

GRAMMATICALIZATION IN TOK PISIN

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WHAT IS TOK PISIN?

Tok Pisin began as an English-based pidgin spoken by the majority of Papua New Guinea's population, with many of these people speaking Tok Pisin as a L2¹, but the language is now classified as a creole. It is hard to pinpoint the exact definitions of the words "pidgin" and "creole," as both are contact languages that are created out of circumstances where people cannot dialogue with their existing languages. The definition of a pidgin is "a system of communication which has grown up among people who do not share a common language [but desire communication]" (Crystal 2010: 344), and the primary distinction between a creole and a pidgin is that a creole is spoken as a native language and pidgins are only spoken as an L2. Pidgins also tend to be limited in scope, covering only a limited topic, often trade. As a language evolves from a pidgin to a creole, the vocabulary expands to cover more aspects of communication.

Tok Pisin traces its history to the pidgin of Samoan plantations located roughly 2,500 miles west of Papua New Guinea. Under German plantation owners and colonial masters, native English input was unavailable, and vocabulary was incorporated into Tok Pisin by a strategy of its own, causing Tok Pisin to develop as a language without heavy English influence (Mühlhäusler 2003: 5). Although the majority of the lexicon originates from English, German words were adopted into Tok Pisin during Germany's rule of Papua New Guinea. Some of these words include *beten* 'to pray', *raus* 'get lost', and *borim* 'to drill' (Mühlhäusler 2003: 27). There are also influences from the native Papua New Guinean language of Kuanua, spoken by the Tolai people: *lapun* 'old', *kumu* 'bird of paradise'; as well as influence from other languages used by visitors, such as Malay² and Portuguese³ (Tung 2013).

Starting in the 1900s, the government overseeing Papua New Guinea used Tok Pisin as a lingua franca for trade, paying translators to communicate between the government and the villages; natives equated the knowledge of Tok Pisin with wealth and access to resources (Mühlhäusler 2003: 6). Since then, the status and prestige of Tok Pisin has decreased with the growth of English, but Tok Pisin is still used by the majority of the population when speaking to people outside of their Tok Ples, the language of their village. Because people are beginning to move from villages into cities, there is a new generation of native Tok Pisin speakers, which firmly establishes Tok Pisin's status as a creole and not a pidgin.

WHAT IS GRAMMATICALIZATION?

Grammaticalization is "a process of language change by which a free lexical morpheme becomes semantically generalized and phonologically reduced" (Whaley 1997: 285). Joan Bybee lists four characteristics of the grammaticalization process including: phonetic reduction, generalized and abstract meanings, an increase in frequency of use, and a gradual change in both form and function of the word. This process occurs in all languages. However, in pidgins and creoles, the process is easier to observe because these languages change at a much higher speed

¹ L2 stands for any language beyond one's native language, including second, third, fourth languages, etc.

² Malay words include *palai* 'lizard' or 'gecko', *binatang* 'insect', and *lombo* 'chili pepper'.

³ Portuguese words include *pikinini* for 'child' and *save* meaning 'to know'.

and the words grammaticalized often originate from the superstrate⁴ language. It is important to note that because pidgins and creoles change so rapidly, the grammatical function of words cannot always be classified precisely, as it is likely still shifting.

Tok Pisin is an English-based creole and therefore the English meanings and grammatical constructions of the borrowed words are available for an investigation of instances of grammaticalization and can help to identify patterns and trends of grammaticalized words in Tok Pisin.

A STANDARD CASE OF GRAMMATICALIZATION: THE WORD *BILONG*

The prototypical case of grammaticalization in Tok Pisin is the suffix *-pela*, which originated from the word “fellow” in English and the suffix has developed into a plural marker and a general adjective marker (Roberts 2008: 2, Goulden 1989). Since the case for grammaticalization of “fellow” into *-pela* has already been established in prior literature, this next section will look at the word *bilong*, another instance of well-established grammaticalization in Tok Pisin, analyzing how the word has been incorporated using the characteristics of the grammaticalization process outlined by Bybee.

The first component of the grammaticalization process is phonetic reduction. *Bilong* comes from English “belong”; the shift does not seem to exhibit much phonetic change. However, in the speech of certain areas of Papua New Guinea, speakers are starting to drop the /i/ in conversations, pronouncing the word *b'long*.

A second grammaticalization feature is the abstraction or broadening of meaning. Initially, *bilong* was used in Tok Pisin as a possessive marker, similar to the English word ‘belong’. The following sentence uses *bilong* similarly to how it can be used in English to say “The man who belongs to her is in the house” where semantically “the man who belongs” to her means ‘her husband’.

Man	bilong	em ⁵	i	stap	long	haus.	(Litteral 1990: 11)
Man	POSS	3S	PRED	to be	PREP	house	
Her husband is in/at the house							

Gradually, the word *bilong* expanded into being a general attributive marker as shown in the example below.

Em	i	meri	bilong	toktok	(Litteral 1990: 54)
3S	PRED	woman	POSS	gossip	
She is a gossip					

This construction can be used in a wide range of attributions— a *man bilong wok* means ‘a hard-working man’— a clear expansion of meaning from the semantically narrower English “belong.” The use of *bilong* in this sense is actually quite similar to the English “of,” which also has an abstract definition. In turn, this causes the frequency of use to increase because the definition has expanded and can therefore cover more contexts. These gradual shifts in *bilong* are similar to many other English words that have been grammaticalized and integrated into Tok Pisin syntax.

⁴ Pidgins and creoles are influenced by both superstrate and substrate languages. English is the Tok Pisin’s superstrate, the language influencing pidgin or creole development with higher power and prestige. Substrate languages are commonly viewed as less prestigious, in this case referring to the indigenous languages of Papua New Guinea.

⁵ While the third person singular pronoun *em* in Tok Pisin does not express gender, one can conclude from the example that, in this sentence, *em* stands for ‘her’ and not ‘his’.

TENSE

Tense in Tok Pisin is marked with grammaticalized particles. As with most pidgins and creoles, Tok Pisin does not have a large number of inflectional morphemes for case or agreement. Instead, pidgins and creoles use adverbial expressions and particles to show tense (Romaine 1990: 192). The two tense markers primarily used in colloquial Tok Pisin currently are *bai* and *pinis*, marking the future and past tenses, respectively. There is a second particle to indicate past tense, *bin*, but modern speakers seem to favor *pinis* over *bin* to mark the past. *Bai* comes from the English idiom “by and by,” which initially grammaticalized as *baimbai*. *Bai* is placed at the beginning of the clause to mark the future tense or irrealis case.

Bihain long tri -pela mun **bai** em i kam (Litteral 1990: 111)
After PREP three -ADJ month FUT 3S PRED come
In three months he will come

Sapos meri i kar -im pikinini na blut (Verhaar 1995:315)
If woman PRED carry -TRANS child CONJ blood
i lus i go **bai** meri i dai
PRED lose PRED go FUT woman PRED die

If a woman carrying a child (in childbirth) keeps hemorrhaging, the woman will die
Pinis was grammaticalized from English “finish” to indicate the past tense. It is usually at the end of the sentence but can also be found directly after the verb in some circumstances.

Fo -pela man i go **pinis** (Litteral 1990: 39)
Four -ADJ man PRED go PST
The four men have gone / the four men went

Mama bilong mi i kar -im **pinis** fo -pela pikinini (Litteral 61)
Mother POSS 1S PRED carry -TRANS PST four -ADJchild
My mother has given birth to four children

More than just the past tense, *pinis* has a perfective implication as well. *Mi save* expresses the equivalent of English’s ‘I know’. However, to indicate that one has entirely understood, one would add *pinis*, as shown below.

Mi save **pinis**
1S know PST
I (completely) understand

Both of these tense markers are grammaticalized from English, one from an idiomatic expression and the other from a verb.

GRAMMATICALIZED PRONOUNS

Two examples of grammaticalization that are more challenging to unpack are the morphemes *i* and *-im*, grammaticalized from “he” and “him,” respectively (Sankoff 1993: 120). The morpheme *i* is usually glossed as a predicate⁶, but there is no real consensus amongst Tok Pisin speakers about its exact distribution (Mundhenk 1990: 347). Historically, it was used as a

⁶ Predicate is defined as “the clause element that gives information about the subject” (Crystal 456)

topicalizer, probably from a statement such as “John, he went to the store.” Some speakers use *i* after all subjects regardless of person and number, whereas the majority of Tok Pisin speakers use it only after third person pronouns or other nouns (Sankoff 1993: 120). To further complicate this distribution, many speakers are dropping the *i* almost entirely (Mühlhausler 1990: 239). There is a slight difference in the meaning of the following two sentences listed below, one with the *i* and one without. With the *i* in the second sentence, *em* is more immediate than in the first sentence, but although there is a subtle change in meaning, many native speakers do not distinguish between the two sentences.

Em papa bilong mi
 3S father POSS 1S
 That is my father

(Verhaar 1995: 69)

Em i papa bilong mi
 3S PRED father POSS 1S
 He is my father

In addition, the words *kam*, *go*, and *stap*, in particular, require the *i* whether it is a verb or a post verbal aspectual marker (Sankoff 1984: 114). Some speakers are starting to incorporate the *i* as part of these words, turning them into *ikam*, *igo*, and *istap* instead of the predicate + verb pattern.

Tu -pela meri bai i go
 Two -ADJ girls FUT PRED go
 Two girls will go.

(Sankoff 1984: 115)

While the grammatical role that *i* plays in Tok Pisin may require more contemporary research, it is clear that it is an example of grammaticalization. It was phonologically reduced from “he”, has broadened and became more abstract in its meaning, and has increased in frequency of use. The word *i* plays a different role than “he” does in English and occurs in very different distributions.

The other morpheme grammaticalized from an English pronoun is the suffix *-im*, which acts as a transitive marker at the end of most transitive verbs (Sankoff 1993: 120).

Kis **-im** wara bilong drink i kam
 Get **-TRANS** water POSS drink PRED come
 Bring some drinking water

(US Gov. 22)

However, not all transitive verbs have the *-im* ending. The verb *kaikai* ‘to eat’ does not take the transitive marker, perhaps because it stems from a Maori word meaning ‘food’ and not from English. There is a word *kaikaim*, but it means ‘to bite’.

Mi kaikai pinis
 1S eat PST
 I (finished) eating/ I ate

Mi kaikai saksakpinis
 1S eat sago PST
 I (finished) eating sago/ I ate sago

The suffix *-im* is another example of grammaticalization. It was phonologically reduced. Furthermore, *-im* does not only apply to masculine nouns or singular objects; these features of

the word “him” in English were lost in the grammaticalization process and *-im* was expanded to mark direct objects in sentences.

The grammaticalization of these two pronouns into Tok Pisin grammatical categories emphasizes that the process of grammaticalization “is unidirectional... [as] nouns and verbs lose their categorical status and become prepositions, auxiliaries, and other grammatical forms... [and as] [f]ree elements become more restricted and fuse with other elements” (Bybee 2003: 145). Essentially, grammaticalization takes words or units and strips them down and generalizes the meaning of the words.

OTHER GENERAL TRENDS AND PATTERNS

Trend 1: Overall, there is a tendency to grammaticalize into adverbs and adjectives.

Based on these twenty-five selected instances of grammaticalization in Tok Pisin, fourteen of these cases are grammaticalized into adverbs and adjectives (Appendix B). This is expected because pidgins and creoles typically have a limited vocabulary, and adjectives and adverbs add subtle differences to existing words in the lexicon.

Em	i	kat	-im	olgeta	diwai	(Litteral 1990: 33)
3S	PRED	cut	-trans	ALL	tree	
He cut all the trees						

Nouns are often not marked for plural, and, above, *olgeta* is a way of describing that the subject cut more than one tree without overtly adding a plural affix. *Olgeta* comes from the expression “all together” and has retained the plural meaning, but its meaning expanded from characterizing a group to ‘everything’ or ‘all things’. *Olgeta* can also be used as a pronoun as in:

Jisas	laik	-im	olgeta
Jesus	love	-TRANS	all
Jesus loves everyone			

Stret originating from “straight” usually means something is correct.

Em	i	no	wok	-im	stret	em	i	wok	-im	kranki	(Litteral 1990: 112)
3S	PRED	NEG	make	-TRANS	correct	3S	PRED	make	-TRANS	wrong	
He did not make it correctly, he made it incorrectly.											

Below, *stret* adds meaning by giving validity to what is said.

Em	tok	stret
3S	talks	correct
What he said is right/true		

In certain specific contexts, it could also mean directionally straight, although this would be the more marked meaning.

Dispela	rot	i	stret
This	road	PRED	straight
This road is straight			

These are just two examples of grammaticalization into adverbs and adjectives, a common occurrence because adverbs and adjectives add meaning to the language without adding new nouns or verbs.

Trend 2: An expansion of meaning allows grammaticalization to occur within the same functional class.

Examples where grammaticalization happens within a functional class warrant a closer look to confirm that they are indeed cases of grammaticalization, usually through an expansion of meaning or distribution.

Bihain long hamas wik bai yu kam bek **gen**? (Litteral 1990: 108)
 After PREP how many week FUT 2S come back **again**?
 After how many weeks will you come back?

Originally, this example was in the list of grammaticalization, but after closer inspection, *gen* seems to only appear in contexts where “again” functions in English. There has been phonological reduction, and it is not improbable that grammaticalization can develop from the word “again”. However, at this point, it does not seem like the meaning of *gen* has expanded beyond “again”.

This is not to say that grammaticalization cannot happen within a functional class. The word *tumas* from the English “too much” has expanded in meaning and lost the implication of excessiveness in “too much”. Colloquially this is used very often in a Tok Pisin phrase similar to English’s “thanks a lot”.

Tenk yu **tumas**
 Thank 2S **a lot**
 Thank you a lot/thank you verb much

Tumas can express excessiveness but only when used in conjunction with *planti*, meaning ‘many’.

Planti man **tumas** i kam na olgeta kaikai pinis (Litteral 1990: 86)
Many man **too much** PRED come CONJ all food finished
 Too many men came and all the food is gone

Therefore, *tumas* is an example of grammaticalization within the same functional class, whereas *gen* is not. In order to have grammaticalization, there needs to be more than just a reduction of phonemes. A change in meaning or distribution of the word is necessary as well.

CURIOSITIES

The grammaticalization of the word for woman is *meri*, which is curious because it comes from a proper noun, “Mary”.

Wan -pela man i gat tu -pela **meri** (US Gov. 6)
 One -ADJ man PRED has two -ADJ **women**
 One man has two wives

Meri i gat han bilong diwai (Litteral 1990: 30)
Woman PRED has hand POSS tree

The woman has the branch of the tree

Mi gat wan -pela pikinini man na tu -pela pikinini **meri**
1S has one -ADJ child male and two -ADJ child **female**
I have one boy and two girls

This is grammaticalization because the meaning of *meri* has expanded far beyond a reference to a particular woman named “Mary” to refer to any woman or women and now is even used as an adjective describing anything female such as in *pikinini meri* meaning ‘girl’. Even though it is an unusual candidate for grammaticalization, *meri* has been fully integrated into Tok Pisin grammar.

GRAMMATICALIZATION WITHIN TOK PISIN

As stated earlier, grammaticalization is a process that also happens within a language itself. Across languages, it is a common trend to grammaticalize the numeral “one” into an indefinite article, and this can be seen happening in Tok Pisin as well (Bybee 2003: 147). The number “one” in Tok Pisin was first grammaticalized from English. The two components *wan* + *pela* came from a phonetic adaption of English “one” and *-pela*, the plural and adjectival marker, reinforcing that numbers come before the nouns they modified. All Tok Pisin numbers follow this same pattern of an English number with the *-pela* suffix tacked on, but *wanpela* has expanded into an additional grammatical function.

Mi bin luk -im **wanpela** man (Unilang)
1S PST look -TRANS **a** man
I saw a man

In this sentence, the default translation would be “I saw a man.” However, in certain contexts, it would make more sense to translate the sentences as “I saw one man.”

Yu luk-im tupela man? Nogat, mi bin luk -im **wanpela** man
2S see-TRANS two man? No, 1S PST look -TRANS **one** man
Did you see two men? No, I saw one man.

It is important to note that this second example is a marked context, and therefore the default understanding for *wanpela* would actually be the indefinite article over the numeral “one.” This broadening of meaning and increase in abstraction makes *wanpela* an example of grammaticalization within Tok Pisin itself.

CONCLUSION

Pidgins and creoles are ideal languages to observe linguistic change such as grammaticalization because these languages grow and expand much faster than other more established languages do. Grammaticalization often involves the phonological reduction and adaptation of words, phrases, and sometimes even sentences. More than just a phonological change, grammaticalization also requires the word to be used in new contexts, often expanding the original meaning of the word into a more abstract definition or function. While Tok Pisin has grammaticalized many lexical words from English for grammatical functions, such as tense or plural markers, there are also examples of grammaticalization where words retain a lexical meaning, that has shifted or expanded— which case, the Tok Pisin words are used in new contexts that the English source words could not have been used in. These changes in Tok Pisin

vocabulary have been consistent with previous explanations and claims of grammaticalization, and it will be interesting to continue tracing the past and future changes of Tok Pisin as the language becomes more established and standardized.

APPENDIX A

Tok Pisin Grammaticalization Chart

TP Word	English Source Word	TP Definition	English Word Type
antap	on top	adverb	prepositional phrase [expression]
		up (as in going up to the mountain)	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Yumi go antap long ples (Litteral 72) 2PL.INCL go up PREP place Let's go up to the village 			
bai (bambai)	by and by	tense marker	idiomatic expression [expression]
		future marker	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Bihain long tri -pela mun bai em i kam (Litteral 111) After PREP three -ADJ month FUT 3S PRED come In three months he will come. Sapos meri i kar -im pikinini na blut i lus i go bai meri i dai (Verhaar 1995:315) If woman PRED carry -TRANS child CONJ blood PRED lose PRED go FUT woman PRED die If a woman in childbirth (carrying a child) keeps hemorrhaging, the woman will die. 			
bihain (-im)	behind	adverb; verb	adverb
		later; to follow	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Bihain yu ken kis -im pe bilong mi (Litteral 100) Later 2S can get -TRANS pay POSS 1S Later you can get my pay. Na yupela lainim ol long bihain -im olgeta tok mi bin givim long yupela (Matyu 28:20) CONJ 2PL learn 3L PREP follow -TRANS all words 1S PST give PREP 2PL And teaching (learning) them to obey everything that I have commanded them 			
bilong	belong	preposition	verb
		possessive marker; attributive marker	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Man bilong em i stap long haus. (Litteral 11) Man POSS 3S PRED to be PREP house Her husband is in/at the house. Ol i go long ples bilong ol (Litteral 13) 3PL PRED go PREP place POSS 3PL They are going to their village Em i meri bilong toktok (Litteral 54) 3S PRED woman POSS gossip She is a gossip 			
i	he (Sankoff 1993: 119)	function word	pronoun
		predicate, topic marker	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Em inap long sut -im spia i go long hap i go long wara (Litteral 81) 3S able PREP shoot -TRANS spear PRED go PREP place PRED go PREP water He is capable of shooting an arrow to the other side of the river. Jon i stap wanpela pikinini man (Unilang) John PRED to be a child male John is a boy 			
-im	him (Sankoff 1993: 119)	grammatical suffix	pronoun
		transitive marker on most transitive verbs (Sankoff 1993: 120)	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Has lost "3rd person singular object" meaning (Sankoff 1993: 120) Kis -im wara bilong drink i kam (US Gov. 22) Get -TRANS water POSS drink PRED come Bring some drinking water 			
inap	enough	modal	adverb
		enough, ability	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Em inap long sut -im spia i go long hap i go long wara (Litteral 81) 3S able PREP shoot -TRANS spear PRED go PREP place PRED go PREP water He is capable of shooting an arrow to the other side of the river. 			
klostu	close to	adverb; tense marker	adjective + preposition [expression]
		near, close	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Dispela bik -pela diwai i stap klostu long rot (Litteral 53) This big -ADJ tree PRED to be close PREP road This big tree is near the road. 			

- Kaukau bilong ol i **klostu** pinis (Litteral 53)
Sweet potato POSS 3PL PRED **close** finish
Their sweet potatoes are almost gone.
- Em i- no **klostu** longwe moa (Sankoff 1993: 132)
3S PRED NEG **close** far INTENS
It's not nearby, it's far away!

laik (-im)	like	verb	verb
		like, want, need, love	

- Mi **laik** kar -im em i go long haus bilong yumi (Litteral 61)
1S **want to** carry -TRANS 3S PRED go PREP house POSS 1PL.INCL
I want to carry him to our house
- Mi **laik -im** et -pela moa (Litteral 76)
1S **want -TRANS** eight -ADJ more
I want eight more

lain-im	learn	verb	verb
		teach, learn, show	

- Yu kam **lain -im** mi along road (US Gov. 5)
2S come **learn -TRANS** 1S PREP road
You come and show (learn) me the road

long	along	preposition	preposition
		preposition meaning to/from/at/in/on/etc.	

- Pik i kam **long** mi. (Litteral 8)
Pig PRED come **PREP** 1S
The pig is coming to me.
- Em i kat -im diwai **long** wanem samting? (Litteral 27)
3S PRED cut -TRANS tree **PREP** what thing
With what did he cut the tree?
- Em i go long bus **long** sut -im pik (Litteral 57)
3S PRED go PREP jungle **PREP** shoot -TRANS pig
He is going to the jungle to shoot a pig

longwe	long way	adverb	adverb
		far	

- Ples bilong mi i stap **longwe** moa (Litteral 104)
Place POSS 1S PRED to be **far** more
My village is very far away

meri	Mary	noun/adjective	proper noun
		female (as in pikinini meri)	

- Wan -pela man i gat tu -pela **meri** (US Gov. 6)
One -TRANS man PRED has two -ADJ **women**
One man has two wives
- **Meri** i gat han bilong diwai (Litteral 30)
Woman PRED has hand POSS tree
The woman has the branch of the tree

nogat	no got	negative	sentence/verb phrase
		negative marker	

- Yupela i gat kaikai, o **nogat?** (Litteral 39)
2S PRED have food or NEG
Do you have food, or not?

olgeta	altogether	pronoun, adjective	adverb
		everyone, all	

- Em i kat -im **olgeta** diwai (Litteral 33)
3S PRED cut -trans ALL tree
He cut all the trees

oltaim	all time	adverb	adverb
		always, habitually	

- Em i laik wok **oltaim** long gavman (Litteral 97)
3S PRED want work **always** PREP government
He wants to work for the government forever

-pela	fellow	grammatical suffix	noun- masculine, has colloquial meaning
		pronoun pluralizer, general classifier suffixed to adjectives, quantifiers, and demonstratives	

- Yu -pela i kaikai wanem? (Litteral 24)
2 PL PRED eat what
What are you eating?

- Susa bilong mi i gat bik **-pela** haus (Litteral 28)
Sister POSS 1S PRED have big -ADJ house
My sister has a big house
- Mi ba -im wan **-pela** buk long fifti toea (Litteral 33)
1S buy -TRANS one -ADJ book PREP 50 toea
I bought a (one) book for 50 toea.

pinis	finish	tense marker	verb
		finished, marks a completed past tense; completed action (Mühlhäusler 28)	

- Fo **-pela** man i go **pinis** (Litteral 39)
Four -ADJ man PRED go PST
The four men have gone / the four men went
- Mama bilong mi i kar -im **pinis** fo **-pela** pikinini (Litteral 61)
Mother POSS 1S PRED carry -TRANS PST four -ADJ child
My mother has given birth to four children
- Mi pundaun na olgeta wara i kapsait **pinis.** (Litteral 131)
1S fall down CONJ all water PRED spill PST
I fell down and all of the water spilled

pulap	full up	adjective	adjective phrase [expression]
		full, at capacity	

- Dispela baket i **pulap** long wara tu (Litteral 168)
This bucket PRED full PREP water also
This bucket is full of water as well.

stret	straight	adverb	adjective
		correct, straight	

- Em i no wok -im **stret** em i wok -im kranki (Litteral 112)
3S PRED NEG make -TRANS correct 3S PRED make -TRANS wrong
He did not make it correctly, he made it incorrectly.
- Em tok **stret**
3S talks correct
What he said is right/true

tasol	that's all	adjective/adverb	sentence [expression]
		only; but/however	

- Em **tasol** (Litteral 75)
3S only
That's all/that's it/that's all right
- Mi kis -im hap **tasol** (Litteral 77)
1S get -TRANS part only
I only got part of it
- Asde balus i stap long Rabaul **tasol** nau em i (Litteral 78)
Yesterday plane PRED to be PREP Rabaul but now 3S PRED
kam pinis long Lae
come PST PREP Lae
Yesterday the plane was at Rabaul, but today it came to Lae.
- Em i laik slip **tasol** (Litteral 79)
3S PRED want sleep only
He just wants to sleep
- Yu dispela boi **tasol** i kam na stilim kakaruk bilong mi (Sankoff 1993:132)
2S this boy INTENS PRED come CONJ steal chicken POSS 1S
You are that very boy who came and stole my chickens

tumas	too much	adverb	adverb
		very, a lot	

- Planti man **tumas** i kam na olgeta kaikai pinis (Litteral 86)
Many man too much PRED come CONJ all food finished
Too many men came and all the food is gone

wanpela	one +adj	determiner, adjective	number + TP ending
		indefinite marker	

- Wan -pela** man i gat tu **-pela** meri (US Gov. 6)
One -ADJ man PRED has two -ADJ women
One man has two wives

wantaim	one time along	preposition	noun phrase + preposition [expression]
		preposition "with"	

- Wantaim** along pren bilong mi (US Gov. 10)
With prep friend poss 1S
With my friend
- Bai em i go **wantaim** mi long ples bilong mi (Litteral 63)
FUT 3S PRED go with 1S PREP place POSS 1S

He will go with me to my village

yet	yet	reflexive	adverb							
• Em	i	kat	-im	han	bilang	em	yet	long	akis	(Litteral 91)
3S	PRED	cut	-TRAN	hand	POSS	3S	REFL	PREP	axe	
He cut his own hand with an axe										

APPENDIX B

Grammaticalization Trends

Adverb	→	adverb
Adverb	→	adverb/verb
Adverb	→	pronoun/adjective
Adverb	→	reflexive
Adverb	→	modal
Adjective	→	adverb
Adjective	→	adjective
AP	→	adjective
Adjective + prep	→	adverb
Verb	→	preposition
Verb	→	verb
Verb	→	tense marker
VP	→	negative marker
Noun	→	grammatical suffix
Proper noun	→	noun/adjective
Pronoun	→	function word
Pronoun	→	grammatical suffix
NP + prep	→	preposition
Preposition	→	preposition
PP	→	adverb
Idiomatic expression	→	tense marker
Sentence	→	adjective/adverb

APPENDIX C

Tok Pisin Grammaticalization Chart (Removals)

Phonological reduction, no expansion in meaning:

gen	again	adverb	adverb
		repeat	

- Bihain long hamas wik bai yu kam bek **gen**? (Litteral 108)
 After PREP how many week FUT 2S come back **again**?
 After how many weeks will you come back?

Meaning has only slightly expanded:

isi	easy	adverb	adjective
		slow	

- Yu no kan tok harriap; tok **isi** (US Gov. 5)
 2S neg able speak fast talk **slow**
 You cannot speak so fast, please speak slowly

planti	plenty	adjective	adjective
		many	

- **Planti** man i stap long ples (Litteral 35)
Many man PRED to be PREP place
 There are a lot of men in the village.
- Em i save **planti** samting (Litteral 40)
 3S PRED know **many** things
 He knows about a lot of things

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