THE BISLAMA LEXICON BEFORE THE FIRST WORLD WAR: WRITTEN ATTESTATIONS

TERRY CROWLEY

1. JARGON AND STABLE PIDGIN

Mühlhäusler's (1979) Growth and structure of the lexicon of New Guinea Pidgin represented a major landmark in the study of Pacific pidgins and creoles, presenting an extremely detailed study based on an exhaustive search of written documents relating to the history of New Guinea Pidgin, from its formative years in Samoa and the New Britain and New Ireland areas until the modern era. This was followed by Mühlhäusler's contribution in Wurm and Mühlhäusler's (1985) Handbook of Tok Pisin (New Guinea Pidgin), which presented many of the same arguments, but with an updated perspective.

The view of the development of Melanesian Pidgin that is presented in these discussions is one of a language passing through a lengthy initial jargon stage, which was followed by a period of lexical and structural stabilisation and expansion. Languages at the jargon stage, Mühlhäusler (1985:80) says, are characterised linguistically by "their excessive instability, extreme impoverishment in their expressive power and their high context-dependence".

Mühlhäusler finds it difficult to describe the exact linguistic nature of the jargon stage in the history of Melanesian Pidgin because contemporary sources contain such a limited amount of reliable data. For similar sorts of reasons, the period at which the transition from unstable jargon to stable pidgin takes place appears to be difficult to pin down. In addition, he points out that the transition took place in different places at different times (Mühlhäusler 1985:76). In the case of Tok Pisin in Papua New Guinea, Mühlhäusler (1979:59–83) argues that stabilisation took place gradually over a period between the 1860s and the First World War. He implies that Bislama in Vanuatu was lexically more impoverished than other contemporary varieties of Pidgin. In support of this contention, he quotes sources from Vanuatu which suggest that Bislama was still at the jargon stage in the period immediately prior to the First World War (Mühlhäusler 1979:181–182; 1985:87).

A number of studies have questioned some aspects of Mühlhäusler's interpretation of the history of Melanesian Pidgin. Clark (1979-80:35–37) suggested that the sandalwood trade in southern Melanesia between the 1840s and 1860s may have provided the social conditions for greater elaboration and stabilisation in the initial stages of the development of Bislama than Mühlhäusler has accepted. Crowley (1990) also presents arguments for a more developed form of Bislama in the second half of the nineteenth century. Keesing's (1988) recent work suggests the possibility (though it does not prove) that the end of the jargon stage may have even predated the sandalwood trade, with the social conditions having been conducive to greater stability and linguistic elaboration on whaling stations in Micronesia in the 1830s and 1840s.

This discussion represents an attempt to establish something of the degree of lexical development in Bislama in the immediate pre-First World War period, as a way of verifying (or rejecting) arguments about the nature of the language at that time. Given the nature of our sources, no method of establishing the scope and nature of the lexicon of Bislama before World War One can expect to reveal completely accurate and comprehensive results. However, I am confident that this compilation of all written attestations that I have been able to locate of Bislama lexemes in sources dating from the 1890s and the early 1900s will reveal that Bislama cannot have been the lexically highly restricted form of communication that it has been described as in the past. In Crowley (1990:178), I indicated that published sources for Bislama relating to the period before 1919 include attestations for almost 550 items. I did not provide the supporting data for this figure at that time as this would have taken too much space, and the present discussion is intended to provide this data in full for scrutiny. I

2. SOURCES

A discussion on the nature of the sources for pre-First World War Bislama is in order. The writers on whose material the present compilation is based had a wide range of different kinds of experiences in Vanuatu, and their observations on Bislama varied radically in nature and reliability. Some were only in the islands for a relatively short time, while others, such as Jacomb, Fletcher and Pionnier, spent a number of years in the archipelago, and interacted on a daily basis with ni-Vanuatu in Bislama in the course of their jobs and recreation. The following represents a summary of the background of the writers upon whose pre-First World War contact this compilation has been based:

Alexander (1927): judge on the Joint Court in Vila in 1912.

Fletcher (published as Asterisk 1923, 1924): was in Vanuatu from 1912 to 1919; he spent part of his time working for the Joint Court in Vila, and part of the time managing a plantation on Epi.

Jacomb (1914, 1929): was attached to the Joint Court from 1911, and later practised as a barrister at law for several years.

Johnson (1921): visited Vanuatu in 1908, and returned in 1917 to film traditional life in northern Malakula.

Pionnier (1913): French Catholic priest based on Malakula from 1893-1899; regularly travelled to a number of other islands in the course of his duties. Unlike most other missionaries, Pionnier did not learn any indigenous languages, thus relying solely on Bislama for communication with ni-Vanuatu.

Speiser (1913a, 1913b): visited Vanuatu for eighteen months in 1910–11, spending most of his time in Santo, but travelling to a number of other islands as well.²

Baker (1929): biologist who took part in a number of scientific expeditions to Vanuatu. This book was based on his visits of 1922-23 and 1927 to Gaua and Santo.

While there is a substantial body of historically attested lexical (and structural) information available on pre-WWI Bislama, it is distributed over a number of sources, many of which are not easily accessible. A further advantage of this compilation, therefore, is that it brings together much information that cannot always be easily compared.

For interest, I have also included lexical attestations in Bislama from the following writers, whose period of contact with the language was in the two decades after the war, again because most of this information is not easily accessible:

Many of these people writing about pre-war Bislama clearly saw the language as an object of ridicule. Fletcher referred to it in 1912, for example as "a weird kind of Esperanto" (Fletcher 1923:27). Value judgements such as these have clearly led some European observers in the past to manufacture improbable examples as a way of demonstrating the inadequacies of the language. For instance, as recently as the 1950s, Tailleur (1954:295) intended to poke fun at the language by saying the following:

Voici le PIANO: I one falla sometin, masta i coll' hem bokiss b'lon music, sikin b'lon hem all' same b'lon mi falla, i cat big falla maout, maout b'lon hem i cat tou mass tout. Missis i tekem bokiss b'lon sit daoun, Missis he killim tout b'lon hem strong, bokkis i crai tou mass, bombay Missis i crai, Masta i crai tou, ollkita i crai tou, i sing sing tou mass!

However, it is possible to recognise some of these writers as having been better observers of Bislama that others. Johnson, for example, came to Malakula in 1917 to make a film record of people who he described in his book as loathsome savages, repeatedly exaggerating the danger he faced of being eaten for his efforts to record their life on film. In order to make the Malakula bush people look ridiculous, he was clearly guilty of manipulating their Bislama to maximise this effect. For instance, he attributes to one speaker the statement 'Me gottem sore leg along eye-eye' (Johnson 1921:48). The reduplicated form ai-ai for 'eye' is not attested in any other source for Bislama, nor indeed, as far as I know, for any other variety of Melanesian Pidgin. Additionally, no other sources suggest that soleg has ever been used to refer generically to a 'sore'. Thus, we can probably safely assume that this example (and some others that Johnson gives) represents a figment of the author's imagination, and such items should therefore be eliminated from this lexical compilation.

Other writers appeared to develop a good grasp of the language, and there has been relatively little need to filter their information in the compilation below. While Fletcher regarded Bislama as a "weird kind of Esperanto", and some of the earlier entries in his journal suggest that his initial references to Bislama were based on a somewhat shaky command of the language, he ended up having a good command of a modern-looking Bislama. Jacomb (1914:90–104) provides a short sketch of Bislama which is remarkably free of value judgements, and he paints a picture of a Bislama that contains little evidence of ridicule or manufactured data. Pionnier (1913), as indicated in Crowley (1993a), used Bislama over a period of six years in the 1890s, and most of his data is also consistent with forms in various varieties of modern Melanesian Pidgin.

Actual Bislama attestations appear in a variety of guises in the different primary sources cited. Sometimes, attestations take the form of straightforward statements about how to say a particular thing in Bislama, such as in the grammatical and lexical sketches of the language by Pionnier (1913) and Jacomb (1914). Other writers, however, have provided information only by quoting the words of ni-Vanuatu speaking Bislama, or of Europeans addressing ni-Vanuatu, such as the following:

Harrisson (1937): participated in the Oxford Expedition to the New Hebrides in 1933-34, with which he was attached as an ornithologist, and 1935, when he continued his research after the end of the expedition. He travelled widely around Santo and Malakula during this time.

Marshall (1937): participated in the Oxford Expedition to the New Hebrides in 1933-34, with which he was attached as an ornithologist. He was based mainly in the Sakao area of northern Santo.

These more recent sources contain fewer than fifty lexical attestations in addition to those present in earlier sources.

He drained it with gusto, and, smacking his lips with the air of a connoisseur called out to the shepherd, "Here, missy, what name here (=quoi donc)! No plenty he stop. You fill him up back again. Me fellow love big-fellow-master-ontop (=le bon Dieu) altogether too much." (Fletcher 1923:73)

Other attestations are of only lexical items, or perhaps phrases, embedded within a sentence in English. Typically, the author's intention that a specifically Bislama usage is being quoted is clearly signalled by the use of quotation marks or italics for the Bislama material, for example: 'They have heard that there is a 'big fellow master belong government' who lives in a 'house calico' and does strange things with machines.' (Fletcher 1923:92). Other writers have sometimes more subtly disguised Bislama attestations, however, by directly using a Bislama item within an English context with no special marking, for example: '...It was Peter, one of our shoot-boys - and he proudly weighed in with a shilling!' (Marshall 1937:18)

While the Bislama status of **sutboi** 'paid marksman' is not explicitly signalled in this attestation (or any other of Marshall's many references to 'shoot-boys'), this is clearly not a standard English usage. The fact that this form was actually in use in Bislama at the time is further suggested by the occurrence of this form with the same meaning in the recorded lexicon of Tok Pisin (Mihalic 1971:187).

3. SCOPE OF THE PRE-WWI LEXICON

A number of writers have commented on the supposedly diminutive size of the lexicon of pre-First World War Bislama. The smallest estimates of the lexicon at this time were made by Speiser (1913a:13):

I was, therefore, dependent on interpreters in "biche la mar," a language which contains hardly more than fifty words, and which is spoken on the plantations, but is quite useless for discussing any abstract subject.

Speiser (1913b:9) was also one of the sources for Mühlhäusler's (1979:182) claim about the lexically impoverished nature of pre-war Bislama. Of the Bislama lexicon of the same period, Jacomb (1914:91) was prepared to double Speiser's estimate, but he is still painting a picture of a lexically subminimal means of communication:

Probably the vocabulary of the ordinary speaker of Pidgin-English consists of not many more than a hundred words, but those words are made to go a long way.

In Crowley (1990:178–186), I argue that Bislama in the late nineteenth century was lexically much richer than has been acknowledged by Mühlhäusler, who maintains that it was still a lexically minimal (or even sub-minimal) jargon. On the basis of cultural vocabulary of Bislama origin in the languages of the Loyalty Islands that was most likely borrowed in the 1870s and 1880s, I argued that the evidence was more consistent with claims by Clark (1987) that speakers of Bislama at that time probably commanded a much more substantial vocabulary than Mühlhäusler has been prepared to accept (Crowley 1990:73–85, 185–186). In Crowley (1993b), cultural borrowings attested from "South Seas Jargon" (perhaps better referred to as "Early Pacific Pidgin") before the 1860s have been examined from a wide range of languages. These borrowings provide evidence for an early cultural vocabulary of at least 250 items, which implies a significantly larger total lexicon for the language at the time. I feel that claims that there were Early Pacific Pidgin speakers operating with a fairly stable

lexicon of around 1000 items in the 1850s are quite plausible, despite Mühlhäusler's suggestions of an upper limit of around 300 items until very late in the nineteenth century (or, in the case of Bislama in Vanuatu, even until the First World War).

Despite Jacomb's claim that "the ordinary speaker" of Bislama used no more than 100 words, he conceded that those ni-Vanuatu who had more extensive contacts with Europeans had considerably larger vocabularies than this minimal vocabulary that he ascribed to the lexicon of people living away from the coasts:

Natives who work as house servants naturally acquire rapidly a much larger vocabulary of names of common things than the mere "Man bush," as the native is called whose only dealings with white men have been during the course of visits paid to the local trader. (Jacomb 1914:99)

He also conceded that 'natives who work on ships in like manner acquire nautical phrases' (Jacomb 1914:99).

Jacomb gave no indication as to how extensive the vocabularies of these more experienced people might have been. One obvious point to be made, however, is that it would be unreasonable to take the minimal estimates of the size of the lexicon to represent the language as a whole. Even today, there are probably people living in the interior of Malakula who have similarly restricted lexicons, though it would be illogical to argue that we should base estimates of the size of the lexicon on their competence rather than on the competence of those living in the towns, who operate with a lexicon of several thousand items (and which is rapidly growing).

On a priori grounds, there is no reason to expect that the 500 or so items that are attested in the written record of Bislama in the period immediately prior to the First World War should represent anything more than some fraction of the total Bislama lexicon of the time, given that the actual length of the total Bislama text corpus is fairly restricted. Some of the compilers of the sources that I have utilised have explicitly made the point that their information is not intended to be comprehensive. Pionnier (1913:109, 184, 190, 192) repeatedly points out, for example, that the lists of words that he provides are those that were 'les plus usités' or those words 'qu'on emploie le plus souvent'. Jacomb's description likewise only aims to list those words that were most frequently encountered:

The following short vocabulary contains the principal features and peculiarities of the language, together with explanations on the construction of sentences and pronunciation. The vocabulary does not pretend to be exhaustive. (Jacomb 1914:91)

What these writers appear to have been doing, in fact, was concentrating on words and constructions that the writers considered to be "strange" in some way. Many words that exhibited behaviour that was little different to words used in English were apparently ignored as being "obvious", despite the fact that they were just as much part of the language.

The likelihood that there are significant gaps in the attested lexicon is indicated by the presence of a number of obvious missing items. The word sidaun 'sit' is attested, yet there is no attestation from the same period of a word for 'stand'. Given the occurrence of stanap in both modern Bislama and Solomons Pijin, and sanap in Tok Pisin, it is highly likely that a similar form was in use in Bislama prior to the First World War. Similarly, while antap 'above' and insaid 'inside' are attested, modern aninit 'underneath' and ausaid 'outside' are not. Terms for some basic body functions such as modern pispis 'urinate' are absent in the written record, almost certainly not because the words were absent, but simply because these kinds of topics were avoided altogether in the written sources. The occurrence of **pispis**, for example, in all three modern varieties of Melanesian Pidgin suggests that it must have had early currency.

The fact that the items in the list below fall almost exclusively within the range of core vocabulary also suggests that the written record contains significant gaps with respect to cultural items. There are 240-odd borrowings into Pacific vernaculars from Early Pacific Pidgin presented in Crowley (1993b) which fall almost exclusively in the domain of cultural vocabulary. In Crowley (1990:178–186), I argue that there was probably other non-core vocabulary in use in Bislama by the end of the nineteenth century, some of which had been directly incorporated from vernaculars, and some of which involved productive morphological derivation. For instance, Davillé (1895:54) records the modern form **navele** 'Barringtonia edulis' in the early 1890s, and it is difficult to imagine that this was the only tree species to have been named in Bislama by this time. Thus, there are almost 800 items for which there is direct evidence of one kind or another of their having been used by speakers of Pacific Pidgin in the nineteenth and early twentieth century, and we can probably safely assume that the actual number of words in use was somewhat higher than this.

4. WRITTEN ATTESTATIONS

The data that follow represent a detailed listing of all lexical items attested in the published record of Bislama based on contact with the language during the 1890s till the end of the First World War. Items are listed alphabetically under a phonological shape that is deduced either from evidence provided by the primary sources, or from the shape of the same word in modern varieties of Melanesian Pidgin. Each item is listed with its published attestations, along with a reference to the source of the attestation. (However, for very commonly attested items, only a representative sample of attestations from each source is provided.)

I have also included annotations for many entries, commenting on the status of particular attested forms. Forms which have not been maintained in modern Bislama, or which are now regarded as archaisms are noted, as are forms which were apparently used in Bislama prior to the First World War but which have been maintained only in other varieties of Melanesian Pidgin. Forms lacking annotations can generally be assumed to have been retained in modern Bislama with more or less their original shape and meaning.

ABBREVIATIONS

The following list of abbreviations is complete, and the meanings of each are as indicated:

adj adv	adjective adverb	postmod predmrkr	postmodifier predicate marker
aux	auxiliary	premod	premodifier
comp	complementiser	prep	preposition
conj	conjunction	pron	pronoun
int	interjection	rel	relative clause marker
inter	interrogative	sub	subordinator
intr	intransitive verb	tr	transitive verb
n	noun		

LAYOUT OF ENTRIES

Headword (part of speech) meaning. [source of earliest citations] *text of original citation* (in *italics*). [sources of later citations]. *text of citations* (in *italics*). (Note that the use of capitals and punctuation in cited text follows the practice in the original source and has no particular significance in these entries. Any italicised additional comments of a linguistic or cultural nature are also part of the original citation.). Idiomatic usage. meaning of idiom. Sometimes an additional comment by the author (of a linguistic or cultural nature) immediately follows the citations.

afta (prep) after. [Pionnier 1913:111] Ouane clok after tina.

- **aftumora** (adv) day after tomorrow. [Pionnier1913:111] APRES DEMAIN: Af tou morô (mora). Rare in modern Bislama, which usually has **aftatumora**. However, **haptumora** is found in Tok Pisin.
- ai (n) eye. [Pionnier 1913:113] OEIL, YEUX: Aè. [Jacomb 1914:103] Ey pronounced high.
- ailan (n) island. [Pionnier 1913:192] DANS TOUS LES PAYS: Olfriaïlend.
- akis (n) axe. [Johnson 1921:48] You go along Mary (woman) belong Master catchem one fellow something he brather belong ackus (axe), pullem he come, pushem he go. [Alexander 1927:214] Master 'e catch 'im one feller ackis [axe] ... [Baker 1929:16-17] One is the description of a saw as "brother belong akus [axe]; pull 'im 'e come, push 'im 'e go". [Marshall 1937:7] ... A saw (to quote a classical example) is "brother blong akus"
- ale (int) OK then. [Jacomb 1914:102] Allez! you come quick. [Fletcher 1923:329] 'Im 'e look Mis Collins. Allez; 'em 'e races 'e go down long salt-water. [Jacomb 1929:30] Byambye im e speak allez me feller go.
- angka (n) anchor. [Jacomb 1914:101] "Kai-kai anchor"; Hoist anchor.
- antap (adv) above, high up. [Pionnier 1913:193] I stap onetap Big fala Masta. [Jacomb 1914:102] 'Im 'e stop on top; me stop down. [Marshall 1937:13] ... He controls a compact village "on top", has killed two or three men and is altogether a person of importance in Sakau.
- ara (n) arrow. [Pionnier 1913:114] FLECHE: Ara.
- aranis (n) orange. [Pionnier 1913:116] ORANGE: Oranige.
- asis (n) ashes. [Pionnier 1913:115] CENDRE: Assice faïa.
- askim (tr) ask. [Jacomb 1914:96] ASK.- To ask.
- ating (adv) probably. [Fletcher 1923:195] I tink you like place where you been stop before. [Marshall 1937:57] "I think me callim Neto," he said.
- aua (int) expression of derision. [Jacomb 1914:102] AH WAH! An exclamation expressing derision. A range of such expressions can be found in modern Bislama, probably depending on what is current in a speaker's vernacular.
- bagarap (intr) 1. broken down. [Marshall 1937:7] Anything which breaks or becomes useless is "bugger-up finish" ... 2. used up. [Marshall 1937:7] Kerosene blong Jesus

- Christ 'e bugger-up finish! Only used in the first sense in modern Bislama, and then fairly rarely. Commonly used in this sense in Tok Pisin.
- bakegen (adv) again. [Jacomb 1914:102] Me me sign back again. [Fletcher 1923:329] 'Im 'e sing out "You wait. Byumby tu-morrer me come talk long you back again. You one --- too." [Harrisson 1937:145] ... 'E good, you give 'im one something along belly belong you me, allsame belly belong you me, 'e no sing out back again.
- baksaid (n) 1. back. [Marshall 1937:71] Big-fella all-same bullamacow, 'im 'e no savvy drown: swim all-same dog, more (and) back-side, b'long 'im all-same pineapple," is how they describe the great old-man saurian of the Yora. 2. buttocks. [Marshall 1937:300] ... 'Im 'em call 'im me one 'mission bastard', more (and) talk strong 'long kick 'im back-side b'long me-fella!
- bambai (adv) future. [Pionnier 1913:111] BIENTOT: Banbaïlle. [Speiser 1913:78] Bim by you me catch him. [Jacomb 1914:92] Bye and bye me go. [Johnson 1921:186] By-em-by me die, by-em-by me die. [Fletcher 1923:329] 'Im 'e sing out "You wait. Byumby tu-morrer me come talk long you back again. You one --- too." [Alexander 1927:214] By'n by Kong-Kong [Chinaman] 'e fas'in rope along bokkis you fight 'im 'e sing out ... [Baker 1929:21] By and by you kill him finish?
- banana (n) banana. [Pionnier 1913:117] BANANE: Banana. [Marshall 1937:77] Sorrowfully, the little missionary led his flock back to the intricacies of ... "three-fella coconuts more (=and) two-fella banana 'e savvy makim five-fella altogether."
- banara (n) bow. [Pionnier 1913:114] ARC: Banara.
- banis (n) 1. fence. [Pionnier 1913:117] BARRIERE: Baniche. 2. yard. [Alexander 1927:214] ... Now me take 'im finish long banis [house] belong master.
- basted (n) bastard. [Marshall 1937:300] ... 'Im 'em call 'im me one 'mission bastard', more (and) talk strong 'long kick 'im back-side b'long me-fella!
- bel¹ (n) bell. [Johnson 1921:170] A great simple black ... would go off with ... a collection of cheap mirrors and beads ... all in a shiny new "bokkus b'long bell."
- bel² (n) belly, spirit. [Pionnier 1913:109] Bèle, ventre. [Pionnier 1913:193] When sikine bilong hèm i dèd, bèl bilong hème i go onetap, goud plèce long Big fala Masta ... [Titayna and Lugeon 1931:31] Violin: "Smolsistere blanbigfallabokis blanwetman spose scrachbele icry ..."
- beli (n) belly. [Jacomb 1914:98] Belly belong me he sore. [Fletcher 1923:330] 'Im 'e sit down longa belly b'long Harry. [Johnson 1921:15] My word! Master! Belly belong me walk about too much! [Marshall 1937:83] ... Devil, 'im 'e stop 'long belly b'long man ...; [Harrisson 1937:145] I am hungry: belly belong me feller 'e sing out ... Beli is attested rarely in modern Bislama, but the usual form is bel. Bele is common in Solomons Pijin.
- bifo (adv) in former times. [Pionnier 1913:198] You fraïlle naou ol tigne you mèkèm i no goud bifore. [Jacomb 1914:92] Before me go one time. [Fletcher 1923:328] You stop where beefore? [Baker 1929:137] Before, me go along Lake; me catch 'im all small something. [Marshall 1937:93] But the man with "big-leg" offered to show me how it was always done "before" ... [Marshall 1937:244] Before you kill 'im dead-finish pidgin [sic] b'long me!

- big (adj) big. [Jacomb 1914:98] BIG. Big.
- bigfala (adj) big, fat, important. [Pionnier 1913:185] GRAS: Big fala. [Pionnier 1913:193] I stap onetap Big fala Masta. [Jacomb 1914:99] ... 'E stop 'long big feller bokis close up long window. [Johnson 1921:123] ... One of the boys ran up to me and told me ... that he had seen "plenty big fellow man along bush... [Fletcher 1923:92] They have heard that there is a 'big fellow master belong gevernment' who lives in a 'house calico' and does strange things with machines. [Alexander 1927:214] Master 'e speak, 'Now you sickis [six] feller you go along big feller boat ... [Baker 1929:17] One big fella bokus [box], 'e got tooth; time master 'e fight 'him, 'e sing out. [Baker 1929:137] Two big fella 'e take 'im boat. [Titayna and Lugeon 1931:31] Piano: "Bigfallabokis blanwetman i sinout ..." [Marshall 1937:71] Big-fella all-same bullamacow, 'im 'e no savvy drown: swim all-same dog, more (and) back-side, b'long 'im all-same pineapple," is how they describe the great old-man saurian of the Yora.
- bigleg (n) filariasis. [Marshall 1937:85] ... I learned that everyone was perfectly fit except one man who had contracted "big-leg" (filariasis) whilst working for a planter on the coast.
- bihain (adj) afterwards. [Pionnier 1913:192] DERRIERE: Biaïne. [Jacomb 1914:102] Man 'ere 'e come first time, me me come be'ind.
- bij (n) beach. [Fletcher 1923:329] 'E got big-feller sea long beach. Now invariably sanbij in modern Bislama. San (but not bij) survives residually in modern Bislama in blaksan, bigsan and waitsan, and in Tok Pisin wesan, while bij possibly survives as -bis in Tok Pisin nambis.
- bin (aux) past. [Fletcher 1923:326] Which way you no bin tell 'im out? [Jacomb 1929:30] Commandan' belong me feller been go kai kai long ouse belong one feller master. [Marshall 1937:53] ... Peter excused his late coming with the plea that he had "bin 'long church 'long God!" [Marshall 1937:300] Me bin speak 'long 'im before! [Marshall 1937:316] Mast' 'e been spoil'em (infected) me.
- Bislama (n) Pidgin. [Speiser 1913:13] I was, therefore, dependent on interpreters in "biche la mar," a language which contains hardly more than fifty words, and which is spoken on the plantations, but is quite useless for discussing any abstract subject. [Johnson 1921:12] Though he could speak many native languages, his English was limited to bêche-de-mer, the pidgin English of the South Seas. [Marshall 1937:243] The vehicle of expression will be preferably French, failing that, "bêche-la-mer"; or if you don't speak either the Père will convey impressions to you with a Latin wealth of gestures which leaves little indeed to be said.
- bisnis (n) affair, matter. [Fletcher 1923:219] S'pose Jack 'e no wanta work, all right; 'im 'e business b'long Jack. [Marshall 1937:299] A third "business b'long Sedhi" concerned Tavanun, a Sakau who worked on a near-by plantation.
- **blad** (n) blood. [Pionnier 1913:195] I kapsaïll blad bilong him bilong you mi. [Fletcher 1923:330] All blood b'long 'im 'e fall down.
- blak (adj) black. [Jacomb 1914:99] ... 'Im 'e black... [Fletcher 1923:327] 'Im 'e black. [Harrisson 1937:145] Blak e fite, white e frite ...

- blakfala (adj) black. [Harrisson 1937:145] Piano: boxis where man 'e fight 'im white more black feller something along face belong 'im, belly belong 'im 'im 'e talktalk too much, 'e tell 'im out good feller talk.
- blari (int) bloody. [Fletcher 1923:329] You come ashore; me fight 'im bloody face b'long you.
- blo (intr) blow. [Pionnier 1913:111] Ouine iflo.
- blong (prep) 1. possessive. [Pionnier 1913:109] Mi ouashème hèd bilong you. [Jacomb 1914:93] Altogether man 'e look 'im arm belong 'im 'e sore: 'e stop. [Johnson 1921:15] My word! Master! Belly belong me walk about too much! [Alexander 1927:214] ... Skin belong 'im allersame [colour] belong me feller. [Baker 1929:17] Face belong 'im 'e good fellow too much. [Marshall 1937:7] A flower or seed is "piccaninny (child) blong tree" ... (comp) 2. purposive. [Pionnier 1913:185] Goud bilong louk. [Jacomb 1914:99] 'Im 'e belong make mark 'long paper... [Baker 1929:21] Belong catch 'im fish? [Marshall 1937:7] A grappling-iron I once heard described as "one-fella something blong scratch 'im bottom blong saltwater." Harrison (1937:146] Might you me find 'im one place belong sleep along road. (sub) 3. because. [Baker 1929:21] "Belong dog 'e no sing out." (Because my dog doesn't bark).
- bluflaua (n) blue rat's tail. (Stachytarpheta urticifolia) [Marshall 1937:45] "Blueflower" is another imported pest. It is a rank shrub which has swamped the near-by plantation, destroying the pasture-lands, encroaching on the cleared mission property and rapidly overrunning our camp site.
- **bluwota** (n) deep round tidal inland waterhole. [Marshall 1937:114] Before we passed the bluewater I was satisfied he was the slowest ... Now known as **bluhol**.
- boi (n) 1. labourer. [Jacomb 1914:95] Master 'e kill 'im boy long 'and all time. [Marshall 1937:149] Boy 'e like spik 'long God. 2. Melanesian. [Jacomb 1914:93] What name boy 'e make? [Johnson 1921:54] Altogether boy he speak ... [Fletcher 1923:326] 'Im 'e bin killa one boy.
- boil (intr) boil. [Fletcher 1924:166] You, you look out water 'e boil good.
- bokis (n) box, coffin. [Pionnier 1913:115] BOITE: Bokis. [Jacomb 1914:99] ... 'E stop 'long big feller bokis close up long window. [Johnson 1921:171] ... A delegation ... appeared and said they had come for "big-fellow-bokkus (box)." [Alexander 1927:213] A box is a "bokkis" ... [Baker 1929:17] One big fella bokus [box], 'e got tooth; time master 'e fight 'him, 'e sing out. [Titayna and Lugeon 1931:31] Piano: "Bigfallabokis blanwetman i sinout ..." [Harrisson 1937:145] Piano: boxis where man 'e fight 'im white more black feller something along face belong 'im, belly belong 'im 'im 'e talktalk too much, 'e tell 'im out good feller talk.
- **bokis miusik** (n) record player. [Marshall 1937:70] ... We managed that night to extract a tune from the "bokis music." Now expressed as **pikap**. It is possible that this item was construed by Marshall to convey humour.
- boled (adj) bald. [Fletcher 1923:195] Im 'e bald'ed all same you ...
- bolet (n) bullet. [Fletcher 1923:331] Bullet 'e catch 'im jack long belly b'long 'im.
- bonem (tr) burn. [Fletcher 1923:254] Bald'ed, you sabby Koumala ... where me cook 'im long you me burn 'im?

- bosboi (n) Melanesian overseer. [Fletcher 1923:161] There was a big dance and kaikai last night to celebrate the wedding of my boss-boy ... Now seldom used in Bislama. Also attested in Tok Pisin.
- bot (n) boat. [Pionnier 1913:114] BALEINIERE: Bôt. [Jacomb 1914:97] Boat 'e fas' long reef. [Fletcher 1923:326] No, two feller 'e go longa boat long all boy? [Alexander 1927:214] Master 'e speak, 'Now you sickis [six] feller you go along big feller boat ... [Baker 1929:137] Two big fella 'e take 'im boat.
- botel (n) bottle. [Pionnier 1913:115] BOUTEILLE: Botèle.
- **botom** (n) bottom. [Marshall 1937:7] A grappling-iron I once heard described as "one-fella something blong scratch 'im bottom blong saltwater."
- brata (n) 1. brother. [Pionnier 1912:112] FRERE: Brata. [Fletcher 1923:326] Brother b'long you? 2. similar kind of thing. [Johnson 1921:48] You go along Mary (woman) belong Master catchem one fellow something he brather belong ackus (axe), pullem he come, pushem he go. [Alexander 1927:215] Another boy described a saw as follows: ... brother belong tommyhawk. [Baker 1929:16-17] One is the description of a saw as "brother belong akus [axe]; pull 'im 'e come, push 'im 'e go". [Marshall 1937:104] ... This bird is a "brother b'long" the lorikeets of Australia ...
- bred (n) bread. [Pionnier 1913:116] Haf brède.
- brekim (tr) break. [Jacomb 1914:95] Me me break 'im.
- brok (intr) break, broken. [Pionnier 1913:185] *I brok*. [Jacomb 1914:95] 'Im 'e broke. [Fletcher 1923:331] Face b'long 'im 'e broke no more.
- bubu (n) 1. conch shell. [Johnson 1921:74] The natives called them boo-boos the name given to conch-shells and all other sound-making instruments. [Marshall 1937:282] At midday you'll hear the overseer order a boy to "make 'im bu-bu," and with thick lips pressed to a hole in a conch-shell the native will send the welcome message booming to the labourers. 2. work siren. [Fletcher 1924:40] ... boubou b'long work 'e finish ...
- bulmakau (n) 1. cow, cattle. [Jacomb 1914:101] BULAMAKOW.- (a) An ox or a cow; (b) beef. [Marshall 1937:71] Big-fella all-same bullamacow, 'im 'e no savvy drown: swim all-same dog, more (and) back-side, b'long 'im all-same pineapple," is how they describe the great old-man saurian of the Yora. 2. beef. [Jacomb 1914:101] BULAMAKOW.- (a) An ox or a cow; (b) beef. Archaic, normally expressed in modern Bislama as buluk. Attested also in Tok Pisin and Solomons Pijin.
- buluk (n) cow, cattle. [Pionnier 1913:115] BOEUF: Boulouk.
- bus (n) bush. [Johnson 1921:123] ... One of the boys ran up to me and told me ... that he had seen "plenty big fellow man along bush..." [Fletcher 1923:150] She had come round on foot, braving the four hour walk, and all the devils that 'steal 'im-woman 'long bush' in order to make my coffee that morning. [Marshall 1937:246] "Something b'long bush," he told me, was used by the natives to convert their wool from a jet-black to an alluring auburn.
- busong (n) cork. [Baker 1929:16] The vocabulary is based on English words with the exceptions of kai-kai ... and bouchon (= cork, from French).
- but (n) boots. [Pionnier 1913:113] SOULIERS: Bout.

- dai (intr) die, dead. [Johnson 1921:53] Master, ... me lookum some fellow man he die finish. [Marshall 1937:278] Spose M. le Commissaire 'e die finish. 'Im 'e goodfella?' Now replaced by ded, but dai is retained in Tok Pisin and Solomons Pijin.
- dak¹ (adj) dark. [Harrisson 1937:146] Might you me go go go long road where 'e dark too much.
- dak² (n) duck. [Pionnier 1913:113] CANARD: Dak. Now dakdak in Bislama. However, the languages of the Loyalties have borrowed this word from an earlier form dak.
- dakita (n) doctor. [Jacomb 1914:103] Doctor pronounced ta-ke-ter. [Fletcher 1923:333] Finish, 'im 'e send 'im Jack 'e go Vila longa Dokkitor long lannitch b'long Lizzy. Dokita is attested as an occasional archaic variant in modern Bislama, which is also the shape of the word that was borrowed in the Loyalties.
- daknes (n) paganism. [Jacomb 1914:98] Me me missionary: nother feller man 'ere 'e man belong darkness. [Marshall 1937:27] Already the mission boys were scooping a hole for the "fella blong darkness" ... [Marshall 1937:320] ... None of the Presbyterians should degrade themselves or their kirk by participation in a "danis b'long man b'long darkness." [Harrisson 1937:170] It is sad that the missionaries invented for the heathen the caption "Man belong darkness", for their Tagaro was a God of Light.
- danis (n) dance. [Marshall 1937:88] "Jemis" said to me "man 'e like makim sing-sing" and asked if I'd like to witness a "danis".
- danmait (n) dynamite. [Baker 1929:21] What name you want 'im dynamite?
- datfala (premod) that. [Jacomb 1914:95] What name that feller something man 'e fight 'im 'e sing out? Not attested in modern Bislama, which uses instead the postmodifier ia. Found in Solomons Pijin.
- daun (adv) below, beneath. [Pionnier 1913:109] Daoune long faïa, en bas dans feu. [Jacomb 1914:102] 'Im 'e stop on top; me stop down.
- de (n) day. [Baker 1929:137] Three white man here, 'e want stop seven days along Lake. [Marshall 1937:254] ... It would be "day b'long nemalap3" ("flying-fox") in a day or two.
- ded (intr) 1. die, dead. [Marshall 1937:7] ... To "kill" is merely to strike, but to "kill 'im dead finish" is to slay something as in the correct usage of the word. 2. sick. [Jacomb 1914:98] A native would say "Master 'e kill 'im me strong feller: me dead," meaning, My master beat me severely, and I felt very sore and ill afterwards. [Harrisson 1937:320] In pidgin English dead means sick, and when a man is dead in our sense, in pidgin English he is "dead finish". 3. unconscious. [Fletcher 1923:326] 'Im 'e kill 'im dead finish? No. 'Im 'e no dead no more. 'Im 'e no dead finish. 4. go out. [Pionnier 1913:117] Faïa bilong you i dède. [Harrisson 1937:146] Might you me catch 'im quick time. Might sun 'e dead along road.
- devel (n) devil. [Pionnier 1913:109] DIABLE, DEMON: Devèl. [Marshall 1937:83] The mountainmen told me that "one man n'more (only)" from each of the old villages was possessed of a "devil" which had the power to venture forth and kill other men.

Nemalap is cited in this source as a vernacular word rather than a Bislama word.

- develdevel (n) graven image. [Johnson 1921:63] The three savages ... were almost ready to kow-tow to us, as they did to their devil-devils in the bush. [Fletcher 1923:58] Me think white man he all same devil-devil. The reduplicated form is not attested in any other variety of Bislama. It is possible that this is a European fabrication as the only source in which it occurs frequently is Johnson, who is not always reliable. Fletcher was generally reliable, but the reduplicated form is attested from the earlier period in his journal when he did include some erroneous information.
- dina (n) lunchtime, midday. [Pionnier 1913:111] Ouane clok after tina.
- dinggi (n) dinghy. [Fletcher 1923:329] Longa Friday Mis Collins 'e come longa Tahi longa dinghey.
- disfala (pron) this. [Jacomb 1914:94] Me learn 'im you make 'im this feller. Not common in modern Bislama, and when it does occur, we cannot rule out the possibility of direct borrowing from English. However, dispela is widespread in Tok Pisin, as is disfala in Solomons Pijin, indicating that this form probably does have a long history.
- do (n) door. [Pionnier 1913:191] Sarème dore.
- dog (n) dog. [Pionnier 1913:193] You savé man no ol sème dog ... [Baker 1929:21] "Belong dog 'e no sing out." (Because my dog doesn't bark). [Marshall 1937:71] Bigfella all-same bullamacow, 'im 'e no savvy drown: swim all-same dog, more (and) backside, b'long 'im all-same pineapple," is how they describe the great old-man saurian of the Yora.
- dola (n) dollar. [Pionnier 1913:114] cinq francs, Dolar.
- doti (adj) dirty. [Fletcher 1923:195] You tink 'e all same b'long dirty boy?
- drai (adj) dry, low (of tide). [Pionnier 1913:110] Solouara i traille.
- draun (intr) drown, sink. [Jacomb 1914:96] Ship 'e drown finish. [Fletcher 1923:330] Close up 'im 'e derrown. [Marshall 1937:71] Big-fella all-same bullamacow, 'im 'e no savvy drown: swim all-same dog, more (and) back-side, b'long 'im all-same pineapple," is how they describe the great old-man saurian of the Yora.
- dring (tr) 1. drink. [Jacomb 1914:95] DRINK.- To drink. [Fletcher 1924:121] 'Im 'e sleep finish time two-feller 'e no derrink grog yet. (intr) 2. drink. [Pionnier 1913:190] BOIRE: Drink. [Jacomb 1914:95] DRINK.- To drink.
- dring solwota drown. [Jacomb 1914:100] "'Im 'e drink salt water finish." He was drowned.
- drong (adj) drunk. [Jacomb 1914:103] Drunk pronounced tronk. [Fletcher 1923:329] 'Im 'e derronk.
- e (int) hey. [Jacomb 1914:102] EH! An exclamation to attract attention before commencing a sentence.
- eg (n) egg. [Marshall 1937:20] Thus the natives found "house more (and) h'egg blong pidgin" a source of easy revenue ...
- enggis (n) egg. [Pionnier 1913:116] *OEUF*: En'guis. Now replaced entirely by eg in modern Bislama and Solomons Pijin. Tok Pisin has kiau.
- et (adj) eight. [Pionnier 1913:187] HUIT, 8: Haïte.

- evri (premod) every. [Pionnier 1913:192] DANS TOUS LES PAYS: Olfriaïlend. Given the occurrence of evri in modern Bislama, Pionnier's initial syllable would appear to be some kind of mistake.
- faia (n) fire. [Pionnier 1913:194] Big fala Masta i koukime bèl bilong hèm long faia, long ol taïme no finish.
- faiawud (n) firewood. [Fletcher 1924:167] Me no gotta firewood.
- faif (adj) five. [Pionnier 1913:187] CINQ, 5: Faïve.
- faifala (adj) five. [Marshall 1937:77] Sorrowfully, the little missionary led his flock back to the intricacies of ... "three-fella coconuts more (=and) two-fella banana 'e savvy makim five-fella altogether."
- fainim (tr) find. [Harrisson 1937:146] Might you me find 'im one place belong sleep along road.
- fait (intr) fight. [Fletcher 1923:331] Four feller more dog b'long Harry 'e fight.
- faitim (tr) 1. strike, beat, hit, punch. [Pionnier 1913:191] FRAPPER: Faïtim. [Jacomb 1914:95] Man 'e fight 'im one nail long 'ammer. [Fletcher 1923:329] You come ashore; me fight 'im bloody face b'long you. [Alexander 1927:213] ... A piano is "bokkis you fight 'im 'e sing out ... [Baker 1929:17] One big fella bokus [box], 'e got tooth; time master 'e fight 'him, 'e sing out. [Harrisson 1937:145] Piano: boxis where man 'e fight 'im white more black feller something along face belong 'im, belly belong 'im 'im 'e talktalk too much, 'e tell 'im out good feller talk. 2. fight against. [Harrisson 1937:328] You feller go go go, fight 'im white man finish.
- fala (n) person. [Marshall 1937:27] Already the mission boys were scooping a hole for the "fella blong darkness" ... A small number of attestations point to fala being used in the early twentieth century as a noun. I have my doubts about these examples, and suggest that Europeans may have misinterpreted this form.
- fas (intr) stuck. [Jacomb 1914:97] Boat 'e fas' long reef.
- fasim (tr) tie. [Alexander 1927:214] By'n by Kong-Kong [Chinaman] 'e fas'in rope along bokkis you fight 'im 'e sing out ...
- fasin (n) way, manner. [Fletcher 1923:239] Fashion b'long me feller, papa 'e look out piccaninny where 'e man, piccaninny where 'e woman 'e b'long mamma ... [Marshall 1937:36] That is "fashion b'long native" in Santo.
- fastaim (adv) previously, first. [Pionnier 1913:187] Le premier, pastaïme. [Jacomb 1914:102] Man 'ere 'e come first time, me me come be'ind.
- fat (adj) fat. [Fletcher 1923:195] My word! You you fat too much. Now normally reduplicated as fatfat. Unreduplicated fat generally means only 'fart'.
- faul (n) chicken. [Pionnier 1913:113] POULE: Paoule. [Jacomb 1914:100] "Grass belong fowl"; A fowl's feathers. [Fletcher 1923:256] 'One pig-pig more one fowl where 'e man' were sacrificed.
- fenis (n) fence. [Jacomb 1914:103] Fence pronounced fenys.
- fes (n) face, front. [Fletcher 1923:329] You come ashore; me fight 'im bloody face b'long you. [Baker 1929:17] Face belong 'im 'e good fellow too much. [Harrisson 1937:145]

- Piano: boxis where man 'e fight 'im white more black feller something along face belong 'im, belly belong 'im 'im 'e talktalk too much, 'e tell 'im out good feller talk.
- finis (postmod) 1. completive aspect. [Pionnier 1913:189] Olguita go finish. [Jacomb 1914:92] Me go finish. [Johnson 1921:53] Master, ... me lookum some fellow man he die finish. [Fletcher 1923:326] Two feller 'e go Vila finish. [Baker 1929:21] By and by you kill him finish? [Marshall 1937:7] ... To "kill" is merely to strike, but to "kill 'im dead finish" is to slay something as in the correct usage of the word. (intr) 2. finish. [Pionnier 1913:112] Rène i finish. [Jacomb 1914:95] FINISH. To finish. [Marshall 1937:270] One week 'e finish.
- fingga (n) finger. [Pionnier 1913:112] DOIGTS: Fineguers. [Fletcher 1923:331] 'Im 'e want pull 'im out heye belong Mis Collins longa finger b'long 'im.
- fis (n) fish. [Pionnier 1913:110] LES POISSONS: Fiche. [Jacomb 1914:103] Fish pronounced fis. [Fletcher 1924:154] Monday catcha one good-feller fish for you. [Baker 1929:21] Belong catch 'im fish?
- fiva (intr) run a fever. [Pionnier 1912:112] FIEVRE: Fiver. [Jacomb 1914:100] Me fever. [Fletcher 1923:129] Me pever master.
- flai (n) fly. [Pionnier 1913:113] MOUCHE: Flaïlle.
- flas (adj) 1. decorated, smart (in appearance). [Jacomb 1914:98] FLASH.- (a) Smart ... [Fletcher 1923:38] Oh, no, master, me fellow altogether flash more when we have calico (clothes) belong white man. 2. show off. [Jacomb 1914:98] FLASH.- ... (b) bumptious, or arrogant
- fo (adj) four. [Pionnier 1913:187] QUATRE, 4: For. [Fletcher 1923:328] Four moon 'e go finish now.
- fofala (adj) four. [Fletcher 1923:331] Four feller more dog b'long Harry 'e fight.
- fok (n) fork. [Pionnier 1913:116] FOURCHETTE: Forke.
- foldaun (intr) fall. [Fletcher 1923:330] All blood b'long 'im 'e fall down. [Harrisson 1937:145] Pull 'im 'e come, push 'im 'e go; wood 'e fall down.
- frai (tr) fear. [Pionnier 1913:198] You fraille naou ol tigne you mèkèm i no goud bifore. All varieties of modern Melanesian Pidgin point to an original final-t in this form, though Pionnier consistently uses frai as a transitive verb. Modern Bislama would have fraet long, while modern Tok Pisin has poretim for this meaning.
- fraipan (n) frying pan. [Pionnier 1913:116] POELE: Brabane.
- Fraire (n) Friday. [Pionnier 1913:111] VENDREDI: Forarailleray. [Fletcher 1923:329] Longa Friday Mis Collins 'e come longa Tahi longa dinghey.
- frait (intr) afraid, frightened. [Pionnier 1913:195] You no fraid! [Johnson 1921:41] ... My word! Suppose fifty men he come, me no fright. [Fletcher 1923:329] 'Im 'e fright long Harry? [Marshall 1937:97] ... Others, more honest, freely admitted "me-fella fright plenty too-much" ... [Harrisson 1937:145] Blak e fite, white e frite ...
- Franis (n) French. [Fletcher 1923:328] Me no sabby talk Frennich. [Jacomb 1929:30] Me belong Frenchis polis.
- fri (adj) non-indentured. [Jacomb 1914:97] FREE.- Non-indentured.

- frut (n) fruit. [Pionnier 1913:185] Frout rap.
- fulap (adj) full. [Jacomb 1929:30] Me feller look look, me feller look tin e ful up.
- fulumap (tr) fill up. [Fletcher 1923:73] You fill him up back again.
- fut (n) foot. [Jacomb 1914:96] Nail 'e stick in foot belong me. More commonly expressed in Bislama today as leg, but sofut does retain earlier fut residually.
- garen (n) garden. [Pionnier 1913:117] JARDIN: Carène.
- gat (tr) have. [Pionnier 1913:112] I got ouine. [Jacomb 1914:96] 'E no got. [Baker 1929:17] One big fella bokus [box], 'e got tooth; time master 'e fight 'him, 'e sing out. [Harrisson 1937:145] Black e got wod, e got wod ...
- gavman (n) government. [Fletcher 1923:92] They have heard that there is a 'big fellow master belong gevernment' who lives in a 'house calico' and does strange things with machines. [Marshall 1937:31] If anything was necessary to aggravate the position and increase the Sakau's contempt for the "Govmint" it was this futile procedure.
- gel (n) girl. [Pionnier 1912:112] FILLE: Kèle.
- giaman (intr) lie. [Pionnier 1913:185] I kiamane. [Jacomb 1914:94] GAMMON. To deceive, not necessarily in a bad sense. [Harrisson 1937:145] A few words are French (savvy), some archaic English (gammon).
- givan (intr) help. [Fletcher 1923:330] You, you no give hand long Harry?
- givim (tr) give. [Pionnier 1913:191] DONNER: Guire (give). [Harrisson 1937:145] ... 'E good, you give 'im one something along belly belong you me, allsame belly belong you me, 'e no sing out back again.
- glas (n) (drinking) glass. [Pionnier 1913:116] VERRE: Glasse.
- go (intr) go. [Pionnier 1913:188] You mi tri fala go. [Speiser 1913:122–123] "Well, me, me go." They answer, "All right, you go." [Jacomb 1914:92] Might me go. [Johnson 1921:48] You go along Mary (woman) belong Master catchem one fellow something he brather belong ackus (axe), pullem he come, pushem he go. [Baker 1929:16-17] One is the description of a saw as "brother belong akus [axe]; pull 'im 'e come, push 'im 'e go". [Marshall 1937:247] Altogether man long time before 'e go finish. [Harrisson 1937:145] ... Belly belong me feller 'e sing out, 'e 'ear 'em no good, 'e want 'im kaikai 'e go 'long 'im.
- God (n) God. [Pionnier 1913:194] Nème long Big fala Masta ia God. [Marshall 1937:53] ... Peter excused his late coming with the plea that he had "bin 'long church 'long God!"
- godaun (intr) go down. [Pionnier 1913:110] Solouara i go daoune. [Fletcher 1923:329] 'Im 'e look Mis Collins. Allez; 'em 'e races 'e go down long salt-water.
- goraun (intr) go around. [Pionnier 1913:192] Igoraoune.
- graun (n) ground, soil. [Pionnier 1913:193] I mèkèm ol tigne: Claound, Sane, Moune, Solouara, graoun ... [Johnson 1921:54] Me think more better you no put him along ground. [Fletcher 1923:332] Jack 'e stop long ground? [Titayna and Lugeon 1931:31] Automobile ... "Lanich blang grand ..."

- gras (n) 1. grass. [Jacomb 1914:100] GRASS.-... Grass of all sorts, including reeds, rushes, salas, etc... 2. hair. [Pionnier 1913:112] CHEVEUX: Crass bilong hède. [Jacomb 1914:100] You come cut 'im grass belong 'ead belong me. 3. feather. [Jacomb 1914:100] "Grass belong fowl"; A fowl's feathers. [Alexander 1927:213] The feathers of a bird are "grass belong pigeon". Gras is retained in Tok Pisin with the meaning of 'hair', though in Bislama, it has narrowed semantically just to refer to pubic hair. Hair on the head is now expressed as hea.
- gris (n) fat. [Pionnier 1913:116] GRAISSE: Guirisse.
- grog (n) alcoholic drink. [Jacomb 1914:101] GROG.- Any kind of alcoholic liquor. [Fletcher 1924:121] 'Im 'e sleep finish time two-feller 'e no derrink grog yet. Now archaic in Bislama.
- gubai (int) goodbye. [Fletcher 1923:325] Oright. Gooby. Me, me stop. Now usually tata in Bislama.
- gud (adj) 1. good. [Pionnier 1913:193] I pèillme ol tigne i goud; i kilim ol tigne i nogoud. [Marshall 1937:86] Yes, the bananas were "good 'long kai-kai"! [Harrisson 1937:145] ... 'E good, you give 'im one something along belly belong yumi, allsame belly belong you me, 'e no sing out back again. (adv) 2. well. [Baker 1929:22] Dog 'e sing out good.
- gude (int) good day. [Fletcher 1923:325] Goudé, Aboh. You go where?
- gudfala (adj) good. [Fletcher 1923:327] 'Im 'e pay good-feller price longa copperah. [Baker 1929:17] Face belong 'im 'e good fellow too much. [Marshall 1937:278] Spose M. le Commissaire 'e die finish. 'Im 'e goodfella? [Harrisson 1937:145] Piano: boxis where man 'e fight 'im white more black feller something along face belong 'im, belly belong 'im 'im 'e talktalk too much, 'e tell 'im out good feller talk.
- haf (n) piece. [Pionnier 1913:116] Haf brède.
- hafkas (n) mixed race person. [Marshall 1937:280] Master, ... me think King 'e allesame half-caste b'long Jesus!" Not attested in sources from the period in question in a clearly Bislama context, but this is a word that is widely attested as an early borrowing in many Pacific languages. It is also used in Tok Pisin, also to refer to a Melanesian whose parents come from different parts of the country.
- hama (n) hammer. [Pionnier 1913:114] MARTEAU: Hama. [Jacomb 1914:95] Man 'e fight 'im one nail long 'ammer.
- hamas (inter) how much. [Fletcher 1923:326] How much you pay long copperah? [Marshall 1937:40] How much money 'e stop 'long you-fella?
- ham bag (intr) misbehave sexually. [Fletcher 1923:106] Tom he been humbug belong me last night ... This meaning is now being replaced in modern Bislama by the innocent meaning 'cause nuisance'.
- han (n) 1. hand, arm. [Pionnier 1912:112] SA MAIN: Ând bilong hème. [Jacomb 1914:93] Altogether man 'e look 'im arm belong 'im 'e sore: 'e stop. [Jacomb 1914:95] Master 'e kill 'im boy long 'and all time. [Fletcher 1923:327] Mis Collins 'e bin kill 'im long hand b'long him? [Alexander 1927:214] ... Now one big feller machine [crane] 'e got long feller 'and too much, 'e put 'im along worf. [Pionnier 1913:117] BRANCHE: Hand bilong hème.

- handre (adj) hundred. [Pionnier 1913:187] CENT, 100: Ouane onedré. Invariably with a final consonant in all varieties of modern Melanesian Pidgin. It is tempting to think that Pionnier's final vowel is a mistake.
- hanggri (adj) hungry. [Pionnier 1913:191] AVOIR FAIM: Angérè.
- hangkesif (n) handkerchief. [Pionnier 1913:113] MOUCHOIR: Aneguisip.
- hariken (n) cyclone. [Pionnier 1913:110] LA TEMPETE: Arkine.
- harim (tr) hear, feel, smell, understand. [Pionnier 1913:185] I no arème. [Pionnier 1913:190] Mi arème goud. [Jacomb 1914:94] Me 'ear 'im one feller man 'e talk. [Jacomb 1914:94] Me no 'ear 'im good [Fletcher 1923:326] You no bin haar 'im? [Fletcher 1923:130] Belly belong me, me hear him he no good. [Harrisson 1937:145] ... Belly belong me feller 'e sing out, 'e 'ear 'em no good...
- hat (n) hat. [Pionnier 1913:185] Hat bilong mi.
- haus (n) house. [Pionnier 1913:116] MAISON: Haouse. [Johnson 1921:68] He wantem you, you two fellow, you come along lookem house belong him, you lookem piccaninny belong him, you lookem Mary belong him. [Fletcher 1923:329] Yiss; me bin stop long house long Harry. [Jacomb 1929:30] Commandan' belong me feller been go kai kai long ouse belong one feller master. [Baker 1929:137] Which way me take 'im calico house belong me, kai-kai belong me, all something belong me along Lake? [Marshall 1937:145] "No!" he grunted emphatically, "'Im-fella house b'long King!"
- haus blong pijin (n) bird's nest. [Marshall 1937:20] Thus the natives found "house more (and) h'egg blong pidgin" a source of easy revenue ...
- haus kaliko (n) tent. [Fletcher 1923:92] They have heard that there is a 'big fellow master belong gevernment' who lives in a 'house calico' and does strange things with machines. [Baker 1929:137] Which way me take 'im calico house belong me, kai-kai belong me, all something belong me along Lake?
- havim (tr) wear. [Fletcher 1923:38] Oh, no, master, me fellow altogether flash more when we have calico (clothes) belong white man.
- hea (n) hair. [Fletcher 1923:331] 'Im 'e want pull 'im out heye belong Mis Collins longa finger b'long 'im.
- hed (n) 1. head. [Pionnier 1913:109] Mi ouashème hèd bilong you. [Jacomb 1914:98] 'Ead (head) belong me he sore. 2. tree. [Pionnier 1913:184] TETE DE L'ARBRE: Hède bilong hème.
- hem (pron) he, she, it, him, her. [Pionnier 1912:112] SA MAIN: Ând bilong hème. [Speiser 1913:78] Him he close up. [Jacomb 1914:92] 'Im e go. [Johnson 1921:68] He wantem you, you two fellow, you come along lookem house belong him, you lookem piccaninny belong him, you lookem Mary belong him. [Marshall 1937:71] "Big-fella all-same bullamacow, 'im 'e no savvy drown: swim all-same dog, more (and) back-side, b'long 'im all-same pineapple," is how they describe the great old-man saurian of the Yora. [Marshall 1937:244] "'Im 'e no pidgin b'long you, Père," contradicted Tom ...
- hemfala (pron) that. [Marshall 1937:145] "No!" he grunted emphatically, "'Im-fella house b'long King!" 2. his. [Marshall 1937:50] ... The boys continued working overtime until they heard cleared "'coun' (account) b'long 'imfella trowser." Again, it is Marshall who

is responsible for these strange attestations involving -fala, which do not fit with the remainder of the contemporary record. These could simply be mistakes, though the pronominal form dempla is attested as a plural pronoun in Torres Strait Broken.

hemia (pron) that one, this one. [Pionnier 1913:188] CELUI-CI: Hème ia. [Fletcher 1923:328] Yiss; 'em 'ere - "révolver."

ho (n) hoe. [Pionnier 1913:114] PIOCHE: Oou.

hol¹ (n) hole. [Pionnier 1913:114] Hole bilong hème.

hol² (n) hold (in ship). [Alexander 1927:214] Bokkis 'e stop along hole belong boat.

holigos (n) holy ghost. [Pionnier 1913:110] SAINT-ESPRIT: Holy Gost.

hot (adj) hot. [Pionnier 1913:117] Koukime ouata i hot.

hu (inter) who. [Pionnier 1913:188] Ou mania? [Jacomb 1914:102] WHO? (pronounced Oo).- Who? [Fletcher 1923:326] 'oo Jack? You tell 'im out.

huia (inter) who. [Fletcher 1923:326] 'oo 'ere boy where Mis Collins 'e bin kill 'im?

huk (n) hook. [Jacomb 1914:95] Me go throw 'im away hook long salt water.

- i (predmrkr) predicate marker. [Pionnier 1913:113] Hède bilong mi i soa. [Speiser 1913:78] Him he close up. [Jacomb 1914:93] Kai-kai 'e stop. [Alexander 1927:214] Master 'e catch 'im one feller ackis [axe] ... [Harrisson 1937:328] 'E got too much man 'e stop along place here, belong fight.
- ia¹ (postmod) 1. this, that. [Pionnier 1913:185] Ce, cette se rendent par Ia. Exemple: Ces hommes, Man ia, hommes ceux-lá. [Jacomb 1914:94] Capsize 'im milk 'ere long jug. [Harrisson 1937:328] 'E got too much man 'e stop along place here, belong fight. [Baker 1929:17] Two fella here 'e steraight ... (adv) 2. here. [Pionnier 1913:111] Solouara i go daoune long ouay long ia.
- ia² (n) ear. [Pionnier 1913:113] OREILLE: Ja.
- Inglis (n) English. [Fletcher 1923:329] Mis Collins 'e pay 'im copperah long Ingerlish money.
- insaid (adv) inside. [Fletcher 1923:330] Salt-water 'e go inside longa mouth b'long Harry. [Alexander 1927:214] One big feller something ... 'e stop along inside...
- jea (n) chair. [Pionnier 1913:115] BANC: Séa.
- joj (n) church. [Marshall 1937:53] ... Peter excused his late coming with the plea that he had "bin 'long church 'long God!"
- kabis (n) cabbage. [Pionnier 1913:117] CHOUX: Cabiche.
- kaikai (n) 1. food. [Jacomb 1914:93] Kai-kai 'e stop. [Marshall 1937:15] "Kai-kai, kai-kai," he repeated, indicating that it was good to eat ...; [Harrisson 1937:145] ... Belly belong me feller 'e sing out, 'e 'ear 'em no good, 'e want 'im kaikai 'e go 'long 'im. (tr) 2. eat. [Pionnier 1913:190] AVALER: kaïkaïlle. [Alexander 1927:215] 'E one feller something belong kai-kai [cut] wood ... [Jacomb 1929:30] Commandan' belong me feller been go kai kai long ouse belong one feller master. [Baker 1929:16] The vocabulary is based on English words with the exceptions of kai-kai (eat, from Polynesian) ... [Marshall 1937:83] ... 'Im 'e no savvy kai-kai (eat) ... 3. burn. [Jacomb 1914:101] Plate

- 'ere 'e kai-kai me. 4. bite. [Fletcher 1923:331] 'Im 'e kaikai --- b'long Missis b'long Mis Collins. kaikai angka hoist anchor. [Jacomb 1914:101] "Kai-kai anchor"; Hoist anchor. Kaikai is regarded in modern Bislama as representing influence from Tok Pisin or Solomons Pijin, though it is well attested in Bislama until the modern form kakai replaced it.
- kalabus (n) 1. jail, prison. [Jacomb 1914:100] CALABOOS.- Prison. [Fletcher 1923:328] Capman 'e take 'im 'e go calaboosh. [Marshall 1937:317] He was put in the "calaboose," but ... there was no inquiry why the labourer became troublesome. (tr) 2. imprison. [Jacomb 1914:100] Altogether 'e calaboos me three time.
- kaliko (n) cloth, clothes. [Pionnier 1913:116] SERVIETTE: Calicot. [Jacomb 1914:100] CALICO.- All linen is calico. [Fletcher 1923:38] Oh, no, master, me fellow altogether flash more when we have calico (clothes) belong white man. [Baker 1929:137] Which way me take 'im calico house belong me, kai-kai belong me, all something belong me along Lake?
- kam (intr) come. [Pionnier 1913:110] Solouara i came chore. [Jacomb 1914:93] COME. Is used in the ordinary English sense. [Johnson 1921:41] ... My word! Suppose fifty men he come, me no fright. [Baker 1929:16-17] One is the description of a saw as "brother belong akus [axe]; pull 'im 'e come, push 'im 'e go". [Harrisson 1937:145] Pull 'im 'e come, push 'im 'e go; wood 'e fall down.
- kamap (intr) form. [Marshall 1937:277] "Meat 'e come up!" she gleefully exclaimed, indicating that new tissue was being formed.
- kambak (intr) come back. [Pionnier 1913:115] You kème bak long chore. [Alexander 1927:215] ... 'E come, 'e go, 'e come back ...
- kan (aux) can. [Harrisson 1937:146] Man 'e no can savvy. This is just an isolated attestation in the Bislama record, though ken does occur in Tok Pisin.
- kap (n) percussion cap. [Pionnier 1913:114] CAPSULE: Cap.
- **kapa** (n) roofing iron. [Pionnier 1913:114] *TOLE:* Care. The spelling *care* possibly represents a misprinting from a handwritten *cave*, which more plausibly represents **kapa**.
- **kapman** (n) government. [Fletcher 1923:326] Capman 'e bin take 'im 'e go. Gavman is now more common than kapman, with the latter being regarded as archaic.
- kapsail (intr) tip over. [Pionnier 1913:194] ... Suppose man ia i dèd, bèl bilong hème i kapsaïll daoun, plèce i no goud. No other source has kapsai without a final consonant, either transitively or intransitively. All modern varieties of Melanesian Pidgin have kapsait.
- kapsai² (tr) pour. [Pionnier 1913:117] Kapsaille botèle ouaine plinti.
- kapsait (intr) tip over. [Jacomb 1914:94] Boat 'e capsize.
- kapsaitim (tr) pour. [Jacomb 1914:94] Capsize 'im milk 'ere long jug. [Alexander 1927:214] ... Capsize 'im milk along jug ...
- karasin (n) kerosene. [Marshall 1937:7] Kerosene blong Jesus Christ 'e bugger-up finish! Although not attested during between the 1890s and the First World War, this is one of those words that was widely borrowed from Early Pacific Pidgin into a large number of vernaculars in the Pacific in this distinctive shape.

- karim (tr) 1. get, have. [Johnson 1921:48] Me gottem sore leg ... 2. give birth to. [Fletcher 1923:170] One mamma 'e bin carry you two feller more Jack?
- kasim (tr) 1. reach. [Speiser 1913:78] Bim by you me catch him. [Harrisson 1937:146] Might you me catch 'im quick time. Might sun 'e dead along road. 2. get, carry. [Pionnier 1913:195] I kasèm hèm, i mèkfas long oud ol sème. [Jacomb 1914:94] You catch 'im quick. [Johnson 1921:48] You go along Mary (woman) belong Master catchem one fellow something he brather belong ackus (axe), pullem he come, pushem he go. [Fletcher 1923:330] Mis Collins 'e catch 'im Harry long neck b'long 'im. [Alexander 1927:214] ... Altogether catch 'im one bokkis you fight 'im 'e sing out. [Baker 1929:21] Belong catch 'im fish?
- katim (tr) cut. [Pionnier 1913:117] You catème brède long soupa. [Jacomb 1914:100] You come cut 'im grass belong 'ead belong me. [Fletcher 1923:130] Me think very good you cut him.
- kaun (n) debt. [Jacomb 1914:100] Count belong me 'e stop long store. [Marshall 1937:50] ...The boys continued working overtime until they heard cleared "'coun' (account) b'long 'im fella trowser."
- **kava** (n) cover, lid. [Pionnier 1913:115] *COUVERCLE*: Care. Presumably Pionnier's r was an error for v.
- kavakava (n) kava. [Marshall 1937:20] Nevulko (Piper methysticum), famous throughout the South Seas as the plant which produces the native intoxicant kava-kava. This is another idiosyncratic reduplication by Marshall, and we should be suspicious of it.
- kavrimap (tr) cover. [Pionnier 1913:184] Kavremap hole bilong baniche.
- ki (n) key. [Alexander 1927:216] Master, 'im 'e key belong bokkis you fight 'im 'e sing out.
- kikim (tr) kick. [Marshall 1937:300] ... 'Im 'em call 'im me one 'mission bastard', more (and) talk strong 'long kick 'im back-side b'long me-fella!
- kilim (tr) 1. hit. [Jacomb 1914:95] Master 'e kill 'im boy long 'and all time. [Fletcher 1923:326] 'Im 'e bin killa one boy. [Marshall 1937:7] ... To "kill" is merely to strike, but to "kill 'im dead finish" is to slay something as in the correct usage of the word. 2. kill. [Pionnier 1913:193] I pëillme ol tigne i goud; i kilim ol tigne i nogoud. [Johnson 1921:186] He takem plenty pigs; he takem plenty women; he killem plenty men. [Baker 1929:21] By and by you kill him finish?
- king (n) king. [Marshall 1937:145] "No!" he grunted emphatically, "'Im-fella house b'long King!"
- kinu (n) canoe. [Pionnier 1913:115] PIROGUE: Kinou. [Jacomb 1914:101] CANOE (pronounced Kinoo).- Canoe.
- kirap (intr) get up, rise. [Pionnier 1913:112] Sane crap, soleil monter.
- **klaud** (n) sky. [Pionnier 1913:110] *LE CIEL:* Claoud. [Pionnier 1913:193] *I mèkèm ol tigne:* Claound, Sane, Moune, Solouara, graoun ... Pionnier gives 'sky' as the meaning, though all modern varieties have this form meaning simply 'cloud'.
- klok (n) o'clock. [Pionnier 1913:111] UNE HEURE: Ouane clok.

- klosap (adj) near. [Speiser 1913:78] Him he close up. [Jacomb 1914:99] ... 'E stop 'long big feller bokis close up long window. [Fletcher 1923:330] Close up 'im 'e derrown. [Marshall 1937:119] ... The magical words "Close-up too-much" always means that journey's end is near. Or within four miles, anyway. [Harrisson 1937:145] 'E no close up, 'e no long way too much.
- kok (n) cork. [Jacomb 1914:99] *Cork 'err 'e strong more*. The modern word is busong, which was also attested from the early twentieth century in Bislama. Kok in modern Bislama has only a genital meaning.
- kokonas (n) coconut. [Johnson 1921:107] One fellow man, him name blong Nowdi, he ketchem plenty coconuts, he ketchem plenty pigs, he ketchem plenty Mary. [Marshall 1937:77] Sorrowfully, the little missionary led his flock back to the intricacies of ... "three-fella coconuts more (=and) two-fella banana 'e savvy makim five-fella altogether."
- kol¹ (adj) cold. [Pionnier 1913:112] *I col tou mach*. Now more commonly reduplicated as kolkol.
- kol² (n) coal. [Fletcher 1923:328] Me look out coal long machine.
- kolim (tr) call. [Alexander 1927:214] ... Master 'e call 'im bokkis belong music ... [Marshall 1937:57] "I think me callim Neto," he said.
- **komandan** (n) commanding officer. [Jacomb 1929:30] Commandan' belong me feller been go kai kai long ouse belong one feller master.
- Kongkong (n) Chinese person. [Alexander 1927:214] By'n by Kong-Kong [Chinaman] 'e fas'in rope along bokkis you fight 'im 'e sing out ... No longer known in Bislama, where **Jaena** is used. However, Kongkong is used as a derogatory term in Tok Pisin to refer to Chinese.
- kopra (n) copra. [Fletcher 1923:326] How much you pay long copperah?
- korel (n) coral. [Fletcher 1923:330] 'Im 'e fight 'im face b'long Harry long one piece corail.
- kot¹ (n) coat. [Pionnier 1913:113] PALETOT: Côt.
- kot² (n) court. [Jacomb 1929:46] You tell-im out along Court; time you been talk along two feller, two feller e been tell-im you what name?
- krab (n) crab. [Fletcher 1923:130] You no bin kaikai crab?
- krae (intr) cry. [Alexander 1927:215] By'n by missus e' cry. Master 'e cry too. [Titayna and Lugeon 1931:31] Violin: "Smolsistere blanbigfallabokis blanwetman spose scrachbele icry ..."
- krangke (adj) crazy. [Pionnier 1913:185] FOU: I krangai. [Jacomb 1914:99] CRANKY.-Daft. [Fletcher 1923:106] No, what name. You cranky? [Marshall 1937:265] Fearing perhaps that the septic ankle had driven his master "cranky", Sedhi came at the double ...
- kristen (n) Christian. [Fletcher 1923:106] I knew that there was a 'big-fellow school belong make him Christian' (=baptism) on, and I was not surprised to find dungarees and 'trade' print dresses substituted for bamboo boxes and palm leaves.
- kros (adj) 1. angry. [Jacomb 1914:97] CROSS.- Angry. [Fletcher 1923:329] 'Im 'e cross.
 (tr) 2. be angry with. [Pionnier 1913:196] Big fala Masta i no cross you. Now only used intransitively in Bislama.

- **kru** (n) sprout. [Pionnier 1913:117] *GERME*: I crou bilong hème. Also used in Tok Pisin with this meaning.
- kruked (adj) crooked, difficult. [Jacomb 1914:98] CROOKED.- Crooked. [Jacomb 1914:98] [Jacomb 1914:98] Language belong me feller 'e straight, language belong you 'e crooked.
- kukim (tr) 1. cook, boil. [Pionnier 1913:116] You koukime en'guisse. [Fletcher 1923:254] Bald'ed, you sabby Koumala ... where me cook 'im long you me burn 'im? 2. burn. [Pionnier 1913:194] Big fala Masta i koukime bèl bilong hèm long faia, long ol taïme no finish. 'Burn' is now expressed as bonem in Bislama, though kukim is retained with this meaning in Tok Pisin.
- kumala (n) sweet potato. [Fletcher 1923:254] Bald'ed, you sabby Koumala ... where me cook 'im long you me burn 'im? [Marshall 1937:110] ... Bananas, kumara (sweet-potato), arrowroot and yam regularly found their way to the table.
- kwik (adv) quickly. [Pionnier 1913:193] VITE: Quike. [Jacomb 1914:94] You catch 'im quick.
- kwiktaem (adv) quickly. [Harrisson 1937:146] Might you me catch 'im quick time. Might sun 'e dead along road.
- kwinin (n) quinine. [Fletcher 1924:154] You no want make 'im drink quinine?
- laf (intr) laugh. [Pionnier 1913:191] RIRE: lave (laf anglais).
- lai (intr) tell lies, be mistaken. [Jacomb 1914:94] "You lie" equals (1) No; that is not so; (2) You are lying. Now replaced completely by giaman (which was attested as an alternative at the same time) though laia is still retained as an intransitive verb in Solomons Pijin.
- laik (aux) want to. [Marshall 1937:88] "Jemis" said to me "man 'e like makim sing-sing" and asked if I'd like to witness a "danis". [Marshall 1937:149] Boy 'e like spik 'long God. Another isolated attestation by Marshall, though auxiliary laik is standard in Tok Pisin.
- laikim (tr) like. [Jacomb 1914:96] LIKE.- To like. [Harrisson 1937:146] My word, suppose allsame me no like 'im.
- lanim (tr) teach. [Jacomb 1914:94] Me learn 'im you make 'im this feller.
- lanis (n) speedboat. [Jacomb 1914:96] Lanish 'e races more. [Fletcher 1923:325] Me come long Ambrym longa lannitch. [Titayna and Lugeon 1931:31] Automobile ... "Lanich blang grand ..."
- lanwis (n) language. [Jacomb 1914:98] Language belong me feller 'e straight, language belong you 'e crooked.
- lap lap (n) pudding. [Speiser 1913:114] lap-lap [Johnson 1921:47] He had ... died from poison placed in his lap-lap, a pudding made of coconuts and fish. [Fletcher 1923:156] Then we have a large clam which is likewise roasting in a lap-lap of grated plantain, the whole enveloped in a plantain leaf. [Marshall 1937:15] I ate lap-lap or native pudding which the chief personally made for me ...
- las (adj) last. [Fletcher 1923:106] Tom he been humbug belong me last night ...
- ledaon (intr) kneel. [Pionnier 1913:190] S'AGENOUILLER: L'ète daoun.

- leg (n) leg. [Pionnier 1912:112] JAMBE: Lègue. [Fletcher 1924:239] Me kai-kai leg b'long 'im; 'im 'e fright.
- lelebet (adv) 1. rather. [Jacomb 1914:93] ... It is common to add a phrase at the end, such as "long way too much"; or, "long way little bit"... [Fletcher 1923:328] Yiss; 'e long time little bit. [Marshall 1937:119] ... Ura replied: "Long-way little-bit." 2. a little. [Baker 1929:22] Now dog 'e sing out little bit. [Marshall 1937:279] In this case, the Tongkinese only killed him "little-bit-no-more!"
- les (adj) lazy. [Pionnier 1913:185] FAINEANT: I lès. [Fletcher 1923:195] You lazy too much longa come down.
- livim (tr) leave. [Pionnier 1913:191] METTRE: Livime.
- loli (n) sweet. [Marshall 1937:9] Nepal = 1 loli (lolly or sweet), the blackboard announced in bold white chalk ... Loli was commonly borrowed into Pacific vernaculars from Early Pacific Pidgin.
- long¹ (prep) 1. with. [Pionnier 1913:192] AVEC: long. [Pionnier 1913:193] When sikine bilong hèm i dèd, bèl bilong hème i go onetap, goud plèce long Big fala Masta ...

 [Marshall 1937:40] How much money 'e stop 'long you-fella? 2. in, on, at. [Jacomb 1914:95] Me go throw 'im away hook long salt water. [Johnson 1921:123] ... One of the boys ran up to me and told me ... that he had seen "plenty big fellow man along bush"...

 [Marshall 1937:53] ... Peter excused his late coming with the plea that he had "bin 'long church 'long God!" 3. to, into. [Johnson 1921:48] You go along Mary (woman) belong Master catchem one fellow something he brather belong ackus (axe), pullem he come, pushem he go. [Baker 1929:21] I put 'im dynamite along meat. [Harrisson 1937:145] ... Belly belong me feller 'e sing out, 'e 'ear 'em no good, 'e want 'im kaikai 'e go 'long 'im. 4. instrumental. [Pionnier 1913:116] You koukime raïce long guirisse. [Jacomb 1914:95] Master 'e kill 'im boy long 'and all time. 5. from. [Fletcher 1923:325] Me come long Ambrym longa lannitch.
- long² (conj) because. [Fletcher 1923:329] Two-feller 'e row longa Mis Collins 'e speak "Frennich money 'e no good." Now replaced by from in modern Bislama. However, Tok Pisin uses long wanem as a conjunction in this way.
- long³ (comp) to. [Fletcher 1923:327] 'Im 'e come longa pay 'im copperah. [Marshall 1937:86] Yes, the bananas were "good 'long kai-kai"!
- longfala (adj) long, tall. [Jacomb 1914:97] Man 'ere 'e long feller too much. [Alexander 1927:214] ... Now one big feller machine [crane] 'e got long feller 'and too much, 'e put 'im along worf.
- longfala pig (n) human killed to be eaten. [Jacomb 1914:102] LONG FELLER PIG.- Man, viewed from a cannibalistic aspect. Because this tends to occur in sensationalist attestations, it is difficult to know whether this represented genuine usage, or whether it was just part of European folklore.
- longtaem (adv) 1. long time ago. [Fletcher 1923:326] Two feller 'e go Vila finish long time? 2. for a long time. [Fletcher 1923:328] You stop long time longa Liro?
- longwe (adj) distant, far off. [Pionnier 1913:111] Solouara i go daoune long ouay long ia. [Jacomb 1914:93] ... It is common to add a phrase at the end, such as "long way too

- much"... [Marshall 1937:119] ... Ura replied: "Long-way little-bit." [Harrisson 1937:145] 'E no close up, 'e no long way too much.
- Iuk (intr) 1. look. [Jacomb 1914:96] You look, you look, you look ... (tr) 2. see, look at. [Pionnier 1913:115] You louk stone long ouay. [Fletcher 1923:329] 'Im 'e look Mis Collins. [Jacomb 1929:30] Me feller look look, me feller look tin e ful up. [Baker 1929:137] All man 'e luk, 'e speak 'e no look 'im before.
- **lukaut** (tr) 1. look after. [Fletcher 1923:327] White man where 'e look out store long Liro. 2. look for. [Fletcher 1924:167] ... You go look out firewood.
- **lukbuk** (intr) read. [Pionnier 1913:191] *LIRE*: Louke bouke. Remembered by occasional Bislama speakers as an old word for 'read'.
- lukim (tr) see, look at. [Jacomb 1914:93] Altogether man 'e look 'im arm belong 'im 'e sore: 'e stop. [Jacomb 1914:99] ... All time you look 'im me make mark long paper along 'im ... [Johnson 1921:53] Master, ... me lookum some fellow man he die finish. [Fletcher 1924:121] Orright. Byumby me come look him. [Baker 1929:137] All man 'e luk, 'e speak 'e no look 'im before. [Marshall 1937:279] Masta 'e look'im 'e no savvy wok strong. While the transitive verb is usually expressed as luk in Bislama and this form is sometimes said to represent a recent Tok Pisin borrowing into Bislama, it does have a long history of attestation in Bislama. Johnson, however, also points to the earlier existence of lukum as well.
- lukluk (intr) look, watch. [Jacomb 1929:30] E speak me feller look look.
- mait (adv) maybe, perhaps. [Jacomb 1914:92] Might me go. [Fletcher 1923:333] Might Capman 'e make 'im all same. [Harrisson 1937:146] Might you me catch 'im quick time. Might sun 'e dead along road.
- maiwad (int) my word! [Johnson 1921:15] My word! Master! Belly belong me walk about too much! [Fletcher 1923:195] My word! You you fat too much. [Harrisson 1937:146] My word, suppose allsame me no like 'im.
- mama (n) mother. [Pionnier 1913:109] MERE: Maman. [Fletcher 1923:170] One mamma 'e bin carry you two feller more Jack?
- man (n) 1. man. [Pionnier 1913:193] Big fala Masta ia, Masta bilong ol man, ol oumane. [Jacomb 1914:93] Altogether man 'e look 'im arm belong 'im 'e sore: 'e stop. [Johnson 1921:41] ... My word! Suppose fifty men he come, me no fright. [Baker 1929:21] One small fella dog belong me, suppose man 'e come, 'e no sing out. [Marshall 1937:83] The mountainmen told me that "one man n'more (only)" from each of the old villages was possessed of a "devil" which had the power to venture forth and kill other men. 2. person (of a particular place). [Fletcher 1923:205–206] If Topsy sticks to him and he grows up to be a 'man Aoba,' he will probably be much happier. (adj) 3. male. [Pionnier 1913:114] VERRAT: Pig mane.
- manbus (n) unsophisticated inland person. [Jacomb 1914:99] Natives who work as house servants naturally acquire rapidly a much larger vocabulary of names of common things than the mere "Man bush"... [Fletcher 1923:113] I knew jolly well that 'man-bush' would be shivering with fright of the devil-devils somewhere in the bush.
- Mande (n) Monday. [Pionnier 1913:111] LUNDI: Monday.

- mani (n) money. [Jacomb 1914:95] Me throw 'im away all money long store. [Fletcher 1923:329] All boy 'e no want 'im Frennich money. [Marshall 1937:40] How much money 'e stop 'long you-fella?
- manis (n) month. [Pionnier 1913:112] MOIS: Ouane moune (Ouane maniche).
- manua (n) warship. [Johnson 1921:19] From lip to lip an English word was passed, "Mano'-war Man-o'-war Man-o'-war." [Fletcher 1923:326] Two feller 'e go long picnini man-war. Rare in modern Bislama, now expressed as wosip, but manua was widely borrowed into Pacific languages form Early Pacific Pidgin.
- marasin (n) medicine. [Fletcher 1923:130] By and by me put him on medicine. The usual pronunciation today is meresin, but forms based on marasin have been borrowed into a number of Vanuatu languages, and this is also the form that is retained in Tok Pisin.
- marid (intr) married. [Pionnier 1913:112] Oumane i marit. [Fletcher 1923:330] Harry 'e marry long 'im?
- masin (n) machine. [Fletcher 1923:328] Me look out coal long machine. [Alexander 1927:214] ... Now one big feller machine [crane] 'e got long feller 'and too much, 'e put 'im along worf.
- masis (n) matches. [Fletcher 1923:330] You gotta matches? [Jacomb 1929:30] Im e slack im matchès.
- masket (n) rifle. [Pionnier 1913:114] FUSIL: Mousket. [Jacomb 1914:100] MUSKET.- Gun. [Fletcher 1923:328] 'Im 'e bin shoot 'im longa small feller musket. [Marshall 1937:7) In pidgin all guns are "muskits" ...
- masta (n) 1. boss. [Pionnier 1913:193] I stap onetap Big fala Masta. [Jacomb 1914:93] Master 'e no stop. [Johnson 1921:15] My word! Master! Belly belong me walk about too much! [Fletcher 1923:92] They have heard that there is a 'big fellow master belong gevernment' who lives in a 'house calico' and does strange things with machines. [Alexander 1927:214] Master 'e speak, 'Now you sickis [six] feller you go along big feller boat ... [Baker 1929:17] One big fella bokus [box], 'e got tooth; time master 'e fight 'him, 'e sing out. [Marshall 1937:279] Masta 'e look'im 'e no savvy wok strong. 2. European. [Jacomb 1914:99] MASTER.- (I) Any European; (2) a native's employer. [Jacomb 1929:30] Commandan' belong me feller been go kai kai long ouse belong one feller master.
- maut (n) mouth. [Pionnier 1913:112] BOUCHE: Maoute. [Fletcher 1923:330] Salt-water 'e go inside longa mouth b'long Harry. [Alexander 1927:214] 'E got big feller mouth too much.
- medai (n) medal. [Pionnier 1913:197] You mèkèm médaille ol sème. Modern Bislama has meda or medel, but some vernaculars retain forms borrowed from medai.
- mekim (tr) make. [Pionnier 1913:116] You mèkèm soupa. [Jacomb 1914:94] Me learn 'im you make 'im this feller. [Johnson 1921:68] He makem big fellow sing-sing. [Marshall 1937:77] Sorrowfully, the little missionary led his flock back to the intricacies of ... "three-fella coconuts more (=and) two-fella banana 'e savvy makim five-fella altogether." [Marshall 1937:88] "Jemis" said to me "man 'e like makim sing-sing" and asked if I'd like to witness a "danis".

- mekfaia (intr) light fire. [Pionnier 1913:117] FAIS DU FEU: Mèke faïa. Now only expressed as the transitive construction mekem faea.
- mekfas (intr) tie. [Pionnier 1913:195] I kasèm hèm, i mèkfas long oud ol sème. Now only expressed as the transitive verb fasem.
- mekmak (intr) write. [Jacomb 1914:99] 'Im 'e belong make mark 'long paper... Now only expressed as the transitive construction mekem mak.
- mekwanem (intr) do what. [Fletcher 1923:326] Mis Collins 'e bin make wha'name?
- mekwara (intr) wet. [Pionnier 1913:184] *Mèke ouara long choux (cabège)*. Now only expressed as the transitive verb wasem.
- melek (n) milk. [Jacomb 1914:103] Milk pronounced milik. [Alexander 1927:214] ... Capsize 'im milk along jug ...
- meri (n) woman. [Jacomb 1914:100] MARY.- Woman [Johnson 1921:48] You go along Mary (woman) belong Master catchem one fellow something he brather belong ackus (axe), pullem he come, pushem he go. [Johnson 1921:64–65] In their almost unintelligible bêche-de-mer, the natives explained that the fruits were for "Mary" their bêche-de-mer word for woman. Now regarded as a Tok Pisin word, but it also occurs in Solomons Pijin as mere, and also well attested in the written record of Bislama until relatively recently.
- met (n) friend. [Pionnier 1913:112] AMI: mète. Little used in modern Bislama, but met has been borrowed into some Vanuatu vernaculars.
- mi (pron) I, me. [Pionnier 1913:109] Mi ouashème hèd bilong you. [Speiser 1913:122–123] "Well, me, me go." They answer, "All right, you go." [Jacomb 1914:92] Me go. [Johnson 1921:41] ... My word! Suppose fifty men he come, me no fright. [Baker 1929:21] Me want 'im small, small something. [Marshall 1937:57] "I think me callim Neto," he said. [Harrisson 1937:146] My word, suppose allsame me no like 'im.
- mifala (pron) we (plural exclusive). [Jacomb 1914:92] Me feller go. [Fletcher 1923:333] Me-feller take 'im 'e go longa white man longa Mapuna. [Alexander 1927:214] Me feller me go along boat. [Jacomb 1929:30] Commandan' belong me feller been go kai kai long ouse belong one feller master. [Marshall 1937:97] ... Others, more honest, freely admitted "me-fella fright plenty too-much" ... [Marshall 1937:300] ... 'Im 'em call 'im me one 'mission bastard', more (and) talk strong 'long kick 'im back-side b'long me-fella!; [Harrisson 1937:145] I am hungry: belly belong me feller 'e sing out ...
- milnait (n) midnight. [Pionnier 1913:111] MINUIT: Mil naïte. Now invariably medel naet in Bislama. However, melewan 'middle' does occur in Solomons Pijin, so this may have been accurately recorded by Pionnier.
- misen (n) mission. [Marshall 1937:300] ... 'Im 'em call 'im me one 'mission bastard', more (and) talk strong 'long kick 'im back-side b'long me-fella!
- misi (n) missionary. [Fletcher 1923:161] The news of my sinful life has got round the islands and the local 'missy' no longer calls in on me on his way to instil the shorrter [sic] catechism into his faithful. [Marshall 1937:225] Thus, we find one "missi" declaring war on tobacco because "it is a great evil" ... Now archaic, but very widely borrowed by Pacific languages from Early Pacific Pidgin.

- misis (n) 1. European woman. [Jacomb 1914:99] "MISSUS".- A European lady. [Fletcher 1923:155] The 'missis' is at present roasting yam for our dinner. [Alexander 1927:214–215) Missus 'e catch 'im bokkis belong sid down [chari]. 2. wife (of European). [Fletcher 1923:325] Missis b'long 'im 'e no stop?
- misnari (adj) Christian. [Jacomb 1914:98] Me me missionary: nother feller man 'ere 'e man belong darkness.
- mit (n) 1. meat. [Pionnier 1913:116] VIANDE: Mite. [Jacomb 1914:100] MEAT.- ... Meat ... [Baker 1929:21] I put 'im dynamite along meat. 2. flesh, muscle. [Jacomb 1914:100] You no gat meat long arm belong you. [Marshall 1937:277] "Meat 'e come up!" she gleefully exclaimed, indicating that new tissue was being formed.
- mitufala (pron) we (dual exclusive). [Jacomb 1914:92] Me two feller go. [Jacomb 1929:30] Byambye im e sing out along me two feller.
- miusik (n) music. [Alexander 1927:214] ... Master 'e call 'im bokkis belong music ...
- mo¹ (conj) and. [Fletcher 1923:328] Mis Collins more Harry two feller 'e bin row. [Marshall 1937:20] Thus the natives found "house more (and) h'egg blong pidgin" a source of easy revenue ...
- mo² (adv) more, very much. [Pionnier 1913:192] DAVANTAGE, PLUS: More. [Jacomb 1914:96] Lanish 'e races more. [Jacomb 1914:97] Better equals good more, more better. [Baker 1929:137] ... You catch 'im some more all same. [Marshall 1937:119] "Long-way more" might mean anything from five to fifty miles ...
- mobeta (adv) preferable. [Jacomb 1914:97] Better equals good more, more better. [Johnson 1921:54] Me think more better you no put him along ground. [Fletcher 1923:329] More better you me two-feller sit down.
- mogud (adv) preferable. [Johnson 1921:68] More good you, you two fellow come.
- mone (n) morning. [Pionnier 1913:111] *Tri clok long morné*. Invariably moning or monen in Bislama, though mone does occur in Solomons Pijin.
- mun (n) 1. moon. [Pionnier 1913:193] I mèkèm ol tigne: Claound, Sane, Moune, Solouara, graoun ... 2. month. [Pionnier 1913:112] MOIS: Ouane moune (Ouane maniche). [Jacomb 1914:100] Master 'e pay 'im me feller long moon all time. [Fletcher 1923:328] Four moon 'e go finish now. The meaning of 'month' is now invariably expressed as manis, though Tok Pisin retains mun with this double function.
- naef (n) knife. [Pionnier 1913:114] COUTEAU: Naïf.
- naen (adj) nine. [Pionnier 1913:187] NEUF, 9: Naïne.
- naet (n) night. [Fletcher 1923:106] Tom he been humbug belong me last night ...
- nalnal (n) club. [Pionnier 1913:114] CASSE-TETE: Malalale. I presume that Pionnier's form is a printing error for nalnal.
- nambas (n) penis wrapper. [Speiser 1913:60] nambas [Johnson 1921:9] The northern part of the island was shared between the Big Numbers and the Small Numbers people, who took their names from the nambas, the garment if it could be called a garment worn by men. [Fletcher 1923:201] The heathen with his 'nambas' is as clean as any other wild animal. [Alexander 1927:208] ... Under it was stuck a characteristic native article of dress

- a nambas made of red grass fibres. [Harrisson 1937:409] The proud lad comes out ... wearing for the first time his nambas penis-wrapper.
- nambawan (adj) first. [Marshall 1937:280] I explained as carefully and accurately as possible that he was "No. 1 Master altogether," and gave an outline of his possessions ...
 The occurrence of nambawan with the same meaning in all three varieties of Melanesian Pidgin suggests that it considerably predates Marshall's attestation here and that its absence in the earlier Bislama record is simply accidental.
- nangai (n) native almond (Canarium indicum). [Marshall 1937:51] Later she even unbent sufficiently to present me with nungi nuts.
- nani (n) goat. [Pionnier 1913:113] CHEVRE: Nanni. Widely borrowed into a lot of languages in the Early Pacific Pidgin era.
- narafala (adj) other. [Pionnier 1913:184] AUTRE: Nor fala. [Jacomb 1914:98] Me me missionary: nother feller man 'ere 'e man belong darkness. [Jacomb 1929:30] Me feller no savvy nother feller something.
- nating (adv) nothing, not at all. [Fletcher 1923:326] Me no haara nothing. [Marshall 1937:270] 'E nothing. One week 'e finish. [Fletcher 1923:329] Me no capman nothin'.
- nau (adv) now. [Pionnier 1913:194] Ol raight ... Harème naou. [Fletcher 1923:328] Four moon 'e go finish now. [Alexander 1927:214] Master 'e speak, 'Now you sickis [six] feller you go along big feller boat ... [Baker 1929:22] Now dog 'e sing out little bit.
- nauia (adv) now. [Pionnier 1913:192] MAINTENANT: Naouia. [Fletcher 1923:326] Me come now 'ere no more.
- nek (n) neck. [Fletcher 1923:330] Mis Collins 'e catch 'im Harry long neck b'long 'im.
- nem (n) name. [Pionnier 1913:194] Nème bilong tri fala ia: Fada (Papa), San (Pikinini), Holy Gost. [Johnson 1921:107] One fellow man, him name blong Nowdi, he ketchem plenty coconuts, he ketchem plenty pigs, he ketchem plenty Mary. [Fletcher 1923:327] name long 'im Djemalaos? [Jacomb 1929:30] Name belong me Tom. [Marshall 1937:279] Other coolies were in for theft and for "smok 'im something name b'long 'im 'opium'."
- netif (n) Melanesian. [Marshall 1937:36] That is "fasion b'long native" in Santo.
- nevamain (adv) it doesn't matter. [Harrisson 1937:327] Never mind man 'e dead.
- nil (n) 1. nail. [Pionnier 1913:114] POINTE: Nil. [Jacomb 1914:95] Man 'e fight 'im one nail long 'ammer. 2. spike, prickle. [Pionnier 1913:117] EPINE: Nil bilong hème.
- nius (n) news. [Fletcher 1923:333] You bin haar 'im news long Jack?
- no¹ (premod) negative. [Pionnier 1913:115] I no got. [Jacomb 1914:93] ... Or, again (with the love of the Kanaka for negatives), "no long way too much." [Johnson 1921:41] ... My word! Suppose fifty men he come, me no fright. [Baker 1929:21] "Belong dog 'e no sing out." (Because my dog doesn't bark). [Marshall 1937:15] Nobody in Sara could speak English, or even pidgin; ... my relations for the next couple of days were confined to signs and a few words such as "musket", "kai-kai" and "no-savvy."
- no² (conj) or. [Fletcher 1923:327] Mis Collins 'e bin kill 'im long hand b'long him? No, 'e bin kill 'im longa one wood?

- nogud (adj) bad. [Pionnier 1913:193] I pèïllme ol tigne i goud; i kilim ol tigne i nogoud. [Jacomb 1914:97] "No good" equals bad. [Fletcher 1923:329] Two-feller 'e row longa Mis Collins 'e speak "Frennich money 'e no good." [Harrisson 1937:145] ... Belly belong me feller 'e sing out, 'e 'ear 'em no good...
- nomo (adv) 1. only. [Pionnier 1913:194] I stap ouane Masta no more. [Jacomb 1914:100] Me sign belong one yam no more. [Johnson 1921:145] "We walk about, no more," I explained humbly. [Fletcher 1923:325] Me walk 'bout no more. [Baker 1929:21] Me want 'im small, small, no more. [Marshall 1937:83] The mountainmen told me that "one man n'more (only)" from each of the old villages was possessed of a "devil" which had the power to venture forth and kill other men (adv) 2. negative. [Johnson 1921:47] He never said "No". His negative was always "No more," and his affirmative was an emphatic "Yes-yes." Also found in Solomons Pijin, though Tok Pisin has tasol instead.
- nus (n) nose. [Pionnier 1913:113] NEZ: Nouse. [Jacomb 1914:94] Nose belong me 'ear 'im no good.
- ol¹ (premod) plural. [Pionnier 1913:193] Big fala Masta ia, Masta bilong ol man, ol oumane. [Jacomb 1914:95] Me throw 'im away all money long store. [Baker 1929:137] Before, me go along Lake; me catch 'im all small something.
- ol² (pron) they (plural). [Baker 1929:137] By-an-by all 'e speak, 'you go along Gaua ...'
- ol³ (adj) old. [Jacomb 1914:98] OLD.- Old.
- **olbaut** (adv) everywhere. [Pionnier 1913:192] *PARTOUT:* Olpaout. Also found in Solomons Pijin, though Tok Pisin has **nabaut**.
- olgeta (pron) 1. they. [Pionnier 1913:186] Blong olguita. [Jacomb 1914:92] Altogether e go. [Alexander 1927:214] ... Altogether catch 'im one bokkis you fight 'im 'e sing out. (adv) 2. altogether, completely. [Jacomb 1914:96] Worst equals ... no good altogether. [Marshall 1937:77] Sorrowfully, the little missionary led his flock back to the intricacies of ... "three-fella coconuts more (=and) two-fella banana 'e savvy makim five-fella altogether." (premod) 3. all, every. [Jacomb 1914:93] Altogether man 'e look 'im arm belong 'im 'e sore: 'e stop. [Johnson 1921:54] Altogether boy he speak ... all, every [Marshall 1937:244] Altogether pidgin 'im 'e b'long God!
- olgetafala (pron) they. [Pionnier 1913:186] *Bilong olguita fala ia*. Not attested by any other writer apart from Pionnier, which is puzzling. One is left with the suspicion that Pionnier may have overgeneralised -fala.
- oli (predmrkr) third person plural predicate marker. [Fletcher 1923:326] Me haar 'im all 'e tell 'im all same.
- olsem (prep) 1. like, as. [Pionnier 1913:186] Hat bilong mi i goud ol sèm hat bilong you. [Fletcher 1923:58] Me think white man he all same devil-devil. [Alexander 1927:214] ... Skin belong 'im allersame [colour] belong me feller. [Marshall 1937:71] "Big-fella allsame bullamacow, 'im 'e no savvy drown: swim all-same dog, more (and) back-side, b'long 'im all-same pineapple," is how they describe the great old-man saurian of the Yora. (comp) 2. so that, in order that. [Harrisson 1937:145] ... 'E good, you give 'im one something along belly belong you me, allsame belly belong you me, 'e no sing out back again. (adv) 3. thus. [Pionnier 1913:186] Hat bilong mi i no goud ol sème. [Jacomb 1914:101] What name you make 'im all same? [Fletcher 1923:326] Me haar 'im all 'e tell

- 'im all same. [Baker 1929:137] ... You catch 'im some more all same. [Harrisson 1937:146] My word, suppose allsame me no like 'im.
- oltaem (adv) always. [Pionnier 1913:111] TOUJOURS: Ôl taïme. [Jacomb 1914:92] Before me go all time. [Jacomb 1914:95] Master 'e kill 'im boy long 'and all time. [Jacomb 1914:99] ... All time you look 'im me make mark long paper along 'im ... [Fletcher 1923:329] Mis Collins more Harry two-feller 'e row all time all time.
- olting (n) things. [Pionnier 1913:193] I mèkèm ol tigne: Claound, Sane, Moune, Solouara, graoun ... [Jacomb 1914:98] "Plarnty rice, plarnty all thing"; A lot of rice and other things.
- **op** (intr) open. [Alexander 1927:214) ... By'n by bokkis 'e ope. Now invariably **open**, though **op** is retained in Tok Pisin.
- opim (tr) open. [Alexander 1927:214] Master 'e put 'im 'and along trousis now 'e catch 'im one feller something [key] belong ope 'im. Now invariably openem, though opim is retained in Tok Pisin.
- oraet (int) OK. [Pionnier 1913:194] Ol raight ... Harème naou. [Speiser 1913:122-123] "Well, me, me go." They answer, "All right, you go." [Jacomb 1914:102] ALRIGHT.-Yes. [Fletcher 1923:325] Oright. Gooby. Me, me stop.
- pain (n) point (of land). [Jacomb 1914:103] *Point pronounced pine*. This is now an alternative pronunciation for poen, which is more common.
- painap (n) pineapple. [Pionnier 1913:117] ANANAS: Baïnap. Now regarded as archaic for paenapol, even though this form has been borrowed into many Vanuatu vernaculars, as well as many other Pacific languages during the Early Pacific Pidgin era.
- painapol (n) pineapple. [Marshall 1937:71] "Big-fella all-same bullamacow, 'im 'e no savvy drown: swim all-same dog, more (and) back-side, b'long 'im all-same pineapple," is how they describe the great old-man saurian of the Yora.
- panikin (n) cup. [Pionnier 1913:116] TASSE: Baskine. [Jacomb 1914:100] PANNIKIN.-Cup.
- papa (n) father. [Pionnier 1913:195] I no gat Papa bilong hème long graoun. [Fletcher 1923:239] Fashion b'long me feller, papa 'e look out piccaninny where 'e man, piccaninny where 'e woman 'e b'long mamma ...
- pasis (n) anchorage, passage through reef. [Fletcher 1923:183] --- has no 'passage' through the reef, so the launch had to anchor about half a mile out.
- **paura** (n) gunpowder. [Pionnier 1913:114] *POUDRE:* Paour. Some Vanuatu languages have borrowed **paura** with the meaning of 'gunpowder', and the more recent borrowing **pauta** refers instead to 'talcum powder'.
- pe (n) pay. [Jacomb 1914:96] Me me catch 'im pay belong me finish.
- pem (tr) 1. buy. [Pionnier 1913:190] Païme bilong mi. [Jacomb 1914:96] PAY.- To buy [Fletcher 1923:325] Me want pay 'im some somethin' longa store long Mis Collins. 2. pay. [Jacomb 1914:100] Master 'e pay 'im me feller long moon all time. 3. pay with. [Marshall 1937:14] Had the amorous Wo been a bushman he would ... have been obliged to "pay a pig" ...

- pepa (n) paper. [Jacomb 1914:99] 'Im 'e belong make mark 'long paper... [Fletcher 1923:333] 'Im 'e bin makea one paper long capman.
- pig (n) pig. [Johnson 1921:107] One fellow man, him name blong Nowdi, he ketchem plenty coconuts, he ketchem plenty pigs, he ketchem plenty Mary. [Fletcher 1923:204] Oh, he no pig b'long me feller. [Marshall 1937:14] Had the amorous Wo been a bushman he would ... have been obliged to "pay a pig" ...
- pigpig (n) pig. [Fletcher 1923:256] 'One pig-pig more one fowl where 'e man' were sacrificed. Now regarded as an archaism for pig, though it is still commonly used in Solomons Pijin.
- pijin (n) bird. [Alexander 1927:213] The feathers of a bird are "grass belong pigeon". [Marshall 1937:7] In pidgin ... all birds are "pidgins" ...
- pikinini (n) child. [Pionnier 1913:109] Pikinini, San, enfant. [Jacomb 1914:100] PICANINNY.- Child. [Johnson 1921:68] He wantem you, you two fellow, you come along lookem house belong him, you lookem piccaninny belong him, you lookem Mary belong him. [Fletcher 1923:54] ... Me think picaninny belong you he close up time he come down ... [Baker 1929:137] Me want 'im all man, all woman, all picininny 'e take 'im all something belong me along Lake. [Marshall 1937:7] piccaninny (child).
- pikinini blong tri (n) seed, flower. [Marshall 1937:7] A flower or seed is "piccaninny (child) blong tree" ...
- **pipi** (n) turkey. [Jacomb 1914:101] *PEEBEE.- A turkey*. Another word that was widely borrowed into Pacific languages during the Early Pacific Pidgin era, however it is no longer widely used in Bislama.
- pis (n) piece. [Fletcher 1923:330] 'Im 'e fight 'im face b'long Harry long one piece corail.
- **planim** (tr) 1. plant. [Pionnier 1913:191] *PLANTER:* Planème. 2. bury. [Jacomb 1914:96] *Altogether 'e plant 'im finish*. Used with the meaning of 'bury' only in Tok Pisin.
- plante (premod) 1. many, much. [Pionnier 1913:117] Kapsaïlle botèle ouaïne plinti. [Jacomb 1914:98] "Plarnty rice, plarnty all thing"; A lot of rice and other things. [Johnson 1921:107] One fellow man, him name blong Nowdi, he ketchem plenty coconuts, he ketchem plenty pigs, he ketchem plenty Mary. [Alexander 1927:214] Mouth belong music 'e got plenty teeth too much. [Marshall 1937:83] ... Noemalo was a great village with "plenty, plenty man" and many pigs. 2. very. [Marshall 1937:94] ... I earned an approving "plenty good" from my instructors. 3. (postmod) very. [Jacomb 1929:30] Commandan' e sick plarnty. No longer used preverbally to mean 'very' in any variety of modern Melanesian Pidgin. The postmodifier tumas is now used instead.
- ples (n) place. [Pionnier 1913:193] When sikine bilong hèm i dèd, bèl bilong hème i go onetap, goud plèce long Big fala Masta ... [Fletcher 1923:195] I tink you like place where you been stop before. [Harrisson 1937:146] Might you me find 'im one place belong sleep along road.
- ples ia (adv) here. [Harrisson 1937:328] 'E got too much man 'e stop along place here, belong fight.
- plet (n) plate. [Pionnier 1913:115] ASSIETTE: Plète. [Jacomb 1914:101] Plate 'ere 'e kai-kai me.

- polis (n) police. [Jacomb 1929:30] Me belong Frenchis polis.
- posen (n) sorcery. [Johnson 1921:47] He had ... died from poison placed in his lap-lap, a pudding made of coconuts and fish. [Marshall 1937:71] He was suspected by the Hapuna people ... of "poison" and other forms of sorcery ...
- **pul** (intr) row. [Pionnier 1913:115] *RAME*: Poul. Pionnier gives 'oar' as the meaning, though modern varieties suggest that it should have been glossed as 'row'.
- pulim (tr) pull. [Johnson 1921:48] You go along Mary (woman) belong Master catchem one fellow something he brather belong ackus (axe), pullem he come, pushem he go.
 [Fletcher 1923:331] Jack 'e pull 'im Harry longa make 'im salt-water 'e nowash him.
 [Baker 1929:16-17] One is the description of a saw as "brother belong akus [axe]; pull 'im 'e come, push 'im 'e go". [Marshall 1937:7] (axe) "pull 'im 'e come, push 'im 'e go." [Harrisson 1937:145] Pull 'im 'e come, push 'im 'e go; wood 'e fall down.
- pulimaut (tr) pull out. [Fletcher 1923:331] 'Im 'e want pull 'im out heye belong Mis Collins longa finger b'long 'im.
- **pusi** (n) cat. [Pionnier 1913:113] *CHAT:* Pouce. Modern Bislama generally has **buskat**, though **busi** is retained as an archaism.
- pusim (tr) push. [Johnson 1921:48] You go along Mary (woman) belong Master catchem one fellow something he brather belong ackus (axe), pullem he come, pushem he go. [Baker 1929:16–17] One is the description of a saw as "brother belong akus [axe]; pull 'im 'e come, push 'im 'e go". [Marshall 1937:7] (axe) "pull 'im 'e come, push 'im 'e go." [Harrisson 1937:145] Pull 'im 'e come, push 'im 'e go; wood 'e fall down.
- putim (tr) put. [Johnson 1921:54] Me think more better you no put him along ground. [Fletcher 1923:333] All 'e bin put 'im long ground. [Alexander 1927:214] ... Now one big feller machine [crane] 'e got long feller 'and too much, 'e put 'im along worf. [Baker 1929:21] I put 'im dynamite along meat.
- ragu (n) stew. [Fletcher 1924:122] Topsy! Take 'im ragoût 'e come.
- raif (n) ripe. [Pionnier 1913:185] Frut rap.
- rais (n) rice. [Pionnier 1913:116] RIZ: Raïce. [Jacomb 1914:98] "Plarnty rice, plarnty all thing"; A lot of rice and other things. [Fletcher 1923:130] Me kai-kai rice no more.
- rat (n) rat. [Pionnier 1913:114] RAT: Rate.
- rau (intr) argue. [Fletcher 1923:328] Mis Collins more Harry two feller 'e bin row.
- red (adj) red. [Pionnier 1913:185] ROUGE: Rède.
- ren (n) rain. [Pionnier 1913:110] Rène i came daoune.
- resis (intr) speed. [Jacomb 1914:96] Lanish 'e races more. [Fletcher 1923:329] 'Im 'e look Mis Collins. Allez; 'em 'e races 'e go down long salt-water. [Jacomb 1929:30] Byambye im e race e go long small feller ouse belong Mr Hughes.
- rif (n) reef. [Pionnier 1913:110] L'ECUEIL: Rive. [Jacomb 1914:97] Boat 'e fas' long reef.
- ro (n) oar. [Pionnier 1913:114] AVIRON: Ro. No longer used. This is parel in modern Bislama.

- rod (n) way, path. [Marshall 1937:97] Most of them shamefacedly muttered "no savvy road" ... [Harrisson 1937:146] Might you me catch 'im quick time. Might sun 'e dead along road.
- rolok (n) oar-lock. [Pionnier 1913:115] RAME: Rolok.
- ronewe (intr) escape, flee. [Jacomb 1914:96] RUNAWAY.- To run away.
- rop (n) rope. [Alexander 1927:214] By'n by Kong-Kong [Chinaman] 'e fas'in rope along bokkis you fight 'im 'e sing out ...
- rum (n) room. [Jacomb 1914:99] You go take 'im one feller something 'e stop along room belong me ...
- rusim (tr) roast. [Pionnier 1913:191] GRILLER: Erousime.
- sain (intr) sign, sign up. [Jacomb 1914:100] Me sign belong one yam no more.
- sam (adj) some. [Fletcher 1923:325] Me want pay 'im some somethin' longa store long Mis Collins. [Baker 1929:137] ... You catch 'im some more all same.
- samfala (adj) some. [Johnson 1921:53] Master, ... me lookum some fellow man he die finish.
- Samting (n) thing. [Jacomb 1914:93] 'E no make something; 'e stop. [Johnson 1921:48] You go along Mary (woman) belong Master catchem one fellow something he brather belong ackus (axe), pullem he come, pushem he go. [Fletcher 1923:325] Me want pay 'im some somethin' longa store long Mis Collins. [Jacomb 1929:30] Me feller no savvy nother feller something. [Baker 1929:21] Me want 'im small, small something. [Marshall 1937:7] A grappling-iron I once heard described as "one-fella something blong scratch 'im bottom blong saltwater." [Harrisson 1937:145] ... 'E good, you give 'im one something along belly belong you me, allsame belly belong you me, 'e no sing out back again.
- san¹ (n) sun. [Pionnier 1913:193] I mèkèm ol tigne: Claound, Sane, Moune, Solouara, graoun ... [Fletcher 1923:58] Suppose white man he got plenty kai-kai ... which way he want to work belong sun? [Harrisson 1937:146] Might you me catch 'im quick time. Might sun 'e dead along road.
- san² (n) son. [Pionnier 1913:109] Pikinini, San, enfant.
- san³ (n) sand. [Pionnier 1913:110] *LE RIVAGE*: Long sane. Now invariably sanbij in modern Bislama. San survives residually in modern Bislama in blaksan, bigsan and waitsan, and in Tok Pisin wesan.
- sandaun (n) sunset. [Pionnier 1913:112] LE SOLEIL SE COUCHE: Sane daoune. This meaning can only be expressed in modern Bislama by means of a clause, i.e. san i godaon, or san i draon.
- Sande (n) Sunday. [Pionnier 1913:111] DIMANCHE: Sanday.
- sankirap (n) sunrise. [Pionnier 1913:112] LE SOLEIL SE LEVE: Sane crap. This meaning can only be expressed in modern Bislama by means of a clause, i.e. san i kirap.
- sapos (adv) if. [Pionnier 1913:194] ... Suppose man ia i dèd, bèl bilong hème i kapsaïll daoun, plèce i no goud. [Jacomb 1914:102] SUPPOSE.- Used adverbially as equivalent to "if". [Johnson 1921:41] ... My word! Suppose fifty men he come, me no fright. [Baker

- 1929:21] One small fella dog belong me, suppose man 'e come, 'e no sing out. [Fletcher 1923:58] Suppose white man he got plenty kai-kai ... which way he want to work belong sun? [Marshall 1937:278] Spose M. le Commissaire 'e die finish. 'Im 'e goodfella? [Harrisson 1937:146] My word, suppose allsame me no like 'im.
- sarim (tr) shut, close. [Pionnier 1913:191] Sarème dore.
- Sarere (n) Saturday. [Pionnier 1913:111] SAMEDI: Sareray. [Fletcher 1923:329] Mis Collins 'e bin come ashore longa Saturday?
- saua (adj) sour, bitter. [Jacomb 1914:98] SOUR.- Anything that is not sweet. This is now konkon in modern Bislama, though saua is attested in both Solomons Pijin and Tok Pisin.
- sava (n) evening. [Pionnier 1913:111] *LE SOIR:* Sara. Presumably Pionnier's r was a misprint for v. Several other examples of this confusion can be found in Pionnier (1913).
- save (tr) 1. know. [Pionnier 1913:193] You savé man no ol sème dog ... [Jacomb 1914:94] Me no savvy. [Fletcher 1923:326] Me no sabby. [Alexander 1927:214] "Me no savvy," I don't know. [Baker 1929:16] savvy (= know, understand ...) [Marshall 1937:15] Nobody in Sara could speak English, or even pidgin; ... my relations for the next couple of days were confined to signs and a few words such as "musket", "kai-kai" and "no-savvy."; [Harrisson 1937:145] A few words are French (savvy), some archaic English (gammon). (aux) 2. be able, know how to. [Pionnier 1913:184] I save ouok. [Baker 1929:137] 'E no save take 'im all something. [Marshall 1937:71] "Big-fella all-same bullamacow, 'im 'e no savvy drown: swim all-same dog, more (and) back-side, b'long 'im all-same pineapple," is how they describe the great old-man saurian of the Yora. (aux) 3. habitual. [Fletcher 1923:333] 'Im 'e sabby fighta boy all time all time. [Marshall 1937:77] Sorrowfully, the little missionary led his flock back to the intricacies of ... "three-fella coconuts more (=and) two-fella banana 'e savvy makim five-fella altogether."
- savel (n) spade, shovel. [Pionnier 1913:114] BECHE, PELLE: Cherèl. This is presumably another example of the confusion between written ν and printed r.
- seksek (n) earthquake. [Marshall 1937:91] I grabbed the sides of my bed ... for the few seconds the "shake-shake" lasted.
- sel (n) sail. [Pionnier 1913:115] VOILE: Saile.
- selen (n) shilling. [Pionnier 1913:114] un franc, chelin.
- selo (int) ship ahoy. [Marshall 1937:98] I had not gone fifty yards when an ecstatic yell made me gaze hard at the horizon ... Sail ho!
- sem¹ (intr) ashamed, embarrassed, shy. [Fletcher 1923:332] Which way? You no shame ...
- sem² (adj) same. [Fletcher 1923:254] By and by two feller 'e go same place?
- sendim (tr) send. [Fletcher 1923:333] Finish, 'im 'e send 'im Jack 'e go Vila longa Dokkitor long lannitch b'long Lizzy.
- seven (adj) seven. [Pionnier 1913:187] SEPT, 7: Sévène. [Baker 1929:137] Three white man here, 'e want stop seven days along Lake.
- si (n) heavy sea. [Pionnier 1913:111] LA MERE EST GROSSE: Big fala si. [Fletcher 1923:329] 'E got big-feller sea long beach.

- sidaun (intr) sit. [Pionnier 1913:190] S'ASSEOIR: Staoune. [Fletcher 1923:329] More better you me two-feller sit down. [Alexander 1927:214215] Missus 'e catch 'im bokkis belong sid down [chari].
- sik (adj) sick. [Pionnier 1913:113] I sik. [Johnson 1921:185] "Me sick; me sick," he repeated over and over. [Fletcher 1923:130] You sick long what? [Jacomb 1929:30] Commandan' e sick plannty.
- sikis (adj) six. [Pionnier 1913:187] SIX, 6: Sikis.
- sikisfala (adj) six. [Alexander 1927:214] Master 'e speak, 'Now you sickis [six] feller you go along big feller boat ...
- sikispen (n) sixpence. [Jacomb 1914:95] Me throw 'im away sikispence long school.
- singaot (intr) shout. [Jacomb 1914:94] SING OUT. (a) To cry (with pain); (b) to halloa (to attract attention). [Fletcher 1923:326] Me sing out, me sing out. No. [Alexander 1927:213] ... A piano is "bokkis you fight 'im 'e sing out ... [Jacomb 1929:30] Byambye im e sing out along me two feller. [Baker 1929:17] One big fella bokus [box], 'e got tooth; time master 'e fight 'him, 'e sing out. [Titayna and Lugeon 1931:31] Piano: "Bigfallabokis blanwetman i sinout ..." [Harrisson 1937:145] I am hungry: belly belong me feller 'e sing out ...
- singsing (n) singing, traditional dance. [Jacomb 1914:99] SINGSING.- A native dance. [Johnson 1921:68] He makem big fellow sing-sing. [Alexander 1927:215] Plenty singsing too much. [Marshall 1937:88] "Jemis" said to me "man 'e like makim sing-sing" and asked if I'd like to witness a "danis".
- sip (n) ship. [Pionnier 1913:114] BATEAU: Chip. [Jacomb 1914:96] Ship 'e drown finish.
- sipi (n) 1. sheep. [Jacomb 1914:101] SEEPY.- (a) Sheep; (b) mutton. 2. mutton. [Jacomb 1914:101] SEEPY.- (a) Sheep; (b) mutton. Now sipsip. Tok Pisin also has sipsip, which suggests that the reduplicated form had early currency, and that Jacomb's attestation of sipi represented a temporary development.
- sises (n) scissors. [Pionnier 1913:114] CISEAU: Cisis.
- sista (n) sister. [Pionnier 1913:113] SOEUR: Sista. [Titayna and Lugeon 1931:31] Violin: "Smolsistere blanbigfallabokis blanwetman spose scrachbele icry ..."
- skin (n) skin, body. [Pionnier 1913:193] When sikine bilong hèm i dèd, bèl bilong hème i go onetap, goud plèce long Big fala Masta ... [Alexander 1927:214] ... Skin belong 'im allersame [colour] belong me feller. [Marshall 1937:83] ... Skin b'long 'im 'e sore toomuch ...
- skinim (tr) peel. [Pionnier 1913:191] PELER: Stikinime.
- **skrabdak** (n) megapode. [Marshall 1937:254] ... I shall ever remember Tommy the half-caste, eager to display his knowledge, referring to nemal, the jungle-fowl, as a "scrubduck"!
- skrasim (tr) scratch, scrape. [Titayna and Lugeon 1931:31] Violin: "Smolsistere blanbigfallabokis blanwetman spose scrachbele icry ..." [Marshall 1937:7] A grappling-iron I once heard described as "one-fella something blong scratch 'im bottom blong saltwater."

- skul (n) church. [Jacomb 1914:95] Me throw 'im away sikispence long school. [Fletcher 1923:92] There is a 'school' (=mission church) not far away and these folk are on their way back from 'divine worship.'
- slakim (tr) strike (matches). [Jacomb 1929:30] Im e slack im matchès.
- slip (intr) sleep. [Pionnier 1913:191] DORMIR: Slipe. [Jacomb 1914:94] SLEEP. To sleep. [Fletcher 1924:121] ... Monday 'e sleep yet? [Marshall 1937:91] At "time b'long sleep" he had lain on the earth floor beside the low bed ... [Harrisson 1937:146] Might you me find 'im one place belong sleep along road.
- smel (n) smell. [Pionnier 1913:191] SENTIR: Sémèle (Smell).
- smokim (tr) smoke. [Marshall 1937:279] Other coolies were in for theft and for "smok 'im something name b'long 'im 'opium'".
- smol (adj) 1. small, little. [Pionnier 1913:116] PETIT POULET: Smol paoul. [Jacomb 1914:97] small, little SMALL.- Is used of quantity as well as size. [Titayna and Lugeon 1931:31] Violin: "Smolsistere blanbigfallabokis blanwetman spose scrachbele icry ..." 2. a little. [Jacomb 1914:97] small, little SMALL.- Is used of quantity as well as size.
- **smolailan** (n) offshore island. [Fletcher 1923:103] There is a very dear little 'small-island' just outside the reef and it was there that I hoped to dwell.
- smolfala (adj) small. [Pionnier 1913:110] LA BRISE: Smôl fala ouine [Jacomb 1914:99] ... 'Im 'e black: 'im 'e small feller ... [Fletcher 1923:328] 'Im 'e bin shoot 'im longa small feller musket. [Baker 1929:21] One small fella dog belong me, suppose man 'e come, 'e no sing out. [Jacomb 1929:30] Byambye im e race e go long small feller ouse belong Mr Hughes. Smol is one of those adjectives in modern Bislama which does not normally accept the -fala suffix.
- smolsmol (adj) very small. [Baker 1929:21] Me want 'im small, small something.
- so¹ (intr) sore, painful. [Pionnier 1913:113] Hède bilong mi i soa. [Jacomb 1914:93]

 Altogether man 'e look 'im arm belong 'im 'e sore: 'e stop. [Marshall 1937:83] ... Skin b'long 'im 'e sore too-much ... (n) 2. sore. [Pionnier 1913:113] PLAIE: Soa.
- so² (n) shore. [Pionnier 1913:110] LE RIVAGE: ... Chore. [Fletcher 1923:329] 'Im 'e want come ashore.
- sol (n) salt. [Pionnier 1913:116] SEL: Saul.
- solap (intr) swell, swollen. [Fletcher 1923:130] Arm belong me he swell up me hear him no strong (=hard and hot).
- **solpep** (n) pepper. [Pionnier 1913:116] *POIVRE:* Saulpèpe. Not known today, nor is this attested by any other source. This would be **pepa** in modern Melanesian Pidgin.
- solwara (n) sea. [Pionnier 1913:193] I mèkèm ol tigne: Claound, Sane, Moune, Solouara, graoun ... [Jacomb 1914:95] Me go throw 'im away hook long salt water. [Fletcher 1923:329] 'Im 'e look Mis Collins. Allez; 'em 'e races 'e go down long salt-water.
- sop (n) soap. [Jacomb 1914:96] "Swim long soap", To wash with soap.
- sori (int) sorry. [Fletcher 1923:152] ... Sorry he finish ...
- sospen (n) saucepan. [Pionnier 1913:116] MARMITE: Sospène.

- sot¹ (n) shirt. [Pionnier 1913:112] CHEMISE: Chot.
- sot² (n) lead shot. [Pionnier 1913:114] PLOMB: Shot.
- spel (intr) rest. [Jacomb 1914:96] SPELL.- To rest after work.
- spik (intr) speak, talk. [Jacomb 1914:96] SPEAK.- To speak. [Fletcher 1923:329] Two-feller 'e row longa Mis Collins 'e speak "Frennich money 'e no good." [Alexander 1927:214] Master 'e speak, 'Now you sickis [six] feller you go along big feller boat ... [Jacomb 1929:30] E speak me feller look look. [Baker 1929:137] All man 'e luk, 'e speak 'e no look 'im before. [Marshall 1937:149] Boy 'e like spik 'long God. [Marshall 1937:300] Me bin speak 'long 'im before! Attested rarely as an archasim in Bislama, though it is well attested in the earlier written record.
- **spolim** (tr) damage, badly affect. [Marshall 1937:316] *Mast'* 'e been spoil'em (infected) me. Also used in this sense in Solomons Pijin, suggesting a pre-WWI origin.
- spun (n) spoon. [Pionnier 1913:115] CUILLERE: Soupoune.
- stap (intr) stay, be. [Jacomb 1914:93] Kai-kai 'e stop. [Fletcher 1923:325] Oright. Gooby. Me, me stop. [Alexander 1927:214] Bokkis 'e stop along hole belong boat. [Baker 1929:137] Three white man here, 'e want stop seven days along Lake. [Marshall 1937:40] How much money 'e stop 'long you-fella? [Marshall 1937:83] ... Devil, 'im 'e stop 'long belly b'long man ...
- stia (n) rudder. [Pionnier 1913:115] GOUVERNAIL: Stia.
- stikim (tr) pierce. [Jacomb 1914:96] Nail 'e stick in foot belong me.
- stikmarasin (n) injection. [Marshall 1937:300] The local missionary regularly gave the natives "stick-medsin" (hypodermic injections) in treatment of framboesia or yaws.
- stil (intr) steal. [Pionnier 1913:185] I sitil.
- stilim (tr) steal, kidnap. [Jacomb 1914:95] Altogether 'e steal 'im me. [Fletcher 1923:150] She had come round on foot, braving the four hour walk, and all the devils that 'steal 'imwoman 'long bush' in order to make my coffee that morning.
- stima (n) steamship. [Pionnier 1913:115] BATEAU A VAPEUR: Sitima. [Fletcher 1923:254] By and by two feller 'e go 'longa steamer? Now archaic, but widely borrowed into Pacific languages in the nineteenth century.
- stoa (n) store, shop. [Jacomb 1914:95] Me throw 'im away all money long store. [Fletcher 1923:325] Me want pay 'im some somethin' longa store long Mis Collins.
- stoken (n) socks. [Pionnier 1913:112] BAS: Stokine.
- ston (n) stone, rock. [Pionnier 1913:110] LES PIERRES: Stone. [Titayna and Lugeon 1931:31] Brique ... "Sitone blanwetman ..."
- stop (intr) stop. [Pionnier 1913:115] ARRETE: Stop.
- storian (intr) chat, tell story. [Fletcher 1923:328] Oright; you tell 'im out; you storyan.
- stret (adj) 1. straight, plain. [Pionnier 1913:185] DROIT: Strèt. [Jacomb 1914:97] STRAIGHT.- Straight. [Jacomb 1914:98] Language belong me feller 'e straight, language belong you 'e crooked. 2. same, identical. [Pionnier 1913:110] Tri fala ia i strèt. [Baker 1929:17] Two fella here 'e steraight...

- strong (adj) 1. hard, tough, stiff. [Jacomb 1914:99] STRONG.- Implies resistance or stiffness, as well as strength. [Fletcher 1923:130] Arm belong me he swell up me hear him no strong (=hard and hot) [Alexander 1927:214] 'E fight 'im strong along bokkis ... [Marshall 1937:279] Masta 'e look'im 'e no savvy wok strong. (adj) 2. strong. [Pionnier 1913:192] FORT, FORTEMENT: Strongue. [Jacomb 1914:99] STRONG.- Implies resistance or stiffness, as well as strength. [Fletcher 1924:247] My word, Baldead, you you strong too much! [Harrisson 1937:145] Black e strong, white e strong ...
- strongfala (adv) hard. [Jacomb 1914:98] Master 'e kill 'im me strong feller: me dead.
- su (n) cabbage. [Pionnier 1913:184] *Mèke ouara long choux (cabège)*. Now invariably kabis.
- suga (n) sugar. [Pionnier 1913:116] SUCRE: Souka.
- sugaken (n) sugarcane. [Pionnier 1913:115] CANNE A SUCRE: Soukakène.
- **sulim** (tr) tell off. [Jacomb 1914:96] *SOOL.- To speak with energy and vehemence.* Now invariably **raosem**.
- supa (n) soup. [Pionnier 1913:116] SOUPE: Soupa. Now sup or lasup.
- sut (intr) shoot. [Pionnier 1913:114] TIRER DU FUSIL: Chout.
- sutboi (n) paid marksman, hunter. [Marshall 1937:18] ... It was Peter, one of our shoot-boys and he proudly weighed in with a shilling! Not known today, but it is also attested with this meaning in Tok Pisin, which suggests that it had currency prior to the World War One era.
- sutim (tr) shoot. [Fletcher 1923:328] 'Im 'e bin shoot 'im longa small feller musket.
- swet (intr) sweat. [Fletcher 1924:154] Monday 'e sweat finish.
- swim (intr) 1. swim. [Marshall 1937:71] "Big-fella all-same bullamacow, 'im 'e no savvy drown: swim all-same dog, more (and) back-side, b'long 'im all-same pineapple," is how they describe the great old-man saurian of the Yora. 2. bathe. [Jacomb 1914:96] "Swim long soap", To wash with soap. [Fletcher 1923:222] Me wanta swim now.
- swit (adj) sweet. [Jacomb 1914:98] SWEET.- Sweet.
- tabu (adj) forbidden. [Pionnier 1913:185] DEFENDU: Tabou.
- taim (n) 1. time. [Pionnier 1913:194] Big fala Masta i koukime bèl bilong hèm long faia, long ol taïme no finish. [Jacomb 1914:92] Before me go one time. [Marshall 1937:91] At "time b'long sleep" he had lain on the earth floor beside the low bed ... 2. weather. [Pionnier 1913:112] IL FAIT BEAU: I goud taïme. (sub) 3. when. [Fletcher 1923:329] You you stop time Mis Collins 'e bin shoot 'im Jack? [Jacomb 1929:46] You tell-im out along Court; time you been talk along two feller, two feller e been tell-im you what name? [Baker 1929:17] One big fella bokus [box], 'e got tooth; time master 'e fight 'him, 'e sing out.
- talim (tr) say, tell. [Fletcher 1923:326] Me haar 'im all 'e tell 'im all same. [Jacomb 1929:46] You tell-im out along Court; time you been talk along two feller, two feller e been tell-im you what name?
- talimaut (tr) say, tell. [Jacomb 1914:96] "Tell 'im out"; Relate. [Fletcher 1923:326] Which way you no bin tell 'im out? [Jacomb 1929:46] You tell-im out along Court; time you

- been talk along two feller, two feller e been tell-im you what name? [Harrisson 1937:145] Piano: boxis where man 'e fight 'im white more black feller something along face belong 'im, belly belong 'im 'im 'e talktalk too much, 'e tell 'im out good feller talk.
- tamiok (n) axe. [Alexander 1927:215] Another boy described a saw as follows: ... brother belong tommyhawk.
- tanim (tr) turn. [Pionnier 1913:191] TOURNER: Teurnème.
- tang (n) tank. [Pionnier 1913:115] CAISSE A EAU: Tangue bilong ouata.
- taro (n) taro. [Pionnier 1913:184] TARO: Taro.
- **tause** (adj) thousand. [Pionnier 1913:187] *MILLE*, 1000: Ouane taoucé. The lack of final **-n** could be another error in this source.
- tebol (n) table. [Pionnier 1913:116] TABLE: Tèble. [Jacomb 1914:101] "Calico belong table"; A table cloth.
- tede (adv) today. [Pionnier 1913:111] AUJOURD'HUI: Téteille.
- tekim (tr) take. [Pionnier 1913:115] You tèkèm ro. [Jacomb 1914:94] Take 'im 'e come. [Johnson 1921:186] He takem plenty pigs; he takem plenty women; he killem plenty men. [Fletcher 1923:326] Capman 'e bin take 'im 'e go. [Alexander 1927:214] ... Now me take 'im finis long banis [house] belong master. [Baker 1929:137] By-an'-by me take 'im all small something along England.
- tekimaut (tr) remove. [Pionnier 1913:184] ARRACHE: Tèke maout. [Fletcher 1923:331] 'Im 'e take 'im out all calico b'long 'im.
- tel (n) tail. [Pionnier 1913:116] QUEUE: Tèle.
- ten (adj) ten. [Pionnier 1913:187] DIX, 10: Tène.
- ti (n) tea. [Fletcher 1924:166] Byumby two-feller 'e come back, two-feller 'e drink tea.
- tin (n) tin. [Pionnier 1913:116] POT: Tine. [Jacomb 1914:100] TIN.- A tin of meat (full or empty). [Jacomb 1929:30] Me feller look look, me feller look tin e ful up.
- ting (intr) think. [Johnson 1921:54] Me think more better you no put him along ground. [Fletcher 1923:327] Me tink 'e one boat long all boy. [Marshall 1937:280] Master, ... me think King 'e allesame half-caste b'long Jesus!"
- tit (n) tooth. [Alexander 1927:214] Mouth belong music 'e got plenty teeth too much. Now tut in Bislama, though tit is retained in Solomons Pijin and Tok Pisin.
- Tiusde (n) Tuesday. [Pionnier 1913:111] MARDI: Tiousday.
- tobak (n) tobacco. [Marshall 1937:25] ... The men preferred to accept sticks of "tobac" rather than the threepence which was paid for all ordinary specimens.
- tok (n) 1. speech, utterance. [Harrisson 1937:145] Piano: boxis where man 'e fight 'im white more black feller something along face belong 'im, belly belong 'im 'im 'e talktalk too much, 'e tell 'im out good feller talk. (intr) 2. speak, talk. [Pionnier 1913:196] You tok ol sème ol taïme: Mi ouandeème naou tou mesu Jesus, Big fala Masta. [Fletcher 1923:328] Me no sabby talk Frennich. [Jacomb 1929:46] You tell-im out along Court; time you been talk along two feller, two feller e been tell-im you what name?

- tok strong (intr) shout. [Marshall 1937:300] ... 'Im 'em call 'im me one 'mission bastard', more (and) talk strong 'long kick 'im back-side b'long me-fella!
- toktok (intr) speak, talk. [Harrisson 1937:145] Piano: boxis where man 'e fight 'im white more black feller something along face belong 'im, belly belong 'im 'im 'e talktalk too much, 'e tell 'im out good feller talk. Toktok occurs in all three modern varieties, suggesting a pre-WWI distribution for the form.
- trausis (n) trousers. [Pionnier 1913:113] PANTALON: Traoussis. [Alexander 1927:214]

 Master 'e put 'im 'and along trousis now 'e catch 'im one feller something [key] belong ope 'im. [Marshall 1937:50] ... The boys continued working overtime until they heard cleared "'coun' (account) b'long 'im fella trowser."
- traut (intr) vomit. [Fletcher 1924:92] 'Im 'e throw out big-feller.
- tri¹ (adj) three. [Pionnier 1913:111] Tri clok long morné. [Jacomb 1914:100] Altogether 'e calaboos me three time. [Baker 1929:137] Three white man here, 'e want stop seven days along Lake.
- tri² (n) tree. [Marshall 1937:7] A flower or seed is "piccaninny (child) blong tree" ...
- trifala (adj) 1. three. [Marshall 1937:77] Sorrowfully, the little missionary led his flock back to the intricacies of ... "three-fella coconuts more (=and) two-fella banana 'e savvy makim five-fella altogether." (pron) 2. they (trial). [Pionnier 1913:110] Tri fala ia i strèt.
- tromwe (tr) 1. throw. [Jacomb 1914:95] Me throw 'im away all money long store. 2. contribute. [Jacomb 1914:95] Me throw 'im away sikispence long school. tromwe huk go fishing. [Jacomb 1914:95] Me go throw 'im away hook long salt water. Modern Bislama has only sakem for the meaning of 'throw', but Tok Pisin retains the form tromwe.
- tu¹ (adv) also. [Fletcher 1923:329] 'Im 'e sing out "You wait. Byumby tu-morrer me come talk long you back again. You one --- too." [Alexander 1927:215] By'n by missus e' cry. Master 'e cry too.
- tu² (adj) two. [Pionnier 1913:111] Tou clok.
- **tudak** (adj) dark. [Pionnier 1913:112] *IL FAIT NOIR*: Toufake. Presumably, the f was a printing error for t or d.
- tufala (adj) 1. two. [Marshall 1937:77] Sorrowfully, the little missionary led his flock back to the intricacies of ... "three-fella coconuts more (=and) two-fella banana 'e savvy makim five-fella altogether." (pron) 2. they (dual). [Pionnier 1913:186] Bilong tou fala ia. [Fletcher 1923:326] Two feller 'e go where? [Jacomb 1929:46] You tell-im out along Court; time you been talk along two feller, two feller e been tell-im you what name? [Baker 1929:17] Two fella here 'e steraight...
- tuhat (adj) hot. [Pionnier 1913:112] *IL FAIT CHAUD:* Tou hat. Bislama now has only hot, but Tok Pisin retains tuhat, with the meaning 'sweat'.
- tumas (postmod) too, very. [Pionnier 1913:112] I col tou mach. [Jacomb 1914:93] ... It is common to add a phrase at the end, such as "long way too much"... [Johnson 1921:15] My word! Master! Belly belong me walk about too much! [Alexander 1927:214] Mouth belong music 'e got plenty teeth too much. [Baker 1929:17] Face belong 'im 'e good fellow too much. [Marshall 1937:83] ... Skin b'long 'im 'e sore too-much ... [Harrisson

- 1937:145] Piano: boxis where man 'e fight 'im white more black feller something along face belong 'im, belly belong 'im 'im 'e talktalk too much, 'e tell 'im out good feller talk.
- tumora (adv) tomorrow. [Pionnier 1913:111] DEMAIN: Tou morô (tou mora). [Fletcher 1923:329] 'Im 'e sing out "You wait. Byumby tu-morrer me come talk long you back again. You one --- too."
- Tusde (n) Thursday. [Pionnier 1913:111] JEUDI: Tousday.
- tut (n) tooth. [Jacomb 1914:98] Toot (tooth) belong me he sore. [Fletcher 1923:227] 'Im e no got tooth. [Baker 1929:17] One big fella bokus [box], 'e got tooth; time master 'e fight 'him, 'e sing out.
- twante (adj) twenty. [Pionnier 1913:187] VINGT, 20: Touaneté.
- verigud (adj) very good. [Pionnier 1913:195] Oumane i very goud, maman bilong hème. (adv) 2. preferable. [Fletcher 1923:130] Me think very good you cut him. Commonly attested in the nineteenth century, it is largely absent from the record in the twentieth century. These attestations apparently represent the last gasp of this form.
- vilej (n) village. [Johnson 1921:145] We bringem presents for big fellow master belong village.
- wain (n) wine. [Pionnier 1913:116] VERRE DE VIN: Glasse bilong ouaïne.
- wait (adj) white. [Pionnier 1913:110] Solouara ouaïte, mer blanche. [Harrisson 1937:145] Piano: boxis where man 'e fight 'im white more black feller something along face belong 'im, belly belong 'im 'im 'e talktalk too much, 'e tell 'im out good feller talk. [Harrisson 1937:145] Blak e fite, white e frite ...
- waitfala (adj) white. [Marshall 1937:315] One wonders what the kanakas think of the "white-fella Masta's" astonishing diversity of doctrine ...
- waitman (n) European. [Fletcher 1923:327] White man where 'e look out store long Liro. [Baker 1929:137] Three white man here, 'e want stop seven days along Lake. [Titayna and Lugeon 1931:31] Piano: "Bigfallabokis blanwetman i sinout ..." [Harrisson 1937:328] You feller go go go, fight 'im white man finish.
- wan¹ (adj) one. [Pionnier 1913:194] I stap ouane Masta no more. [Jacomb 1914:95] Man 'e fight 'im one nail long 'ammer. [Alexander 1927:214] ... Altogether catch 'im one bokkis you fight 'im 'e sing out. [Baker 1929:17] One big fella bokus [box], 'e got tooth; time master 'e fight 'him, 'e sing out. [Marshall 1937:83] The mountainmen told me that "one man n'more (only)" from each of the old villages was possessed of a "devil" which had the power to venture forth and kill other men. [Harrisson 1937:145] ... 'E good, you give 'im one something along belly belong you me, allsame belly belong you me, 'e no sing out back again.
- wan² (aux) want to. [Pionnier 1913:192] VOULOIR: Ouane. [Baker 1929:137] Three white man here, 'e want stop seven days along Lake. [Fletcher 1923:325] Me want pay 'im some somethin' longa store long Mis Collins. Commonly attested during this period, but now invariably expressed as wante or wantem.
- wanem (inter) 1. what. [Pionnier 1913:188] Ouanème oude ia? [Jacomb 1914:93] What name boy 'e make? [Fletcher 1923:326] Wha'name Jack? Jack long Liro? [Baker 1929:21] Dog 'e kai-kai? What name? [Marshall 1937:52] ... "What name samting?" is

- "What is this?" (inter) 2. why. [Jacomb 1914:101] What name you make 'im all same? [Baker 1929:21] What name you want 'im dynamite? [Marshall 1937:52] "Wha' name?" = pidgin for "Why?" [Harrisson 1937:327] What name you cry out all same, Nugi? The meaning of 'why' is now invariably expressed as from wanem.
- Wanesde (n) Wednesday. [Pionnier 1913:111] MERCREDI: Ouanesday.
- wanfala (adj) one. [Jacomb 1914:99] You go take 'im one feller something 'e stop along room belong me ... [Johnson 1921:48] You go along Mary (woman) belong Master catchem one fellow something he brather belong ackus (axe), pullem he come, pushem he go. [Alexander 1927:214] Master 'e catch 'im one feller ackis [axe] ... [Jacomb 1929:30] Commandan' belong me feller been go kai kai long ouse belong one feller master. [Marshall 1937:7] A grappling-iron I once heard described as "one-fella something blong scratch 'im bottom blong saltwater."
- wantim (aux) 1. want to. [Pionnier 1913:194] You ouandème i go plèce i goud, long man i goud, long big fala Masta? [Fletcher 1923:329] All boy 'e no want 'im Frennich money. [Johnson 1921:68] He wantem you, you two fellow, you come along lookem house belong him, you lookem piccaninny belong him, you lookem Mary belong him. [Harrisson 1937:145] ... Belly belong me feller 'e sing out, 'e 'ear 'em no good, 'e want 'im kaikai 'e go 'long 'im. (tr) 2. want. [Pionnier 1913:190] AIMER: Ouanedème. [Jacomb 1914:93] Me no want 'im. [Baker 1929:21] Me want 'im small, small something.
- was (tr) wash. [Pionnier 1913:195] Suppose missionary i ouach naou hèd bilong you long ouata, blad long Jesus i ouach quouik bèl bilong you.
- wasim (tr) wash, wet. [Pionnier 1913:109] Mi ouashème hèd bilong you. [Jacomb 1914:96] WASH.- To wash. [Fletcher 1923:330] Salt-water 'e wash 'im Harry.
- waskit (n) beard. [Pionnier 1913:112] BARBE: Ouaskite.
- wat (inter) what. [Fletcher 1923:326] Two feller 'e go longa what? Wanem is the only form in modern Bislama, though Solomons Pijin has both wanem and wat. Bislama watfo 'how come?' reflects earlier wat.
- we¹ (rel) which, who, that. [Fletcher 1923:326] 'oo 'ere boy where Mis Collins 'e bin kill 'im? [Harrisson 1937:145] Piano: boxis where man 'e fight 'im white more black feller something along face belong 'im, belly belong 'im 'im 'e talktalk too much, 'e tell 'im out good feller talk.
- we² (inter) where. [Fletcher 1923:325] Goudé, Aboh. You go where?
- wen (sub) when. [Pionnier 1913:193] When sikine bilong hèm i dèd, bèl bilong hème i go onetap, goud plèce long Big fala Masta ... [Fletcher 1923:38] Oh, no, master, me fellow altogether flash more when we have calico (clothes) belong white man. Now completely lost, and replaced by wataem or wetaem (or wanem taem).
- wet (intr) wait. [Fletcher 1923:329] 'Im 'e sing out "You wait. Byumby tu-morrer me come talk long you back again. You one --- too."
- wetaim (inter) when. [Pionnier 1913:192] QUAND?: Ouèt taïme.
- wetem (prep) with. [Jacomb 1914:102] Me me go widim you.
- wik (n) week. [Marshall 1937:270] One week 'e finish.

- win (n) wind. [Pionnier 1913:110] LA BRISE: Smôl fala ouine
- windo (n) window. [Jacomb 1914:99] ... 'E stop 'long big feller bokis close up long window.
- winim (tr) beat, defeat. [Fletcher 1923:213] Me want win 'im you.
- wiswe (inter) why, what about. [Jacomb 1914:101] WHICH WAY? Why? [Fletcher 1923:325] Which way long Mis Collins? 'Im 'e no stop? [Fletcher 1923:326] Which way you no bin tell 'im out? [Baker 1929:137] Which way me take 'im calico house belong me, kai-kai belong me, all something belong me along Lake? This form is also found as waswe in Solomons Pijin.
- Wiwi (n) French. [Fletcher 1923:328] *Me no sabby talk Frennich. Me no* man oui-oui. Archaic in Bislama, but borrowed into some languages in the Early Pacific Pidgin era.
- wof (n) wharf. [Alexander 1927:214] ... Now one big feller machine [crane] 'e got long feller 'and too much, 'e put 'im along worf.
- wok (intr) work. [Pionnier 1913:184] I save ouok. [Fletcher 1923:219] Me fellow wanta work. [Marshall 1937:279] Masta 'e look'im 'e no savvy wok strong.
- wokbaut (intr) walk, visit, be unemployed. [Jacomb 1914:94] WALKABOUT.- (a) To go for a walk; (b) to go and see one's friends; (c) not to be engaged at any regular employment. [Johnson 1921:15] My word! Master! Belly belong me walk about too much! [Fletcher 1923:325] Me walk 'bout no more.
- woman (n) 1. woman. [Pionnier 1913:193] Big fala Masta ia, Masta bilong ol man, ol oumane. [Jacomb 1914:92] Woman e go. [Johnson 1921:186] He takem plenty pigs; he taken plenty women; he killem plenty men. [Baker 1929:137] Me want 'im all man, all woman, all picininny 'e take 'im all something belong me along Lake. 2. woman (of particular place). [Fletcher 1923:330] 'Im 'e one woman Maré. (adj) 3. female. [Pionnier 1913:114] Pig ouamène. [Marshall 1937:11] ... At pregnancy the nemalap-woman leaves the communal camps with fellow matrons to establish secluded camps, remote in the forest ...
- wota (n) water. [Pionnier 1913:115] CAISSE A EAU: Tangue bilong ouata. [Fletcher 1924:166] You, you look out water 'e boil good.
- wud (n) 1. wood. [Pionnier 1913:195] I kasèm hèm, i mèkfas long oud ol sème. [Alexander 1927:215] 'E one feller something belong kai-kai [cut] wood ... [Titayna and Lugeon 1931:31] Scie ... "Somfallating blanwetman ygo ycome ycaecayewood. [Harrisson 1937:145] Pull 'im 'e come, push 'im 'e go; wood 'e fall down. 2. stick. [Jacomb 1914:100] "One wood"; A stick. [Fletcher 1923:327] No, 'e bin kill 'im long one wood? 3. tree. [Pionnier 1913:117] ARBRE: Oude.
- yam (n) 1. yam. [Jacomb 1914:100] YAM.- ... A vegetable. [Fletcher 1924:247] Ground 'ere 'e no good long yam. 2. year. [Pionnier 1913:112] ANNEE: Ouane iame. [Jacomb 1914:100] Me sign belong one yam no more. [Fletcher 1923:328] Me bin work two yam long Ballande. No longer used to mean 'year', though calques on this have been incorporated into some vernaculars. This usage was widely reported during the plantation era.
- yes (int) yes (to an affirmative question); no (to a negative question). [Pionnier 1913:194] You ouandème i go pleèce i goud, long man i goud, long big fala Masta? Yes. [Jacomb

- 1914:103] Ship he no come yet? ... Yes... 'Im come finish. [Fletcher 1923:325] Which way long Mis Collins? 'Im 'e no stop? Yiss.
- yestede (adv) yesterday. [Pionnier 1913:111] HIER: Hiesteday. [Fletcher 1923:326] 'Im 'e go yissterdi no more.
- yet (adv) yet. [Jacomb 1914:103] Ship 'e no come yet? [Fletcher 1924:121] ... Monday 'e sleep yet? [Harrisson 1937:327–328] 'E got plenty man 'e stop along Japan, 'e no dead yet.
- yu (pron) you (singular). [Pionnier 1913:109] Mi ouashème hèd bilong you. [Speiser 1913:122–123] "Well, me, me go." They answer, "All right, you go." [Jacomb 1914:92] You go. [Johnson 1921:48] You go along Mary (woman) belong Master catchem one fellow something he brather belong ackus (axe), pullem he come, pushem he go. [Alexander 1927:213] ... A piano is "bokkis you fight 'im 'e sing out ...
- yufala (pron) you (plural). [Jacomb 1914:92] You feller go. [Fletcher 1923:327] 'Im 'e no white man all same you-feller. [Marshall 1937:40] How much money 'e stop 'long you-fella? [Harrisson 1937:328] You feller go go go, fight 'im white man finish.
- yumi (pron) we (plural inclusive). [Pionnier 1913:186] Bilong you mi. [Speiser 1913:78] Bim by you me catch him. [Jacomb 1914:92] You me go. [Harrisson 1937:145] ... 'E good, you give 'im one something along belly belong you me, allsame belly belong you me, 'e no sing out back again. [Harrisson 1937:146] Might you me catch 'im quick time. Might sun 'e dead along road.
- yumitufala (pron) we (dual inclusive). [Fletcher 1923:329] More better you me two-feller sit down.
- yutufala (pron) you (dual). [Johnson 1921:68] He wantem you, you two fellow, you come along lookem house belong him, you lookem piccaninny belong him, you lookem Mary belong him. [Fletcher 1923:170] One mamma 'e bin carry you two feller more Jack?

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