**GRAMMATICALIZATION IN TOK PISIN**

*Cindy Tung*

**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 L2\(^1\), 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 (Mühlhausler 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’ (Mühlhausler 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 Malay\(^2\) and Portuguese\(^3\) (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 (Mühlhausler 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.

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\(^1\) 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 superstrate \(^4\) 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’.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Man } & \text{ bilong } \text{ em}^5 \text{ i } \text{ stap long haus.} \\
\text{Man} & \text{ POSS } 3S \text{ PRED to be PREP house}
\end{align*}
\]

Her husband is in/at the house

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Em } & \text{ i meri bilong toktok} \\
3S & \text{ PRED woman POSS gossip}
\end{align*}
\]

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.

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\(^4\) 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*  
After three -ADJ month FUT 3S PRED come

*In three months he will come*

*Sapos meri i kar -im pikinini na blut*  
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*  
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*  
Mother POSS 1S PRED carry -TRANS PST four -ADJ child

*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

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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.

That is my father

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.

Bring some drinking water

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’.

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 categorial 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.

\[
\text{Bihain long hamas wik bai yu kam bek gen?} \quad \text{(Litteral 1990: 108)}
\]
\[
\text{After \ PREP \ how many \ week \ FUT \ 2S \ come \ back \ \text{again}?}
\]
\[
\text{After \ how \ many \ weeks \ will \ you \ come \ back?}
\]

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”.

\[
\text{Tenk \ yu \ tumas}
\]
\[
\text{Thank \ 2S \ a \ lot}
\]
\[
\text{Thank \ you \ a \ lot/thank \ you \ verb \ much}
\]

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

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

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”.

\[
\text{Wan -pela \ man \ i \ gat \ tu \ -pela \ meri} \quad \text{(US \ Gov. 6)}
\]
\[
\text{One -ADJ \ man \ PRED \ has \ two -ADJ \ women}
\]
\[
\text{One \ man \ has \ two \ wives}
\]
\[
\text{Meri \ i \ gat \ han \ bilong \ diwai} \quad \text{(Litteral \ 1990: 30)}
\]
\[
\text{Woman \ PRED \ has \ hand \ POSS \ tree}
\]
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
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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TP Word</th>
<th>English Source Word</th>
<th>TP Definition</th>
<th>English Word Type</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>antap</td>
<td>on top</td>
<td>adverb</td>
<td>prepositional phrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>up (as in going up to the mountain)</td>
<td>[expression]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bihain</td>
<td>by and by</td>
<td>tense marker</td>
<td>idiomatic expression</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>future marker</td>
<td>[expression]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bai (bambai)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bai</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- **Yumi go** antap long ples **2PL.INCL go up PREP place**
  Let’s go up to the village

- **Bihain long tri -pela mun bai em i kam**
  After PREP three -ADJ month FUT 3S PREP come
  In three months he will come.

- **Sapos meri i kar -im pikinini na blut i lus i go bai meri i dai**
  If woman PRED carry -TRANS child CONJ blood PRED lose PREP go FUT woman PRED die
  If a woman in childbirth (carrying a child) keeps hemorrhaging, the woman will die.

- **Bihain yu ken kis -im pe bilong mi**
  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 yu**
  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

- **Man bilong em i stap long haus.**
  Man POSS 3S PREP to be PREP house
  Her husband is in/at the house.

- **Ol i go long ples bilong ol**
  3PL PREP go PREP place POSS 3Pl
  They are going to their village

- **Em i meri bihain toktok**
  3S PREP woman POSS gossip
  She is a gossip

- **i he (Sankoff 1993: 119)**
  function word
  predicate, topic marker

- **Em inap long sut -im spia i go long hap i go long wara**
  3S able PREP shoot -TRANS spear PREP go PREP place PREP go PREP water
  He is capable of shooting an arrow to the other side of the river.

- **Jon i stap wanpela pikinini man**
  John PREP to be a child male
  John is a boy

- **Has lost “3rd person singular object” meaning**
  (Sankoff 1993: 120)

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

- **Em inap long sut -im spia i go long hap i go long wara**
  3S able PREP shoot -TRANS spear PREP go PREP place PREP go PREP water
  He is capable of shooting an arrow to the other side of the river.

- **Dispela bik -pela diwai i stap klostu long rot**
  This big -ADJ tree PREP to be close PREP road
  This big tree is near the road.
- Wantaim 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>pinis</th>
<th>finish</th>
<th>tense marker</th>
<th>verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>finished, marks a completed past tense; completed action (Mühlhäusler 28)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- 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 pandaun 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>pulap</th>
<th>full up</th>
<th>adjective</th>
<th>adjective phrase</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>full up</td>
<td>full, at capacity</td>
<td>[expression]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>stre</th>
<th>straight</th>
<th>adverb</th>
<th>adjective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>straight</td>
<td>correct, straight</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- Em i no wok -im stre 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 stre. (Litteral 79)
  3S talks correct
  What he said is right/true

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>tasol</th>
<th>that’s all</th>
<th>adjective/adverb</th>
<th>sentence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>that’s all</td>
<td>only; but/however</td>
<td>[expression]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- Em tasol 3S only. (Litteral 75)
  That’s all/that’s it/that’s all right
- Mi kis -im hap tasol 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 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>tumas</th>
<th>too much</th>
<th>adverb</th>
<th>adverb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>too much</td>
<td>very, a lot</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>wampela</th>
<th>one +adj</th>
<th>determiner, adjective</th>
<th>number + TP ending</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>one +adj</td>
<td>determiner, adjective</td>
<td>number + TP ending</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>wantaim</th>
<th>one time along</th>
<th>preposition</th>
<th>noun phrase + preposition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>one time along</td>
<td>preposition “with”</td>
<td>[expression]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- Wantaim along pren bilong mi With prep friend poss 1S (US Gov. 10)
- 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>yet</th>
<th>yet</th>
<th>reflexive</th>
<th>adverb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Em</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>kat</td>
<td>-im</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>han</td>
<td>bilong</td>
<td>em</td>
<td>yet</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Literal 91)

He cut his own hand with an axe
### APPENDIX B
**Grammaticalization Trends**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Syntax Type</th>
<th>Definition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adverb</td>
<td>adverb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adverb</td>
<td>adverb/verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adverb</td>
<td>pronoun/adjective</td>
</tr>
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<td>reflexive</td>
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<td>Adverb</td>
<td>modal</td>
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<tr>
<td>Adjective</td>
<td>adverb</td>
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<tr>
<td>Adjective</td>
<td>adjective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AP</td>
<td>adjective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjective + prep</td>
<td>adverb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verb</td>
<td>preposition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verb</td>
<td>verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verb</td>
<td>tense marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VP</td>
<td>negative marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noun</td>
<td>grammatical suffix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proper noun</td>
<td>noun/adjective</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pronoun</td>
<td>function word</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pronoun</td>
<td>grammatical suffix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP + prep</td>
<td>preposition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preposition</td>
<td>preposition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PP</td>
<td>adverb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Idiomatic expression</td>
<td>tense marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sentence</td>
<td>adjective/adverb</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX C
Tok Pisin Grammaticalization Chart (Removals)

Phonological reduction, no expansion in meaning:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>gen</th>
<th>again</th>
<th>adverb</th>
<th>adverb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>repeat</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>isi</th>
<th>easy</th>
<th>adverb</th>
<th>adjective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>slow</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>planti</th>
<th>plenty</th>
<th>adjective</th>
<th>adjective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>many</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- 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


Tok Pisin (2013). Encyclopedia Britannica Online.