kukum
raes.

Responses relating to the two constructions above do not pattern exactly in a similar manner, although the difference between them is not too significant. The outline of the elements in 188) suggests very strongly that the third instance of the 1SG pronoun may be the agreement marker which is analogous in form to the 1SG pronoun. This implies that in constructions involving only one instance of the 1SG pronoun immediately before the verb such as "Mi ia

nao mi karem i kam" in Table 29, the second pronominal element could be either the genuine subject pronoun, in which case the agreement marker is not overt, or it could be the agreement marker, which means that the genuine subject pronoun is not overt. Results for the constructions "I ia nao karem i kam" and "Hem ia nao karem i kam" in Table 29 indicate that in the variety of Bislama used by the majority of the informants in both Port Vila and north Pentecost, the 3SG agreement marker cannot be left-dislocated and that it is an obligatory element.

In relation to the construction "Hem ia nao i karem i kam", all the informants in Port Vila regarded this as grammatical. When the pronoun is subject to left dislocation and a copy is left at the site of extraction as in the construction "Hem ia nao hem i karem i kam", two informants in Port Vila regarded this as ungrammatical, reasoning that the second instance of "hem" ought to be omitted. However in North Pentecost, all the informants regard the construction as grammatical. The two informants in Port Vila who regarded the construction as ungrammatical are different from the other Port Vila informants in that they are the only two for whom Raga was the only language they grew up with and the only language they used at home. This suggests that in these kinds of constructions, the second instance of the 3SG pronoun is perhaps an optional element in certain varieties of Bislama.

This seems to apply also to the 1SG pronoun in constructions in which it is focussed. When we compare the results for the constructions "Mi ia nao mi karem i kam" and "Mi ia nao mi mi karem i kam", we find that all the informants in both Port Vila and North Pentecost consider the former as grammatical while there are mixed feelings regarding the latter in particular due to the presence of two 1SG pronominal forms intervening between "nao" and "karem". The question that arises is which of the two elements exactly is the optional one? Is

it the second or the third instance of the pronominal forms counting from the beginning of the sentence? This state of affairs is illustrated in construction 189) below.

- 189) a. **mi** ia nao **mi** **mi** karem i kam.
 b. **hem** ia nao **hem** **i** karem i kam.
 c. **mi** ia nao **mi** Ø karem i kam.
 PFP ADV ADV 1SG subject carry/bring AGR come.
 d. **mi** ia nao Ø **mi** karem i kam.
 PFP ADV ADV AGR carry/bring AGR come.

The possible analyses for the trebling of the 1SG pronoun are as follows:

- a) The initial instance of the 1SG pronoun is undoubtedly the preposed focused 1SG pronoun. The second instance of the element may be treated as the genuine subject pronoun, in which case the third instance is the agreement marker, which is an optional element that may be left unpronounced.
- b) A second analysis would treat the second instance of the 1SG pronoun as the optional genuine subject pronoun, which may be dropped and the third instance of the element as the obligatory agreement marker.

If the two proposed analyses are compared with the agreement marking properties of the 3SG, it is evident that b) would be more favourable than a), since in the construction "Hem ia nao hem i karem i kam", the second instance of the 3SG pronoun is the genuine subject pronoun and this is an optional element which may not be overt in certain circumstances.

We now examine the results relating to constructions involving pronouns in subject position

of negative declarative sentences and investigate their distribution in relation to negation elements.

5.4 Basic Negative Declarative Constructions

Table 30 summarises the results obtained from the informants regarding their views on certain constructions containing the 1SG and 3SG pronoun and the negative particle "no". To begin with, for all informants in Port Vila and North Pentecost the construction "Mi no kam" patterns both like "I no kam" and "Hem i no kam". This suggests that the singleton occurrence of the 1SG pronoun could be either an agreement marker, in which case the genuine subject is not overt, or the element could be the genuine subject pronoun, which means that the agreement marker is then optional and not overt in certain circumstances.

Table 30 Responses regarding basic negative declarative constructions

	Port Vila Informants		North Pentecost Informants	
Constructions	Frequency		Frequency	
	Yes	No	Yes	No
<i>Mi no kam</i>	7	0	7	0
<i>No mi kam</i>	1	6	1	6
<i>I no kam</i>	7	0	7	0
<i>No i kam</i>	0	7	2	5
<i>Hem no kam</i>	0	7	0	7
<i>No hem kam</i>	0	7	0	7
<i>Hem i no kam</i>	7	0	7	0

When the negative particle occurs in the position typically filled in by the subject, as in the construction "no i kam", all the informants in Port Vila considered this ungrammatical. Interestingly enough, two informants in North Pentecost consider this a plausible construction. The obligatory nature of the 3SG agreement marker is again highlighted in the responses regarding the construction "Hem no kam".

Thus far, the data in Table 30 suggests that the negative particle "no" cannot be preposed. In order to negate a simple declarative construction in which the subject is the 3SG pronoun, the negative particle has to occupy the position between the agreement marker and the verb. Similarly, the negation of declarative sentences in which the 1SG is the subject entails the negative particle occupying the slot between the 1SG subject pronoun and the verb.

The next section outlines findings relating to constructions similar to the ones in Table 30 but these contain 1SG and 3SG subject pronouns which are subject to doubling and trebling. The distribution of the negative particle in relation to the 1SG and 3SG subject pronouns is also investigated.

5.5 Negative Declarative Constructions with Doubling and Trebling

In relation to the construction "mi mi no kam", six of the informants in Port Vila and all of the informants in North Pentecost consider the construction as grammatical. The informant in Port Vila who considered the construction ungrammatical attributed this to the presence of the second instance of the 1SG pronoun.

Table 31 Responses regarding negative constructions with doubling and trebling

	Port Vila Informants		North Pentecost Informants	
Constructions	Frequency		Frequency	
	Yes	No	Yes	No
<i>Mi mi no kam</i>	6	1	7	0
<i>Mi no mi kam</i>	0	7	1	6
<i>Mi mi no mi kam</i>	0	7	0	7
<i>Mi, mi mi no kam</i>	3	4	4	3
<i>Hem, hem i no kam</i>	5	2	4	3
<i>Hem, hem no i kam</i>	0	7	0	7

Nonetheless, it is evident that doubling of the 1SG pronoun in negative declarative constructions is a common feature of the variety of Bislama spoken by the informants. In relation to the constructions "mi mi no mi kam" and "hem hem no i kam", all the informants in both Port Vila and North Pentecost indicated that these were not plausible constructions. A similar outcome is evident in the Port Vila sample population in relation to the construction "mi no mi kam". It is interesting to note that one of the informants in North Pentecost regarded this as a grammatical construction. The only difference between this informant and the rest of the participant lies in the number of languages the informant used while growing up. The informant stated having used six different languages while growing up. Whether or not this may have provided an impetus for the choice made regarding this particular construction is an issue that remains to be explored.

Responses to the constructions "mi no mi kam", "mi mi no mi kam" and "hem hem no i

kam", seem to indicate that the negative particle cannot intervene between any two pronominal copies and with respect to the 3SG subject pronoun, it cannot occupy the slot between a 3SG pronoun and the agreement marker.

Construction 190) compares the structures of the sentences "Mi mi no kam", "hem i no kam", and "hem, hem i no kam" in order to assist in the quest to ascertain the status of the doubled pronominal elements.

- 190) *Mi* *mi* *no* *kam.*
 hem *i* *no* *kam.*
 Hem *hem* *i* *no* *kam.*

In relation to the doubled instances of the 1SG pronoun in the first construction, a possible analysis is to treat the first instance of "mi" as the genuine 1SG subject pronoun and the second as the agreement marker analogous to "hem" and "i" respectively in the second construction. Alternatively, the first and second instances of "mi" in the first construction may be treated as the preposed 1SG focus pronoun and the genuine 1SG subject pronoun respectively. This implies that there is a 1SG agreement marker in the first construction but this agreement marker is an unpronounced element.

5.6 Constructions with Doubling and Trebling and "bae"

In this section more constructions involving the irrealis marker or future tense marker are considered and these constructions are outlined in Table 32 on page 112. In relation to the first construction "Bae mi kakae raes", all the informants in both Port Vila and North Pentecost stated that this is a grammatical construction. When the 1SG subject pronoun is preposed before "bae", the construction is deemed ungrammatical by six of the informants in Port Vila and seven of the informants in North Pentecost. The reason given for its

ungrammaticality is that a second instance of the 1SG pronoun ought to occupy the slot between "bae" and the verb "kakaē". This implies that, when the 1SG subject pronoun undergoes left dislocation, then a pronominal copy must remain at the site where it has been extracted. The question is, is this obligatory element an agreement marker like the 3SG agreement marker or is it the proper subject pronoun? Responses to the constructions in Table 32 may give some clues.

The construction "Bae mi mi kakaē raes nomo" was considered by all the informants in Port Vila and North Pentecost as a plausible construction. If focussed elements are confined to pre-"bae" positions then should the two instances of the 1SG pronoun in this construction be regarded as the subject pronoun and agreement marker respectively?

In relation to the construction "Bae mi mi mi kakaē raes", five of the informants in Port Vila and North Pentecost consider it ungrammatical. Many responded that it is ungrammatical because only two instances of the 1SG pronoun are permissible after the irrealis or future tense marker. It ought to be noted here that this sentence can only be grammatically uttered by having a pause after the first instance of "mi". However, the responses indicate that, for most speakers, having three instances of the 1SG pronoun in consecutive sequence after "bae" is not a possible pattern. In contrast, the informants seem to favour the construction in which an instance of the 1SG pronoun occupies the position before "bae" as in "Mi bae mi mi kakaē raes nomo". Results for this particular construction show that five informants in both Port Vila and North Pentecost consider the construction as grammatical.

Table 32 Doubling and trebling of pronouns with "bae".

Constructions	Port Vila Informants		North Pentecost Informants	
	Frequency		Frequency	
	Yes	No	Yes	No
<i>Bae mi kakae raes nomo</i>	7	0	7	0
<i>Mi bae kakae raes nomo</i>	1	6	0	7
<i>Bae mi mi kakae raes nomo</i>	7	0	7	0
<i>Bae mi mi mi kakae raes</i>	2	5	1	6
<i>Mi bae mi mi kakae raes nomo</i>	5	2	5	2
<i>Bae i kakae raes nomo</i>	7	0	6	1
<i>I bae kakae raes nomo</i>	0	7	1	6
<i>Bae hem kakae raes nomo</i>	2	5	0	7
<i>Hem bae kakae raes nomo</i>	5	2	1	6
<i>Bae hem i kakae raes nomo</i>	7	0	7	0
<i>Hem bae i kakae raes nomo</i>	7	0	6	1
<i>Bae hem hem i kakae raes nomo</i>	6	1	4	3
<i>Hem bae hem i kakae raes nomo</i>	6	1	5	2

The construction "I bae kakae raes" involves the 3SG agreement marker occupying the subject position and Table 32 indicates that all the informants in Port Vila and six informants in North Pentecost consider the construction as ungrammatical. The reason given is that the irrealis or future tense marker "bae" cannot intervene between the agreement marker and the verb "kakae". This is highlighted in the positive responses to the construction "Bae i kakae raes", in which the irrealis or future tense marker occurs before the 3SG agreement marker. In relation to the construction "Hem bae kakae raes", it is interesting to note that five informants in Port Vila consider this as a grammatical construction. Although one would consider this an ungrammatical construction due to the absence of the 3SG agreement marker, the responses seem to indicate a loss of this agreement marker in this construction. What is happening in this case, is that in increased rapid speech rate, reduction operates on certain elements such as the agreement marker resulting in constructions outlined in 191) below.

191) *Hem bae i* → *Hem bae* → *Hem ba*

Although this change has not penetrated into the written Bislama corpus yet, it is already occurring in current spoken Bislama. The fact that only one of the informants in North Pentecost indicated that this is a plausible construction does not mean that rapid speech is not influencing the variety of Bislama spoken in North Pentecost. In contrast, it simply highlights that this informant is the only one who is aware of the use of this construction in its reduced form, while the others are unaware of its production in their speech. In fact not only did the conversational interviews showed that this change was occurring in the speech of the informants in Port Vila but it also showed that this feature is characteristic of the speech of some of the informants in North Pentecost.

In relation to the construction "Bae hem i kakae raes nomo", all the informants in Port Vila

and North Pentecost consider the construction as grammatical. We get a similar result in Port Vila when the 3SG subject is preposed before "bae" as in the construction "Hem bae i kakae raes". However, only six of the informants in North Pentecost considered this grammatical. When two instances of the 3SG pronoun occur in consecutive sequence after "bae" such as in "Bae hem hem i kakae raes nomo", the pattern seems to be more favourable with informants in Port Vila than North Pentecost. Six informants in Port Vila regarded this as grammatical while only four informants in North Pentecost consider this as grammatical. In relation to the construction "hem bae hem i kakae raes nomo", six informants in Port Vila consider this as a grammatical construction while five informants in North Pentecost consider this as grammatical. On the whole, it seems as if constructions comprising the doubled instances of the 3SG pronoun are less favoured than those which involve singleton occurrences of the 3SG pronoun, although the difference is not too significant.

The question which arises now is does "Bae mi mi kakae raes nomo" pattern like "Bae hem i kakae raes nomo" or does it pattern like "Bae hem hem i kakae raes nomo"? The results show that for all speakers in North Pentecost and Port Vila the construction involving the doubling of the 1SG pronoun patterns like "Bae hem i kakae raes nomo" which suggests that the second "mi" is functioning as an agreement marker. However, for six informants in Port Vila and four informants in North Pentecost the construction "Bae mi mi kakae raes nomo" also patterns like "Bae hem hem i kakae raes nomo" which suggests that for these speakers, the preverbal "mi" could be either an agreement marker or subject pronoun.

5.7 Negative Declarative Constructions with Pronominal Doubling and Trebling with "nomo" in Preverbal Position

This section focuses on the data collected regarding responses relating to certain constructions involving preverbal "nomo" in which the 1SG and 3SG are in subject position

and are subject to doubling and trebling. Four of the five sentences in Table 33 also contain the irrealis marker or future tense marker "bae".

Table 33 Negative declarative constructions with pronominal doubling and trebling

Constructions	Port Vila Informants		North Pentecost Informants	
	Frequency		Frequency	
	Yes	No	Yes	No
<i>I nomo bin wajem kaset ia</i>	3	4	6	1
<i>Mi bae mi mi nomo kakae noodles</i>	7	0	6	1
<i>Mi bae nomo mi mi kakae noodles</i>	1	6	0	7
<i>Mi bae mi nomo mi kakae noodles</i>	7	0	7	0
<i>Hem bae hem i nomo kakae noodles</i>	7	0	7	0
<i>Hem bae nomo hem i kakae noodles</i>	1	6	1	6

The first construction "I nomo bin wajem kaset ia" (s/he no longer watched that cassette) was regarded as grammatical by three informants in Port Vila and six informants in North Pentecost. Although the remaining four informants in Port Vila stated that this was ungrammatical due to the absence of the 3SG pronoun subject before the agreement marker, the conversational interviews showed that they produced this pattern. This suggests that 3SG subject pronouns are often dropped. When we consider the construction "Mi bae mi mi nomo kakae noodles" (I will no longer eat noodles), all the informants in Port Vila regarded the

construction as grammatical and only one informant in North Pentecost stated that this is ungrammatical.

In relation to the construction "Mi bae nomo mi mi kakae noodles", six informants in Port Vila and all the informants in North Pentecost consider the construction as ungrammatical. These responses indicate that in order to convey a meaning similar to the meaning of the construction "Mi bae mi mi nomo kakae noodles", the negative particle "nomo" cannot occupy the slot immediately after the irrealis or future tense marker and the first instance of the 1SG pronoun. When "nomo" intervenes between the second and third instances of the 1SG pronoun, the element no longer acts as negation but rather as the adverb equivalent to "only" in English. This is illustrated in the sentence "Mi bae mi nomo mi kakae noodles" (I will be the only one who will eat noodles) which gained positive responses from all the informants in Port Vila and in North Pentecost. Table 33 shows that all the informants in both Port Vila and North Pentecost consider the construction "Hem bae hem i nomo kakae noodles" as a grammatical construction. When the negative particle occurs immediately after the irrealis or future tense marker, and prior to the second instance of the 3SG pronoun, six informants in both Port Vila and North Pentecost consider the construction as ungrammatical.

It is evident that the results obtained in Port Vila and North Pentecost for the constructions "Mi bae mi mi nomo kakae noodles" and "Hem bae hem i nomo kakae noodles" are rather similar. In the previous section, discussion on the issue of ascertaining the syntactic labels of the doubled and trebled pronouns, introduced the assumption that in constructions in which the 1SG pronoun is the subject and undergoing trebling process, the last instance of the pronominal copy is the agreement marker. Construction 192) below compares the structure of the two constructions "Mi bae mi mi nomo kakae noodles" and "Hem bae hem i nomo kakae noodles".

192) *Mi bae mi mi nomo kakae noodles.*

Hem bae hem i nomo kakae noodles.

The trebling of the 1SG pronoun in the first construction seems to pattern after the doubling of the 3SG pronoun in the second construction in 174). When we compare the two constructions, it seems as if the first instance of the 1SG and 3SG pronouns is the proposed subject pronoun, their second instances are the genuine subjects and the third instance of the 1SG is the 1SG agreement marker, analogous to the 3SG agreement marker "i".

If the last instance of "mi" is treated as the agreement marker, then it follows that it is an obligatory element since the 3SG agreement marker is the obligatory element. This also implies that the second instance of the 1SG pronoun is the subject pronoun which may or may not be overt. In a similar vein, the 3SG subject pronoun is often dropped, so non-overt 1SG subjects seem quite possible. This explanation seems to account for the possible constructions outlined in 193) below.

193) *Mi bae ∅ mi kam.*

Mi bae mi mi kam.

5.8 Qualitative Results from the Conversational Interviews

The conversational interviews revealed the environments in which the doubling of the pronouns occurred and, more importantly, their discourse function and stress patterns. Although trebling of the pronouns was not produced during the interviews, there is evidence of doubling of the pronouns, in particular, of the 1SG, 3SG and 1PL pronouns. In spite of the absence of pronoun trebling, the quantitative survey suggests that its usage is common (cf. Table 33). Similarly, I have noticed people using constructions in which the 1SG pronoun is trebled especially in informal conversation. Thus a closer look at the environments in which

the doubling of the pronouns occurs is of more importance in order to ascertain the status of the pronominal elements in doubling constructions and, consequently, to perhaps provide clues to the status of the pronominal elements in constructions in which they undergo trebling.

To begin with, we consider discourse patterns of the doubling of the 1SG pronoun. The interviews show that there are three different ways in which "mi mi" sequences are produced. In the first case, there is no stress placed on either of the two instances of "mi" and no pause made between the two. This is illustrated in construction 194) below.

194) Mi mi tes kam stat nomo lo Eprol ia.
 1SG 1SG just come start only PREP April DET

"I have just come and started this April." (ref/ Grace 28)

Although Crowley (1990:240) states that doubling sequences such as in 194) are used to mark contrast, the speaker's usage of this pattern in 194) is not for contrastive purposes. The speaker's previous and subsequent utterances do not indicate that her usage of pronoun doubling in 194) is to create contrast. Chafe (1976: 33) suggests that the placement of stress and high pitch on a particular element is a means of achieving contrast. The absence of stress or high pitch on either of the two 1SG pronouns in 194) gives further indication that the pronoun doubling does not have a contrastive function here. Nevertheless, the conversational interviews do reveal instances where the doubling of the 1SG pronoun appears to be used for contrastive purposes. Consider construction 195) produced by the same speaker in 195) from the conversational interview corpus.

195) Mi mi luk osem i stil smol yet.
 1SG 1SG look like AGR still smol yet.

"I consider it to be still small." (not costly) (ref/ Grace 29)

Although the two instances of the 1SG pronoun in this construction are not emphasised by way of stress or high pitch, the previous utterances leading up to this construction suggest that it is used for contrastive purposes. The subject of discussion was an obligatory daily fee and in the previous utterances, the speaker was relating how other women consider the fee to be costly. Thus, while the pitch and stress associated with contrast are not present here, it is evident that the context suggests that the pronoun doubling pattern was used as a means of conveying contrast.

Evidence from the conversational corpus also points to the existence of another type of "mi mi" sequence. Consider 196) below in which the speaker places more stress on the first instance of the 1SG pronoun, at the beginning of the sentence.

196) Mi mi karem lo wan trip nomo.
1SG 1SG get PREP one week only.

"I get it within one week only." (ref/ Grace 51)

In 196) the initial instance of the 1SG pronoun receives the stress. It is interesting that in this construction, the use of stress and the doubling pattern is also a means of conveying contrast. Here the speaker is contrasting what she is getting as opposed to what other women get. The conversational corpus seems to suggest that the use of stress along with the pronoun doubling renders the utterance more emphatic than one in which there is no stress.

Another case of 1SG pronoun doubling is characterised by a pause in between the two instances of the 1SG pronouns, as shown in 197) below.

197) Afta mi, mi mekem laplap ia.
Then 1SG 1SG make laplap DET.
"Then I make this laplap." (ref/ Edna 64-65)

others who will go up slowly. In 199) the usage of both the focal pronoun and subject pronoun is not for contrastive purposes, because the context does not suggest that the speaker was making a contrast and both pronouns do not have any contrastive stress although "ina" still bears the normal stress. In 199) "ina" is the reduced form of "inau" and it was in rapid speech that this was produced.

199) Furi rovoga vat be ina nav
 And work one which 1SG strong 1SG weak:TAM

 tek pat aluna...
 take part inside...

“And one of the work which I will do...” (ref/ Nelson 06-07)

The fact that the pronoun "inau" cannot be completely unstressed is another proof that it ought to be treated as a strong pronoun (cf. Quinn, 2005:66). It is, therefore, evident that contrast may be achieved by way of the strong and deficient pronouns occurring in consecutive sequence, irrespective of whether or not these two elements are stressed. However, in certain other contexts, this patterning does not necessarily serve a contrastive function. The data also seems to suggest a point worthy of mention, namely that the deficient pronoun is the obligatory element in all contexts of discourse, while the strong pronoun is the optional element which may be used to express contrastive stress, although this function is redundant in certain contexts.

5.9 Pronoun Doubling with an Intervening Constituent.

The sequences discussed so far do not include cases where a constituent intervenes between the two instances of the pronouns. This section is therefore devoted to cases involving cases of pronoun doubling with intervening constituents in both Raga and Bislama. To begin with, consider construction 200).

- 200) Mi lo nekst wik, bae mi ko atendem...
 1SG PREP next week IRR 1SG go attend...
 “As for me, next week I will attend...” (ref/ Andrew 06)

In this construction a time-adverbial, namely "lo nekst wik" and the irrealis marker "bae" intervene between the two instances of the 1SG pronoun. The speaker places stress on the first instance of the 1SG pronoun at the beginning of the sentence. This is an instance of a focussed pronoun whereby the initial 1SG pronominal form is the focus pronoun. The presence of a focus pronoun requires the obligatory manifestation of the second instance of the 1SG pronoun before the verb, as illustrated in 201) and 202).

- 201) *Mi lo nekst wik, bae Ø ko atendem...
 202) Lo nekst wik, bae mi ko atendem...

It is the obligatory nature of the instance of the pronoun after "bae" which seems to give weight to the notion that the element functions like an agreement marker, analogous to the 3SG agreement marker "i". If we consider 203), the placement of the pronominal elements in the Raga language seems to resemble the structure in 200).

- 203) **Inau** la wik vate, **nav** hae
 1SG foc week one 1SG:TAM (fut) go up
 aute.
 aute
 “Next week I will go up to Aute.” (ref/ Andrew 01)

In 203) the speaker does not place any extra stress on the focal 1SG pronoun "inau" and the construction does not necessarily have a contrastive interpretation. In Raga, when a constituent occupies the slot after a strong pronoun, its equivalent deficient pronoun is obligatory. When the strong pronoun and deficient pronoun occur in immediate sequence with no intervening constituent, it is the strong pronoun which may be optional.

5.10 Results relating to 1PL and 3SG Pronominal Doubling.

One of the manifestations of the doubling of the 1PL pronoun in the conversational corpus is shown in 206).

206) Yumi nao bae yumi openem rod.
1PL foc IRR 1PL open road.

“It is us who will open the way.” (ref/ Len 200)

In this case, the initial 1PL pronoun is not completely distressed and both 1PL forms are not produced with high pitch. It is the intervening focus particle "nao" which receives stress and serves a contrastive function, highlighting the fact that it is us as opposed to them who will open the way. A full noun phrase can also intervene in between the two instances of the 1PL pronouns as illustrated in 207).

207) Yumi ol blak man yumi holem wok.
1PL PL mrkr black men 1PL hold work.

“We black people work.” (ref/ Len 220)

In this case, there is no stress placed on either of the two 1PL pronominal forms and no pause between the elements. The intervening constituent "ol blak man" emphasises the contrast between black people as opposed to white people. In this construction "yumi ol blak man" may be considered as a constituent. In Bislama, constructions such as 207) would generally be ungrammatical if the preverbal instance of the pronoun is absent. The adverbial "yet" can also occupy the slot in between the two instances of the 1PL pronouns as shown in 208). In this utterance, it is the adverbial "yet" which receives contrastive stress and the speaker is contrasting them as opposed to other people who should carry the blame. In 208) "Yumi yet" may form a constituent.

208) Yumi yet yumi spolem.
 1PL yet 1PL spoil it

“We have only ourselves to blame for spoiling it.” (ref/ Len 245)

Another instance of 1PL doubling which emerged in the conversational corpus is illustrated in 209).

209) Yumi yumi wok.
 1PL 1PL work.

“We work.” (ref/ Grace 48)

In this case, the speaker does not put any stress on either of the two instances of the 1PL pronouns and nor is the doubling serving a contrastive function. In such cases in which there is no intervening constituent or constituents between the two pronominal instances, one of the pronouns may be optional. As previously discussed, the absence of focus in 209) seems to suggest that the optional element is a strong or independent pronoun rather than a focus pronoun.

It is interesting to note that the distribution and nature of the doubling of the 3SG pronouns in the conversational corpus resembles, to a certain extent, the distribution of the 1SG and 1PL pronouns discussed so far. To begin with, evidence suggests that in constructions involving doubling of the 3SG pronoun, the first instance of the element at the beginning of the sentence may be emphasised or stressed, as illustrated in 210) and 211). However in 210), the contrast is on the noun "nes" rather than the stressed pronoun "hem" so the doubled pronouns do not have a contrastive interpretation, even with the presence of stress.

210) Hem hem i nes ia.
 3SG 3SG AGR nurse foc.

“She is a nurse.” (as opposed to being a sales lady) (ref/ Grace 34)

211) Mary hem hem i wanfala woman ples ia
 Mary 3SG 3SG AGR one woman place DET.

"Mary is a woman from this area." (ref/ Nelson 26-27)

In 211) the doubled pronoun forms do not necessarily serve contrastive purposes but rather put emphasis on the noun phrase "Mary". The existence of constructions such as 212), in which there is no stress on any of the 3SG pronominal elements, indicates that stress is not necessarily an essential component serving contrastive purposes. Although the construction has a contrastive interpretation, the contrast is associated with "wan nes" and "risaen". In this case, it looks like the doubling of the 3SG pronoun does emphasize the contrast between "wan nes" and "risaen".

212) Hem hem i wan nes be hem hem i risaen.

"She is a nurse but she resigned." (ref/ Grace 34)

In 213) it is the second instance of the 3SG pronoun which receives more stress and there is no contrastive interpretation here.

213) ... se bae hem hem i ko fishing.
 ... that he will go fishing. (ref/ Andrew 86)

Thus far, the fact remains that stress placement on the pronouns and pronoun doubling are not necessarily associated with the contrastive function. As illustrated in the constructions involving 3SG pronouns in this section, stress is not restricted to certain elements either. Similarly, placement of stress does not always seem to determine the semantics of a given construction.

5.11 Conclusion

The discussion thus far seems to indicate that in 1SG pronoun doubling sequences the preverbal "mi" could be treated as either the genuine subject pronoun or an agreement marker. Perhaps this could be seen as a case of grammatical reanalysis in which the second instance of the 1SG pronoun is functioning as an agreement marker in certain environments. We have established in Chapter Three that the Raga pronouns labelled as focal and subject pronouns should perhaps be labelled as strong and deficient pronouns respectively. Furthermore, deficient pronouns are arguably pronominal clitics or agreement markers and in the Raga examples the deficient pronouns are preverbal while strong pronouns occur further away from the verb. This may have motivated the grammatical reanalysis which the 1SG pronoun in Bislama is undergoing. This could be seen as leading to the regularisation of the Bislama agreement marking paradigm (cf. Takau, Gegeo & Quinn, 2009). The regularisation of the agreement marking paradigm in Solomon Islands Pijin and grammatical reanalysis of "bai" from adverb to future tense marker in Tok Pisin have been argued to be structural features of creolisation (cf. Table 34, Sankoff and Laberge, 1971: 40,45). The next chapter examines Bislama in the context of creole studies and considers whether the pronoun doubling and trebling phenomena are features of creole Bislama

Chapter Six

Creolisation in Contemporary Bislama

6.1 Introduction

The term "creole" gained widespread use in the linguistic and anthropological arenas in the 1960s (Price, 2007: 18) and traditional theory has it that it refers to a language whose precursor was a pidgin having gained the status of a mother tongue. Melanesian pidgins and creoles have not been widely discussed compared with other pidgins and creoles. Generally, in contemporary Vanuatu society, the Ni-Vanuatu native speakers of Bislama have always referred to the language as a pidgin. This is most probably a relic of the influence from British and French usage in earliest times.

The labelling of Bislama as a creole proper by linguistic scholars is a recent phenomenon (Meyerhoff, 2000:203; 2002:323). Prior to that, studies referred to the language as either a pidgin (Crowley, 1989:37, 1987:1; Tryon, 1987:1) or a pidgin-creole complex (Walsh, 1986: 131, 144; Crowley, 1990:385, 2003: 19; Lynch, 1987:41). Nor has its exposure in the vast field of literature on creoles been significant compared to other creoles such as the Caribbean creoles (cf. Crowley, 1990: 398). Although it has been referred to as a creole, justifications for the use of the term creole have been limited to a few incidental remarks, and have not been the subject of thorough investigation. Crowley suggests that the issue is of little import, stating that in relation to Bislama, the jargon, pidgin and creole stages may have happened simultaneously in Vanuatu, in different places, under different circumstances and that there are no differences in the Bislama spoken by the population of speakers who acquire it as a first language and those who acquire it as a pidgin (1990: 385, 2003: 28). He proposes that the differences which exist in Bislama are rather the result of differences in education levels (Crowley, 2003: 8). Jourdan (1991: 193), drawing on features characteristic of Solomon

Islands Pijin, makes the very important observation that Melanesian pidgins and creoles may not fit in with the traditional theories regarding pidgin and creole history and the linguistic nature which this literature has ascribed to pidgins and creoles. She notes that patterns in Melanesian pidgins and creoles do not seem to fit in with theories which insist on a paradigm in which pidgins evolve into creoles in a linear fashion (Jourdan, 1991: 193). In the Melanesian setting, pidgins may be used in a variety of registers and to varying degrees and, what is particularly worthy of note, is that “there may be pidgin and creole varieties of the same language existing simultaneously in the same sociolinguistic niche or in different niches Jourdan (1991:194).). Moreover, while traditional theory highlights nativization as the element differentiating a pidgin from a creole, the demarcation line between a pidgin and a creole in the Melanesian setting is rather the contrast between secondary language and main language (Jourdan, 1991: 194). Thus, “a pidgin is a secondary language in a speech community and a creole is a main language, with or without concomitant nativization” (Jourdan, 1991: 196).

A question that is perhaps intrinsic to any attempts on creole studies is, "can a creole be distinguished from its antecedent pidgin in terms of its structural features?" However tempting it is to consider the plausible possibility that there may be structural differences between a pidgin and a creole, research indicates that there are no clear-cut distinguishing structural features (Jourdan and Keesing, 1997:416; Baker, 1995: 19; Mufwene, 1991: 138-139). However, the new distinguishing factor posited by Jourdan (1991: 194), namely, the opposition between main and secondary languages, provides an avenue for investigating differences between a pidgin and a creole in the Melanesian setting. To begin with, it implies that the number of domains in which a pidgin is used is numerically less than those in which a creole is used. If a language is used as a main language, then it is used at home, amongst friends, at the work place, in politics and in other such domains in life. If a pidgin is used as a

secondary language, then it would be plausible to assume that speakers who use it as a pidgin language would not employ the language in all the domains in which one would use it as a creole. Therefore, although there may not be clear structural features that distinguish creoles from pidgins we will still look at how Bislama acquired as a main language differs from Bislama acquired as a secondary language.

Although it has been observed that differences in Bislama are the result of differences in education levels (Crowley, 2003:8), no discussion has yet outlined these differences. Similarly, if the definition of a creole proposed by Jourdan (1991:196) is applied to Bislama, we find that there is a lack of research, because the domains in which Bislama is used as a main language and those in which it is used as a secondary language have not yet been clearly defined. Before discussing the creolisation situation in Bislama, I will briefly elaborate on the main difference between main and secondary language and the traditional first language and second language distinction. The latter highlights a pidgin as a second language while a creole is a first language, thus nativization is the main distinguishing factor here. However, in the main and secondary language distinction, nativisation is not necessarily essential. In keeping with this definition, Bislama may be considered a creole in a context where it is used as the main language of a particular speech community, irrespective of whether or not the language was acquired as a first language. Furthermore, the notion of "main language" and "secondary language" contrasts with the traditional first and second language distinction in that it seems to be inextricably associated with the different domains in a society. As mentioned in the previous paragraph, this definition of a creole implies that the number of domains in which Bislama is used by its creole speakers is numerically greater than those in which the language is used as a pidgin. In this sense, the two notions are not so different, as it has been generally held, in line with the notion of nativisation, that creoles are

expanded forms of pidgins and, it is indubitable that the range of domains in which the expanded version is used is greater than the range of domains in which the pidgin version is used.

This chapter will be devoted to investigating and discussing the status of Bislama as a creole. The main reason for including a chapter on creolisation is to investigate whether the development in pronoun doubling and trebling is a feature of creolisation. To begin with, I briefly discuss the creolisation process which the sister dialects (Solomon Islands pidgin and Tok Pisin) of Melanesian pidgin are undergoing. The rationale for discussing the creolisation process in the Solomon Islands pidgin and Tok Pisin in relation to Bislama is that comparative data of these two Melanesian dialects may assist in shedding more light on the role of Bislama in comparable contexts, in particular, in creolisation contexts. Section 6.3 is a review of some seminal observations regarding the status of Bislama in the context of creole studies. In section 6.4 I discuss some features of Plantation Bislama and Bislama used as a political tool. Since it has been suggested that the domain of Vanuatu politics in the 1970s may have engendered much linguistic expansion (D. Walsh, personal communication, August, 2009), a comparison will be made of a politically oriented text from the 1970s with excerpts from a text by a New Hebridean speaker speaking the variety of pidgin used during the 1800s in the sugar fields in Queensland in order to find out what specific areas underwent linguistic expansion. In section 6.5 I draw on observations and data from the fieldwork and discuss the differences between Bislama as used as a main language and secondary language as opposed to Bislama used as a first and second language. Section 6.6 outlines some of the differences observed from the fieldwork data in relation to educated and uneducated speakers of the Bislama language and Section 6.7 is the conclusion.

6.2 Creolisation in Solomon Islands Pijin and Tok Pisin

Jourdan and Keesing provide invaluable insight into the nature of Solomon Islands Pijin and its creole version (1997). They note that in the urban context it has the status of a creole while in the rural areas it is used as a pidgin (Jourdan & Keesing, 1997: 402). Another feature which conflicts with traditional linguistic theories supporting nativization as a primary agent of creolisation, is that nativization by the children is not necessarily the primary driving force behind the emergence of the creole in the urban Honiara (Jourdan & Keesing, 1997: 413). The main driving force behind creolisation is the new functional load that is associated with the pidgin when it is used as a main language in day-to-day activities and when it is used in order to linguistically furnish the new emerging urban culture that contrasts greatly with the rural culture (Jourdan & Keesing, 1997: 413). Jourdan and Keesing identified two participants in the creolisation process of the Solomon Islands pidgin: the adult generation is the first and foremost, while the nativizing generation of the 1980's plays a secondary role in the process (1997: 416). It is the adult generation that is involved in most of the functional expansion while the nativizing generation plays a secondary role in regularizing the patterns that have already been established by the adult urbanizing generation (Jourdan & Keesing, 1997: 413).

Table 34 outlines the creolization features of Solomon Islands Pijin as well as the initiators of the changes involved, as discussed by Jourdan and Keesing (1997). All examples in Solomon Islands Pijin are those given by Jourdan and Keesing (1997). Before delving into these features, it is important to note that it was the growth of the urban indigenous population in urban Solomon Islands that gave rise to the importance of Solomon Islands Pijin as a medium of communication (Jourdan & Keesing, 1997: 411).

Table 34 Features of current Solomon Islands Pijin which are different from Solomon Islands Plantation Pijin

Initiating Population	Changes		Examples
Young adults of 1982 (there is no clear indication as to what age group this is referring to)	Increase in speech speed	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • disappearance of interconsonantal and originally epenthetic vowels • condensation of other grammatical forms • other syllable loss 	<p><i>Pikinini</i> → <i>pikinin</i></p> <p><i>Sukulu</i> → <i>sukul/skul</i></p> <p><i>Siosi</i> → <i>sios</i></p> <p><i>Situa</i> → <i>stoa</i></p> <p><i>oloketa</i> → <i>olketa</i> → <i>oketa</i> → <i>okta</i> → <i>otta</i></p>
	Progressive disappearance of old Oceanic patterns of pronominal subject marking as illustrated.	Use of <i>Olketa</i> instead of <i>olketa-i</i>	<p><i>Hem i, Mi nao mi, Olketa...olketa</i></p> <p>a. <i>Ana olketa i joen-em and they SRP join-TR</i></p> <p><i>Maasin Rulu.</i> <i>Marching Rule</i> <i>'And they joined Marching Rule.'</i></p> <p>b. <i>Ana olketa joen-em Maasin and they join-TR Marching</i></p> <p><i>Rulu</i> <i>Rule</i></p>
	Decrease in use of old particles such as the suffix particle		<i>-fala</i>
	Morphological derivation processes follow the Pijin system rather than English morphology		<p><i>tuwet</i> → <i>tuwetim</i> (to wet)</p> <p><i>ap</i> → <i>apum</i> (to raise)</p> <p><i>daon</i> → <i>daonem</i> (to lower)</p> <p><i>insaet</i> → <i>insaetim</i> (to bring inside)</p>
	Further phonological reduction		<i>Okta</i> → <i>otta</i>
Other streamlining			
Children of the 1980s and 1990s	Continuing grammatical reanalysis		
	Further acceleration of speech rate		
	Regularization of morphological derivation		

This contrasts with the Vanuatu scenario where it has been observed that it was the political aspirations of the 1970s, driven mainly by the urban population, which gave rise to the importance of Bislama as a means of communication (D. Walsh, personal communication, August 12, 2009). Jourdan and Keesing (1997:414) suggest that even in urban Honiara there are many varieties of Pijin being used and some of these varieties are becoming like English while others are not. The use of English pronunciation in speech indicates that the speakers belong to the educated class (Jourdan and Keesing, 1997: 414). In Table 34 where Jourdan and Keesing (1997) provide examples, these are outlined in the Examples column so empty cells in the column mean there are no examples given in this particular literature.

Tok Pisin presents a more complicated picture of the creolisation process. Mühlhäusler (1985: 149) states that although creolised varieties of Tok Pisin are spoken mainly in the urban areas and non-traditional rural settings, they also appear occasionally in the traditional village setting, corresponding with a decline in the use of vernacular languages, due to the increasing use of Tok Pisin, rather than the vernaculars, in more domains and functions (1985: 149). Mühlhäusler gives an in-depth discussion of the features of the creolisation process in Tok Pisin, in the areas of phonology, inflectional morphology, syntax and the lexicon. Of greatest importance to the present discussion is the distinction he makes between creolised urban Tok Pisin and creolised rural Tok Pisin (1985:160-162). These features are outlined in Table 35.

Sankoff and Laberge (1971) provide additional characteristics of the creolisation processes which are underway in Tok Pisin. They observed that the children in their corpus, who are native speakers of Tok Pisin, spoke with greater speed and fluency and their speech was characterized by several morphophonemic and syllable reductions (1971:35). The study these two authors carried out was especially focussed on the status of "baimbai" or "bai" in the

Table 35 Some features of creolised urban Tok Pisin and creolised rural Tok Pisin

Creolised urban Tok Pisin		Creolised rural Tok Pisin	
Characteristics	Examples	Characteristics	Examples
a) redundant use of the dual marker <i>tupela</i>	<i>Em tupela olosem tupela meri ia, tupela i tok.</i>	a) change in basic word SVO order for focus effect	<i>Em mipela i karem</i>
b) phonological reduction of <i>olosem</i>	<i>Olosem tupela...tevel meri sanap arere long haos na em i harim, em tok s (sem).</i>	b) variable deletion of adjective suffix <i>-pela</i> for stylistic purposes	<i>wanrot/wanpela rot.</i>
c) use of sentencing bracketing device <i>ya</i> . This is also used for emphatic purposes.	<i>No example given</i>	c) occurrence of verbal reduplication or repetition of verb phrase with dual subject	<i>tupela i brukbruk, tupela i go hait pinis, hait pinis.</i>
d) variable deletion of the predicate marker <i>i</i> .	<i>Tevel meri sanap arere long haos...tevel meri harim pinis...tevel meri i wok long kakae pis.</i>	d) use of preposition <i>long</i> as complementizer	<i>laekim mipela long go tambulo...</i>
		e) frequent use of <i>ya</i> as a sentence bracketing device	<i>Dispela man ya em i kirap ia ron tasol i kam daun ya.</i>
		f) borrowing of lexical items from English	<i>Pot</i> instead of <i>sospen</i>

speech of speakers who use Tok Pisin as a first language and those who use it as a second language. More specifically, the study was aimed at illustrating that the changes taking place in relation to the grammatical status of "baimbai" or "bai" are features of the creolisation

process (1971:32). Results showed that several changes were taking place and they are namely, reduction of the particle, redundancy, reduced stress (particularly in the children's sample compared to the adults sample) and a shift in the position of "bai" from clause initial position to preverbal position (Sankoff and Laberge, 1971: 39-44). Children placed less stress on "bai" than adults and they reduced "bai" to even "b", a phenomenon that was non-existent in the speech of the adult speakers who used Tok Pisin as a second language (Sankoff and Laberge, 1971: 39). This suggests that a change was taking place in the grammatical function of "bai" from adverb to future tense marker, as tense markers have been observed to carry less stress (Sankoff and Laberge, 1971: 40). "Bai" was found to be increasingly redundant when it was used concomitant with time adverbs or adverbial phrases, although there was no significant difference in the frequency of redundancy in the children's speech and that of the adults (Sankoff and Laberge, 1971: 41). The two scholars propose that although these changes were already occurring even before the existence of a large number of native speakers, it was the children, who use the language as a first language, who regularized the patterns and furthered what was initiated by the adults (Sankoff and Laberge, 1971: 45). Romaine, however, makes the counterclaim that the reduction and movement of the particle "baimbai" from clause-initial position to preverbal position is neither the result of movement rules nor the language acquiring native speakers, and was perhaps a grammatical option existing long before the latter process took place (1995:402).

6.3 Bislama in the Context of Creole Studies

As mentioned before, unlike the other two sister dialects of Melanesian Pidgin, the creolization processes which Bislama is undergoing is a field which has not yet been subject to any detailed linguistic analysis, although two scholars have made some introductory remarks on the issue. Meyerhoff (2000:227) describes the labelling of Bislama as a creole as

undisputable, stating that the language is being increasingly acquired as a first language. Crowley (2004:4) considers the issue of deciding whether Bislama is a pidgin or creole as useless, arguing that there are no clearly recognizable features by which we can distinguish the Bislama used as a second language from the Bislama acquired as a first language. However, Crowley does acknowledge the fact that Bislama has already acquired native speakers, who make up approximately 10% of the total population of Vanuatu. He sees inter-island marriages in urban centres and plantations as the motivating factor (2004:4). Similarly, he states that although there is a difference between the Bislama spoken in towns and the variant employed in the islands, the crucial factor is differences in educational levels (2004:8). From these observations, it would appear that there would be structural differences mainly between the Bislama used by educated speakers as opposed to that used by uneducated speakers and perhaps between those who use Bislama as a main language as opposed to those who use it as a second language. Walsh (1986:144) briefly notes that Bislama exists as a creole and pidgin and “these two dimensions co-exist and interact as parts of a single pidgin-creole linguistic system.” Before delving into the strategy I will use in approaching the topic, I will review other seminal observations made which will shed more light on the nature of Bislama in particular in the urban areas.

A survey undertaken in 2005 aimed at assessing the problems faced by urban youths in Port Vila revealed the following results (Table 36) in relation to the usage of Bislama and other vernaculars in urban Port Vila (Vanuatu Young People’s Project, 2007). The answers outlined in Table 36 were collected through informal interviews in which the informants were asked what language they used primarily at home and they could choose only one language. The statistics shown in Table 36 reveal that an overwhelming majority of urban youth use Bislama as the primary means of communication.

Table 36 Language use by youths in urban Port Vila

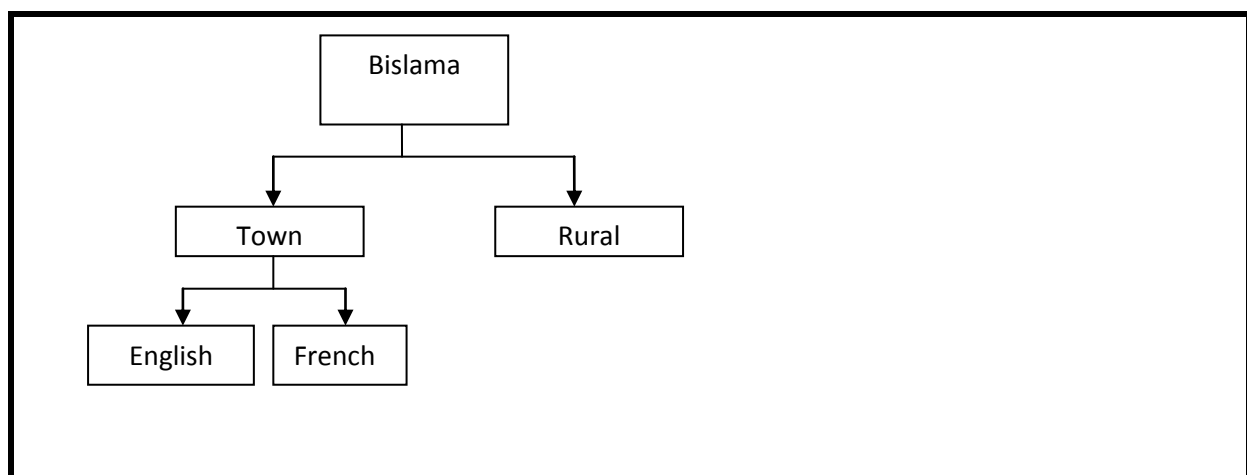
Language used most of the time			
<i>Bislama</i>	<i>Vernacular</i>	<i>English</i>	<i>French</i>
70.7%	25.3	2.8%	1.2%

Another study of the Bislama language in the Port Vila urban area which indicates that Bislama is already a creole, raised an interesting scenario which is probably distinctive of the Vanuatu creolization process, in that there is a difference in the vocabulary choices that are made by the francophone and anglophone school-aged children who are native speakers of Bislama (Kanas, 2001: 69, 59). This difference is caused by the language of instruction used in the schools the children attend. At present, the Vanuatu constitution provides only for the use of English and French languages as mediums of instruction in schools. However, the fear that traditional knowledge and traditional resource management practices are on the verge of extinction, has engendered the inclusion of vernacular languages in the education system. Although vernacular languages are slowly being introduced as languages of instruction in schools, this was not yet implemented at the time the survey was made and nor has it been implemented in the schools in urban Port Vila and Luganville.

The study highlighted that children attending French schools tended to borrow from the lexicon of the French language and use these borrowings widely in their day-to-day Bislama speech (Kanas, 2001:59). In contrast, the children attending English schools would borrow from the English language which they were taught in schools. For example, Anglophone native Ni-Vanuatus use the term "trak" (truck) to refer to a vehicle while francophone native Ni-Vanuatus use "kamiong" (camion) more often. The school-age children who were the focus of the survey were those born in the 1990's and would therefore fall under the category labelled as the "nativizing generation" (Jourdan and Keesing, 1997: 415). In fact, currently,

in the domestic milieu the difference in choice of lexical items which was observed by Kanas is also apparent (2001: 59). Families in which the French language is predominant would tend to use "tantine", "tonton", and "mémé" which are colloquial French terms for aunty, uncle and grandmother respectively. In contrast, families in which the English language is predominant are inclined to use "anti", "ankel" and "apu woman" respectively, the first two of which are clearly derived from the English language while the last term is probably a compounding of a vernacular term and an English term. In relation to the grammatical differences, Kanas (2001: 62) states that there is no evidence that the English and French language are influencing to a great extent the grammatical patterns of Bislama that are used by the participants of her survey. However, the incorporation of the English and French plural suffix –s in the writing of both Francophones and Anglophones is a lexical borrowing from the two languages which has gained entrance in the writing of the participants in her survey. In relation to this, the contrast between the Francophones and the Anglophones surfaces in the pronunciation of the element: the Francophones' production of the element is less audible than the Anglophones' production of the plural suffix. Kanas (2001: 67) gives the following scenario outlined in Figure 3 to illustrate the types of Bislama existing in the early years of the 21st century.

Figure 3 Kanas' representation of the different kinds of Bislama



In connection to Melanesian creoles, Tryon and Charpentier (2004:6) specify that creoles are expanded pidgins which have become more complex. The questions which would perhaps provide leads to delineating the creolization processes Bislama is going through are "who or what is causing the expansion?" and "how is complexity measured?" Muysken (1988:300) states that the work of distinguishing a creole from any normal language from the structural point of view may be problematic. Muysken (1988: 285-300) justifies this by showing that, contrary to popular opinion on the similarity, simplicity and the mixed grammatical nature of creoles, creoles exhibit complex features which makes them no different from any other normal language. Jourdan and Keesing (1997:413) note that, in the context of Solomon Islands pidgin, the linguistic expansion and change in creolisation are products of the new functional load that the pidgin carries when it is used as a main language in everyday living and has to accommodate the concepts and traditions that follow the new emerging urban culture. In other words, if Jourdan and Keesing (1997) are correct, creolization takes place when the pidgin is faced with a foreign domain necessitating expansion of its linguistic resources, lacking in the pidgin phase. It would then follow to surmise that such an expansion would affect the syntactic, phonological and morphosyntactic domains of the language. Therefore, in the case of Bislama, the problem can be tackled by examining the new domains that were once foreign to the restricted plantation labour force and trade settings in which the plantation pidgin was used and by investigating the syntactic, phonological and morphological processes that are going on. Walsh suggests that creolisation may have spread from urban to non-urban contexts in particular during the period from 1972 to 1980, when Bislama was the dominating language in political discussions (personal communication, August 12, 2009). Therefore, the characteristics of the Bislama used for political discussions, which was certainly a new domain contrasting with the plantation trade domain, will be discussed in comparison to the Bislama used as a pidgin in the plantation setting. In a similar

vein, the issue could be approached by investigating the features characterising the Bislama spoken in the areas experiencing increased urbanisation, since it is the urban setting that is providing the stage for the creolization process.

Given these observations on the nature of Bislama and the possible angles from which one may measure the creolisation process, the investigation of creole Bislama will be made along the following three lines. Firstly, I will compare Bislama as used in the plantation setting with the version used in the 1970s as a political tool. Secondly, I will investigate whether Bislama spoken as a main language is different from the Bislama spoken as a secondary language and highlight the existing differences. In connection to this, data from the informants will be used. Finally, I will highlight some of the differences that exist between educated speakers of Bislama and uneducated speakers of Bislama. Again, data elicited from the informants will be used as examples. I should caution that this discussion does not intend to provide definitive features of the creolisation process which Bislama has undergone and is undergoing. However, it is aimed at providing data and insights which would hopefully shed more light on the current issues pertaining to Bislama as a creole and stimulate further discussion.

6.4 Plantation Bislama and Bislama used as a Political Tool

In this section I will attempt to discuss the features of the Bislama which was used as a tool for expressing political aspirations during the period leading up to the attainment of independence in 1980 and compare it with the pidgin version which was used by a New Hebridean worker in the Queensland Labour Trade that took place in the latter half of the 19th century. This comparison is aimed at outlining the expansion that Bislama underwent when it was used as a means of expressing political motivations in the late 1970s. Text One is

taken from the newspaper Vanua-aku Viewpoints which was by a political party to disseminate political issues to the wider Ni-Vanuatu society during the events leading up to the attainment of independence.

Text One: Excerpt from Motalava Congress Text

Bislama	English
<p>Motalava Kongress</p> <p><u>QEUREMONGDE, MOTALAVA JUN 22-29</u></p> <p><i>“Pipol long aelan ol i wandem nasonal eleksen i kam kwik taem. Olgeta ol i taed finis blong stap weit”. Hemya pat blong sem toktok nomo we ol representetiv blong sab-komiti blong Pati ol i talem long namba 9 Kongress blong Vanua-aku Pati we hem i bin stap long Motalava long Jun 22 kasem 29.</i></p> <p><i>I bin gat 182 deleket we oli representem 63 sab-komiti blong Pati long ol aelan ol i kam long Kongress ya. Forom problem long saed blong mane mo rot blong kam long miting, 15 sab-komiti ol i no save sendem representative blong olgeta i kam. Fo (4) VP Minista mo samfala bigbigman bagegen ol i kam tu long Kongress.</i></p> <p><i>Taem Presiden blong Pati mo Deputi Jif Minista Fata Walter Lini hem i givim toktok long taem we Kongress hem i open, hem i talem long olgeta deleket se ol sapota blong Pati oli no mas lusum hop naoya. Fata Lini hem i talem se independens we yumi stap faet had tumas forom, klosap i kam. Hem i talem se independens ya bambae hem i en blong wan histori blong Kantri an hem i stat blong narafala taem long laef blong ol pipol blong Vanua-aku.</i></p> <p><i>Tufala bigfala poen we Kongres hem i bin tokbaot mo mekem plante tingting, hemya long saed blong ol preperesen blong nasonal eleksen, mo wok we hem istap gohet naoya blong wraetem Konstituyuson blong Kantri. Long saed blong eleksen, ol deleket ol i hapi blong harem wan deit we Ministri blong Pablik Administreson hemi putum blong mekem wok blong eleksen ol i ron kwik – hemya Oktoba namba 17 long tis yia. From risen ya, Kongres hem i akri se Test Eleksen blong Pati i mas stop, olsem Exekyutif Kaonsel blong Pati hem i bin proposem.</i></p> <p>Vanua-aku Viewpoints, Vol 9 no. 55 20-09-79 Page 1(Pages 1-8)Publisher: K.Matas, Editor: N. Vurobaravu, Vila, Vanuatu.</p>	<p>Motalava Congress</p> <p><u>QEUREMONGDE, MOTALAVA JUNE 22 – 29</u></p> <p>“The people in the island want the national election to take place as soon as possible. They are already tired of waiting”. This is part of the speech which was given by the party’s sub-committee representatives during the 9th Vanua-aku Party Congress which took place in Motalava on June 22nd to June the 29th.</p> <p>There were 182 delegates, representing the party’s 63 sub-committees, who came to the congress. Due to financial problems and transport problems, 15 sub-committees were not able to send their representatives to the congress. Four (4) VP Ministers and several important people also came to the Congress.</p> <p>The President of the Party and the Deputy Chief Minister, Father Walter Lini, told the delegates in his speech that the party’s supporters must not lose hope now. Father Lini said that the independence for which we have been fighting hard to gain, will be soon fulfilled. He said that this independence will be an end of a historical period of the country and will be the beginning of another period in the living of the Vanua-aku people.</p> <p>Two major points highlighted in the Kongress are, preparation for the national election and the current progress concerning the drafting of the constitution. In relation to the election, the delegates were pleased to hear that the Ministry of Public Administration has set a date in order to hasten the election process – this is the 17th of October this year. Due to this, the Congress agreed that the Party’s Test Election be terminated, as proposed by the Party’s Executive Council.</p> <p>(The English translation is my own)</p>

Text Two: Excerpt from Tom Lammon’s rendition of Queensland Labour Trade Pidgin

Bislama	English
<p>Henri, Henri i kam houm finish? O, ma—ma—mai Henri? Ai thingk so. Ai thing i bin go. (p. 17)</p> <p>Mi ting yu telim mi Henri Da (P.17)</p> <p>E – mi only kamap hia a – mæn i kibm mi long haus. I no wok – i no wok.</p> <p>Olgetha bigbla man i go aut, wok. Mi stap houm. A – mi only lukaut kau, hosis. Mi bringim ap lo haus. An den ...milkim pinish orait mi tekim bek gen long...(P. 18)</p> <p>a –len im a – dis thing yu open i stap. Orait mi pairap bəlong hia, boiləm shuga. Wen i boil i sim orait nau i letim go in tangk then i go kəl long nada ples. I letim go long big tangk len baimbai i kære – dis mæn i boiləm nau, yə no, bigpla ting, laik shuga bol æn leni baimbai i pinish i po go long shuga bola i e – i boiləm leni kam daun nau long tangk i pinish. a – mi kəriu (?) pairapomegas, purum wut pastaim len yu putum magas. Then e -- o -- we -- we – mi stap de wan yia dat small mil yu no i no bele big mil, smol wan, ə then e – wan yia pinish. Orait yumi go -- yu go Klemia. Mi go Klemia nau an stop ə tu yia. (P. 19-20)</p> <p>A – we Bili i go? (P. 28)</p> <p>Askim Bili wat? (P. 31)</p>	<p>Henry? Has Henry come home? Oh, my Henri? I think so. I think he has gone.</p> <p>I thought you were talking about Henry Darr</p> <p>Er- I arrived here and the man kept me in the house. It wasn’t work/ I didn’t work.</p> <p>All the big men went out to work. I stayed around the house and looked after the cows and horses. I’d bring them up to the house and then after they’d been milked I’d take them back again to paddock</p> <p>Ah- then – this thing that you open is there. So I lit the fire that was associated with that to boil the sugar. When it boiled it steamed and then I’d let it go into a tank and it’d go and cool in another place. It was let go in a big tank then later it – then this man boiled it, you know, in this big thing, like a sugar bowl, and then when it was finished he poured it into the sugar boiler – it boiled then it came down into (this) tank and that was it. Ah – I carry (?) burn the magass, you put wood first then the magass. Then er- - at the end of one year we went – I was told to go to Kalamia. I was at Kalamia then and stayed for two years.</p> <p>Ah – Where’d Billy go?</p> <p>Ask Billy what?</p> <p>All English translations in Text two are from Dutton (1980)</p>

Comparison of the two texts reveals a number of distinct differences, in particular at the lexical, morphological and syntactic levels. The text from Vanua-aku Viewpoints show a heavy tendency to borrow from the English language terms related to politics, in particular from the point of word order of compound terms as most of the terms have similar French cognates. For example, the term "pablik administreson" would be "administration publique"

in French where the noun precedes the adjective. Table 37 below outlines these terms and their English equivalents and classes. These elements are in bold in Text One.

Table 37 Some terms borrowed from English

Bislama		English	
<i>Term</i>	<i>Class</i>	<i>Term</i>	<i>Class</i>
eleksen	noun	election	noun
sab-komiti	noun	sub-committee	noun
pati	noun	party (as in political party)	noun
congress	noun	congress	noun
deleket	noun	delegate	noun
representative	noun	representative	noun
independens	noun	independence	noun
konstituyuson	noun	constitution	noun
ministry	noun	ministry	noun
pablik administreson	noun	public administration	noun
test eleksen	noun	test election	noun
executive kaonsel	noun	executive council	noun

It is interesting to note that the terms in Table 37 have retained the basic meanings they have in the English language. On the same note, borrowings from the vernacular languages do not seem to be too frequent in the political domain as shown by their rarity of use in Text One. This may be due to the fact that the system of western politics is a phenomenon that is foreign to Vanuatu traditional power systems and therefore, unlike areas such as names of fruit trees where there is some evidence of borrowing from vernacular languages, borrowing from the substrate languages in the political domain may be minimal. The excerpt reveals a great

tendency to use English orthography, a feature that is perhaps more salient in the writing of educated urban generation than the Bislama speakers in the rural areas. This should not suggest that there is no French influence on the orthography of current Bislama. One frequently encounters the use of accent marks that are used in French, in particular in the writings of the French-educated native Ni-Vanuatus. The prevailing one is the acute accent (accent aigu) which occurs mostly above the close mid- front vowel in words such as "we" which functions both as a relativizer and a degree adverbial in Bislama. While the word will be spelled as "we" in the anglophone milieu, the francophone native Bislama speakers typically render it as "wé". This is particularly common in colloquial written communications such as email messages. Construction 214) illustrates the use of this accent and it was written by a native Ni-Vanuatu francophone.

214) ...ol rubber wé oli karem here. Ples ia
 ...PL rubber REL AGR get here. Place DET

Chinese stuff i no good wé.

Chinese stuff AGR NEG good ADV

"...the rubber pants for baby cloth diapers which we get here. Here Chinese stuff is so bad."

(M.Benny, personal communication, April 27, 2009)

With increased borrowing from the superstrate languages, in particular from English, there is also evidence of borrowing of inflected forms from English, with the semantic associations of these inflected forms still intact. This is particularly true of the plural marking inflection. Although there is evidence of its incipience in the pidgin used by Tom Lammon, which can be seen in the plural noun "hosis" (horses), it is evident that borrowings of fully inflected forms marking plurality are more widespread in the 1970s as can be seen in the terms

"changes" and "candidates" in examples 215) and 216) respectively.

215) ...mo mekem appropriate *changes* long composition blong National Ileksen Committee.

...and make the appropriate changes in the composition of the National Election Committee.

(Kalmelu, 1977: 8)

216) ...Executive Council i lukluk bakegen long samfala candidates...

...the Executive Council is reviewing several candidates...

(Kalmelu, 1977: 8)

Even though the presence of a numeral quantifier or the plural marker "ol" or "olgeta" before the noun marks plurality in Bislama, we now have evidence of the use of the plural suffix –s which is the unmarked plural form in English. This inflectional number suffix may appear in addition to the plural marker "ol" or "olgeta" as shown in example 217).

217) ...mo sapot we olgeta candidates i kat...

...and the support which the candidates have... (New Hebridean Viewpoints, 1977: 8)

This is widely used in written and spoken Bislama today especially by the educated urban dwellers. In light of this observation, it would be interesting to see whether the inflectional suffix will be reanalysed as inseparable part of the noun as the creolization process continues.

At a glance it would seem that derivational morphology is occurring in Bislama, since the excerpt reveals compounds involving bound forms affixed to existing lexemes such as "representative". The excerpt shows that the root form with the transitive suffix "representem" and its adjective derivative also existed in the lexicon of Bislama in that period. However, with the noun, "konstityuson", the root lexeme which is the verb "constitute" does exist in the Bislama lexicon. This therefore implies that the derivational processes leading to the formation of these words is a process that is only at work in the

superstrate language, in this case English. Bislama then borrows the root forms and some of the derived forms. The affixes in the derived forms are reanalysed as inseparable parts of the root noun or verb forms. Therefore, the morphological process of adding English affixes to existing lexemes is not a feature of the creolization process that Bislama underwent during the 1970s, and the forms of the lexemes seem to suggest a continuation of derivational patterns found in the superstrate (English) language.

An investigation of the text featuring Tom Lammon’s version of the Bislama spoken in the Queensland labour plantations, reveal several interesting features which are in stark contrast to those discussed in the excerpt from the 1970s. A priori it is evident that the version of Bislama is of a reduced nature, centering mainly on plantation life, therefore rendering the vocabulary restricted to that specific domain. Although there is a manifestation of heavy borrowing of lexical terms from the English language, as illustrated by the lexical items in Table 38, there seems to be no evidence of the borrowing of certain root forms as well as their derived derivatives, as discussed in the previous paragraph in connection with the politically oriented article.

Table 38 Some terms borrowed from English in text two

Bislama		English	
<i>Term</i>	<i>Class</i>	<i>Term</i>	<i>Class</i>
tangk	noun	tank	noun
houm	noun	home	noun
bol	noun	bowl	noun
boil	verb	boil	verb
telim ⁸	verb	tell	verb
bele	adverb	very	adverb

⁸ It is interesting to note the Bislama transitive verb marker on the verb here so there is some Bislama morphology that gets added to certain borrowings.

As Dutton (1980: 94) observes, in relation to relative clauses, Tom Lammon's speech did not contain any manifestations of relative-clause markers. However, when we consider construction 218) (part of the politically oriented article), there is evidence that the relative clause marker "we" was used to mark the commencement of relative clauses in that particular sentence. The bracketed items are relative clauses.

218) *"Hemya pat blong sem toktok nomo [we ol representetiv blong sab-komiti blong Pati ol i talem long namba 9 Kongress blong Vanua-aku Pati] [we hem i bin stap long Motalava long Jun 22 kasem 29.]"*

This is part of the speech which was given by the representatives of the sub-committees during the Vanuaaku Party's 9th Congress, which has taken place in Motalava from the 22nd to the 29th of June.

Similarly, Dutton (1980:96) observes, there are no "that" complementisers in particular after the verbs "say" and "think". In contrast, the complementiser "se" is used after verbs such as "to say" as illustrated in the sixth line of the third paragraph in Text One which goes "hem i talem se..." in which "se" is used as a complementiser equivalent to "that" in English. Of more importance, however, is the fact that the 3SG pronoun plus AGR sequence ("hem i") is quite common in the political text but does not seem to occur in Tom Lammon's passage.

Another differentiating feature is that in early Bislama location wh-question markers are placed at the beginning of the interrogative construction rather than at the end (cf. Dutton, 1980: 28). This is illustrated in construction 219) taken from Tom Lammon's passage in Dutton (1980).

219) We Billy i go?
Where'd Billy go?
(Dutton, 1980: 28)

By the 1970s the location wh-question marker had moved to the end of interrogative

constructions, as shown in construction 220) below.

- 220) Billy i go wea?
Where did Billy go?

6.5 Bislama as a Main and Secondary Language versus Bislama as a First and Second Language

In this section I investigate the Bislama features of speakers who use it as a main language and those who use it as a secondary language. If there is a difference, then that would suggest that Jourdan's definition is relevant to the creolisation context in Bislama. A comparison will also be made on the Bislama spoken by speakers who use it as a first language and those who use it as a second language. The data I discuss here are the qualitative data that come from the informal interviews.

The data reveals interesting differences between the speakers who use Bislama as a secondary language and those who use it as a main language. On the phonological level, generally, speakers who use Bislama as a secondary language in both Port Vila and in North Pentecost tended to pronounce the phoneme /r/ as /ɾ/. Thus a word such as "ringim" (to ring) would be pronounced by a speaker who uses Bislama as a main language as /rɪŋɪm/ while a speaker who uses the language as a secondary language would render it as /ɾɪŋɪm/. This is a direct influence from the Raga language (since the /ɾ/ phoneme belongs to the Raga language) which suggests that the Bislama (as a secondary language) used by speakers of other Vanuatu vernacular languages, may be influenced by the phonology of the vernaculars they use. As noted by Jourdan and Keesing (1997: 415) speakers who are more closely associated with their vernaculars are more likely to reproduce the phonological patterns of their respective languages in their pronunciation of the pidgin.

On a similar note, the speech rate of speakers who use the language as a main language is

the speech of speakers who use Bislama as a second language. Another factor contributing to rapid speech is elision of certain elements in two consecutive words. While it is produced in both categories of speakers, it is more widespread in the speech of speakers for whom Bislama is a main language. Examples of these are outlined in Table 39.

Another interesting feature which distinguishes a speaker who uses Bislama as a main language from one who uses Bislama as a secondary language is that speakers for whom Bislama is a main language seem to have more choices of syntactic structures to draw upon, for example in describing the future, as opposed to speakers for whom the language is a secondary language who seem to opt for more simple structures. Examples in b) in Table 39 highlight this. While speakers who use Bislama as a secondary language tend to use simple structures like "lo neks wik bae mi..." to describe their plans for the next week, speakers who use Bislama as a main language also have the choice of using structures such as the last two examples related to b) in Table 39, along with the simple structure. This is also evident in the choice of words, in which speakers who use Bislama as a main language seem to have a wider variety of lexicon to draw on while those who use the language as a secondary language do not seem to have a wide variety of lexical items in their Bislama lexical stock. Since this is partly influenced by the languages of education, I will elaborate on this further in Section 6.6 in which I discuss differences between educated and uneducated speakers.

Furthermore, speakers for whom Bislama is a secondary language seem to use particles which are otherwise redundant in the speech of those for whom Bislama is a main language. As illustrated in examples related to point c) in Table 39, for speakers who use Bislama as a secondary language, the relative clause marker "we" is overt in positions, in which in the speech of those who use Bislama as a main language, the element would otherwise not be

present.

We now consider some of the pronoun doubling and trebling constructions in relation to the main versus secondary language distinctions in order to find out whether these types of constructions cut across the main language and secondary language distinction. Table 40 contains the results of four speakers' perceptions regarding the usage of certain constructions involving pronominal doubling and trebling. These four speakers are divided into two groups, one which uses Bislama as a main language and the other which uses Bislama as a secondary language. The speakers who use Bislama as a main language live in urban Port Vila and those

Table 40 Main language and secondary language speakers

Construction	Main language speakers		Secondary language speakers	
	Speaker one	Speaker two	Speaker three	Speaker four
Mi mi kam	no	yes	yes	yes
Mi mi mi kam	no	no	no	no
Mi mi no kam	yes	yes	yes	yes
Mi mi mi no kam	no	yes	no	yes
Mi ia nao mi karem i kam	yes	yes	yes	yes
Mi ia nao mi mi karem i kam	yes	yes	yes	no
Bae mi mi kakae raes nomo	yes	yes	yes	yes
Mi bae mi kakae raes nomo	yes	yes	yes	no
Mi bae mi mi kakae raes nomo	no	yes	yes	yes
Mi ia nao yestede mi bin kukum raes	yes	yes	yes	yes

who use Bislama as a secondary language live in North Pentecost, which may be considered a rural area.

The nature of responses regarding the usage of the constructions in Table 40 suggests that neither pronominal doubling nor pronominal trebling are features specific only to speakers who use Bislama as a main language. There is no indication from the responses that any one of the constructions is a feature of speakers in only one set of group. This suggests that pronoun doubling and trebling is a feature of Bislama speakers who live both in the urban and rural areas. Therefore, if creolisation is defined along the lines of main language versus secondary language (Jourdan, 1992:196) then pronoun doubling and trebling may not be considered as a distinguishing feature of creole Bislama.

If we try to categorise speakers into the categories of first language speaker and second language speaker, a problem arises. The multilingual nature of the Ni-Vanuatu society is the catalyst for this complexity. For example, one of the informants in the survey grew up speaking six different languages, Bislama and Raga included. This particular informant still maintains a similar level of fluency in all languages and, therefore, while Raga would certainly be considered as her first language, given that North Pentecost is her birth place, it is not clear which language ought to be considered as the speaker's second language. Another case which presents itself, concerns a speaker who grew up speaking Raga, but has acquired a good command of Bislama during lengthy work engagements in the two urban centres of Port Vila and Luganville such that it is at par with the speaker's understanding of the Raga language. Thus, it seems that the notion of first and second language in multilingual societies like those which exist in Melanesia may prove problematic as it is common to find people with a good mastery of two languages which render the distinction of first and second

language irrelevant. Similarly, simultaneous multiple languages also renders difficult the distinction of what constitutes a first language as opposed to a second language.

In order to find out whether there are any differences between a speaker who acquired Bislama as a first language and one who acquired it as a second language, I compare the speech of two informants who may fall into the category of a first and second language speaker. Both informants are in the 20-30 age range and have attained a similar educational level in the English-medium system. The only difference between the two speakers is that one acquired Bislama as a first language and Raga as the second language, while the other acquired Raga as the first language and Bislama as the second language.

Some of the differences outlined in Table 24 were also exhibited by these two speakers. Final consonant deletion and elision are not as pervasive in the speech of the second language speaker as it is in the first language speaker. This particular second language speaker did not use the relative marker "we" in a redundant manner. On the same note, there is no evidence of structural differences between these two speakers.

In contrast, the data seems to suggest that the similarities between the speech patterns of these two speakers outweigh these minor differences. To begin with, the use of the Raga-derived phoneme /t/ is not salient in the Bislama used by either informant. Influence from the English language phonetics is evident in the speech of both speakers and some of these are outlined in Table 41.

Table 41 Some similarities derived from knowledge of English

Characteristics	Examples
Incorporation of English plural suffix -s, -es.	Koses (causes), ifnings (evenings), frens (friends)
Usage of English derived phonemes	/so:fo:l/, /fo:pi:n/
Extensive borrowing of lexicon from English	Lo maen (on mind), Luk fowod (look forward) Katering (gathering)

One of the issues which provided the initial impetus for investigating the creolisation process was the question of whether the pronoun trebling pattern is a creole-specific characteristic, given the silence on the issue by prior studies of the pronoun doubling issue. We turn to the responses of these two informants regarding the usage of pronoun doubling and trebling constructions. These are outlined in Table 42

Table 42 First and second language speakers

Construction	First Language speaker	Second language speaker
Mi mi kam	yes	yes
Mi mi mi kam	no	no
Mi mi no kam	yes	yes
Mi mi mi no kam	yes	yes
Mi ia nao mi karem i kam	yes	yes
Mi ia nao mi mi karem i kam	yes	no
Bae mi mi kakae raes nomo	yes	yes
Mi bae mi kakae raes nomo	yes	yes
Mi bae mi mi kakae raes nomo	yes	yes
Mi ia nao yestede mi bin kukum raes	yes	yes

If the first language and second language definition of a creole is applied to Bislama, then responses in Table 42 indicate that both the doubling and trebling pattern is used by both speakers who use Bislama as a first language and those who use it as a second language. The only trebling pattern which was not accepted by both speakers is the one involving the direct trebling of the 1SG pronoun. But interestingly, they both accept it before "no". The divergence of opinion over the construction "Mi ia nao mi mi karem i kam" involving the trebling of the 1SG pronoun might seem to suggest that the trebling phenomenon may be a feature of speakers who acquired Bislama as a first language. However, the responses regarding the construction "Mi bae mi mi kakae raes nomo" suggests that the trebling pattern is present in the speech of speakers who acquired Bislama as a second language as well. Therefore, the responses seem to indicate that the pronoun doubling and trebling pattern is a feature of first and second language speakers of Bislama. Thus far, while the issue of creolisation in the context of Bislama is far from unproblematic, pronominal doubling and trebling seems to be generally accepted, which suggests that all speakers may have some creole features in their Bislama.

6.6 Differences between Educated Bislama speakers and Uneducated Bislama speakers

In this section I discuss some differences observed in the informal interviews which are primarily due to educational gaps. Both informants are 18 years of age and use Bislama as a main language and the educational gap is quite huge. The term educated implies that the speaker has obtained a certain level of education at either a French or English medium school or institution. The educated informant whose speech characteristics are described here is a senior secondary student in an English institution while the uneducated informant only completed the preschool level at an English institution.

Table 43 suggests that differences in Bislama varieties caused by educational levels may be more striking at the level of the lexicon, where it is likely that more educated native anglophone Bislama speakers would borrow heavily from the English language.

Table 43 Differences caused by educational levels

Features and examples from educated and uneducated speakers	
Educated speaker	Uneducated speaker
<p>Widespread use of English pronunciation of certain phonemes in words.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • finish /fɪnɪʃ/ (finish) • eitɪn /eɪtɪn/ (eighteen) The /t/ is more voiced compared to the lesser educated speaker. • nekst /nekst/ (next) 	<p>Use of English pronunciation of certain phonemes in words is not salient.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • finis /fɪnɪs/ • Eitɪn /eɪtɪn/ The /t/ is not voiced compared to the speaker with higher education. • neks /neks/
<p>Widespread use of English plural suffix <i>-s</i> to mark plurality even with the presence of the Bislama plural marker <i>ol</i>.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ol pleits (plates) • ol frens (friends) • gems (games) • taems (times) 	<p>Use of English plural suffix is not too widespread.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ol plet • ol fren • ol gem • ol taem
<p>Speaker has a wider stock of lexical items to draw on with borrowings mainly from the English language and sometimes attaches English suffixes to root forms that do not take this suffix in English.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • enjoeful (enjoyable) • strol (stroll) • brekfes (breakfast) • sapraes pati (surprise party) 	<p>Speaker seems to have a restricted vocabulary stock and there is no evidence of substantial borrowing of English lexical items compared with the educated speaker.</p>

Similarly, the influence of English pronunciation is evident in the Bislama used by educated

Bislama speakers, where the better educated Bislama speakers in the English medium schools often employ the English pronunciation of certain phonemes and plural suffixes. My choice of informants to focus on in this sub-section raises issues which could be taken into consideration in forthcoming studies of differences in education levels.

To begin with, as already mentioned, there are two education systems in Vanuatu: the French and English, some of which are incorporating vernacular languages as languages of instruction at the preschool level. It has not been clearly outlined whether the notion of differences in education levels also implies differences between various levels within the French system and within the English system, or whether they are inter-system differences at particular levels. The inclusion of vernacular education at certain schools seems to add more complexity to the issue of investigating differences in education levels.

In addition to the differences outlined in Table 43, Table 44 also illustrates a construction containing negative polarity items on which the opinions of these two speakers diverge. The table shows that the two speakers seem to have similar opinions regarding the grammaticality of most of the sentences in question. The only construction over which the two opinions differ is the construction which appears as 221) below.

221) *I nogat eni kakae i stap no?
 AGR NEG:have any food AGR exist NEG

While considered to be grammatical by the uneducated speaker, it is the presence of the redundant negative particle "no-" affixed to the verb "gat" (have, exist) which renders the construction ungrammatical for the educated speaker.

Table 44 Comparison of educated and uneducated speakers' perceptions on certain constructions involving negative polarity items

Construction	Response from Educated speaker	Response from Uneducated speaker
I gat eni kakae i stap?	yes	yes
I gat eni kakae i stap.	no	no
I gat eni man i kam?	yes	yes
I nogat eni kakae i stap.	yes	yes
I nogat eni kakae i stap no?	no	yes
I gat eni kakae i stap no?	yes	yes
I gat eni kakae i stap o no?	yes	yes

In relation to pronoun doubling and trebling constructions, Table 45 outlines the perceptions of two speakers regarding their usage of such constructions. One of the speakers is educated and the other is uneducated.

Table 45 Comparison of speakers' perceptions on 1SG doubling and trebling

Construction	Educated speaker	Uneducated speaker
Mi mi kam	yes	yes
Mi mi mi kam	yes	yes
Mi mi no kam	yes	yes
Mi mi mi no kam	yes	yes
Mi ia nao mi karem i kam	yes	yes
Mi ia nao mi mi karem i kam	no	yes
Bae mi mi kakae raes nomo	yes	yes
Mi bae mi kakae raes nomo	yes	yes
Mi bae mi mi kakae raes nomo	yes	yes
Mi ia nao yestede mi bin kukum raes	yes	yes

The responses outlined in the Table 45 suggest that there are no major differences in the usage of pronoun doubling and trebling constructions by educated and uneducated speakers.

Generally, the doubling and trebling pattern is present in the speech of both educated and uneducated speakers of Bislama. Even though the educated speaker stated that the construction "Mi ia nao mi mi karem i kam" is not a construction she uses, her positive response regarding the construction "Mi bae mi mi kakae raes nomo" suggests that the trebling pattern is one which she uses and that perhaps the presence of "bae", rather than the focus particle "ia" and "nao", renders the pattern more favourable. Therefore, the table indicates that the pronominal doubling and trebling pattern is characteristic of the speech of both educated and uneducated Bislama speakers.

6.7 Conclusion

Thus far, the discussion seems to suggest that there are more phonologically related differences rather than syntactic differences in the speech of speakers who use Bislama as a main and secondary language. Classifying speakers as first language and second language speakers is far from unproblematic, given the multilingual nature of the Ni-Vanuatu society. However, while the differences outlined for the speakers who use Bislama as a main language and those who use it as secondary language are also evident in the speech of those who acquired Bislama as a first language as opposed to those who acquired it as a second language, there is no evidence of abundant structural differences. It may be suggested that expansion is more evident in the lexical sphere as illustrated in the discussion on the lexical differences in the period during which Bislama was used for political purposes. More importantly, pronoun trebling may be a result of creolisation but it is not necessarily a feature that distinguishes different speakers that are at different stages of the creolisation process. While this chapter has unearthed additional observations to the status of Bislama as a creole, more research needs to be done on the issue, especially in identifying the new domains in which Bislama is used, apart from the political domain, and investigating whether there are

any structural differences present in these domains.

Chapter Seven

Conclusion

The thesis started out with a look at several features in the Bislama pronominal and agreement marking systems for which an Oceanic motivation has been argued for or may be argued for. One of these features is the inclusion of more categories for person and number and the incorporation of the inclusive and exclusive distinction, which are features of the substrate languages of Vanuatu. While these two features have obviously stood the test of time and are still found in current Bislama, other features such as the pronominal form "trigeta" did not last.

We have seen that a subject-verb agreement marker first developed in the 3SG person. While there are divergences of opinion as to whether its origins were Austronesian or English (Hall, 1966:83; Mihalic, 1971:25), it was observed that there may also be a case for influence from the French language as colloquial French allows constructions such as 33) in which the pronoun "je" could be treated as a subject clitic which has been argued as having the status of an agreement marker (cf. Jakubowicz & Rigaut 1997:57).

33) **Moi je** vais à la bibliothèque.⁹

Bislama was used by New Hebrideans in Francophone locations such as New Caledonia and the French influence has been around in Vanuatu since the latter part of the 1800s (Lini, 1980: 17; Kele-kele et al., 1977: 17). While the 3SG agreement marker initially appeared mainly after noun phrase subjects, by the early 1900s the element seemed to appear in more contexts such as in meteorological expressions and in between serial verbs in serial verb

⁹ I have retained the original numberings of the examples as used in the previous chapters of the thesis

constructions. It is also interesting to observe that pronoun doubling appeared as early as the 1920s. Some of these early examples of pronominal doubling such as in 65) followed a pattern where a numeral post-modifier was followed by a copy of the pronoun in subject position.

65) **Me sickis feller me** catch 'im. (Alexander, 1927:214)

This has been shown to be perhaps an Oceanic influence, as exemplified by examples from the Raga language such as 67).

67)	Gida 1PL excl. strong	gaitolu three	gida 1PL excl. strong	ta-v 1PL. excl Subj- TAM (fut)
	hae.			
	go up.			
	<i>'The three of us will go up'</i>			

By the late 1970s the attested agreement markers were "i" and "oli". Crowley proposes that "oli" was the reanalysed variant of the sequence ol + i, appearing consecutively at some stage in the formative years of Bislama before being completely reanalysed into "oli" (1990:249).

The discussion of the Raga pronominal and TAM properties highlights the fact that the terms "subject" and "focal" pronouns which prior studies have used may not be entirely appropriate. New data in the Raga language suggest that pronouns such as "inau" do not necessarily have a focus interpretation. A closer look at the distribution of these Raga pronominal elements suggests that they occur in environments which have been argued to be occupied by strong pronouns in other languages such as French (cf. Quinn, 2005: 67-68). Therefore, there seems to be a strong indication that they are strong pronouns and their equivalent forms affixed with TAM markers are deficient pronouns that have the status of pronominal clitics or agreement markers (cf. Jakubowicz & Rigaut 1997:57).

The main focus of this thesis, however, is a feature characteristic of Bislama, known as "pronoun doubling" (1) which has been subject to much debate. The debate has been centred on the syntactic categories that ought to be given to the pronominal elements. While it has been argued that the initial "mi" is the subject pronoun and the second "mi" is the predicate marker (Crowley, 1990: 235; Camden, 1977: xxv), others have proposed that the first "mi" is in fact a preposed focussed pronoun while the second "mi" is the real subject pronoun (Meyerhoff, 2000:213-214; Crowley, 1990:240).

- 1) Mi bae mi kaka raes
 1SG IRR 1SG eat rice
"I will eat rice"

Neither of these contending theories have taken into account the fact that "pronoun doubling" as in 4) below is also characteristic of the Bislama language and has the potential to shed more light on the status of the pronominal elements in pronoun doubling constructions.

- 4) Mi bae mi mi no go
 1SG IRR 1SG 1SG NEG go
"I will not go"

The survey data I presented in this thesis suggests that both of the theories proposed for pronoun doubling are plausible. However, the data also suggests that in 1SG pronoun doubling constructions such as 1) the preverbal "mi" is an obligatory element. This property is also exhibited by the 3SG agreement marker. This suggests that the preverbal "mi" may be turning into an agreement marker. This analysis is supported by Oceanic patterns, as exemplified by the Raga language. This is illustrated in 161) where the agreement marker on the preverbal portmanteau agreement + TAM element is also obligatory.

- 161) **Inau** ninovi **na-n** gan toi
 1SG strong yesterday AGR :TAM (past) eat sugar cane.
"Yesterday, I ate sugar cane."

It could be argued that we are seeing a regularisation of the Bislama agreement marking

paradigm in which the agreement markers are spreading to the 1SG and 2SG persons and they are analogous in form to their pronominal forms. So there seems to be a grammatical reanalysis of the 1SG and 2SG pronouns as agreement markers in certain positions.

Another important aspect of this thesis is to investigate whether pronoun trebling is a feature of creole Bislama as opposed to pidgin Bislama. The survey data presented here suggests that pronoun trebling constructions are generally acceptable to the informants irrespective of whether they acquired Bislama as a first or second language or whether they use Bislama as a main or secondary language. However, as noted above, certain pronominal elements in pronoun trebling constructions appear to be undergoing grammatical reanalysis leading to the regularisation of the agreement marking paradigm, processes which have been associated with creolisation in Solomon Islands Pijin and Tok Pisin (cf. Table 34, Sankoff and Laberge, 1971:40,45). Thus pronoun trebling is arguably a feature of creolisation but it is not necessarily one that distinguishes speakers at different stages of the creolisation process.

Appendix

Appendix One

Questionnaire

Date of elicitation:

Name of participant:

DOB/Age:

Island of origin:

What language (s) did you grow up speaking?

What language (s) do you use mostly at home?

What language are you taught in school?

1) Do you use the following constructions in Bislama? If not, how would you say this/what would you change?

1)	I kam.	yes/no
2)	Hem kam.	yes/no
3)	Hem i kam.	yes/no
4)	Hem hem i kam.	yes/no
5)	Mi kam.	yes/no
6)	Mi mi kam.	yes/no
7)	Mi mi mi kam.	yes/no
8)	Oli kam.	yes/no
9)	Olgeta kam.	yes/no
10)	Olgeta oli kam.	yes/no
11)	Olgeta olgeta oli kam.	yes/no
12)	Yumi kam.	yes/no
13)	Yumi i kam.	yes/no
14)	Yumi yumi kam.	yes/no
15)	Yumi yumi i kam.	yes/no
16)	Yumi yumi yumi kam.	yes/no
17)	I no kam.	yes/no
18)	No i kam.	yes/no
19)	Hem no kam.	yes/no
20)	No hem kam.	yes/no
21)	Hem i no kam.	yes/no
22)	Hem no i kam.	yes/no
23)	Hem hem i no kam.	yes/no
24)	Hem hem no i kam.	yes/no
25)	Mi no kam.	yes/no
26)	No mi kam.	yes/no
27)	Mi mi no kam.	yes/no
28)	Mi no mi kam.	yes/no
29)	Mi mi mi no kam.	yes/no

30)	Mi mi no mi kam.	yes/no
31)	I ia nao karem i kam.	yes/no
32)	Hem ia nao karem i kam.	yes/no
33)	Hem ia nao i karem i kam.	yes/no
34)	Hem ia nao hem i karem i kam.	yes/no
35)	Mi ia nao karem i kam.	yes/no
36)	Mi ia nao mi karem i kam.	yes/no
37)	Mi ia nao mi mi karem i kam.	yes/no
38)	Oli ia nao karem i kam.	yes/no
39)	Olgeta ia nao karem i kam.	yes/no
40)	Olgeta ia nao oli karem i kam.	yes/no
41)	Olgeta ia nao olgeta oli karem i kam.	yes/no
42)	Yumi ia nao karem i kam.	yes/no
43)	Yumi ia nao yumi karem i kam.	yes/no
44)	Yumi ia nao yumi yumi karem i kam.	yes/no
45)	Bae i kakae raes nomo.	yes/no
46)	I bae kakae raes nomo.	yes/no
47)	Bae hem kakae raes nomo.	yes/no
48)	Hem bae kakae raes nomo.	yes/no
49)	Bae hem i kakae raes nomo.	yes/no
50)	Hem bae i kakae raes nomo.	yes/no
51)	Bae hem hem i kakae raes nomo.	yes/no
52)	Hem bae hem i kakae raes nomo.	yes/no
53)	Bae mi kakae raes nomo.	yes/no
54)	Mi bae kakae raes nomo.	yes/no
55)	Bae mi mi kakae raes nomo.	yes/no
56)	Mi bae mi kakae raes nomo.	yes/no
57)	Bae mi mi mi kakae raes nomo.	yes/no
58)	Mi bae mi mi kakae raes nomo.	yes/no
59)	Hem bae hem i nomo kakae noodles.	yes/no
60)	Hem bae hem nomo i kakae noodles.	yes/no
61)	Hem bae nomo hem i kakae noodles.	yes/no
62)	Hem nomo bae hem i kakae noodles.	yes/no
63)	Mi bae mi mi nomo kakae noodles.	yes/no
64)	Mi bae mi nomo mi kakae noodles.	yes/no
65)	Mi bae nomo mi mi kakae noodles.	yes/no
66)	Mi nomo bae mi mi kakae noodles.	yes/no
67)	I nomo bin wajem kaset ia.	yes/no
68)	Hem nomo i bin wajem kaset ia.	yes/no
69)	Mi nomo bin wajem kaset ia.	yes/no
69)	Mi nomo mi bin wajem kaset ia.	yes/no

70)	Hem ia nao yestede i bin kukum raes.	yes/no
71)	Hem ia nao yestede hem i bin kukum raes.	yes/no
72)	Mi ia nao yestede mi bin kukum raes.	yes/no
73)	Mi ia nao yestede mi mi bin kukum raes.	yes/no
Negative Polarity Items		
75)	I gat eni kakae i stap?	yes/no
76)	I gat eni kakae i stap.	yes/no
77)	I gat eni man i kam?	yes/no
78)	I nogat eni kakae i stap.	yes/no
79)	I nogat eni kakae i stap no?	yes/no
80)	I gat eni kakae i stap no?	yes/no
81)	I gat eni kakae i stap o no?	yes/no
Adverbials		
82	a) Hem i kakae tumas laplap.	yes/no
	b) Hem i kakae laplap tumas.	yes/no
	c) Hem i tumas kakae laplap.	yes/no
	d) Hem tumas i kakae laplap.	yes/no
83	a) Hem i kakae laplap we.	yes/no
	b) Hem i kakae we laplap.	yes/no
	c) Hem i we kakae laplap.	yes/no
	d) Hem we i kakae laplap.	yes/no
84	a) Hem i stap kakae tumas laplap.	yes/no
	b) Hem i stap kakae laplap tumas.	yes/no
	c) Hem i stap tumas kakae laplap.	yes/no
	d) Hem i tumas stap kakae laplap.	yes/no
	e) Hem tumas i stap kakae laplap.	yes/no
85	a) Hem i stap kakae laplap we.	yes/no
	b) Hem i stap kakae we laplap.	yes/no
	c) Hem i stap we kakae laplap.	yes/no
	d) Hem i we stap kakae laplap.	yes/no
	e) Hem we i stap kakae laplap.	yes/no
86	a) Hem i save kakae laplap we.	yes/no
	b) Hem i save kakae we laplap.	yes/no
	c) Hem i save we kakae laplap.	yes/no
	d) Hem i we save kakae laplap.	yes/no

	e) Hem we i save kakae laplap.	yes/no
87	a) Hem i save kakae tumas laplap.	yes/no
	b) Hem i save kakae laplap tumas.	yes/no
	c) Hem i save tumas kakae laplap.	yes/no
	d) Hem i tumas save kakae laplap.	yes/no
	e) Hem tumas i save kakae laplap.	yes/no
88	a) Hem i laekem tumas blong go.	yes/no
	b) Hem i laekem blong go tumas.	yes/no
	c) Hem i laekem blong tumas go.	yes/no
	d) Hem i tumas laekem blong go.	yes/no
	e) Hem tumas i laekem blong go.	yes/no
89	a) Hem i laekem blong go we.	yes/no
	b) Hem i laekem we blong go.	yes/no
	c) Hem i laekem blong we go.	yes/no
	d) Hem i we laekem blong go.	yes/no
	e) Hem we i laekem blong go.	yes/no
90	a) Hem i wantem go we.	yes/no
	b) Hem i wantem we go.	yes/no
	c) Hem i we wantem go.	yes/no
	d) Hem we i wantem go.	yes/no
	e) Hem ia we i wantem go.	yes/no
91	a) Hem i wantem go tumas.	yes/no
	b) Hem i wantem tumas go	yes/no
	c) Hem i tumas wantem go.	yes/no
	d) Hem tumas i wantem go	yes/no
	e) Hem ia tumas i wantem go	yes/no
92	a) Man ia i wok we.	yes/no
	b) Man ia i we wok.	yes/no
	c) Man ia we i wok.	yes/no
	d) Hem ia we i wok.	yes/no
	e) Man ia i we i wok we.	yes/no
	f) Man ia we i wok we.	yes/no
	g) Hem ia we i wok we.	yes/no
93	a) Man ia i wok tumas.	yes/no
	b) Man ia i tumas wok.	yes/no
	c) Man ia tumas i wok.	yes/no
	d) Hem ia tumas i wok.	yes/no
	e) Man ia i tumas wok tumas.	yes/no
	f) Man ia tumas i wok tumas.	yes/no
	g) Hem ia tumas i wok tumas.	yes/no

Appendix Two

English version of the questions in Questionnaire

The following are the basic English translations of the constructions in the Questionnaire in Appendix One. Ungrammatical forms are not translated.

1) - 4) S/he comes

5) - 7) I come

8) - 11) They come

12) - 16) We come

17), 21) and 23) S/he is not coming

25, 27 and 29) I did not come

33 and 34) S/he was the one who brought it here

36) and 37) I am the one who brought it here

40) and 41) They are the ones who brought it here

43) and 44) We are the ones who brought it here

45), 49), 50) - 52) S/he will eat rice only

53), 55)-58) I will eat rice only

59) S/he will no longer eat noodles

60) S/he will be the only one who will eat noodles

62) S/he will be the only one who will eat noodles

63) I will no longer eat noodles

64) I will be the only one who will eat noodles

66) I will be the only one to eat noodles.

67) S/he no longer watched the cassette

68) S/he was the only one who watched the cassette

69) I ended up not watching the cassette

69) I was the only one who watched the cassette

70)-71) S/he was the one who cooked rice yesterday

72) - 73) I was the one who cooked rice yesterday

Negative Polarity Items

75) Is there any food?

77) Did anyone come?

78) There is no food

80) Is there any food or not?

81) Is there any food or not?

Adverbials (I did not use any data from this section in my discussion)

82 a) S/he eats alot of laplap.

b) S/he eats laplap alot.

83 a) S/he eats alot of laplap.

84 a) S/he is eating alot of laplap.

b) S/he is eating laplap alot.

85 a) S/he is eating laplap alot.

86 a) S/he can really eat laplap.

87 a) S/he can eat alot of laplap.

b) S/he can really eat laplap.

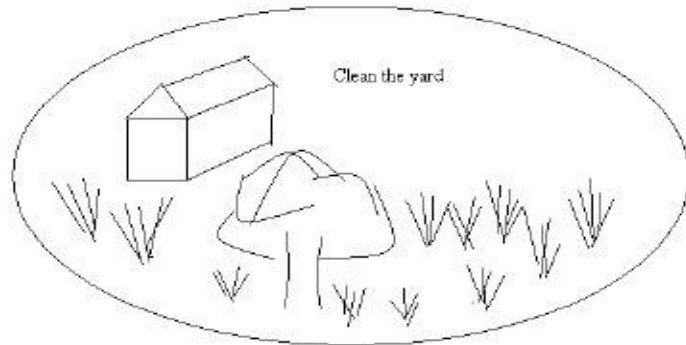
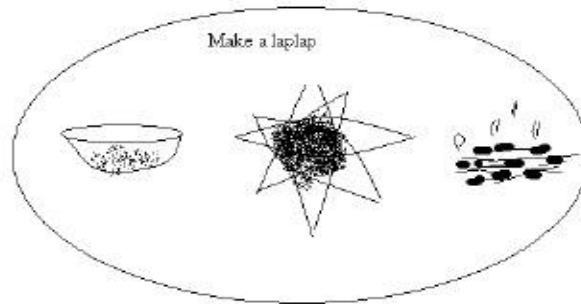
88 a)-b), 89 a)-b), 90a) and 91a) S/he really wants to go.

92 a) and 93a) That man works alot.

Appendix Three

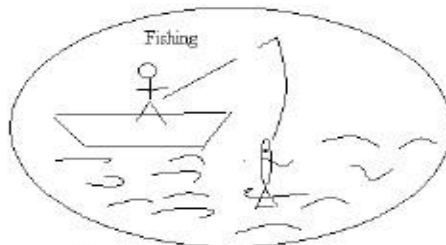
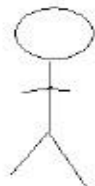
Picture One

3SG or 1SG
depending on the
sex of the
informant

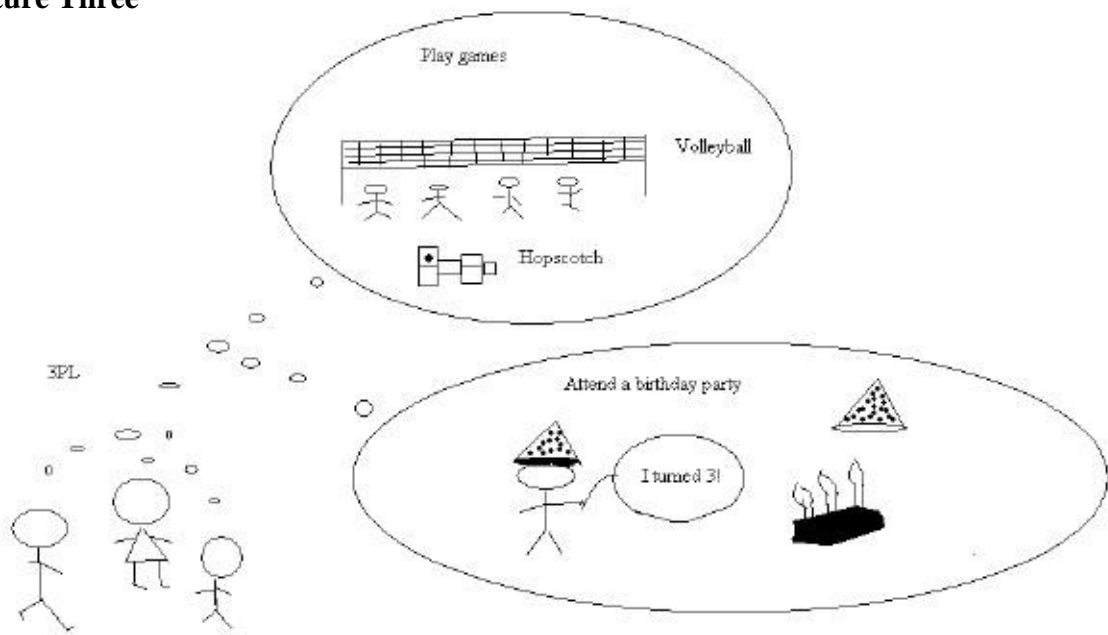


Picture Two

3SG or 1SG
depending on the
sex of the
informant



Picture Three



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