

# Appendix 1: An annotated guide to Bislama exponents of semantic primes

In this annotated guide, I will present and discuss each exponent of semantic primes in Bislama, addressing also their patterns of allomorphy (variants) and combinatorics. Research on the styles and types of Bislama often fall into discussions on (i) the urban/rural divide, (ii) the Anglophone/Francophone school-based subcultures, and (iii) levels of debasilectalization/Anglicization. In the core vocabulary, however, there is very little difference in these styles and types. I will, when relevant, discuss various short forms, and occasionally also draw on Tok Pisin (*bislama blo Mosbi*), and Pijin (*bislama blo Solo*). (This guide is based on the work of Levisen 2014, 2016a; and Levisen et al. 2017.)

- **mi** is the sole exponent for the prime that in Anglo English is realized as both ‘I’ and ‘me’: consider *mi mekem nogud samting* ‘I did something bad’ and *nogud samting i stap hapen lo mi* ‘bad things are happening to me’.
- **yu** is the exponent for the prime that in Anglo English is realized as ‘you’.
- **man** is the exponent for the prime that in Anglo English is realized as ‘someone’. The word *man* in Bislama colexifies a number of important basic concepts (for a discussion, see Section 5.5), and, for instance, Bislama *man* can also mean ‘man’. Both Bislama and Anglo English distinguish semantically between ‘man’ and ‘someone’, but in Bislama the two concepts are colexified. To compare, the main Tok Pisin exponent is **wanpela**.
- **samting** is the sole exponent for the prime that in Anglo English is realized as both ‘something’ and ‘thing(s)’: consider *samting nogud i hapen lo mi* ‘something bad happened to me’; *fulap nogud samting i hapen lo mi* ‘many bad things happened to me’.
- **ol man** (alternative spelling *olman*) is the main exponent for the prime that in Anglo English is realized as ‘people’. This exponent is lexically related to the exponent for *man* ‘someone’ (see Section 5.5), and is in some contexts also realized as ‘man’. In Solomons Pijin, the exponent is **pipol**, and in Bislama **pipol** can also be found. It serves as an occasional allomorph. To compare, the Tok Pisin exponent is **manmeri**.
- **bodi** is the exponent for the prime that in Anglo English is realized as ‘body’.
- **kaen** is the sole exponent for the prime that in Anglo English is realized as ‘kind’ or ‘kinds’: consider *wan kaen man* ‘one kind of people’; *tu kaen man* ‘two kinds of people’.

- **pat** is the sole exponent for the prime that in Anglo English is realized as ‘parts’ or ‘part’: consider *wan pat blo bodi* ‘one part of the body’; *tu pat blo bodi* ‘two parts of the body’.
- **hemia** is the main exponent for the prime that in Anglo English is realized as ‘this’. An allolex is **ia**, which might have historically been more dominant. My research suggests that **hemia** is now the main exponent in spoken urban Bislama.
- **semak** is the main exponent for the prime that in Anglo English is realized as ‘(the) same’. An allolex is **sem** which might have historically been more dominant. My research suggests that **semak** is now the main exponent in spoken urban Bislama.
- **narafala** is the main exponent for the prime that in Anglo English is realized as both ‘other’ and ‘else’. In spoken urban Bislama, **nara** is common as a stylistic allolex. Perhaps, in fact, **nara** could be portrayed as the main exponent.
- **wan** is the exponent for the prime that in Anglo English is realized as ‘one’. The word ‘wan’ also corresponds to the particle ‘a’ in English. *Wan ples*, for example can mean ‘a place’ or ‘one place’. This colexification might, at least in theory, create some disturbances for the paraphrase method, but in practical work, there seems to be little confusion; **wanfala** is an allolex that can clarify in cases of contextual doubt.
- **tu** is the exponent for the prime that in Anglo English is realized as ‘two’.
- **plante** is the exponent for the prime that in Anglo English is realized as ‘many’. An allolex is **fulap**. In my experience **fulap** is gaining currency, and might in fact be viewed as the main exponent. But **plante** is the traditional candidate, that has also been identified for Tok Pisin and Pijin (see Levisen et al. 2017).
- **hamas ... nomo** is the circum-exponent for the prime that in Anglo English is realized as ‘few’: consider *hamas man nomo i tingting olsem naoia* ‘few people think like this now’. In urban registers, the acrolectal/Anglicized allolex **fiu** is also found.
- **samfala** is the exponent for the prime that in Anglo English is realized as ‘some’. An allolex is **sam**.
- **olketa** (alternate spellings: *olgeta*, *ogeta*, *oketa*) is the exponent for the prime that in Anglo English is realized as ‘all’: consider *olketa man lo ples ia i tingting olsem* ‘all people here think like this’.
- **gud** is the main exponent for the prime that in Anglo English is realized as ‘good’. When it modifies a noun, the allolex is **gudfala**, as in: *hemi gud tumas* ‘it’s very good’ vs. *wan gudfala ples* ‘a good place’.

- **nogud** is the exponent for the prime that in Anglo English is realized as ‘bad’. The lexical surface and etymological memory might mislead outsiders to think that *nogud* is a semantic composite term, and that it means “not good”, but this is not the case: for example *mi no harem nogud* ‘I don’t feel bad’. I have written at length about this particular issue in the metalanguage in Levisen (2016a).
- **bigfala** is the exponent for the prime that in Anglo English is realized as ‘big’; **bigwan** is an allolex.
- **smol** is the exponent for the prime that in Anglo English is realized as ‘small’; **smolwan** is an allolex.
- **tingting** is the exponent for the prime that in Anglo English is realized as ‘think’. For “topics of cognition”, the allolex **tingabaotem** (or: *tingibaotem*) is used, corresponding to Anglo English ‘think about’.
- **save** is the exponent for the prime that in Anglo English is realized as ‘know’. This exponent has lexical origins in Portuguese. The worldwide spread of **sabby** (*sabe*, *save* etc.) in Anglocreole postcolonial linguacultures is well described in the literature on creolistics (see e.g. Baker and Huber 2001:202).
- **wantem** is the exponent for the prime that in Anglo English is realized as ‘want’.
- **no wantem** is the exponent for the prime that in Anglo English is realized as ‘don’t want’.
- **harem** is the main exponent for the prime that in Anglo English is realized as ‘feel’. In Anglicized urban talk, **filim** is an allolex – occasionally even **fil** (see Section 6.11).
- **harem** is also the exponent for the prime that in Anglo English is realized as ‘hear’. The ‘feel’–‘hear’ colexification is commonly found in Pacific linguacultures (François 208:174); on emic evidence for a differentiation between **harem** ‘feel’ and **harem** ‘hear’ see also Levisen 2016a).
- **luk** is the exponent for the prime that in Anglo English is realized as ‘see’; **lukim** is an allolex.
- **talem** is the exponent for the prime that in Anglo English is realized as ‘say’.
- **toktok** is the exponent for the prime that in Anglo English is realized as ‘words’ or ‘word’. A more Anglicized allolex is **wod**.
- **(hemi) tru** is the exponent for the prime that in Anglo English is realized as ‘(is) true’.
- **mekem** is the exponent for the prime that in Anglo English is realized as ‘do’. There is a colexification of the semantic prime **mekem** ‘do’ and the semantic molecule **mekem** ‘make’ in Bislama. In Solomon’s Pijin the exponent of the

semantic prime is realized as **duim**, whereas the molecule ‘make’ is **mekem** (for an interesting account and discussion of do–make polysemy and contact-zone semantics, see Juvonen 2016).

- **hapen** is the exponent for the prime that in Anglo English is realized as ‘happen’. The lexicalization follows Anglo English more directly than, for instance, in Tok Pisin, which has **kamap** as its main exponent.
- **muw** is the exponent for the prime that in Anglo English is realized as ‘move’.
- **stap (long wan ples)** is the exponent for the prime that in Anglo English is realized as ‘be (in one place)’.
- **ikat** (alternative spellings: *igat*, *i kat*, *i gat*) is the exponent for the prime that in Anglo English is realized as ‘there is’.
- **-i (wan man/samting)** is the exponent for the prime that in Anglo English is realized as ‘be someone/something’. For example, in *hemi wan stilman* ‘he/she is a thief’, the **-i** in *hem-i* is the exponent. There is a discussion in both creole studies and Bislama studies on how to interpret so-called “zero copulas”. One could argue that Bislama sometimes has a zero-copula exponent – i.e. *yu wan stilman* ‘yu-Ø are a thief’. But rather than “zero” allolexy, I prefer to think of the realization of the prime more holistically and in constructional terms.
- **(hemi) blo mi** is the exponent for the prime that in Anglo English is realized as ‘(is) mine’.
- **liv** is the exponent for the prime that in Anglo English is realized as ‘live’. An allolex is **stap**.
- **ded** is the exponent for the prime that in Anglo English is realized as ‘die’. It most often occurs in the construction **ded finis**.
- **taem** is the sole exponent for the prime that in Anglo English is realized as ‘when’ and ‘time’: consider *taem i tudak* ‘when it is dark’, and *wanem taem* ‘what time’.
- **naoia** is the exponent for the prime that in Anglo English is realized as ‘now’. An allolex is **nao**. There is no paraphrasable difference between **nao** and **naoia**, despite the surface complexity of **naoia**. In urban Bislama, I find that **naoia** is the most common of the two.
- **bifo** is the exponent for the prime that in Anglo English is realized as ‘before’.
- **afta** is the exponent for the prime that in Anglo English is realized as ‘after’.
- **longtaem** (alternate spelling: *long taem*) is the exponent for the prime that in Anglo English is realized as ‘long time’.
- **sot taem** (alternate spelling: *sottaem*) is the exponent for the prime that in Anglo English is realized as ‘short time’.

- **samtaem** (alternate spelling: *sam taem*) is the exponent for the prime that in Anglo English is realized as ‘for some time’.
- **wantaem nomo** is the exponent for the prime that in Anglo English is realized as ‘(for one) moment’.
- **ples** is the main exponent for the prime that in Anglo English is realized as ‘place’; **wea** is an allolex, comparable to the Anglo English *where*
- **lo ples ia** is the exponent for the prime that in Anglo English is realized as ‘here’.
- **antap** is the exponent for the prime that in Anglo English is realized as ‘above’.
- **andanit** is the exponent for the prime that in Anglo English is realized as ‘below’.
- **longwe** is the exponent for the prime that in Anglo English is realized as ‘far’.
- **kolosap** (alternate spelling: *klosap*) is the exponent for the prime that in Anglo English is realized as ‘near’.
- **saed** is the exponent for the prime that in Anglo English is realized as ‘side’.
- **insaed** is the exponent for the prime that in Anglo English is realized as ‘inside’.
- **tajem** is the exponent for the prime that in Anglo English is realized as ‘touch’.
- **no** is the sole exponent for the prime that in Anglo English is realized as ‘not’ or ‘don’t’.
- **ating** is the exponent for the prime that in Anglo English is realized as ‘maybe’.
- **save** is the exponent for the prime that in Anglo English is realized as ‘can’. This is an interesting lexicalization pattern in that it is formally similar to *save* ‘know’. To compare, in Tok Pisin the exponent is **inap** with the allolex **ken**. In the combination of ‘can’ and ‘know’ in Bislama, it is possible to say **save save** but for stylistic reasons this will often be reduced in practice to a single **save**. From a paraphrasing perspective, this creates some challenges that need careful consideration.
- **from** is the exponent for the prime that in Anglo English is realized as ‘because’. The common causative construction ‘because of this’ is **from hemia**.
- **sapos** (alternative spellings: *sipos*, *spos*, *sos*) is the exponent for the prime that in Anglo English is realized as ‘if’. Some consultants have claimed that **sipos** is used more in French-oriented Bislama, and **sapos** in English-oriented Bislama. I have not been able to verify such a correlation. But in urban talk it is very common to shorten the word to **sos** or **spos**.

- **tumas** is the exponent for the prime that in Anglo English is realized as ‘very’. Double intensification corresponding to English “this is very very bad”, is usually realized through the grammatical construction **X we i X**: i.e. *hemi nogud we i nogud*.
- **moa** is the exponent for the prime that in Anglo English is realized as ‘more’.
- **olsem** is the main exponent for the prime that in Anglo English is realized as ‘like’, ‘as’, and ‘way’. An allolex is **fasin**.