4.4 SYNTAX OF TOK PISIN

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4.4.0 INTRODUCTION

The writer on the syntax of any language is faced with a number of problems, including the fact that:

a) It is not feasible to describe all the rules and regularities underlying the formation of grammatical strings of a language.

b) Existing descriptive models regard syntax as an autonomous abstract object rather than one which depends on a speaker's cultural background, psychological strategies and situational context. Fixed abstract rules such as non-linguists have come to expect in a grammar tend to be the endpoint of a long tradition of grammar writing and grammar teaching. In new languages or those with no written tradition the degree of grammaticalisation encountered is much less. Variability and gradient grammaticalness are to be expected in such languages.

The description of pidgin languages, which are second languages for most of their users, poses some additional problems:

c) Such languages are developing and changing to such a degree that a purely synchronic description (i.e. one where language is regarded as frozen at a particular point in time) would seem to make little sense. It is for this reason that frequent reference will be made to the grammar of speakers of different age groups and social backgrounds.

d) Because pidgins are second languages their speakers' first languages can influence their grammar. This means, among other things, that different speakers may interpret identical syntactic structures in different ways. In any case, the discrepancy between a production grammar and a perception grammar can be considerable in a pidgin. There can be no doubt that the present analysis is biased towards a European interpretation, though attempts have been made to take into account indigenous intuitions wherever this was possible.

As pointed out in the chapter on the history of research (2.1), there have been a number of syntactic descriptions of Tok Pisin in the past. The present description differs from them in the following ways:

a) It is based on a very large corpus of materials produced by indigenous speakers of the language. All but a few trivial examples used were taken from this corpus. I have attempted throughout to be maximally descriptive and minimally prescriptive or normative.

b) The present description is more comprehensive than previous ones, partly because it accounts for many recent developments in the grammaticalisation process of Tok Pisin.

c) Development and variation are given a prominent place. I have refrained, however, from using complex models of description to account for such variation. The main aim has been observational adequacy rather than descriptive consistency.

It should be obvious from the above remarks that this syntax is in many ways more in the nature of an approximation to a description than a definite grammar. My main concern was to cater for those who have to speak and write the language rather than the professional linguist. However, wherever possible, the reader is referred to scientific treatments of the points of grammar discussed here.

4.4.1 WORD CLASSES IN TOK PISIN

4.4.1.1 Introduction

A number of attempts to establish word classes in Tok Pisin have been made, the most important being those of Hall (1943b and 1955a) and Wurm (1971a). Hall states that the classification of words is one of the main aims of linguistic description and that it should precede all syntactic analysis. He also insists that morphological criteria should be at the base of any such classification. A further discussion of the theoretical principles underlying Hall's work is found in Hall 1962. Wurm (1971a), on the other hand, does not aim at a scientific categorisation of Tok Pisin words but at providing classes useful in teaching the language.

My own approach is that classification for its own sake is only of marginal interest in linguistic description and that different classificatory approaches may be needed in different parts of grammar. Word classifications can be based on a number of criteria, i.e. phonological, morphological, syntactic and semantic, and those arrived at by applying one set of criteria are not necessarily co-extensive with those based on another. Morphological criteria, for instance, are not always relevant to the establishment of syntactically relevant classes.

I will attempt here to establish classes of words relevant to the operation of the syntactic rules of the language. No complete syntax of Tok Pisin is yet available and is unlikely to be so in the near future. To present a syntax which could claim to be exhaustive and to list all the syntactic features relevant for the classification of Tok Pisin words would clearly be beyond the aims of the present handbook. Nevertheless it is hoped that the classifications presented here will be a step in the direction which a more detailed scientific analysis of Tok Pisin syntax should take and that the following discussion will provide a clearer picture of the major syntactic processes of Tok Pisin than has been available hitherto.

4.4.1.2 Nouns and noun phrases

Nouns can be syntactically defined as essential members of noun phrases (NP) and prepositional phrases (PP). They are optionally accompanied by certain determiners and specifiers which will also be discussed in this section. The first

subclassification of nouns is one which distinguishes between pronouns and all other kinds of nouns.

4.4.1.2.1 Pronouns (PN)

(a) Personal pronouns

Tok Pisin distinguishes essentially seven pronouns, i.e. three for the singular and four for the plural; to this dual and trial forms must be added. The basic paradigm is as follows:

	1st		2nd		3rd	
sg.	mi	*I*	yu	*you (one)*	em	*he,she,it*
du.	yumitupela	*we two* (incl.)	yutupela	*you two*	(em) tupela	*they two*
	mitupela	*we two* (excl.)				
tr.	yumitripela	*we three* (incl.)	yutripela	*you three*	(em) tripela	*they three*
	mitripela	*we three* (excl.)				
pl.	yumi	*we (all)* (incl.)	yupela	*you (all)*	(em) ol	*they*
	mipela	*we (all)* (excl.)				

Table of personal pronouns

The distinction between the inclusive and the exclusive form of the first person plural pronoun is an important feature of Tok Pisin grammar:

> The distinction of 'inclusive' and 'exclusive' is a feature
> taken over from Melanesian languages in New Guinea. One must
> always distinguish in Pidgin whether 'we' includes the person
> or persons spoken to or not. If the addressee is not included,
> one says mipela; if he is, one says yumi. Failure to observe
> the distinction can lead to misunderstandings; thus, a mission-
> ary must say Jisas i-dai long yumi *Jesus died for us* - that is,
> for Europeans and natives alike; if he said Jisas i-dai long
> mipela it would mean *Jesus died for us (missionaries)* (and not
> for the congregation).   (Laycock 1970c:xviii)

However, a confusion of inclusive and exclusive pronouns is often found in speakers for whom this distinction is not made in their first language. In recent years a form yumipela has become more common. For some of its users this form corresponds to English *we*.

The form with em in the third person plural may either reflect emphasis (cf. below) or, especially with older speakers, be related to the now obsolete system of plural pronouns with the forms mi ol *we*, yu ol *you* (pl.) and em ol *they*.

The basic set of personal pronouns is the same in subject and object posi-tion: mi lukim yu *I see you*, yu lukim mi *you see me*. However, it must be noted that the third person singular pronoun em is often omitted after transitive verbs ending in -im, as in mi lukim em or mi lukim *I see him* (cf. Lattey 1979).

A second convention affecting the use of em is its behaviour after the prep-osition bilong. For some varieties of Tok Pisin there is a distinction between bilong em and bilong en (spelled bilongen): Dutton (1973:39) mentions that

bilongen translates as *his, hers, its* whereas bilong em corresponds to English *that person's* or *that thing's*.

(b) Conventions for the choice of pronouns

Though the third person singular pronoun em has been glossed as *he, she, it* in the previous paragraph and though ol has been translated as *they*, the conventions underlying the choice of singular and plural pronouns in Tok Pisin differ from those of English. I shall give a short summary of this feature of Tok Pisin grammar:

    a) For some speakers the distinction between singular and plural in third person pronouns is not obligatory; the singular pronoun em is chosen to refer to both singular and plural NPs, e.g. ol wasman em i stap *the watchmen were there*.

    b) The tendency to neglect the distinction between singular and plural in pronouns is more pronounced if the PN stands for inanimate nouns: Mi lukim planti sip. Em i stap longwe tru. *I saw many ships. They were far away.*

    c) The pronoun chosen for referring to dual NP's can be tupela or either of the less marked forms ol and em: Asde mi lukim papamama bilong mi. Em/Tupela/Ol i laik lapun nau. *Yesterday I went to see my parents. The two of them are getting old now.*

    d) The pronoun tupela is not chosen to refer to inanimates.

(c) Emphatic pronouns

Emphatic pronouns are formed from the personal pronoun followed by yet, ya or tasol and, in singular only, wanpela:

Mi yet i wokim haus	*I myself built the house*
Mi laikim yu tasol	*I love just you*
Yu tokim em yet	*Tell it to him personally*
Em ya i bagarapim meri bilong mi	*It is he who assaulted my wife*

The choice between these emphasisers is guided mainly by the need to avoid ambiguity with the reflexive form em yet *himself* and em tasol *that's all*.

(d) Interrogative pronouns

These have been dealt with in a number of places, and little can be added to Laycock's analysis (1970c:xxix):

> The four basic interrogative words - haumas *how much, how many*, husat *who*, we *where*, and wonem *what* - are used just like any other words in Pidgin, and no special question intonation is used: haumas bai yu gipim mi? *how much will you give me?* husat i kamap *who is coming?* wonem i kam? *what is coming?* yu lukim wonem? *what do you see?* ol bai ol i go we? *where will they go?*
>
> All these interrogatives, except we, may be used as adjectives: haumas pe yu bin gipim longen? *how much pay did you give him?* husat man i sanap i stap wantaim yu? *who is the man standing beside you?* wonem samting yu lukim? *what is it*

you see? wonem meri i kukim kaukau? *which woman cooked the sweet potato?* wonem kain pasin bilong yu? *what sort of behaviour is that?* The interrogative does not necessarily come first in the sentence, especially if it is the object (direct or indirect) of a verb: yu lukim wonem samting? *what is it you see?* yu gipim sol long haumas man? *how many men did you give salt to?* Where the interrogative is the subject of the sentence, the sentence can be broken into two phrases, especially where the item being questioned is a long phrase: man i kamap, em husat? *the man coming, who is he?* dispela samting mi lukim long ples bilong yu, i olosem bikpela anka, em wonem samting? *this thing I saw in your house, like a big anchor, what is it?*

Note: wanem nem bilong yu? or husat nem bilong yu? both translate *what is your name?*

(e) Indefinite pronouns

The following forms are found in Tok Pisin:

sampela man	*someone*
sampela (man)	*some* (pl.)
(sampela) samting	*something*
ol samting	*something* (pl.)

The use of these forms can be best illustrated with a few examples:

I gat planti man i wok long tesin. Sampela i retskin na sampela blakskin.	*There are many workers on the station. Some are 'redskins' and some are 'blackskins'.*
Mi lukim ol samting ol ples i wok long redim.	*I saw something* (pl.) *that the villagers were preparing.*
Yu laikim kaikai? Yes, mi laikim sampela.	*Do you want food? Yes, I want some.*

(f) Reflexive pronouns

Reflexive pronouns in Tok Pisin are formed by the addition of yet after the personal pronoun appearing as object, e.g.:

Em i hangamapim em yet.	*He hanged himself.*
Yu laikim yu yet tasol a?	*You are fond of yourself, aren't you?*

Reflexivity in Tok Pisin has not yet been well studied. It must be mentioned that not all reflexives in English are translated by constructions containing a reflexive pronoun in Tok Pisin.

My data suggest that often the reflexive pronoun does not appear overtly, transitive verbs without overt object often being used to translate reflexive concepts, as in:

man bilong kano tu i bilasim	*the crew of the canoe decorated themselves*
yu no ken pulimapim olsem bulmakau	*you can't fill yourself like a cow*
tel bilong kapul i hukim long diwai	*the possum's tail hooked itself on a branch*

(g) Reciprocal pronouns

Apart from other mechanisms to express reciprocity, such as the repetition of verb stems, the following forms are commonly found: wanpela wanpela *one another*, tupela tupela *one another*, *each*, narapela narapela *one another*, as in:

tupela i paitim wanpela wanpela	*they hit one another*
narapela i kikim narapela, narapela i kikim narapela, orait ol i kikim narapela narapela	*they kicked each other*

Again, transitive verb forms with deleted object can be used to signal reciprocal actions, as in:

tupela i paitim	*they hit one another*

(h) Possessive pronouns

Possessive pronouns are formed by bilong plus the set of personal pronouns. A more detailed discussion of these will be found below. It must be pointed out that, if one has to do with a reciprocal relationship of possession, possessive pronouns normally occur twice, as in:

wanpela moning papa bilongen i lusim pikinini bilongen	*one morning the father left his child*
liklik bilongen i paitim bikpela bilongen	*the little brother hit his older brother*

4.4.1.2.2 Nouns

No complete discussion of the subclassification of Tok Pisin nouns can be given here, but some of the most obvious semantic features which are relevant to their syntactic behaviour will be discussed. In Tok Pisin there is considerable freedom for nouns to appear in more than one syntactically relevant subclass.

(a) Animate vs. inanimate nouns

The distinction between nouns such as dokta *doctor*, manki *boy* and sunam *Manus islander* on the one hand, and diwai *tree*, gras *hair, feather* on the other is relevant, as has been pointed out already, to the choice of pronouns and certain prenominal modifiers such as the pluraliser ol.

(b) Proper vs. common nouns

Proper nouns with regard to animates are names such as Pita, Sioba, John. They typically occur in the singular only and are always definite. Proper nouns for inanimates include the names of towns, rivers and other localities, as in Sepik *the Sepik*, Goroka, Mosbi *Port Moresby*, etc. The relevance of this class of proper nouns for syntactic behaviour lies in the restrictions in connection with prenominal determiners.

(c) Countable vs. non-countable nouns

This distinction, which is important for the classification of English nouns, is relatively unimportant in Tok Pisin since there are a number of lexical conventions which allow virtually any noncount noun to become a count noun. At present there is a good deal of fluctuation, but it seems likely that more stable

conventions will develop, particularly in Urban Tok Pisin under the influence of English.

In those cases where a distinction between count and mass nouns is maintained, the choice of prenominal determiners and pronouns is affected. This will be discussed below.

(d) Abstract vs. concrete nouns

Though formally there is little difference between these two groups with regard to their ability to take prenominal modifiers, the conditions under which, for instance, the plural marker may appear with nouns of these two subclasses, are different. The appearance of ol with abstract nouns in Tok Pisin depends on the presence of a plural subject in sentences in which these abstract nouns are objects. Compare mi gat fan *I had fun* with ol i gat(ol)fan *they had fun*, or sindaun bilongen *his behaviour* with (ol) sindaun bilong ol *their behaviour*.

The four features just discussed can be used to divide Tok Pisin nouns into main classes. However, there are a number of other features applying to only a few nouns, which are also relevant to syntactic processes. An isolation of all such features would be a very large task and would require considerably more research in the area of Tok Pisin syntax. The following cases illustrate such minor class features:

(e) Nouns referring to containers or units of measurement

This group includes items such as mekpas *bundle*, karamap *packet*, tin *tin*, pius *roll of 100 coins*, kes *case*, which appear in noun phrases involving two nouns. Examples are:

pikinini i baiim wanpela botol muliwara	*the child bought a bottle of lemonade*
ol i antapim pe bilong wanpela pepa rais i go inap 25 sens	*they increased the price of a paper bag of rice to 25 cents*
lapun meri i holim wanpela han buai	*the old woman held a 'hand' of betelnuts*

(f) Nouns introducing proper nouns

Nouns such as mista *Mr*, masta *European*, wara *river*, ailan *island*, ples *village*, are typically followed by proper nouns, as in:

wara Sepɨk	*the Sepik river*
kiap Taunsen	*the government officer Townsend*
masta pobrus	*the European referred to as pobrus (smoker of native tobacco)*
ailan Walis	*Walis island*
maunten Turu	*Turu mountain*

Note: in more anglicised versions one finds Walis ailan *Walis island* and Sepik riva *Sepik river*.

(g) Units for measuring time or money

This group includs terms such as mun *month*, siling *shilling*, mak *mark*, *shilling*, kina *kina*, aua *hour*. Numerals appearing before such terms normally drop -pela. Compare:

wanpela man	*one man*
wan aua	*one hour*
wan siling	*one shilling*

4.4.1.3 Nominal modifiers

Noun phrases in Tok Pisin may consist either of a head noun alone or a head noun preceded and/or followed by a number of modifiers. At this point there is a great deal of variation in both the order of elements which can appear with nouns and the restrictions on their co-occurrence.

In this discussion of nominal modifiers I will first deal with number marking, a feature which has become obligatory for many varieties of Tok Pisin, then with prenominal and post-nominal modifiers.

4.4.1.3.1 Number in Tok Pisin nouns

Three classes of syntactic nouns are relevant to the determination of regularities underlying the use of number markers in Tok Pisin. They are animate nouns, inanimate count nouns and inanimate mass nouns. The distinction between the latter two classes, however, is not made in some varieties of Tok Pisin and is less important than the distinction between animates and inanimates.

Tok Pisin typically distinguishes between singular, plural and dual. It has been said that "Pidgin nouns have no articles and show no number. The third person pronouns (singular and plural) are sometimes used in a manner which corresponds to the English definite article" (Laycock 1970c:xix).

This and similar statements suggest that the indication of number is optional in Tok Pisin. This is still true for certain less developed varieties of Tok Pisin, but two studies carried out by the present author (Mühlhäusler 1976 and 1981a) suggest that there has been a drastic change among younger and more sophisticated speakers of this language.

The number system currently most commonly used can be represented as follows:

(a) Animate nouns:

	singular	dual	plural
unmarked.	Ø man *a man*		ol man *men*
marked indefinite	wanpela man *a certain man*	tupela man *two men*	sampela (ol) man *some men*
definite	em man (ya) man ya *the man*	em tupela man (ya) tupela man ya *the two men*	em ol man (ya) ol man ya *the men*

The distinction between unmarked and marked indefinite forms (man as against wanpela man) is that between English *a man* and *a certain man* or *men* and *some (or certain) men*. European speakers of Tok Pisin tend to translate both unmarked and marked indefinite forms by wanpela, though there is a distinction in Tok Pisin between, for example, mi laik kisim meri *I want to marry* and mi laikim wanpela meri na mi laik kisim em *I like a certain girl and I want to marry her*.

The use of the term 'unmarked' for the forms man and ol man means that these forms are unmarked for definiteness, though man on its own can also be unmarked for number under certain conditions.

(b) Inanimate nouns: count nouns

As in the case of animate nouns, the categories of number and definiteness are independent of one another; what distinguishes inanimate nouns from animates are the conditions applying to the use of number marking. The convention for animates was that number must be indicated with nouns either by using number markers directly preceding the noun or in the possessive, and there also was a strong tendency towards redundancy in number marking. Number marking with in-animates is not compulsory. However, there is a strong tendency among fluent second-language Tok Pisin speakers and those for whom it is the first language, to follow mark number distinctions in most occurrences of non-animate nouns.

The distinction between dual and plural is not made for inanimates. The conventions for the use of the markers em and ya are the same as for animate nouns.

Note: what counts as an animate or inanimate noun semantically can differ with the speaker's background language/culture.

The main difference between older speakers of Tok Pisin and speakers belonging to the younger generation, in particular those for whom Tok Pisin is the first language, lies in the amount of redundancy found with number marking. For very old speakers the plural marker ol tends to be used only when a plural noun is introduced paragraph initially with all further occurrences unmarked for number. For speakers of creolised Tok Pisin all occurrences of the same plural noun would be preceded by ol, often redundantly as in ol sampela man or ol planti man *some men* or *plenty of men* (cf. Mühlhäusler 1981a).

Under certain conditions, the plural marker ol can be deleted:

a) If the noun is preceded by olgeta *all*. Noun phrases of the form olgeta ol man *all men*, are very rare.

b) If the head noun is followed by plural possessives as in pikinini bilong ol i save go long skul *their children go to school*.

c) If the head noun is preceded by sampela *some*, haumas *how many*, or numerals: (ol) sampela man, (ol) haumas meri, em i bin kilim (ol) paippela pik.

d) Before additive nominal compounds such as manmeri *people* or meripikinini *women and children*.

e) For some speakers there is a group of nouns which are semantically plural but are treated as singulars in English. This group includes (ol) lain *a (labour) group*, (ol) famili *family*, (ol) misin *the mission*, and similar items.

e) The plural marker ol does not appear, as a rule, to the right of i kamap or tanim in equative clauses: ol dispela meri i sumatin *these girls are students*.

(c) Mass nouns

The distinction between mass and count nouns in Tok Pisin is made primarily on semantic grounds. The former include objects which cannot be subdivided or merged, while the latter refer to separate countable entities. In English this

distinction is reflected in the distinction between milk, flour, gas on the one hand and the tree, the box or the book on the other. In Tok Pisin there is almost total overlap in the class membership of these two groups of nouns. Countability (or at least potential countability) is signalled syntactically by the use of ol or numerals such as wanpela *one*, tupela *two*, etc. There is a small class of lexical items which are countable but not normally preceded by such quantifiers.

Mihalic (1971:12) mentions that "a few nouns ..., may have implied plural signification; for example: banana *banana(s)*, bin *bean(s)*, morata *thatch* ...."

As a rule all inanimate nouns, including abstract nouns, are potentially countable. For example:

mi go katim wanpela paiawut	*I went to chop one quantity of firewood*
em i pulimapim wanpela graun long wanpela bilum	*she filled a quantity of soil (corresponding to the size of the stringbag) into a stringbag*

This can also explain the tendency among many fluent speakers of Tok Pisin to treat inanimate nouns which can be thought of as the aggregate of potentially countable entities as plurals:

ol rais	*rice*		ol smok	*tobacco*
ol brus	*native tobacco*		ol suga	*sugar*
ol kopi	*coffee*		ol dring	*drink, liquor*

Plural forms of abstract nouns such as ol lokalaisesen *localisation* and ol prensip wantaim Papua *friendship with Papua*, to mention but two of the numerous examples, can be thought of as having the plural marker since a number of people in a number of places are involved. But, as inanimate nouns are involved, the plural marker remains optional.

4.4.1.3.2 Distribution

A feature which is frequently signalled syntactically is that of distribution, i.e. the occurrence of entities in several localities. The most common way of expressing distribution is by reduplicating the noun. Nouns can also be optionally preceded by ol and followed by nabaut, as in:

ol kanakakanaka nabaut long bus	*the groups of less developed natives in the various parts of the bush*
pikinini bilong diwai i gat konakona	*the fruit of the tree (carambola) has many corners*
ol i go painim talingatalinga nabaut	*they went to look for mushrooms in various places*
ol wantokwantok nabaut long ol taun	*his wantoks in the various towns*

Number, definiteness and distribution are the main grammatical categories associated with nouns in Tok Pisin. No grammatical gender or case distinctions are shown in nouns. Sex distinctions can be made by adding man *male* or meri *female* to a noun as in pukpuk man *a male crocodile*, meme meri *a nanny-goat*, hos man *stallion* or wido man *widower*.

The semantic distinctions carried by case endings in other languages are made by purely syntactic means in Tok Pisin and will be discussed below.

A special instance of the plural marker ol must be mentioned here, not because this construction is of much significance in present-day Tok Pisin, but because of the fact that parallel constructions are found in a number of other pidgins and languages of alleged pidgin ancestry such as Jamaican Creole, Negro Dutch of the Virgin Islands and Afrikaans. Ol following nouns referring to humans, either proper or common, can indicate 'the person referred to and other persons closely associated with him' as, for instance, pater ol *the Father and his flock*, Pita ol *Peter and his friends*.

4.4.1.3.3 Other prenominal modifiers

(a) Definite quantifiers

The most important members of this group are the cardinal numbers. Two sets of cardinal numbers are used in present-day Tok Pisin, the original set, which is still in wide currency in rural areas, and English cardinal numbers, which are used mainly among speakers of Urban Tok Pisin. The numbers in conservative Rural Tok Pisin are:

1	wan	wanpela	*17*	wanpela ten seven
2	tu	tupela	*18*	wanpela ten et
3	tri	tripela	*19*	wanpela ten nain
4	foa	fopela	*20*	tupela ten
5	faiv	faipela	*21*	tupela ten wan
6	sikis	sikispela	*22*	tupela ten tu
7	seven	sevenpela	*23*	tupela ten tri
8	et	etpela	*30*	tripela ten
9	nain	nainpela	*40*	fopela ten
10	ten	tenpela	*50*	faipela ten
11	wanpela ten wan		*60*	sikispela ten
12	wanpela ten tu		*70*	sevenpela ten
13	wanpela ten tri		*80*	etpela ten
14	wanpela ten foa		*90*	nainpela ten
15	wanpela ten faiv		*100*	wan handet
16	wanpela ten sikis			

Those without -pela attached correspond to the names of the numbers in English. This set is used in the formation of numbers beyond 10, for mathematical operations like addition, subtraction, multiplication and division, and for counting money and telling the time. For numbers above 10, English numerals are also used; the conventions for adding -pela to these numerals are occasionally maintained as, for instance, in elevenpela meme *11 goats*, but the use of the stem alone appears to be more commonly found, as in tartin masalai *13 spirits*.

Ordinal numbers in Tok Pisin take the following form:

first	nambawan	*sixth*	nambasikis
second	nambatu	*seventh*	nambasewen
third	nambatri	*eighth*	nambahaet
fourth	nambafuwa	*ninth*	nambanain
fifth	nambafaip	*tenth*	nambaten

Extensive use is made of ordinal numbers of folk taxonomies, particularly in the classification of plants and animals, e.g. nambawan kwila *white ironwood* as against nambatu kwila *red ironwood*.

Distributive numerals are formed by repeating the stem of ordinal numerals, as in:

| givim wan dola long wanwan man | *give each man a dollar* |
| ol bikman i save maritim tutu meri | *the chiefs usually marry two girls each* |

Repetition of numerals ending in -pela is also used, as in:

| givim wanpela blanket long tupela tupela man | *give one blanket to each two men* |

The interrogative numeral in Tok Pisin is hamas *how much, how many*.

(b) Indefinite quantifiers

Four indefinite quantifiers of Tok Pisin are olgeta *all, a very significant part of*, sampela *some*, planti *much, many* and liklik *little, few*:

olgeta mani bilong papa i lus pinis	*father has lost all his money*
i no planti taim long mipela bai kisim independens	*it won't be long before we get independence*
ol liklik lain man tasol i pait i stap	*only few men continued fighting*
sampela sumatin i guthet na sampela i slipihet	*some of the pupils are keen and some are sleepyheads*
sampela bia i kam!	*give me some beer!*

(c) Demonstratives

The basic demonstrative modifier in Tok Pisin is dispela *this, that*. For greater accuracy hia *here* and lohap *there* can be placed after the noun preceded by dispela.

(d) Prenominal emphasisers

Tok Pisin makes use of a number of mechanisms to express emphasis on nouns and noun phrases. There is only one prenominal emphasiser, em, which can precede all nouns, including pronouns, as in:

em mipela i bin kirapim dispela wok	*it is us who started this work*
mi no laikim em wara mi laikim em bia	*I don't want water, I want beer*
em ol man tasol i nap long go insait long haus tambaran	*only the men can go into the spirit house*

(e) Attributive adjectives

The number of adjectives which may precede nouns in Tok Pisin is relatively small, though in Urban Tok Pisin an increasing number of adjectives borrowed from English can be found in attributive position.

At present, adjectives in Tok Pisin show some very irregular behaviour and a number of subclasses has to be distinguished. I have used Wurm's (1971a:53ff) classification as the basis of my list supplementing it with examples from my own more recent data.

Subclass 1

Adjectives which in attributive function precede the noun (which carries the phrase stress) and have the suffix -pela both in attributive and predicative function. Here is a list of the more common ones:

bikpela	*big*	nupela	*new*
blakpela	*black; dark blue*	olpela	*old (of things)*
blupela	*blue*	raunpela	*round*
braunpela	*brown*	retpela	*red*
draipela (or traipela)	*large*	siotpela	*short*
grinpela	*green, light blue*	strongpela	*strong*
gutpela	*good*	switpela	*sweet, delicious*
hatpela	*hard*	wetpela	*white*
longpela	*long*	yangpela	*young*
naispela	*nice*		

Also to this subclass belong all numerals, the demonstrative tispela *this, that*, as well as narapela *another* (in the plural, more commonly arapela); diskain (or tiskain) *this kind of*, and sampela *some*.

Though the members of the above list generally appear with -pela in attributive position, there is a tendency, particularly in Urban Tok Pisin, for the respective predicative forms to occur without -pela.

Subclass 2

Adjectives which in attributive function precede the noun and have -pela in this position, but lose it in predicative position. They include:

draipela	*dry*	sappela	*sharp*
hatpela	*hot*	stretpela	*correct*
hevipela	*heavy*	strongpela	*insistent*
kolpela	*cold*	taitpela	*tight*
maupela	*ripe*	trupela	*true*
raunpela	*giddy*	yelopela	*yellow*

Examples:

stretpela pos	*a straight post*
pos i stret	*the post is straight*
kolpela win	*a cold wind*
win i kol	*the wind is cold*
maupela banana	*a ripe banana*
banana i mau	*the banana is ripe*
dispela i trupela tok i tru	*this is absolutely correct*

Subclass 3

Adjectives which in attributive function precede the noun, and do not take -pela. The more common ones are:

kranki	*stupid, wrong*	nambaten	*very bad*
lapun	*old (of people)*	narakain	*different*
liklik	*small*	ologeta	*all*
longlong	*crazy*	planti	*many*
longwe	*distant*	rabis	*poor*
nambawan	*first, excellent*	wail	*wild*
nambatu	*second, second rate*	wankain	*same*

The forms liklikpela, plantipela, rabispela, wailpela and hamaspela *how many* have been recorded though they are frowned upon by proficient speakers of Tok Pisin. Examples:

yu wanpela kranki man	*you are a stupid bloke*
em i mekim narakain tok nau	*he is telling a different story now*
ol muruk i save stap long longwe ples tasol	*cassowaries are found in remote areas only*

Attributive adjectives in Tok Pisin are not accompanied by adjectival modifiers, i.e. adverbs. Instead, these modifiers appear after the noun, as in kaikai i gutpela tru *the food is very good*, as against gutpela kaikai tru *very good food*.

4.4.1.3.4 The sequence of prenominal modifiers

Having discussed individually the most important prenominal modifiers, I shall now turn to a brief discussion of the position which these elements occupy in the surface structure of Tok Pisin noun phrases. The following diagram illustrates the most common sequence of prenominal modifiers:
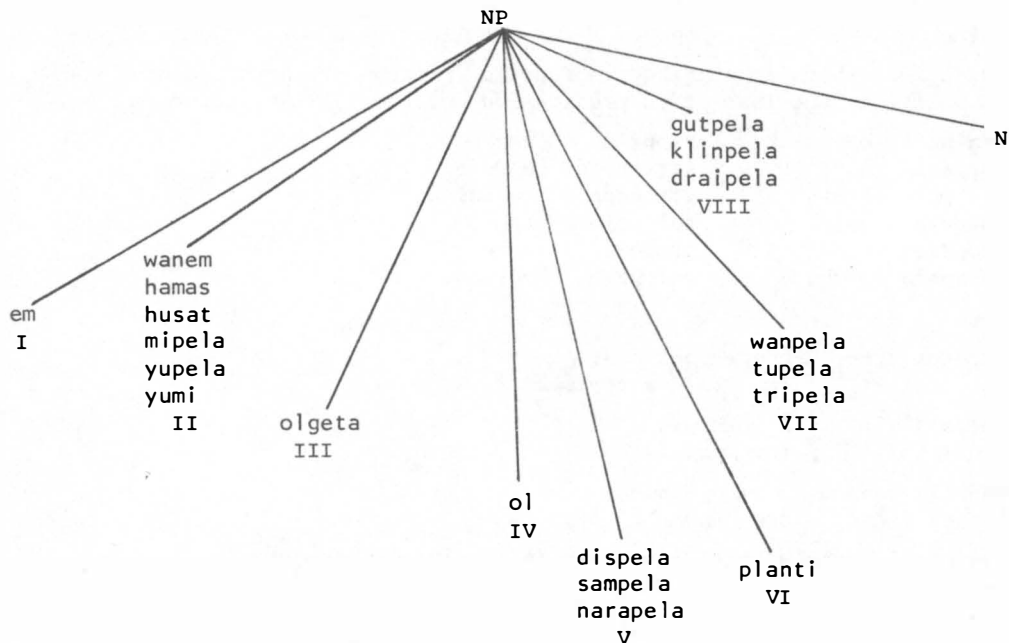

Table: Position classes of prenominal modifiers

The sequence of elements in prenominal position is relatively fixed with the exception of the position of ol. The plural marker can appear in a number of slots and the slot allocated to it only represents its statistically most frequent occurrence. The following sentences illustrate this:

ol husat meri i bin kam?	*which women came?*
dispela ol birua i bung	*those enemies assembled*
sampela ol yangpela ol man	*some young men*
ol wanem kain ol pipel?	*what sorts of people?*
ol liklik ol pisin	*the little birds*
ol sampela ol bisnisman	*some businessmen*
ol sampela arapela ol buk	*some other books*

Such examples show the fluctuation in, and uncertainty about, the position of ol. As a general rule, fluent speakers tend to shift it closer to the noun.

As a rule members of position classes only occur once, though members of classes (v) and (viii) are occasionally found in pairs. The occurrence of more than one attributive adjective is not common, a construction in which one of them appears as a predicative adjective after the noun being preferred. Thus wanpela longpela grinpela snek *a long green snake* would normally become wanpela grinpela snek i longpela.

4.4.1.3.5 Postnominal modifiers

(a) Postnominal attributive adjectives

A number of adjectives in attributive function follow the noun, and do not take -pela. The following is a list of the more common ones:

belhat	*hot tempered*	nogut	*bad*
bruk	*broken*	pas	*stuck*
daun	*low*	pret	*afraid*
giaman	*false*	siut	*right (side)*
hait	*hidden*	slek	*loose*
hambak	*vain, proud*	tambu	*forbidden*
kais	*left (side)*	tan	*done (of food)*
kela	*bald*	taranggu	*unfortunate*
klia	*clear(ed)*	tru	*genuine, real*
kros	*angry*	tulait	*bright*
malomalo	*soft*	yarpas}	
marit	*married*	yaupas}	*deaf*
nating	*empty, useless, worthless*		

Adjectives indicating nationality, language and religious affiliation also belong to this subclass, e.g.:

Ingglis	*English*	popi	*Catholic*
Siaman	*German*	talatala	*Protestant*
Siapan	*Japanese*	sewende	*Seventh-Day Adventist*
Pisin	*Pidgin*	witnes	*Jehova's Witness*
katolik	*Catholic*		

Examples:

graun klia	*clear ground*
graun i klia	*the ground is cleared*
botol bruk	*broken bottle*

tok giaman	*false talk, lie*
tok i giaman	*the talk is false, the talk is a lie*
man kros or man i kros	*angry (indigenous) man, the man is angry*
tok Ingglis	*English language*

Of the adjectives just listed one item, nating, deserves special attention. Nating can be found in a number of collocations. Its meaning is difficult to recover and some contextual information is usually needed. Depending on the context, pusi nating can mean (inter alia) *a desexed cat, a stray cat, a very weak cat,* or *a cat without a pedigree.* Other examples:

bun nating	*very thin, skinny*
kaikai nating	*vegetarian food (no meat)*
sik nating	*a minor disease*

(b) Phrases involving bilong following nouns

Tok Pisin nouns are often followed by phrases introduced by the preposition bilong. Depending on the categorial status and semantic properties of the items appearing after bilong, this construction can have a number of different meanings, sometimes concurrently:

i) N bilong N: possession

In contrast to the jargons preceding it, as well as other varieties of Pidgin English, Tok Pisin has no set of possessive pronouns, but relies on a synthetic way of expressing these:

bilong mi	*mine*	bilong mipela	*our* (excl.)
bilong yu	*your*	bilong yumi	*our* (incl.)
bilongen	*his, her, its*	bilong yupela	*your*
		bilong ol	*their*

Examples:

papa bilong mi	*my father*
kas bilong yu	*your luck*
samting bilong ol	*their business*

The possessive relation with full nouns again takes the form N bilong N, as in:

ples balus bilong misin katolik	*the Catholic mission's airstrip*
tel bilong rat	*the rat's tail*
buk bilong tisa	*the teacher's book*

ii) Purpose

Bilong followed by either noun phrases or verb phrases can express the purpose of an action, person or thing as in:

naip bilong kopra	*a knife for cutting copra*
paura bilong pikinini	*powder for a baby*
plang bilong rat	*a trap for rats*

for nouns, and:

rot bilong wokabout	*a path for walking*	
ples bilong singsing	*a place for dancing*	
rop bilong hukim pis	*fishing line*	for verbs.

iii) Locality and time

Bilong followed by nouns or adverbs referring to space or time indicates that the noun preceding bilong is closely associated with the point in space or time in question.   Examples are:

pik bilong ples	*a village pig*
man bilong Rabaul	*someone from Rabaul*
maleo bilong solwara	*an eel living in the sea*
kaikai bilong asde	*yesterday's food*
stori bilong bipo	*a story from before*

iv) Quality and occupation

Bilong followed by verbs and verb phrases can indicate that the noun preceding bilong has the quality of or usually does what is referred to by the verb phrase:

binatang bilong kaikai man	*a biting insect*
man bilong mekim trabel	*a trouble-maker*
pis bilong kaikai pekpek	*a faeces-eating fish*

The above constructions form a very important part of Tok Pisin grammar since they provide a method of compensating for its lack of descriptive adjectives.

v) Nabaut expressing distribution, indeterminacy and disapproval

Just as with the item nating discussed above, the exact meaning of nabaut after nouns and noun phrases depends on its context. When expressing distribution it most typically follows reduplicated nouns and can thus be said to reinforce and disambiguate the function of nominal reduplication. Examples are:

ol kanaka kanaka nabaut long bikbus	*all the less educated indigenes in the bush*
ol kainkain mani nabaut	*all sorts of different money*

Without reduplication, nabaut often expresses a vague notion of indeterminacy and sometimes disapproval:

meri i save puspus wantaim ol man nabaut long taun	*the girl has intercourse with all sorts of men in the town*
ol memba tasol i ken kam ol man nabaut nogat	*members only and not just anyone are admitted*

vi) Emphasiser/deictic marker ya

Etymologically this item is derived from English *here* and in some contexts it retains this meaning in Tok Pisin. However, its function as an adverb of place has become secondary to its main use, in unstressed form, as an emphasiser or an element of generalised deictic function. As such it not only follows noun phrases but can occur after verb phrases too. Examples of its use are:

em gutpela man ya	*he is a good bloke*
em samting bilong mipela ya	*that is strictly our affair*
mi laikim retpela laplap ya	*I want the red cloth*

4.4.1.3.6 The sequence of postnominal modifiers

Postnominal modifiers most commonly appear in the following order:

N + (N) + (adj.att.) + (bilong + phrase) + (nabaut) + (ya)

Examples illustrating this are:

man bilong kilim pik ya	*a man who kills pigs*
ol man nabaut ya	*the outsiders*
pusi nating ya	*just an ordinary cat*

There are, however, many as yet insufficiently understood restrictions on their combination.

4.4.1.4 Verbs and verb phrases
4.4.1.4.1 Introduction

Most descriptions of Tok Pisin distinguish between two main classes of verbs, transitive and intransitive. However, this distinction is not a very satisfactory one for Tok Pisin. First, the group classified as transitive must be further subdivided into causative and non-causative transitive verbs, in order to account for a number of restrictions on the functioning of members of these classes in certain syntactic constructions. Further, intransitive verbs have never been satisfactorily distinguished from predicative adjectives in Tok Pisin. Moreover, an exhaustive grammar of Tok Pisin must also mention a number of smaller classes, such as equative and locative verbs. As no detailed study of the rules underlying the behaviour of Tok Pisin verbs is at hand, one can expect that future revisions of this grammar will contain more delicate subclasses and more explicit statements about their syntactic behaviour.

4.4.1.4.2 Transitive verbs

Transitive verbs are basically those verbs which require a nominal object. However, this concept has recently come under severe criticism, and the above can only be seen as a rough working definition. Causative verbs, which will be discussed below, though also requiring a formal nominal object, are not included within this description.

The following subclasses are based on a number of criteria which strictly speaking are irrelevant to the syntactic behaviour of their members, but which will be needed for the purpose of morphological and lexical description.

Subclass I

Transitive verbs which never appear without the suffix -im. A distinction can be made between transitive verb bases and transitive verbs derived from other lexical bases.

(a) Transitive verb bases:

bihainim	*to follow*	harim	*to hear, listen*
bingim	*to squeeze, push*	haskim	*to ask*
dringim	*to suck*	holim	*to hold*
duim	*to entice, seduce, force*	kaikaiim	*to bite*
givim	*to give*	karim	*to carry, give birth to*

kuapim	*to have sexual intercourse with*	putim	*to put*
kisim	*to catch, get*	sakim	*to disobey*
kolim	*to call*	subim	*to push, shove*
larim	*to let*	soim	*to show*
lukim	*to see, look at*	tanim	*to turn, translate*
mekim	*to do*	traim	*to try*
pakim	*to fuck*	wasim	*to wash*
pilim	*to feel*	winim	*to win over*
planim	*to bury*	wokim	*to make*

(b) Transitive verbs derived from nouns referring to instruments

The following examples come from Mühlhäusler 1978a, where a more detailed discussion can be found:

ainim	*to iron*	pamim	*to pump*
bairaim	*to hoe*	pinim	*to pin*
blokim	*to raise with pulley*	rolaim	*to move with rollers*
bombomim	*to catch fish with torch*	saripim	*to cut with grassknife*
brosim	*to brush*	savolim	*to dig with shovel*
bulitim	*to glue*	sibim	*to sieve*
drilim	*to drill*	skelim	*to weigh*
glasim	*to take a temperature*	skruim	*to join with screw*
gluim	*to glue*	slingim	*to lift up in a sling*
hamarim	*to hammer*	sopim	*to wash with soap*
komim	*to comb*	sodaim	*to solder*
laimim	*to glue*	spatenim	*to dig with a spade*
lokim	*to lock*	spunim	*to spoon*
lumim	*to weave*	susuim	*to move with a punting pole*
maisilim	*to chisel*	switim	*to switch on or off*
metaim	*to measure*	vaisim	*to hold in a vice*
natim	*to secure with a nut*	waraim	*to clean with water*
nilim	*to nail*		

These derived transitive verbs are often preceded by mekim *to do*, as in:

doktaboi i mekim glasim sikman   *the medical orderly took the patient's temperature*

(c) Transitive verbs derived from nouns referring to containers

banisim	*to fence in, bandage*
bekim	*to put into bags*
bilumim	*to put into a stringbag*
busim	*to send to the bush, chase off*
graunim	*to bury*
kalabusim	*to jail*
kompaunim	*to settle in a compound*
matmatim	*to bury*
umbenim	*to gather*

Subclass II

A number of transitive verbs do not normally take -im even though they are followed by a direct object:

dring (or tiring)	*to drink*	pekpek	*to excrete*
gat	*to have*	pilai	*to play*
kaikai	*to eat*	pispis	*to urinate*
kuap	*to climb*	save	*to know*
lindaun	*to bend*	tekewe	*to clear (table); to remove*

In addition the forms pispisim and pekpekim *to deliberately urinate or defecate on* are found in some varieties of Tok Pisin. Some speakers make a distinction between kuap, as in kuap diwai *to climb a tree* and kuapim, as in kuapim meri *to have intercourse with a woman.*

Subclass III

Transitive verbs where transitivity can be expressed by either -im or long. Here a distinction must be made between those cases (the majority) where the choice of either -im or long has no semantic consequences and others in which the distinction is accompanied by semantic differentiation. There are, however, regional variants of Tok Pisin, e.g. Highlands Pidgin as described by Wurm (1971a: 29-31), where semantic differentiation is more common.

(a) Choice of -im vs. long is of no semantic consequence:

bikmaus long	bikmausim	*to shout at*
gris long	grisim	*to flatter*
aigris long	aigrisim	*to make eyes at*
lukaut long	lukautim	*to look after*
poto long	potoim	*to take a picture of*
puspus long	puspusim	*to have sexual intercourse with*
was long	wasim	*to watch*
wet long	wetim	*to wait for*
win long	winim	*to surpass, win*

(b) The choice between -im and long has semantic consequences:

bilip long	*to believe in*	bilipim	*to believe something*
smok long	*to smoke (a pipe)*	smokim	*to smoke (fish)*
wok long	*to work at*	wokim	*to construct*

The above lists are by no means exhaustive, and additional examples are given by Wurm (1971a) and Dutton (1973:114-115).

4.4.1.4.3 Causative verbs

Verbs and adjectives can become causative verbs either by a derivational process which adds -im after the intransitive verb or adjective stem or by means of an analytic construction of the form mekim + V/adj. + long. Thus les *lazy, tired* is realised in its causative form as either lesim or mekim les long *to make tired*. The two methods are often combined, such as in mekim lesim *to make tired*, mekim being capable of preceding any causative verb if disambiguation is needed or to reinforce the idea of causation. Another method of achieving the latter is to repeat the verb or adjective base after the object as in ol i bagarapim gaden i bagarap *they ruined the garden.*

Different lexical stems can also appear in this type of causative construction, as in:

kilim man i dai	*to kill someone*
sutim i dai pik	*to mortally wound a pig*
rausim tupela i kam ausait	*to chuck the two fellows out*
kukim haus tambaran i paia	*to set fire to the spirit house*

Derived causative verbs can be subdivided into two subclasses:

(a) Causative verbs derived from adjectives which can occur attributively:

bikim	*to make big*
hatim	*to make hot*
klinim	*to clean, cleanse*
kolim	*to cool*
stretim	*to straighten*
truim	*to make true, fulfil*

(b) Causative verbs derived from predicative adjectives or intransitive verbs:

Intransitive verbs undergoing this change belong mainly to verbs of move-ment, the derived causative verb having the meaning of *to make somebody or some-thing perform a certain movement.*   For example:

sindaunim	*to make sit down, to settle*
pundaunim	*to make fall down*
daunim	*to make go down, to swallow*
kirapim	*to make get up, arouse*
sanapim	*to make stand up, erect*
surikim	*to make go back, shove back*

Examples of expressions using the derived causative verb are the following:

win i pilaiim plak	*the wind makes the flag fly*
yumi mas gohetim kantri bilong yumi	*we must make our country advance*
win i solapim sel	*the wind makes the sail swell*
bia i pairapim nek bilong mi	*the beer makes me belch*

4.4.1.4.4 Intransitive verbs and predicative adjectives

The distinction between these two classes in Tok Pisin is much less obvious than, for instance, in English, where the semantic distinction between stative and non-stative verb-adjectives is reflected in two formally distinct classes. In Tok Pisin, however, only the use of different sets of aspect markers indicates a difference between bases with stative and those with non-stative meaning.   The English translations of the following examples are also an indication of the economy in the Tok Pisin lexicon.   A small set of aspect markers and a similar number of conventions for their interpretation contrasts with a large number of lexicalisations in English.

rere pinis	*ready*		kela pinis	*bald*
laik rere	*to prepare oneself*		laik kela	*getting bald*
hat pinis	*hot*		bruk pinis	*broken*
laik hat	*heating up*		laik bruk	*disintegrating*
bik pinis	*big*		hepi pinis	*satisfied*
laik bik	*growing up*		laik hepi	*getting pleased*

lus pinis   *lost*
laik lus   *to loosen* (intr.)

Other lexical items which translate both English adjectives and intransitive verbs include:

amamas   *happy, to rejoice*
dai   *unconscious, to swoon*
giaman   *mistaken, to lie*
kros   *angry, to rage*
krungut   *bent, to bend down*

4.4.1.4.5 Smaller classes of verbs

(a) The equative

Tok Pisin does not possess any verb corresponding to English *to be* in its equative function. Instead the nominals appearing in the equative construction are directly juxtaposed or connected by the predicate marker i. Examples:

mi man bilong Niugini   *I am a New Guinean*
masta Sak i bos bilong mipela *master Jack is our boss*
yu wanpela lesbaga   *you are a loafer*

The presence vs. absence of the predicate marker in such equative constructions is reported to have semantic consequences in some varieties of Tok Pisin. Dutton (1973:27) remarks:

> The distinction here can perhaps best be explained by the following example. Suppose one were walking along the road and suddenly saw something strange wriggling on the ground – one would probably jump and utter an appeal for help in recognizing this thing with Em wanem? and not Em i wanem? *What is it?* Supposing, however, that the strange object was identified as a harmless worm then one would enquire further about its nature with Em i wanem? Em i samting nogut o wanem? *What is it? Is it something bad or what?* Answers to such questions follow the same structure. Consider, for example, the following pairs:
>
> Q: Em wanem?   *What's that?*
> A: Em wanpela snek. *That's a snake.*
>
> Q: Em i wanem?   *What is it?*
> A: Em i samting nogut. *It's a bad thing.*

(b) The locative verb stap *to be located*

The locative verb stap is usually followed by a locative complement or modifier, as in:

pik i stap long banis bilong   *the pigs are in our enclosure*
mipela

wanpela niuspepa i stap long   *a newspaper is on the table*
tebol

(c) The existential verb gat *to exist*

The nearest English translation of the Tok Pisin construction i gat followed by a noun or noun phrase is *there is* or *there are*. Examples of this are:

I gat pukpuk long dispela wara? I gat.	*Are there crocodiles in this river? Yes, there are.*
I no gat skul long ples bilong mipela.	*There is no school in our village.*

(d) Mekim *to do something*

Apart from functioning as an ordinary transitive verb, mekim *to do* also functions as a kind of pro-verb. Its relation to antecedent verb phrases is similar to that between pronouns and antecedent noun phrases. This is best illustrated with a number of examples:

Ol i kisim dok raun long bus, mekim mekim, ol i lukim lek bilong pik.	*They took their dogs and wandered around in the bush, keeping going until they eventually saw a pig's trail.*
Tumbuna i save kaikai man orait mekim mekim waitman i kamap nau.	*Our ancestors used to eat human flesh and they did it until the white man came.*

(e) Verbs of becoming

This class includes go, kamap and tanim in the meaning *to become, turn into* and sindaun *to behave like*. Examples are:

em i kamap bikpela meri nau	*she turned into a grown-up girl*
nogut yumi sindaun kanaka ya	*let us not live like uncivilised bushdwellers*
em nau, masalai i tanim snek	*and then the spirit turned into a snake*

(f) 'Three-place' verbs

A few Tok Pisin verbs can appear with both direct and indirect object, though such 'three-place' verbs are not very common; instead verbal concatenation is used to express the complex concepts referred to by three-place verbs in languages such as English.

For both the verbs soim *to show* and givim *to give* different lects of Tok Pisin vary in their treatment of direct and indirect object. Generally speaking the mainland varieties of Tok Pisin prefer the form givim buk long mi *give me the book* and soim buk long mi *show me the book*, whereas in the New Guinea Islands the forms givim mi long buk and soim mi long buk are more common.

4.4.1.5 The verbal paradigm

The following tables show the basic paradigm of the verb kaikai *to eat*. These forms are unmarked for tense and aspect but are generally interpreted as either general past or general present according to whether they are taken to be statives or non-statives. The marker i is introduced without comment. It will be discussed in detail below.

Affirmative		Negative	
sg.1 mi kaikai		sg.1 mi no kaikai	
2 yu kaikai		2 yu no kaikai	
3 em i kaikai		3 em i no kaikai	

du.1(incl.)	yumitupela (i) kaikai	du.1(incl.)	yumitupela (i) no kaikai
1(excl.)	mitupela (i) kaikai	1(excl.)	mitupela (i) no kaikai
2	yutupela kaikai	2	yutupela (i) no kaikai
3	(em) tupela i kaikai	3	(em) tupela i no kaikai

tr.1(incl.)	yumitripela (i) kaikai	tr.1(incl.)	yumitripela (i) no kaikai
1(excl.)	mitripela (i) kaikai	1(excl.)	mitripela (i) no kaikai
2	yutripela (i) kaikai	2	yutripela (i) no kaikai
3	(em) tripela i kaikai	3	(em) tripela i no kaikai

pl.1(incl.)	yumi (i) kaikai	pl.1(incl.)	yumi (i) no kaikai
1(excl.)	mipela (i) kaikai	1(excl.)	mipela (i) no kaikai
2	yupela (i) kaikai	2	yupela (i) no kaikai
3	(em) ol i kaikai	3	(em) ol i no kaikai

Interrogative forms differ from declarative forms in intonation only:

> Whereas the statement forms have an intonation which slowly
> rises to reach its peak in the syllable carrying the clause
> stress, and then falls step by step, ordinary questions (i.e.
> questions anticipating the answer yes or no) have an intona-
> tion which slowly rises all the way, with the last syllable
> of the question jumping high.   (Wurm 1971a:19)

Imperative forms (commands):

Commands and requests in Tok Pisin can be expressed in several ways. The
most common method for expressing positive imperatives is to use the positive
basic forms with slowly falling intonation.

yu kam	*come!*
em i kam	*let him come!*
mipela i kam } yumi i kam	*let us come!*
yupela i kam	*come* (pl.)*!*
ol i kam	*let them come!*

Examples:

Orait, yumi i go nau!	*O.K. let's go!*
kaikai i kam!	*bring the food!* (lit. *the food comes!*)
yu sanap long ai bilong ol!	*stand in front of the class!*

Imperatives without pronouns are rare in Tok Pisin, but are occasionally
found in Urban Tok Pisin and in harsh commands. A number of other conventions
in connection with positive imperatives are given by Wurm (1971a:21).

Negative commands in Tok Pisin can be expressed in a number of ways, the
most basic one being the use of simple negative forms with imperative intonation
as in:

yu no kaikai!	*don't eat!*
em i no kam!	*don't let him come!*

Another method is to signal negative permissive sentences just introduced by
placing no between the subject and ken+V (permission), e.g.:

Ol i no ken sutim pik.   *{They're not allowed to shoot the pig.*
                                 Don't let them shoot the pig.

A third option is to prefix sentences with nogut *bad*. Compare:

Yu sindaun!   *Sit down!*

Nogut yu sindaun!   *{You shouldn't sit down!*
                                 It wouldn't be wise for you to sit down!

A fourth option is to indicate the negative imperative by maski *never mind*.
A fair amount of variation is found with this construction, for example, the
most commonly used forms for *don't fool around!* are:

maski hambak!
maski long hambak!
maski yu hambak!
maski long yu hambak!
maski yu no ken hambak!

Whereas the forms without the pronoun are generalised wishes or commands,
those with the pronoun are directed towards one or more persons. I have found
that most speakers favour expressions containing the preposition long.

Further details on negative commands are given by Dutton (1973:137) and
Wurm (1971a:21).

4.4.1.6 Verbal modifiers (aspect, tense and modality)

Pidgin verbs do not in themselves indicate aspect and tense distinctions
and the basic verb form, as has been pointed out above, is neutral in this
regard. However, Tok Pisin possesses a number of auxiliaries, particles and
adverbs which are used to introduce such distinctions wherever desired. Tradi-
tionally these modifiers have been treated under the section on verbs. I feel,
however, that this decision obfuscates the important fact of Tok Pisin grammar
that word classes other than verbs can equally well appear with these modifiers
in predicative position. For this reason, aspect, tense and modality will be
treated below in the section on the structure of simple sentences.

4.4.1.7 Adjectives

Remarks on the classification of Tok Pisin adjectives can be found in the
sections on nominal modifiers (attributive adjectives) and intransitive verbs.

In this section we are concerned with comparison and intensification of
adjectives. Because Tok Pisin treats these quite differently from English, com-
parison and intensification of adjectives have been relatively well studied.

(a) For comparison, the following remarks by Laycock (1970c:xxvii) can be taken
as representative:

In Pidgin, there are no comparative and superlative forms
of adjectives, though the usages with mo approximate to them;
varying degrees of a quality are usually expressed by the use
of adverbs with the verb. The following sentence shows the
approximate relationship of the different degrees of size

expressible, though it must be remembered that differences of emphasis can change order shown somewhat:

dispela i bikpela; orait, na dispela i bikpela liklik, na dispela i bikpela pinis; dispela i bikpela ologeta, dispela i bikpela mo, na dispela i bikpela mo yet; dispela i bikpela stret, dispela i bikpela tumas, dispela i bikpela tru, dispela i bikpela tumas tru, na dispela i bikpela tumas tru ologeta; na dispela i bikpela bilong winim ol.	*this one is big; now this one is fairly big, and this one is quite big; this one is very big, this one is bigger, and this one is bigger still; this one is pretty big, this one is extremely big, this one is really big, this one is really very big, and this one is really enormous; and this one is the biggest of all.*

Comparison may also be expressed by mo ... long, mo ... olosem, by juxtaposition of two statements, or by the use of win(im): dispela haus i mo strongpela long (or: olosem) narapela *this house is stronger than the other one*; dispela haus i strong, na narapela i no strong *this house is strong, but the other is not*; dispela haus i winim narapela long strong *this house surpasses the other in strength*. For *the strongest of all*, one says strongpela bilong ol, or strongpela bilong winim ol.

The English system of comparison (as in em i mo kleva long mi *she is more clever than I*) is occasionally found in Urban Tok Pisin, but has not as yet gained wide acceptance.

(b) Intensification of the meaning of an adjective can be achieved either by repetition or reduplication, as in:

blakpela blakpela klaut	*a very dark sky*
naispela naispela kaikai	*excellent food*
em i no lapun em i lapunpun	*he is not old, he is ancient*

or by means of certain adverbial modifiers, as in:

blakpela klaut tru	*a very dark sky*
paul olgeta	*totally confused*

Very strong negation or disapproval is expressed by means of the construction no + adjective + liklik as, for instance, in:

em i no sem liklik	*he is not ashamed at all*
dispela pasin i no stret liklik	*this behaviour is quite unheard of*

4.4.1.8 Prepositions

The number of words which can be regarded as true prepositions is very small, the only ones of wide currency being long, bilong and wantaim. Some very old speakers only use one preposition, namely bilong.

Long denotes essentially spatial relationships and loose relationships between objects. A large number of English prepositions can be translated by long, as can be seen from the following list provided by Mihalic (1971:38-39):

> *in*, e.g., stap long haus *to be in the house*
> *on*, e.g., rait long pepa *to write on paper*
> *at*, e.g., long faiv klok *at five o'clock*
> *to*, e.g., go long gaden *to go to the garden*
> *from*, e.g., kaikai long plet *to eat from a plate*
> *with*, e.g., paitim long stik *to hit with a stick*
> *by*, e.g., kam long kanu *to come by canoe*
> *about*, e.g., save long planti samting *to know about many things*
> *because*, e.g., Em i win long strong bilong em. *He won because*
> *of his strength.*
> *for*, e.g., Mi sori long yu. *I am sorry for you.*
> *during*, e.g., Long nait em i kam. *He came during the night.*

Bilong is used to indicate a closer relationship and is used, for instance, in the following cases:

a) to denote possession;
b) to denote purpose;
c) to denote origin;
d) to denote a characteristic trait or quality.

If a relationship more precise than that expressed by the prepositions long and bilong is to be indicated, it is done by adding nouns or adverbs of time and place in constructions such as long + N + (bi)long or adv. + long. The following list of examples was taken from Wurm 1971a:61-62:

> ananit long *under, underneath something*
> antap long
> long antap bilong} *on top of something*
> arare long
> long arare bilong} *beside, alongside something*
> bihain long *behind something*
> bipo long *in front of (a thing)*
> daunbilo long *below something* (i.e. at a lower level)
> i go long *towards something*
> inap long *up to (a place)*
> inap long + a time indication *until*
> insait long
> long insait bilong} *inside something*
> klostu long *near to something*
> longwe long *far away from something*
> namel long
> long namel bilong} *between, amongst something*
> nabaut long}
> raun long *around something*
> wantaim long *along with somebody (who tags along)*
> long hai bilong *in front of (a person)*
> taim bilong *during*
> long tispela hap}
> long hap i kam} *on this side*
> long hapsait
> long narapela hap} *on the other side, on that side*
> long hap i go

Wantaim, originally an adverb meaning *at the same time*, is frequently used as a preposition translating the concepts of *with*, *together with* and *with the use of*. Examples of its use are:

brata bilong mi i save slip wantaim gelpren bilongen	*my brother sleeps with his girlfriend*
ol Nambole i bin singsing wantaim ol Tumam	*the people from Nambole celebrated together with the people of Tumam*
mi stap wantaim ol famili bilong mi	*I stayed with my family*
yu miksim wara wantaim dispela paura	*mix water with this powder*
ol nes i ken samapim maus bilong yu wantaim string	*the nurses can sew up your mouth with string*

Inap long *until* is also increasingly found without long:

ol i bin bungim inap 100 dola	*they collected (up to) one hundred dollars*
ol i bin stap inap tripela de	*they stayed for three days*
ol i bin singsing nabaut inap tulait	*they were dancing around till dawn*

4.4.1.9 Adverbs

4.4.1.9.1 Adverbs of time, place, manner and degree

The list of adverb bases in Tok Pisin is relatively small. However, most English adverbs can be translated readily by means of adverbial phrases or adverbs derived from other word classes. Here follows a list of such adverbial expressions quoted from Mihalic 1971:35-36:

Adverbs of time:

after dark	tudak pinis	*in the future*	bihain, bambai
afternoon	belo bek	*in the morning*	moningtaim
again	gen	*late*	bihaintaim
ago	i lus pinis	*later*	bambai, bihain
a little later	bihain liklik	*monthly*	long mun
a long time	longtaim	*never*	i no yet wanpela taim; i no gat
a long time ago	bipo tru, longtaim bipo, bipo yet		wanpela taim
		noon	belo kaikai
already	pinis	*now*	nau
always	oltaim	*now and then*	samtaim, sampela taim
annually	long yia	*often*	planti taim
a short while	liklik taim	*once*	wantaim, wanpela taim
at high tide	long haiwara	*quickly*	kwik, kwiktaim
at low tide	long draiwara	*right at the time*	stret planti taim
at night	long nait	*seldom*	i no planti taim
dawn	tulait	*shortly*	i no longtaim
day after tomorrow	haptumora	*soon*	i no longtaim; liklik taim
daytime	long san	*sunrise*	sankamap
early	bipotaim	*today*	tude
evening	apinun, ivining	*tomorrow*	tumora
forever	bilong oltaim oltaim	*until*	inap
formerly	pastaim, bipo	*yesterday*	asde
immediately	nau tasol	*yet*	yet

Adverbs of place:

above	antap	*inside*	insait
ahead	i go pas	*midst*	namel
alongside	arere	*nearby*	klostu
at	long	*nowhere*	i no gat sampela ples
away	i go	*on*	long
back	bek	*on the opposite side*	long hap i go
below	daunbilo	*on the side*	long hap
distant	longwe	*out*	ausait
down	daun	*outside*	ausait
downwards	i go daunbilo	*roundabout*	nabaut
far	longwe	*there*	long hap i go
faraway	longwe	*underneath*	aninit
here	hia	*up*	antap
in	long	*upwards*	i go antap
in front of	paslain long	*within*	insait long

Adverbs of manner:

almost	klosap, klostu	*softly*	isi
badly	nogut	*swiftly*	hariap
differently	arawe	*thoroughly*	olgeta
easily	isi	*thus*	olsem
in vain	nating	*together*	wantaim
possibly	nating, i ken	*truly, really*	tru
same	wankain	*unusually*	arakain
slipshod	hap hap	*very*	tumas
slowly	isi isi	*well*	gut

Adverbs of degree:

almost	klosap, klostu	*only*	tasol
completely	olgeta	*partly*	hap hap
little	liklik	*sufficiently*	inap
more	moa	*too*	tumas
much	planti	*very*	tumas

The label 'adverb' in traditional linguistics has come to cover a number of syntactically and semantically diverse elements and I am aware of the short-comings of the classification offered here. Tok Pisin adverbs have been poorly studied and many aspects of their behaviour are still not well understood. Thus, I shall discuss under the label adverb, particles used in affirmation and nega-tion, keeping in mind that future research may come up with quite different classifications.

4.4.1.9.2 Adverbs of affirmation

These include yes, yesa, nogat *yes*, nonem *certainly* and tru *indeed*. The inclusion of nogat among affirmative adverbs comes about because answers to negative questions differ from those in English, cf. Laycock 1970c:xx:

> To the question masta i no stap? *is the master not at home?*
> The answer *yes* means *yes, it is true, he is not at home,*
> and *no* means *no, what you say is false, he is at home.* This
> feature of Pidgin gives rise to many misunderstandings among
> beginners in the language.

By using nonem as an answer the speaker confirms that what has been asked is indeed true, as in:

Yu go long piksa tete? Nonem.   *Are you going to the pictures*
                                  today? Yes certainly.

By using tru as an answer speakers express non-committal agreement, as in:

Spak em i nap long bagarapim   *Drink can ruin a man. True enough,*
man. Tru tasol taim mi wok   *but I am terribly thirsty after*
pinis mi testi nogut ya.   *work.*

4.4.1.9.3 Adverbs of negation

These include yes, yesa, no, nogat. Again, the choice of yes vs. nogat depends on whether an antecedent question was negative or positive. No is normally used in predicates occupying a position between predicate marker and the centre, as in:

em i no man   *he is not a man*
dispela tok i no tru   *this story is not true*

Nogat is used as the negative answer to a question, or at the end of statements indicating that what has been referred to did not materialise or was done in vain:

Ol i pulim pulim pulim, nogat.   *They pulled and pulled but all*
                                 in vain.

Asde mi laik kisim gutpela   *Yesterday I wanted to get a nice*
meri tasol nogat.   *girl, but no such luck.*

4.4.1.9.4 Adverbs of indeterminacy

If a speaker does not know the answer to a question or is not certain about the validity of a statement, he uses ating *perhaps, I don't know.* For example:

Inap yu kam helpim mi tumora?   *Will you be able to help me*
Ating.   *tomorrow? I don't know.*

Ating bai i gat ren long nait.   *Maybe it will rain during the*
                                 night.

4.4.1.9.5 Interrogative adverbs

The following instances are found in Tok Pisin:

wataim   *when?*   olsem wanem   *how?*
we   *where?*   bilong wanem *why?*
westap   *where the hell?* watpo   *why the hell?*

More will be said about these below in the section on interrogative sentences.

4.4.1.10 Tags

Three tags are used in Tok Pisin, namely a, o nogat and laka. The first two are used for real questions, such as:

Yu lukim em a?	*You see him, don't you?*
Yu lukim em o nogat?	*Do you see him or don't you?*

Laka, on the other hand, is mainly a rhetorical device used in a way similar to French *n'est-ce pas?* Some examples are:

Mi ting yu save pinis, laka?	*You know already, don't you?*
John, mi ting yu wanpela longlong man, laka?	*You are a fool John, aren't you?*

4.4.1.11 Conjunctions

There is only a small number of conjunctions in Tok Pisin; their function in syntax will be dealt with in the section on complex sentences. A distinction can be made between co-ordinating conjunctions which include:

na	*and*	bat	*but*
(n)o	*or*	tasol	*but*

and subordinating conjunctions, such as:

taim	*when*	bilong wanem	*because*
sapos	*if*	bikos	*because*
maski	*although*		

4.4.1.12 Residual classes

These include exclamations and greetings. These can be subclassified according to their semantic functions.

(a) Attention getters

nansei	used to attract the attention of a potential sexual partner
maiau	often used for the same purpose, sometimes only meaning *what about me?*
he, e	more neutral expression used in drawing attention
aoa, oao	(abbreviation for kan kok kan) used to attract the attention of a potential sexual partner

(b) Greetings

gutde	*good day*
gut nait	*goodnight*
apinun	*good evening* (often used only to address people whose day's work is finished)
gutbai	*goodbye*

(c) Curses

```
bladisit   bloody shit
pakimsit   fucking shit
demit      damn it
sit        shit
```

(d) Exclamations of astonishment

```
yakabor                    gee, gosh!
olaboi, olaman, olapukpuk  gosh!
manman                     gosh!
```

(e) Exclamations of sympathy

```
kalapa   what a pity
sori     sorry
```

(f) Exclamations of encouragement

```
asawe    that's it
em nau   that's it
gibim    used to encourage fighters: give it to him!
goan     go on
kaman    come on
```

(g) Others

```
ensa op        heave ho
kas bilong yu  your luck
maski          never mind
oke            O.K.
orait          well
selo           sail ho
we ya          no way
```

4.4.2 SENTENCE STRUCTURES IN TOK PISIN

4.4.2.1 Introduction

Linguists working in the areas of language development and discourse analysis are becoming increasingly aware of the artificiality of the concept of a sentence in the context of the analysis of spontaneous speech. It would seem that the sentence as a unit of linguistic analysis is most useful in relation to written or highly conventionalised texts in old established heavily grammaticalised languages. In the case of pidgin languages it is often difficult, even in written texts, to isolate stretches of speech corresponding to syntactic sentences. Most speakers instead operate in terms of sense groups (semantic units) or intonation groups. For pedagogical reasons I have decided to introduce the amount of abstraction necessary for speaking of sentences in Tok Pisin, and a relatively conventional terminology will be used throughout this subchapter.

The analysis will be subdivided into two main parts, that of kernel sentences and the syntactic processes relevant to their generation and, secondly, double-based sentences, i.e. those arising out of the combination - either by conjoining or embedding - of kernel sentences.

4.4.2.2 Basic structure of simple sentences

With the exception of certain minor sentence types, such as interjection, most sentences in Tok Pisin can be derived from the following small number of basic patterns:

a) NP + i + Adj./Vint.   intransitive sentence
   ren i pundaun *the rain is falling*
   pik i bikpela *the pig is big*

b) NP + i + Vtr. + NP   transitive sentence
   pik i bagarapim gaten *the pig ruined the garden*

c) NP + i + NP   equative sentence
   em i saveman *he is an expert*

d) NP + i + stap + PP   locational sentence
   ol gol i stap long graun *the gold is in the ground*

e) i gat + NP   existential sentence
   i gat moni long poket *there is money in the pocket*

4.4.2.3 The 'predicate marker' i

One element which appears in all of the basic sentence structures is the element i. Before discussing rules for the extension and rearrangement of these structures, I shall attempt to lay down a number of suggestions for the use of i.

Discussion about the status of i in Tok Pisin has flared up in the last few years without as yet yielding a solution: "i stands out, in the sea of poly-semy which is Tok Pisin, as an element to which no functional status has been assigned with any success" (Smeall 1975:1).

The analysis of i is hampered by a number of factors, the most important being regional variation in its use. Many of the regularities discussed by Wurm (1971a:13ff and 1975) are typically found only in certain varieties of Highlands Pidgin, and Franklin (1980) has gone so far as to claim that only a knowledge of the speaker's vernacular language allows the precise function of i to be identified.

Both Smeall (1975) and Woolford (1979c) have tried to develop the idea that i is categorically present in certain environments and categorically absent in others, whereas its other occurrences are variable. Whilst Smeall examines the hypothesis that its occurrence vs. non-occurrence can be predicted partly from its phonological environment, Woolford attempts to account for both categorical and variable presence of i in terms of certain grammatical environments. However, none of the descriptions to date is based on sufficiently heterogeneous and numerous data. What will be said about i in the following section must therefore be regarded as a rough assessment of a very complicated part of Tok Pisin grammar.

The following regularities affecting the use of i are commonly found in Rural Tok Pisin as spoken in the New Guinea Lowlands and Islands:

(a) i appears before verbal or non-verbal predicates:

   ol draiwa i smat mo   *the drivers are very smart*
   kakaruk i singaut   *the rooster is crowing*
   masta i singautim hauskuk *the European calls for the cook*

(b) i often becomes deleted in declarative and interrogative, but not imperative, sentences where the SUBJECT is a first or second person singular pronoun directly preceding the predicate. This rule accounts for the deletion of i in sentences such as:

    mi wokabaut long rot   *I am walking on the road*
    yu rausim meri a?   *you chased your wife away didn't you?*

At the same time it accounts for the presence of i in:

    papa bilong mi i gat sik   *my father is ill*
    yu tasol i no laik kam   *you're the only one who doesn't want to come*
    yu i lus!   *get lost!*
    mi yet i tok olsem   *I said so myself*

(c) i is often omitted after pronoun em in equative sentences:

    em tasol   *that's the lot*
    em papa bilong mi *that's my father*

but

    Pisin i Pisin na Inglis em i   *Pidgin is Pidgin and English is*
    Inglis   *English*

(d) There are certain phonological reasons, first noted by Hall (1943a:2), for the deletion of i. Thus i is often deleted if the subject noun ends in a high vowel, as in:

    meri gat bel   *the woman is pregnant*
    tarangu no gat kaikai   *the poor bloke had no food*

The same factor may also account for the frequent disappearance of i after the future marker bai, as in:

    em bai (i) kam   *he will come*
    mani bai (i) lus   *the money will be lost*

(e) Though conjoined sentences will be dealt with later, the behaviour of the predicate marker in such sentences will be briefly mentioned here for the sake of completeness.

    The first convention applies to subjects containing more than one noun. For such cases the predicate marker i generally appears even if the last element of the conjoined subjects is yu or mi:

    brata bilong mi na mi i go *my brother and I went*
    Pita na yu i kamap las   *Peter and you arrived last*

For other cases of conjoining a large set of fairly involved regularities can be demonstrated. A discussion of these can be found in Dutton 1973:233ff and Wurm 1971a:17 and 65ff.

(f) The behaviour of i after modals (ken, mas, laik, etc.) No full analysis of these cases is available at present, though a number of useful remarks can be found in Wurm 1971a:16ff. A convention applying in most varieties of Tok Pisin is that verbs following modals are always introduced with i. These are go *to go*, kam *to come*, stap 'locational verb' and nap *to be able*, e.g.:

    mi laik i kam   *I want to come*
    em i mas i go   *he must go*

With other verbs, there is considerable variation. Some regional varieties distinguish between cases as, for example, in:

mi laik wokabaut	*I shall walk*	and
mi laik i wokabaut	*I want to walk*	

and mi ken wokabaut	*I can walk*	as against
mi ken i wokabaut	*I shall definitely walk*	

This distinction is not made in the majority of Tok Pisin varieties, however, and the variable appearance of i after modals in those varieties must be explained differently.

All the above regularities pertain primarily to second-language speakers of Tok Pisin, as pointed out by Lynch (1979:6): "It is my impression that the use of i is declining, and many L1-speakers omit it very frequently indeed."

4.4.2.4 The expansion of basic sentences

The basic structures discussed above can be modified in two ways, either by the addition of (frequently less central) semantic information or by changing the basic word-order to achieve certain stylistic effects such as focalisation. Note that meaningful changes in word-order are found mainly among younger fluent speakers of the language.

4.4.2.4.1 Negation

The scope of the negative adverb no in Tok Pisin appears to be the full predicate rather than individual constituents, a phenomenon found in many pidgin languages. The position of no is directly after i, as can be seen from the following examples:

ol i no bin kisim independens yet	*they haven't got independence yet*
ol i no laik wok long biksan	*they don't like to work in the full heat of the sun*

Exceptions to this principle are rare, though the negation of mas *must* provides a counterexample in some varieties of Tok Pisin:

yu mas kam	*you must come*
yu no ken kam }	*you must not come*
yu mas no ken kam	

Negation of nouns and noun phrases cannot be done by adding no to the constituent concerned. Instead, Tok Pisin resorts to the embedding of a negative existential sentence containing the constituent to be negated. Examples are:

i nogat wanpela man i kam	*nobody came*
I nogat wanpela samting inap long man i ken kisim nating long stua.	*Nothing in this store can be had for free.*
i nogat wanpela sevende i save dring ti	*no Seventh Day Adventist drinks tea*

The negation of object NPs is achieved by means of extraposition of the NP to be negated:

>   I no gat wanpela meri mi laikim   *I don't like any of the girls*

4.4.2.4.2 Time and place and manner adverbs and adverbials as sentence complements

(a) Time adverbials

It appears that the majority of Tok Pisin time adverbials should be considered as being on a par with the two other main constituents of a sentence rather than being expansions of the VP. However, there are strong indications (cf. Sankoff and Laberge 1973, Lynch 1979) that some time adverbials are developing into tense markers and are becoming more closely associated with the verb.

The position most commonly occupied by time adverbials, however, remains sentence initial, as in:

>   liklik taim nau mi mas go   *I shall have to go soon*
>
>   bipo ol i no mekim olosem   *formerly they did not behave like this*
>
>   baimbai mani i kamap   *money will appear eventually*

Note that many varieties of Tok Pisin now distinguish between a time adverb, baimbai *eventually*, and a future marker bai which is more closely associated with the verb.

Time adverbs can also be found sentence finally as in:

>   em i giaman oltaim   *he is always lying*
>   ol i kam baimbai   *they'll come eventually*

Time adverbs are also found directly following a subject NP as in:

>   em oltaim i hambak   *he is always humbugging*
>   man klostu i dai nau   *the man is about to die*

The regularities underlying the occurrence of time adverbs in these different positions are not well understood at present.

(b) Place adverbials

Place adverbs usually appear sentence finally, though for the purpose of emphasis they can also be found sentence initially:

>   mankimasta i baim tomato long   *the servant bought tomatoes in*
>   maket   *the market*
>
>   long Ostrelia i gat planti   *there are many European women in*
>   misis, long Niugini nogat   *Australia but not in New Guinea*

Adverbs of place referring to the direction rather than the locality of an action are usually introduced by the direction markers i go and i kam, unless go or kam are the main verbs. A number of detailed studies have been made into these direction markers. Dutton's account (1973:35) can serve as a brief introduction:

In Pidgin i kam and i go are used to denote movement away
from or towards the speaker respectively. Not only that
but it is the conceived locus of the speaker relative to
the action that is important and not his actual position.
Thus if one asks someone else in Pidgin to take something
from a position near the speaker outside a house, say, to
a position inside the house he will begin by using the
direction marker i go but will change to i kam in describ-
ing what happens inside the house, just as though he had
also moved inside. The following sentence will illustrate:
Yu kisim kago i go long haus na bringim i kam putim long
tebol *Take the goods into the house and put them on the
table*.

The direction markers i go and i kam are also used to refer to temporal
phenomena as in:

tulait i bruk i kam nau   *daylight was breaking*

More detailed remarks can be found in Wurm 1971a:45. It should be noted
that direction marking is an area of syntax where substratum influence is felt
a great deal, and that fixed norms have yet to develop.

(c) Manner adverbials

A distinction must be made between those adverbials which modify a whole
sentence, such as ating *perhaps*, and others which only modify individual con-
stituents.

Ating appears at the beginning of sentences, whereas the other adverbials
appear after the constituents they modify:

ating mi ken kisim yu   *perhaps I can fetch you*
em i man tru   *he is a real man*
em i tok tru antap   *he is telling the holy truth*
ol i wokabaut isi   *they walked slowly*
dok i singaut bikpela   *the dog was barking loud*

4.4.2.4.3 Aspect and tense markers

4.4.2.4.3.1 General remarks

The indication of aspect (the nature of the action referred to) and tense
(the time at which such an action is performed), though an optional expansion
of basic sentences, is nevertheless a very important characteristic of Tok Pisin
grammar.

Traditionally aspect and tense have been dealt with under the heading of
the verb. However, as has been pointed out above, a truer account of their role
in Tok Pisin grammar would be given by treating them as part of the predicate.
The following examples, from Mühlhäusler 1978 , illustrate that any predicate,
whether it contains verbs or not, can be modified by aspect and tense markers:

(a) Noun bases

em i tisa   *he is a teacher*
em i tisa pinis   {*he has completed becoming a teacher*
                   {*he has finished his teacher training*

```
em i laik tisa       he is about to become a teacher
em i tisa i stap     he continues being a teacher
em i tisa nau        he has just become a teacher
em i save tisa       he is customarily a teacher
em i bin tisa        he was a teacher
em i tisa nating     he is just a teacher
```

(b) Verb bases

```
em i wokabaut        he is walking
em i wokabaut pinis  he finished walking
em i laik wokabaut   he is about to walk
em i wokabaut i stap he continued walking
em i wokabaut nau    he has just started walking
em i save wokabaut   he is in the habit of walking
em i bin wokabaut    he walked
em i wokabaut nating he is just walking (aimlessly)
```

(c) Adjective bases

```
em i strong             he is strong
em i strong pinis       he has finished becoming strong = he has grown up
em i laik strong        he is about to become strong
em i strong nau         he has become strong = is strong now
(bipo) em i save strong he used to be strong
em i bin strong         he was strong
em i strong nating      he is just strong (but has no other virtues)
```

Of the two, aspect marking is of much greater importance in conservative rural Tok Pisin, though the marking of tense is increasing in importance under the impact of the English model. The past marker bin, for instance, which was virtually unknown in most areas 20 years ago, is vigorously present in the speech of most younger speakers and is found with many second-language speakers of the language today. There are signs, however, that its use among first-language speakers is on the decline (cf. Sankoff 1979).

Whereas tense marking is restricted to the future marker bai and the past marker bin, the number of items functioning as aspect markers in Tok Pisin is large. The members of this category fall into a number of groups and there is considerable overlapping between what have been traditionally called aspect markers and other word classes, such as adverbs and verbs.

4.4.2.4.3.2 Types of aspect marking

The most commonly used aspect markers include:

```
        marker           function of marker

        i stap           progressive
        pinis            completion
        save             habitual
        kirap            inchoative
        nating           frustrative
        traiim           attemptative
        'repetition'     durative and iterative
```

In addition, certain verbs, some adverbs of time and some modals are also used. The most important aspect markers will now be discussed individually.

(a) No overt aspect marking

Verb forms without overt aspect marking usually refer to actions which are either in progress at the time of speaking or which were in progress at the point in time to which a narrative pattern refers. It is also found in the context of instructions and timeless descriptions of actions. Examples:

O sori mi hangre nogut tru	*Oh, I am really very hungry.*
mi tisa bilong ol	*I am their teacher*
Em sia bilong man ya. Orait, nogat man long dispela ples. Olgeta man long dispela ples em i stap wantaim ol liklik man ya.	*This was a chair for people. Well, there were no people in this place. All the people of this place stayed with those little men.*
Yu putim liklik wara i go long tipot, hatim liklik, kapsaitim wara long tipot i go, orait, putim lipti i go. Bihain hatwara i kisim ti, i go i blak liklik, olsem sampela masta ol i laikim ti blak.	*You put a little water in the teapot and heat it up a little. Then tip out this hot water from the teapot and then put in the tea leaves. After that you pour in the hot water and leave it. The hot water brings out the tea, it blackens a little. Some Europeans like their tea black.*

Verb forms without overt aspect and tense marking are particularly frequent in story telling, where aspect and tense is often only signalled paragraph initially and followed by utterances without aspect or tense marking.

(b) Stap, i stap - progressive

Predicates are either followed by i stap or preceded by (i) stap to indicate actions or states which are continuous, translating English progressive forms involving a form of *to be* and a verbal form ending in *-ing*. In the case of predicates containing transitive verbs, i stap may follow directly after the verb:

mitupela i sindaun gris i stap	*we were sitting and talking*
meri i wokim bilum i stap	*the women are making stringbags*
dok i singaut i stap	*the dog is barking*
ol i stap toktok	*they are talking*

The use of stap or i stap implies no judgement about the length of time for which an action or state continues. If the speaker wants to indicate that an action continues for a long time, he/she can repeat either the main verb or i stap in postpredicative position:

ol i kaikai kaikai i stap } ol i kaikai i stap i stap	*they kept on eating for a long time*

Note that for some varieties of Tok Pisin there is a semantic difference between predicate + i stap and i stap + predicate:

> ... with the latter, the focus is on the action denoted by the verb, whereas with the former, the focus is on the continuous nature of the action, e.g. em i stap toktok = *he is talking*, i.e. *talking is what he is*

> *doing*, em i toktok i stap = *he is talking*, i.e. *his action of talking is c o n t i u o u s.*   (Wurm 1971a:39)

Alternative ways of expressing the progressive aspect are the use of the adverb nau sentence finally and the use of wok long followed by the predicate; wok long has gained considerable popularity in recent years through its use in radio broadcasts:

mi rit nau	*I am reading, I was reading*
yupela wok long harim Redio Wewak	*you are listening to Radio Wewak*
ol pipel i wok long amamas	*the people were rejoicing*

(c) P i n i s _ completion

The completion of an action is usually expressed by pinis following either the predicate or the main verb; it can also be expressed by olgeta or olgeta pinis following the predicate.

Typically the use of pinis implies that an action is irreversible and that its result is felt for some time.

ol kaunsil i kamap pinis	*the councillors have arrived*
mi laikim yu pinis	*I have fallen in love with you*
em i tok pinis	*he has spoken*
em i karamapim hul pinis	*he has covered up the hole*
kaunsil i rausim meri pinis	*the councillor has chased away his wife*
mi save pinis tok pisin	*I have learnt Tok Pisin/I know Tok Pisin*
em i go pinis long ples bilongen na em i stap olgeta	*he has gone back to his village for good*
em i tulet pinis na em i meri bilong yu nau	*it is too late for her to become your wife*

Examples of the use of pinis with non-verbal predicates are often translated by using certain adverbs or adjectives indicating completion:

ol nambis ol i kristen pinis	*the coastal dwellers are true Christians*
tupela i pren pinis	*the two are real friends*

Often English uses two different lexical items to translate a Tok Pisin adjective or verb with or without the completion marker.   Compare:

rere pinis	*ready*	bruk pinis	*broken*
(laik) rere	*prepare oneself*	(laik) bruk	*disintegrating*
hat pinis	*hot*	hepi pinis	*satisfied*
(laik) hat	*heating up*	(laik) hepi	*getting pleased*
bik pinis	*big*	lus pinis	*lost*
(laik) bik	*growing big*	(laik) lus	*loosen* (v.intr.)
kela pinis	*bald*		
(laik) kela	*getting bald*		

The use of intransitive verbs + pinis can often be translated by a passive construction in English. However, this does not mean that Tok Pisin possesses anything like a formal passive construction, since the agent cannot be expressed overtly.

A case illustrating this is what has been referred to by B.A. Hooley (1962: 118) as the passive transformation in Tok Pisin. Hooley wants to derive sentences such as glas i bruk *the thermometer is broken* from em i brukim glas *he breaks the thermometer*. He also points out that in Tok Pisin sentences of the structure N i V can have both 'middle' and 'passive' meaning and are therefore ambiguous.

It appears, however, that sentences such as glas i bruk are not the result of any passive transformation. Instead the presence of certain aspect markers stresses certain aspects of the meaning of the verbs involved. A better translation of *the thermometer is broken* would be glas i bruk pinis. Compare:

kaikai i redi pinis	*the dinner is prepared*
mani i lus pinis	*the money is lost*
wara i hat pinis	*the water is heated up*

with

em i rediim kaikai i stap	*he is preparing the dinner*
em i bin lusim mani	*he lost the money*
em i wok long hatim wara	*he is heating water*

and

kaikai i laik redi	*the dinner is almost ready*
mani i laik lus	*the money is about to be lost*
wara i wok long hat	*the water is heating*

A more detailed linguistic argument against the passive transformation in Tok Pisin is given by Woolford (1979a:97-106).

(d) Save - habitual action

Predicates preceded by save denote actions which are performed habitually as in:

ol tumbuna bilong mipela i save kaikai man	*our ancestors used to eat humans*
long taim bilong malolo mipela i save raun long taun	*we often stroll in the town in our leisure time*
dispela man i save draiwa bilong mipela	*this man usually does the driving for us*
dispela pikinini bilong diwai skin bilongen i save braun	*this fruit whose skin is usually brown*
mi no save kaikai buai	*I am not in the habit of chewing betelnut*
dispela bokis i save gat rais insait longen	*this container usually has rice inside it*
planti saveman i save seksek long meri i no gat save	*many educated men fall in love with uneducated women*

(e) Kirap, kirap na - inchoative

In opposition to the aspect markers treated so far, kirap shares all the properties of real verbs, and its occurrence as an aspect marker can be regarded, syntactically, as an instance of verbal concatenation. Kirap directly preceding other verbs indicates actions which are being at the time referred to in the sentence in which it occurs, e.g.:

kiap i kirap wokabaut	*the patrol officer began to walk = set out on his journey*
tupela wokman i kirap wokim baret	*the two workers began to dig a trench*
narapela i kirap na tok	*another one began to talk*

In Urban Tok Pisin stat *to start* is frequently used in the place of kirap, as in:

ol i stat singsing nau	*they started to celebrate*

(f) Nating - frustrative mood (purposeless action)

In the discussion of nating as a postnominal modifier the contextual nature of this particular element was illustrated. The same context dependency can also be observed in those cases where nating appears after verbs or verb phrases. Its most common meaning is *for no obvious purpose* or *in vain*, as in:

Mi no bin kam painim meri long pati. Mi kam nating tasol.	*I haven't come to find a girl at the party. I just dropped in.*
Mi no laik wok nating. Mi laikim mani ya.	*I don't want to work for nothing. I want money.*
Em i les nating.	*He is just lazy.*
Ol i no bin kisim pik. Ol i bihainim lek bilongen nating.	*They didn't catch a pig. They just followed its trail without any result.*

(g) Traim - attemptative

Traim (often spelled traiim) is used in a way which allows its syntactic interpretation as either a full verb appearing in verbal concatenation or as a verbal marker. This double status can be seen from its position in utterances. It is found either directly preceding the main verb or at the end of a predicate, sometimes even directly after the main verb. This is brought out clearly in Dutton's treatment (1973:220f):

> ... depending on circumstances traim may alternatively be placed after the verb or the object but this is less acceptable if the objects of the sentences are pronouns or long phrases, e.g.,

Yu bautim traim dispela longpela kanu.	*Try to turn this long canoe around.*
Yu bautim dispela longpela kanu i traim.	*Try to turn this long canoe around.*
*Yu bautim dispela long- pela kanu i stap long hap i traim.	*Try to turn that long canoe around that is up there.*

*Yu bautim traim em.	*Try to turn it around.*
Yu traim bautim em.	*Try to turn it around.*

Apart from the uses listed by Dutton the constructions traim long + V and traim na + V are also found:

Ol Pele i traim long wokim mani.	*The members of the Pele Association are trying to make money.*
Yu traim na wokim olosem.	*Try and do it like this.*
Yupela papamama plis traim na larim em i ken i stap long skul.	*You parents must please try and let her stay at school.*
Yupela ol tisa i mas traim na i no ken mekim dispela pasin.	*You teachers must try not to behave in this way.*

(h) Repetition of verb or predicate – durative

The idea of duration is often implicit in the use of the progressive marker i stap. However, the idea of duration can be reinforced by repetition of:

a) either the durative marker i stap (occasionally i go):

em i sindaun i stap i stap	*he lived there for a long time*
ol i pait i go i go i go	{*they fought for a long time* / *they were fighting a long time*}

b) the main verb:

ol i tingting tingting	*they kept thinking*
ol i sutim sutim pik	*they kept shooting pigs*

c) the main verb plus predicate marker:

dispela meri i tok i tok	*this woman talks and talks*

d) the whole predicate, often including the predicate marker:

em ol kanaka sutim ol sutim ol	*these indigenes kept shooting at them*
ol i singsing nabaut i singsing nabaut	*they kept celebrating*

4.4.2.4.3.3 Adverbs gen and nau used as aspect markers

(a) Gen – action repeated

Verbs or predicates followed by gen express that an action is repeated once "usually after the elapse of some time" (Wurm 1971a:42):

Mi wok wan yia. Mi go bek long ples. Mi go gen long Rabaul.	*I worked for a year, then I went to my village and afterwards I returned to Rabaul.*

The various positions in which gen may occur, as well as some uncertainty as to its correct position, can be seen in the following extract from a story by a speaker from Manus:

Mi wok pinis, mi kalap gen   *Having finished my contract I*
long sip. Mi boskru long sip.   *boarded a ship again and became a*
Mi wok raun, mi go, kam bek,   *member of the crew. I went to work*
mi stap gen. Mi kalap gen   *in various places and returned. I*
long sua gen. Mi wok gen long   *stayed again. I disembarked again.*
haus lemonet gen.   *I worked in the lemonade factory*
                                  again.

(b) Nau - actions just started

    Although nau can correspond to English *now* in certain contexts, it typically refers to the nature of an action rather than to the time at which it takes place, and is therefore often found in narratives referring to the past. Note the following remarks by Wurm (1971a:41):

> It may be mentioned at this point that in Pidgin, the aspects of the verb are a primary feature, and the tenses a secondary one. In other words, the tense markers (or adverbs of time, or the context), place a verb whose exact nature has been determined by aspect markers accompanying it, into a point of time which bears some definite relation (i.e. earlier, later, a short time later, etc.) to the time level which is central in a narration or situation. Because of the differences of the basic structures of English and Pidgin, this functional supremacy of the aspects over the tenses in Pidgin is often not clearly evident from the English translations of Pidgin sentences. The reason for mentioning this here instead of at the beginning of the section on Aspect and Tense is the fact that the aspect indicated by Verb + nau bears particularly clear evidence of this hierarchy, and of the difficulty of rendering it clearly in idiomatic English translations. This may therefore be the best moment for introducing the linguistically unsophisticated reader to this problem. An example will make the problem clear: mi laik go nau which is best rendered in idiomatic English by *I have just decided to go away soon*. In actual fact, the Pidgin sentence can be analysed semantically as follows:
>> go nau indicates an action of going away which has just started; putting laik before this places this action into the near future; in consequence, mi laik go nau means literally: *soon the situation will prevail in which I have just started going away*.

    It remains to be seen just how far such finer points of grammar are universally found in Tok Pisin and to what extent they just reflect substratum influence from languages spoken in a certain area.

4.4.2.4.3.4 Modal verbs

    Modal verbs serve to indicate certain modalities of verbal actions. They typically precede the main verb or the central element of a non-verbal predicate. The following modal verbs are found in Tok Pisin:

ken	*can*
laik	*to want*
mas	*must*
nap, inap	*to be able*
no ken	} *must not*
mas no ken	
save	*to be able*

(a) Ken - permission

Ken preceding predicates indicates permission, and sometimes a weaker notion of possibility:

yu ken i kam	{ *you can come* (permission)
	it is possible for you to come
yu ken raitim olsem wanem?	*how do you spell it?*
mi bikpela man mi ken maritim popela meri	*I am an important person, I can marry four women*

Most varieties of the language do not have a separate construction of the form ken + i + verb to signal definite future, reported for some Highlands varieties by Wurm (1971a:48). In most cases, the distinction between possibility, permission and futurity is difficult to maintain, as demonstrated by the following examples:

| Wok bilong mi i kamap gutpela tumas, orait ol i ken makim mi long kaunsil. | *If my business turns out really well the people can (will, are likely to) appoint me as a councillor.* |
| Sapos i trupela, orait kaunsil i ken harim, sapos i giaman, mi ken pinisim. | *If it is true, the councillor will (can) hear it, if it is untrue, I shall (can) put an end to it.* |

Negation of ken in the form of no ken is also used as in the case of mas *must*. However, in many contexts the negation of ken does not imply prohibition by a person but rather by circumstances, as in the following examples:

| ren i pasim ol long ol i no ken kam | *the rain made it impossible for them to come* |
| dispela bris i no nap long man i ken wokabaut longen | *this bridge is not suitable for people to walk on* |

(b) Laik - *to desire, wish*

A number of variants of this form are used in Tok Pisin. The form most commonly used is laik + V without an intervening predicate marker. Predicate marker i follows, however, if laik is followed by go *to go*, kam *to come*, stap *to stay* and nap *to be able*. For example:

| mi laik wokabaut | *I want to walk* |
| mi laik i go | *I want to go* |

For some varieties of Tok Pisin a distinction is made between laik + V and laik + i + V, the first form indicating near future, the latter desire (cf. Wurm 1971a:51-52). For instance:

| dispela meri i laik karim pikinini | *this woman is about to give birth to a child* |

mi laik i karim pikinini bilong yu	*I want to carry your child*

Laikim instead of laik is occasionally found:

mi laikim dring bia	*I want to drink beer*

Constructions of the form laik + long + V have also been recorded by the present author:

em i laik long kisim em	*he wants to get hold of it*

(c) Mas - *must* (obligation)

Mas is followed by a predicate marker if it introduces the verbs i go *go*, i kam *come*, i stap *stay* and i nap *able*. In all other cases it is followed directly by the verb stem. For example:

yu yet mas mekim gutpela sindaun	*you must behave well*
ol i mas stap wet long mun i lait	*they must wait until the moon shines*
mipela mas i go nau	*we have to go now*
maski long boi i no laik, papa-mama i mas strong	*whether the boy likes it or not, the parents must insist*
mama i mas i go nau	*mother has to go now*
ol i mas bihainim tok bilong ol gavman tasol	*they must obey the orders of the government*
yupela i mas traim lusim dispela pasin	*you must try to get rid of this custom*

The negation of mas can be performed in a number of ways, and considerable variation is found here. Although mas can be negated by a preceding no, this construction is relatively uncommon, and often expresses that someone is not under a direct obligation to do something, rather than a complete prohibition (cf. Wurm 1971a:51 and Dutton 1973:187). For example:

Mipela i no mas i gat kaikain tingting olosem.	*We should not have such thoughts.*

Usually prohibition is expressed by no ken or mas no ken:

yu no ken wari tumas long ol meri	*don't think too much about girls*
ol meri i mas noken putim sot-pela siket	*girls must not wear short skirts*

It appears that the form mas no ken is preferred for expressing a strong prohibition, whereas simple no ken refers to a weaker prohibition.

(d) Nap, inap - physical ability

Ability to carry out a physical action can be expressed by placing inap or nap before predicates. Sometimes i or long is found between the modal verb and the main verb.

powil i nap long ron long dis-pela hanrot	*a four-wheel drive vehicle can negotiate this side track*

```
i no gat ren olsem ol i no inap        there has been no rain and they
waswas gut                             are unable to have a proper bath
```

In the past the distinction between inap on the one hand and save and ken on the other has often been compared to the distinction between *savoir* and *pouvoir* in French. However, this would seem to be a gross oversimplification of what is actually found in Tok Pisin. So far, the exact conditions underlying the choice of either of these three verbs has not been fully understood and an explanation may well involve a speaker's first language. Thus, the use of inap in the following example clearly does not contain any reference to physical ability:

```
mipela i no inap long sanapim          it is not proper for us to propose
pasindiaman long vot                   a 'gatecrasher' as a candidate
```

(e) Save - ability

Save followed by a verb may express competence in the sense of knowing how to do something. This construction is closely related to the case in which save indicates an habitual action:

> In fact the two constructions are closely related in that one gains one's competence to perform an action from having performed it regularly or habitually. In some sentences both senses are one and the same, e.g.:

```
Yu save wokim haus.        {Do you regularly build houses?
                           {Do you know how to build houses?
```

(Dutton 1973:75)

Because of its ambiguity this construction is little used. Instead, preference is given to analytic constructions such as:

```
mi gat save long ritrait            I know how to read and write

mi save pinis long wok tisa         I know how to teach

mi save pasin bilong raitim pas     I know how to write a letter
```

4.4.2.4.3.5 Tense markers

Tense indication in Tok Pisin was traditionally achieved by introducing sentences or even paragraphs by certain time adverbs such as baimbai *by-and-by* or bipo *before*. Such adverbials tended to govern the tense of larger stretches of utterance.

In recent years, however, some drastic changes have taken place, and Tok Pisin is at present developing a compulsory tense system. Not only has tense become obligatory for many younger speakers but, at the same time, the grammatical status of tense indicators has shifted from free adverbials to preverbal particles.

A detailed study of the behaviour of the future-tense marker bai has been made by Sankoff and Laberge (1973:32-47), whilst Sankoff (1979) presents some information on the past marker bin.

(a) Futurity

A number of adverbs and auxiliary verbs are sometimes used to express the idea of futurity, including:

```
ken + i + V      for definite future
laik + V         for near future
klosap           for very near future
nau              for immediate future
```

A fuller discussion of these four items is found in Wurm 1971a:48. This set can be supplemented by some additional adverbs of time implying the idea of futurity, including:

baimbai *probable future event*
tumora   *tomorrow or the next day*
bihain   *afterwards*

From this long list of items, bai, the shortened form of baimbai, has come to fulfil the function of a future marker for most present-day Tok Pisin speakers, though the diachronic development which has led to the change in status of baimbai can still be observed synchronically. These changes have been described by Sankoff and Laberge (1973:36) as follows:

1. its reduction from baimbai to bai (a change which has almost gone to completion, baimbai being rare in current usage);
2. its loss of obligatory stress;
3. its occurrence with adverbs having a future meaning, e.g.
   (3) klostu bai i dai *soon he will die*;
   (4) bihain bai i kambek gen *later it will come back again*;
4. its apparent tendency to be placed next to the main verb, after the subject, rather than at the beginning of the sentence or in pre-subject position.

It must be pointed out that these changes do not necessarily take place in the above order and that coexistence of earlier and later patterns is often found in the same speech event. This is particularly true of the position which bai occupies in the sentence. For instance:

bai kantri bilong yumi bai   *our country will be ruined*
bagarap

sapos yupela i tok olosem bai *if you argue like that, who will do*
husat tru bai mekim ol wok ol *the job which women are doing now?*
meri i save mekim?

It appears that, whereas bai directly preceding the verb has become a future marker, bai at the beginning of sentences often refers to the notion of 'event taking place after another event'. In this meaning bai can assume the status of a conjunction.

(b) Past

Past in Tok Pisin can be expressed by means of a number of sentence-initial adverbials such as bipo *in earlier times*, long taim bilong tumbuna *when our ancestors lived*, and asde *yesterday, the previous day*.

Such time adverbials are often supplemented by bin, immediately preceding the verb. Though bin is derived from English *been*, its semantic function is that of indicating a general past. The idea of completion may or may not be implied and a combination of bin and pinis can be used to indicate both past tense and completion. The use of time adverbials together with bin in the same utterance indicates that bin is frequently redundant. This redundancy in the use of bin can be compared with that found by Sankoff and Laberge (1973) for the future marker bai.

I shall conclude this section with some examples of the use of the past marker:

mipela i bin gat tupela eleksen pinis	*we have had two elections already*
mi yet mi bin harim dispela tok	*I myself have heard this story*
long Septemba 1970 i bin gat wanpela bikpela pati	*there was a big party in September 1970*
long las mun mi bin winim pom tu bilong mi	*last month I successfully completed form II*
mi bin ritim dispela pas bilong yu na mi gat sori long yu ya	*I read your letter and I felt sorry for you*

(c) Present

Present tense in Tok Pisin is expressed by using the unmarked forms of the verb. A number of aspect markers, such as the progressive marker, typically accompany such verb forms.

The idea of present can also be reinforced by certain adverbs of time such as tete *today*.

4.4.2.4.3.6 Combination of tense markers, aspect markers and modals

Predicates in Tok Pisin can often be modified with a number of different modals, tense and aspect markers. Some remarks on possible combinations can be found in Wurm 1971a:49,46-47, though a complete analysis of all possible combinations and their semantic implications is not available at present. Such an analysis is outside the scope of the present handbook and I shall restrict myself to listing a few examples, some of which are very complex:

i gat wanpela olpela toktok i stap i kam i nap nau tu i stap yet	*there is an old saying which has been handed down to the present day and still exists*
i bin save i gat planti pait i stap long dispela hap	*there used to be many fights in this area*
ol man i spak long hotel na kirap laik pait	*the men got drunk at the hotel and began to prepare themselves for a fight*

Whilst such complex examples are occasionally found, many of them reflect the advanced grammars of individuals rather than a shared social grammar of the language.

4.4.2.5 Multiple verb sentences

A common sentence construction in Tok Pisin is one in which two or more verbs occur in succession. This phenomenon is referred to as verbal chaining, verbal concatenation or verbal serialisation. The same phenomenon is documented

for a number of other pidgins and creoles as well as many languages with no obvious pidgin history.

A useful distinction is that between verb serialisation proper and other types of verbal chaining (cf. Woolford 1979a:91). In the former case we are dealing with two verbs and an intermediate noun such that the noun is the object of the first and the subject of the second verb, as in:

    em i katim diwai pundaun   *he cut the tree and it fell down*

In the latter case the subject of both the first and the second verb is identical, as in:

    em i stil lukluk long ol meri   *he hid and observed the bathing*
    i waswas   *women*

Such cases can be regarded as reduced conjoined sentences, as has been done by Wurm (1971a:65) and Dutton (1973:233).

Sentences containing more than one verb are crucial to the grammar of Tok Pisin. They provide yet another way to make up for the scarcity of lexical bases in the lexicon of this language. The remark made by Wickware in 1943 (p.116) is still very valid today: "It frequently requires two verbs in pidgin to do the job of one in English. Thus *pull it down* becomes pull im he come down and *stop the machine* is makeim die machine."

No full analysis of verbal chaining in Tok Pisin has been made, partly because it is a fairly recent phenomenon and further data collecting is called for. The classification presented here is strictly preliminary to a scientific analysis of the phenomenon.

VC program 1: N_1 i mekim N_2 i V = N_1 causes N_2 to do V

The causative construction would seem to deserve special mention. It is widely found even among older speakers. Its linguistic status is discussed by Edmondson and Mühlhäusler (forthcoming). Examples include:

    yu mekim indai lait   *extinguish the light!*

    wok i mekim les skin bilong mi   *the work tires my body*

If the intermediate noun is pronominalised it appears in a position between the two verbs of the chain as in:

    wok i mekim mi i les   *the work tires me*

VC program 2: causatives with verbs other than mekim

We are dealing here with a more recent development, with the exception of verbs followed by the direction markers i kam 'direction towards speaker' and i go 'direction away from speaker'. Examples are:

    kaunsil i toksave long ol man   *the councillor informed the men*

    brata bilongen i kilim indai   *he killed his brother*
    brata bilongen

    ol i brukim pundaun dispela bet   *they broke the shelf and it fell*
                                   down

    yu kikim raus dispela dok   *kick out the dog!*

    yu tanim i go long pes gia   *put it into first gear*

yu bringim hatwara i kam	*bring the soup*
kisim baket pipia i go	*take away the dustbin*

Whereas verb serialisation is limited to two verbs, the looser types of verbal chains often contain three or more verbs, as in:

dispela wara i kalap i kam i go	*this water went to and fro*
dispela pik i ran i kam ran i go stret	*this pig went to and fro*
mipela i laik kisim pilai i go putim mun long dispela diwai	*we wanted to get the moon, play with it and put it near this tree*

The following subclasses can be distinguished:

VC program 3: $(V_{1int} + V_{2int})\ V_{int} \rightarrow V_{1int}\ na\ V_{2int}$
  to carry out an action v_1/v_2 *whilst being in a state* v_2/v_1

   This type of verbal chaining involves a relatively small number of intransitive verb bases including stil *to be hidden*, tok *to speak*, wok *to be busy*, as well as those denoting location or movement which are followed by both basic and derived intransitive verbals. The intransitive verb bases stil, tok, etc. act either as a kind of classifier of verbal actions or correspond to adverbials in English. This construction is extremely productive, and changes in semantic information are rare. Notes on this type of verb serialisation can be found in Wurm 1971a:65-66 and Dutton 1973:233. Examples include:

stil lukluk[1]	*to peep, look without being noticed*
stil puspus	*to have illicit sexual intercourse*
stil pait	*to attack without being seen*
lap indai	*to die of laughter*
spak indai	*to be dead drunk*
slip indai	*to sleep like a log*
tok sori	*to talk sadly, express sympathy*
tok singsing	*to recite in a singing voice*
tok kros	*to express one's anger in words*
toktok resis	*to dispute, have an argument*
wok bung	*to be cooperative*
wok raun	*to be an itinerant worker*
go popaia	*to miss the target*
ron spit	*to run speedily*

mipela i ronewe i daun	*we ran away in a downward direction*
soldia i sambai redi	*the soldier stood to attention*

VC program 4: $(V_{1int} + V_{2\{^{tr}_{caus}\}})\ V_{tr} \rightarrow V_{1int}\ na\ V_{2\{^{tr}_{caus}\}}\ wantaim$
  to carry out two actions (simultaneously)

   This program differs from the previous one in that the second verbal in the chain is transitive or causative; the interpretation of the verb series is 'doing s.th. whilst being engaged in V_{2tr}', as in:

tok hapim	*to abbreviate, cut a speech short*
tok hamarim	*to attack with words*
tok nogutim	*to insult verbally*

hariap givim	*to give speedily*
giaman wokim	*to pretend to make*
giaman paitim	*to pretend to hit*
stil harim	*to eavesdrop*
stil lukim	*to spy on*

Examples are:

dipatmen i no hariap givim pe long ol	*the department doesn't hurry to pay them*
em i sindaun wok long sapim ston	*he sat down and sharpened a stone*

In a number of cases the second verb is most readily translated as a preposition in English, as in:

Tok Pisin	literal meaning	gloss
pisin i plai raunim diwai	*the bird flew went around the tree*	*the bird flew around the tree*
Bougainville i laik bruk lusim Papua New Guinea	*Bougainville is about to break leave Papua New Guinea*	*Bougainville is about to secede from Papua New Guinea*
em i winim ol arapela man long wokabaut brukim bus	*he surpasses the other men at walking breaking the bush*	*he surpasses the other men at walking through the bush*

VC program 5: $(V_{1tr} + V_{2tr})\ V_{tr} \to V_{1tr}$ na V_{2tr} sampela man/samting (wantaim) to V_{1tr} *and* V_{2tr} *s.o. or s.th. (simultaneously)*

This program applies in those instances where the subject and the object of both transitive verbals are identical. Most of these verbal chains are phrase-level lexical items,[2] though some word-level items including luksave *to see and know = to recognise*,[2] smelsave *to smell and know = to recognise by smell* and bilipsave *to believe and know = to know by belief*, were found. Other examples include:

lainim soim	*to explain by demonstration*
holim pasim	*to hold and obstruct, arrest*
kotim pasim	*to arrest by court order*
holim kalabusim	*to arrest and imprison*
tokim bekim	*to reply to*
harim save	*to recognise from hearing*
smelim save	*to recognise from smelling*
senisim givim	*to trade, barter with*

Again, some of the verbal chains correspond to verb and preposition constructions in English. An example is the expression of the benefactive preposition *with* by means of the verb givim[3] *to give*, as in:

yu yet i mas helpim givim mani long ol katekis long ronim wok bilong ol lotu	*you must support the catechists with money to enable them to do the work of the churches*

A group of chained verbs, which in earlier accounts of Tok Pisin has not been recognised as such but has been treated as either simple lexical bases or verbal compounds of the type (V + adv) V, is that which includes holim apim[4] *to*

hold up, haisim apim *to hoist*, bringim apim *to bring up*, *invent*, painim autim *to find out*, *reveal*, skelim autim *to deal out*, digim autim *to dig up* and similar ones. This group contrasts with superficially similar but structurally different verbals such as bagarapim *to bugger up*, *ruin*, hariapim *to speed up*, and poinimautim *to point out*.

Instances of genuine verbal chaining can be identified by the fact that the second verb in the chain can be repeated after the object in its intransitive base form, as in:

liptim apim bokis i ap	*lift the box*
holim apim pepa i ap	*hold up the poster*
husat i telim autim tok i aut?	*who spilled the secret?*
ol i skelim autim kas i aut	*they dealt the cards*

The ungrammaticality of the examples containing lexical items of the second group confirms that one is dealing with simple lexical items and not with verbal chaining. Compare:

*em i poinimautim asua i aut	*he pointed out the mistake*
*em i pilimapim meri i ap	*he fondled the girl*
*em i karamapim bodi i ap	*they covered the body*
*ol i goapim diwai i ap	*they climbed the tree*

It is hoped that more work on verb serialisation in Tok Pisin will be done soon, for this phenomenon not only provides a challenging area for the descriptive linguist but is also valuable for the practical purpose of language planning. Verb serialisation must be regarded as one of the main mechanisms by which a small lexicon, particularly a small list of verb stems, can be made to go a long way.

4.4.2.6 Variations in the structure of basic sentences

4.4.2.6.1 Introduction

The discussion of basic sentences has so far been concerned with optional additions to minimal structures. In the following section we shall be concerned mainly with the rearrangement of the elements featured in basic sentences. However, no strict division between rearrangement and addition can be made in practice, since syntactic operations often make use of both mechanisms for certain semantic or stylistic purposes.

4.4.2.6.2 Relationship between attributive and predicative adjectives

Tok Pisin, like many other pidgins, possesses only a very small number of attributive adjectives. Most of them can be shifted to a predicative position without change in meaning, as in:

mi lukim bikpela man	*I saw a fat man*

becoming

mi lukim man i bikpela	*I saw a fat man*

When a noun is preceded by more than one adjective it is customary to shift one to the predicative position. Thus:

      ol i lukim longpela grinpela   *they saw a long green python*
      moran
can become
      ol i lukim grinpela moran i longpela
   or ol i lukim longpela moran i grin

Alternatively, the use of more than one prenominal adjective at a time is avoided
by repeating the noun, as in:

      em i lukim wanpela gutpela meri,   *he saw a good, young and beautiful*
      yangpela meri, naispela meri,   *girl with very brown skin*
      skin bilongen ret mo

      Another factor favouring the shift of adjectives to a predicative position
is when they are modified by an adverb. Thus:

      mi lukim gutpela tru meri   *I saw a nice woman*
is less common than
      mi lukim meri i gutpela tru
   or mi lukim gutpela meri tru

Consider also the following cases involving two attributive adjectives plus an
adverbial modifier:

      *mi laikim gutpela strongpela tru bia
      *mi laikim gutpela strongpela bia tru
      mi laikim gutpela bia i strongpela tru
      I like good really strong beer.

4.4.2.6.3 Periphrastic forms involving nominalisation of adjectives or verbs

      A common operation in Tok Pisin syntax is one in which adjectives and verbs
are replaced by periphrastic constructions consisting of an auxiliary verb and
an abstract noun derived from the original adjective/verb. This process is
governed by the following conventions:

(a) Transitive verb bases which can occur without the transitivity marker -im
(subclass 3 above) yield abstract nouns not ending in -im. Transitivity is
expressed by means of the preposition long. Compare:

      mi tok *I am talking*   mi mekim tok *I am talking*
      mi tokim yu }
      mi tok long yu } *I am telling you* = mi mekim tok long yu

(b) Transitive verb bases which never occur without the transitivity marker -im
(subclass 1) retain the -im in the derived abstract noun. If transitivity is to
be expressed in the periphrastic form, long has to be used. Compare:

      mi laik askim   *I want to ask*
      mi laik mekim askim   *I want to ask*
      mi laik askim yupela   *I want to ask you* (pl.)
      mi laik mekim askim long yupela   *I want to ask you*

Using a tree diagram the structural change can be symbolised as follows:

```
          S                              S
        /   \                          /    \
      NP     VP                      NP      VP
       |    /   \       ⟹            |      /   \
     Pron  V    asp                Pron   aux    NP
       ┊   ┊     ┊                  ┊      ┊      |
       ┊   ┊     ┊                  ┊      ┊      N
      mi  amamas  ∅                 ┊      ┊      ┊
                                    ┊      ┊      ┊
       I   delighted                mi    gat   amamas

                                     I     got   delight
```
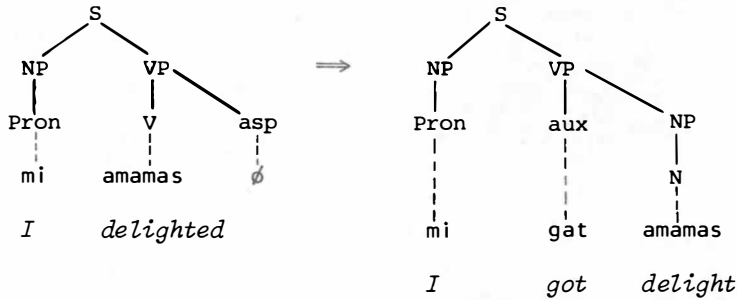
In this process the verb or adjective bases plus aspect marker become abstract
nouns plus auxiliary. The auxiliaries available are mekim, gat, and painim.
The choice of the auxiliary can be predicted in terms of the aspect marker
associated with the verb or adjective bases.

The following correspondences can be established:

aspect marker used with adjective or verb base	auxiliary selected in syntactic derivation	function
wok long + adj/V	mekim + N	performative
laik + adj/V	painim + N	inchoative
∅ + adj/V	gat + N	neutral

Consider the following examples:

(a) mekim *to make*

em i wok long hambak	em i mekim hambak	*he is humbugging*
ol i wok long toktok	ol i mekim toktok	*they are talking*
ol i wok long kivung	ol i mekim kivung	*they are gathering*
em i promis	em i mekim promis	*he promised*

(b) painim *to experience*

Painim is used when inchoative aspect is used in the basic construction. Most
commonly it is found with expressions referring to a state of health, as in the
following examples:

em i laik sik	em i painim sik	*he is becoming ill*
yu laik bagarap	yu painim bagarap	*you are getting hurt*
man i laik indai	man painim indai	*the man is about to die*

(c) gat *to get, become*

Gat is the most neutral of these auxiliaries. Abstract nouns appearing as surface
structure objects of gat are commonly derived from adjectives which are unmarked
for aspect, as in:

mi kros	mi gat kros	*I am angry*
mi les	mi gat les	*I am tired*
klos i doti	klos i gat doti	*the garment is dirty*

(d) Notes on other auxiliaries

The verbs givim *to give* and kisim *to receive* are found in periphrastic construc-
tions derived from basic constructions involving benefactive verbs. Examples of
these constructions are:

```
mi tenkyu long yu      mi givim tenkyu long yu    I thanked you
mi stiaim yu           mi givim stia long yu      I give guidance to you
mi blesim yu           mi givim blesim long yu    I blessed you
mi helpim yu           mi givim helpim long yu    I helped you
```

If the focus is on the recipient rather than on the benefactor kisim is used, as in:

em i kisim stia long mi   *he received guidance from me*

em i kisim blesim long Pater   *he received a blessing from the priest*

If the benefactor is identical with the recipient kisim is used, as in:

mi kisim waswas   *I wash myself*

Periphrastic constructions can be regarded as stylistic variants in some cases and as determined by certain structural properties of sentences in others. Generally speaking, the periphrastic forms are preferred if the predicative adjectives or verbs are to be modified by adverbial complements, as in the following:

(a) olgeta manmeri i amamas
    olgeta manmeri i gat amamas   *the people are happy*
    olgeta manmeri i gat bikpela amamas
    *olgeta manmeri i amamas bik   *the people are very happy*

(b) ol i kivung
    ol i mekim kivung   *they came together*
    ol i mekim draipela kivung
    *ol i kivung drai   *they came together in large numbers*

(c) em bai i sori
    em bai i gat sori   *he will be sorry*
    em bai i gat bikpela sori
    *em bai i sori bik   *he will be very sorry*

4.4.2.6.4 Focalising by extraposition

For the purpose of stressing certain constituents of a sentence a number of mechanisms can be used, the addition of emphasis markers such as em and ya being the most common one. Extra emphasis can be placed on the objects of transitive sentences by shifting them to sentence-initial position, as in the following examples:

tok yu harim?   *can you hear what I have to say?*

save na longlong nambisman i   *as regards intelligence and stupidity,*
gat na hailans i gat   *they are found both among coastal people and Highlanders*

wanpela samting mi kros bai   *will you print something that makes*
yupela i nap prinim?   *me really angry?*

wanem samting yu laikim?   *what do you want?*

skin bilongen bai yumi sori   *we shall be sorry for him*
longen

4.4.2.6.5 Questions

Some remarks on questions have already been made in the sections on the verbal paradigm and interrogative adverbs.

Yes/no questions are different from statements only with regard to their intonation. Wh-questions are marked by the use of interrogative pronouns or interrogative adverbs; the preferred word order is that of statements:

Husat i wantok bilong yu?	*Who is your mate?*
Yu laikim wanem samting?	*What do you want?*

Interrogative pronouns and adverbs can be shifted to sentence-initial position for emphasis. If interrogative adverbials appear in this position they are joined to the rest of the sentence by means of na.

Wanem samting yu laikim?	*What do you want?*
Olsem wanem na ol man i hambak nabaut?	*How come the men are playing up?*

The introducers of impatient questions - watpo? *why the hell?* and westap? *where the hell?* - appear sentence initially only.

Westap pikinini bilong mi?	*Where the hell is my child?*

4.4.2.6.6 Reflexive pronominalisation

Reflexivisation is required in those cases where the subject and object of simple sentences are coreferential. If this condition is met, the object noun is replaced by a reflexive pronoun. For example:

Man ya i paitim man ya   *This man hit himself*

becomes

Man ya i paitim em yet

*Yu laikim yu   *You're fond of yourself*

becomes

Yu laikim yu yet

Among fluent younger speakers of Tok Pisin the use of the simple transitive verbs to signal reflexivity is becoming common. Examples are:

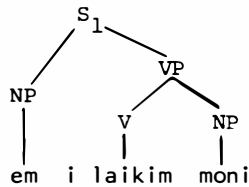|	
kapul i hangamapim long tel bilong em yet	*the tree kangaroo hangs itself up by means of its own tail*
man ya i wasim	*the man washed himself*

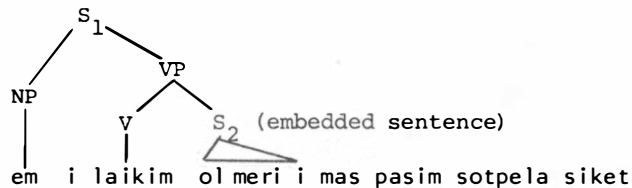### 4.4.3 MULTIPLE-BASED SENTENCES

4.4.3.1 Introduction

In this section I shall discuss sentences which can be described as the combination of two or more simple sentences. Though multiple conjoining and embedding is found in Tok Pisin, its occurrence is rare and the discussion will therefore centre around double-based sentences, i.e. those containing two sentences.

A major distinction can be made between conjoined and embedded sentences, the main difference being that, in embedding, one sentence becomes part of another, i.e. it functions as a constituent of another sentence, whereas with conjoining both sentences retain their independence. Let me illustrate this with some examples:
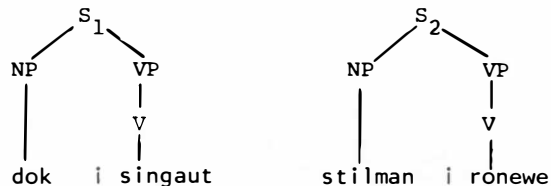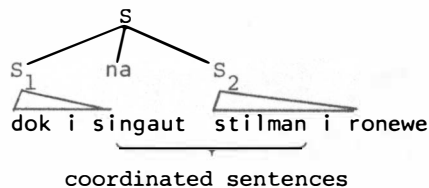
(a)

```
              S₁
           /     \
          /       VP
        NP       /  \
         |      V    NP
         |      |     |
        em  i laikim  moni
```

(b)

```
              S₁
           /     \
          /       VP
        NP       /    \
         |      V    S₂  (embedded sentence)
         |      |    △
        em  i laikim  ol meri i mas pasim sotpela siket
```

(c)

```
        S₁                      S₂
      /    \                  /    \
    NP      VP             NP      VP
     |       |             |        |
     |       V             |        V
     |       |             |        |
    dok  i singaut       stilman  i ronewe
```

(d)

```
              S
          /   |   \
        S₁    na    S₂
       /__\        /___\
      dok i singaut  stilman i ronewe
                └────┬────┘
```

coordinated sentences

It can be seen easily that, when comparing (a) with (b), the sentence ol meri i mas pasim sotpela siket *the girls must wear mini skirts* in (b) has taken the place of the object noun moni *money* in (a). The sentences in (d) on the other hand each maintain their independent status.

4.4.3.2 Conjoining

Tok Pisin sentences are conjoined by means of the coordinating conjunctions na *and*, o *or* and tasol *but*. In some varieties of Tok Pisin, particularly among older speakers, there is only a single coordinating conjunction nau *and, or*.

4.4.3.2.1 na *and*

The most elementary case is that of two sentences in sequence being joined by na without any structural change:

> Tupela kar i bam na wanpela   *Two cars collided and one woman*
> meri i kisim bagarap.   *was seriously hurt.*

However, under certain conditions structural changes may occur. First, we find pronominalisation if there is coreferentiality between either the subjects or the objects of the conjoined sentences:

> Man i kam na man i sindaun.

becomes

> Man i kam na em i sindaun.   *The man came and he sat down.*

> Lapun i lukim pik na lapun i
> kisim bunara bilongen.

becomes

> Lapun i lukim pik na em i kisim   *The old man saw the pig and he got*
> bunara bilongen.   *his bow and arrows.*

> Papa i krosim pikinini na mama
> i paitim pikinini.

becomes

> Papa i krosim pikinini na mama   *The father is angry with the child*
> i paitim em.   *and the mother hits him.*

> Ol man i baim buai na ol man i
> kaikai buai.

becomes

> Ol man i baim buai na ol i   *The men bought betelnuts and*
> kaikai em.   *chewed them.*

Apart from pronominalisation, coreferentiality can trigger off a number of structural reduction processes, resulting in structures resembling simple sentences:

(a) Identity of subjects

A conjoined sentence can be reduced to a number of shorter ones:

> man i kam na i sindaun   *the man came and the man sat down*
> man i kam na sindaun   *the man came and sat down*
> man i kam sindaun   *the man came (and) sat down*

A comprehensive account of the subtle semantic differences which typically result from such reduction can be found in Wurm 1971a:65-66.

(b) Identity of predicate

If the predicates of two sentences are identical, a simple sentence containing a conjoined subject results:

> Ol Ostrelia i gat mani na ol
> Amerika i gat mani.

becomes

> Ol Ostrelia na ol Amerika i   *The Australians and Americans have*
> gat mani.   *money.*

Ol snek i save kaikai man na
ol dok i save kaikai man.

becomes

Ol snek na ol dok i save   *Snakes and dogs bite people.*
kaikai man.

Identity of predicates can also result in another structure containing the adverb tu *too* either sentence finally or after the subject:

Mi hangri na meri bilong mi i
hangri.

becomes

Mi hangri na meri bilong mi tu.
or Mi na meri bilong mi tu   *I and my wife are hungry.*
(mitupela) i hangri.

Pikinini i lukim snek na brata
bilongen i lukim snek.

becomes

Pikinini i lukim snek na brata
bilongen tu.
or Pikinini na brata bilongen tu   *The child and his/her brother/sister*
i lukim snek.   *saw the snake.*

(c) Identity of object

Identity of object alone does not normally result in contraction in Tok Pisin. Compare the following sentence and its English translation:

Man i paitim birua na poroman   *The man punched and his companion*
bilongen i taimapim.   *tied up the victim.*

(d) Identity of both verb and subject

In this case neither the verb nor the nominal subject has to be repeated in the surface structure. Thus:

Em i kisim ti. Em i kisim   *He bought tea. He bought rice.*
rais. Em i kisim suga samting.   *He bought sugar and other things.*

can be contracted to yield:

Em i kisim ti, rais, suga   *He bought tea, rice, sugar and*
samting.   *other things.*

(e) Identity of the object of the first and subject of the second sentence

The possibility of contraction in this case is an indication that for some speakers at least, Tok Pisin is an ergative or semi-ergative language (cf. also Heringer 1966). An example is:

Ol man i katim diwai na diwai
i pundaun.

can become

Ol man i katim diwai na i   *The man cut the tree and it fell*
pundaun.   *down.*
or Ol man i katim diwai i pundaun.

Further examples are discussed in the section on verb serialisation.

4.4.3.2.2 o *or*

The rules for pronominalisation and contraction for sentences conjoined by o *or* do not differ from those conjoined by na *and*.

Occasionally, for the sake of emphasis, speakers choose not to contract, as in:

Meri i blakskin o meri i wait-skin mi no kea.	*I don't care whether the girl is black or white.*
Em i kam o em i go, mi no ken save.	*I do not know whether he is coming or going.*

4.4.3.2.3 tasol *but*

The third conjunction used for conjoining sentences is tasol *but*. For example:

Sampela boi i gat haimak tasol tisa i no amamas.	*Some boys had high marks but the teacher was not pleased.*

The conventions for the deletion of parts of the second sentence are the same as for na and o, though obviously there can be no cases in which the sentence introduced by tasol is identical with its predecessor. Some examples of contraction are:

> Sampela boi i gat haimak tasol
> sampela boi i no go long
> haiskul.

becomes

> Sampela boi i gat haimak tasol
> ol i no go long haiskul.

or Sampela boi i gat haimak tasol i no go long haiskul.	*Some boys have high marks but don't go to highschool.*

A way of reinforcing the negative content of tasol is to add weya *no way* immediately after it:

Mi laik go long Sidni tasol weya balus i pulap pinis.	*I wanted to go to Sydney, but the plane was completely booked out.*

4.4.3.2.4 nogat: conjoining opposites

If the second sentence of a conjoined pair is the negation of the first, it can be compressed by using nogat *it is not the case*. Examples are:

> Brata bilong mi i save go long
> lotu na mi no save go long lotu.

can become

Brata bilong mi i save go long lotu na mi nogat.	*My sibling (of the same sex) goes to church but I don't.*

> Yu laik kam o yu no laik kam?

can become

|	
Yu laik kam o nogat?	*Do you want to come or don't you?*

I gat ren o i no gat ren, yu
mas kam.
can become
    I gat ren o nogat, yu mas kam.   *Whether there is rain or not, you
have to come.*

4.4.3.3 Embedding (subordination)

4.4.3.3.1 Introduction

'Embedding' refers to those cases where one sentence functions as the con-
stituent of another. The subordinate status of a sentence is quite obvious when
it functions as the subject or object (complements) of another sentence. For
example:
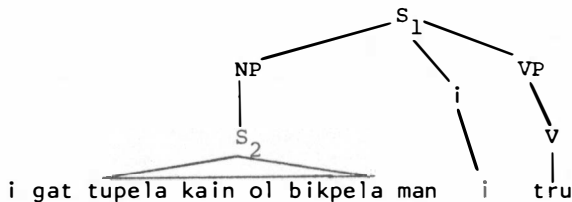
which becomes I tru i gat tupela kain ol bikpela man *It is true that there are
two kinds of leaders*. Here S_2 functions as the subject of S_1. In the following
example S_2 functions as the object of S_1:

I want you to give me money.
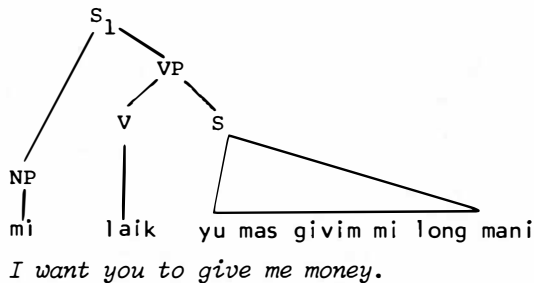
Other subordinate sentences are relative sentences which function in a sim-
ilar way to restrictive nominal modifiers, such as attributive adjectives.

In addition to complement and relative sentences there are a number of other
embedded types, such as adverbial sentences of time and location and those speci-
fying reason or intent.

Embedding, in particular multiple embedding, is still not very common in
Tok Pisin. However, among younger speakers, a number of subordinating construc-
tions replacing traditional juxtaposition have developed in recent years.

As can be expected, there is still considerable variation, as different
speakers adopt different solutions to individual problems.

4.4.3.3.2 Adverbial sentences of time, location and manner

The subordinate sentence in these cases occupies the position of time, place or manner adverbials in simple sentences. Compare the simple sentence:
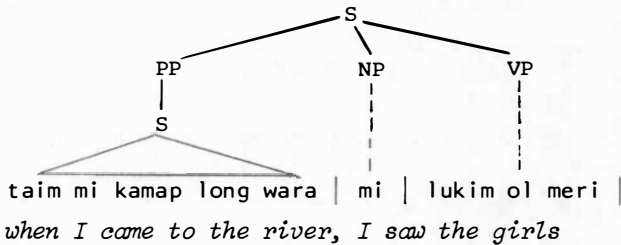
```
                          S
         PP              NP        pr         VP
           time
        long nait | ol yangpela man | i | go painim ol yangpela meri |
```

at night the young men visit the young girls
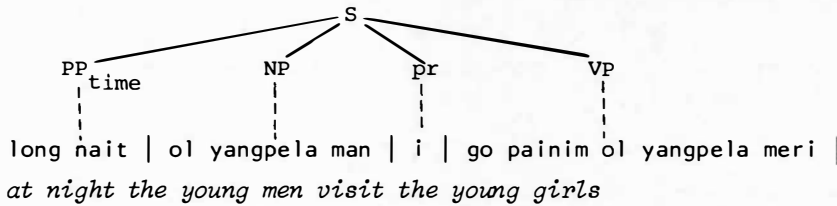
with the following complex one:

```
                     S
          PP         NP          VP
          |
          S
        taim mi kamap long wara | mi | lukim ol meri |
```

when I came to the river, I saw the girls

4.4.3.3.2.1 Adverbial sentences of time

(a) When

Embedded sentences introduced by taim express the idea of *when* in Tok Pisin. There has been a fair amount of opposition to the use of this subordinating conjunction in purist circles (Sadler 1973b:98), denouncing it as an anglicism. However, this construction is found frequently in Rural Tok Pisin and its use is documented at a fairly early stage (Hall 1943a:39).

The embedding of the taim sentence can be thought of as taking place via the following steps:

a) two independent sentences:

Mi stap long Rabaul. Long dispela taim mi kisim bagarap.
I was in Rabaul. At that time I got seriously injured.

b) embedding of the first sentence and deletion of dispela:

Long taim mi stap long Rabaul mi kisim bagarap.

c) deletion of long:

Taim mi stap long Rabaul mi kisim bagarap.
When I was in Rabaul I got seriously injured.

Here follow some other examples of the use of taim as a subordinating conjunction:

Taim woa i pinis misin i kisim planti lori bilong ami.	*When the war was over the missions got many lorries from the army.*
Taim mi raun long taun mi save lukim planti man i no gat wok.	*When I wander around in the town I see plenty of men who have no work.*

Taim pikinini meri i redi long   *Once your daughter is nubile,*
marit yu no ken pasim em.   *you can't constrain her.*

(b) Whenever

The conjunction used here is oltaim, as in:

Oltaim ol kaunsil i go kivung   *Whenever the councillors meet*
ol i save toktok nabaut tasol.   *they just waffle.*

(c) Until

Inap or inap long taim introduce subordinated sentences expressing the
temporal extent of an action, as in:

Mi kaikai inap (long taim) mi   *I ate until I was full to*
pulap nogut tru.   *bursting.*

Ol papamama i save pasim ol   *The parents keep a close watch on*
pikinini meri bilong ol inap   *their daughters until their breasts*
susu i pundaun.   *begin to sag.*

In more traditional varieties of Tok Pisin juxtaposition or conjoining is
used to translate *until* sentences:

Yu larim i stap liklik na i hat   *You leave it until it is hot.*
nau.

(d) Before

A subordinating conjunction corresponding to English *before* does not exist
in Rural Tok Pisin, though bipo is used for this purpose in Urban Tok Pisin:

Ol man i mas tingting gut long   *Men must think hard about the church*
lotu bipo ol i brukim marit.   *before they commit adultery.*

Normally the idea of one action taking place prior to another is expressed
by conjoined sentences, the first of which contains the time adverb pastaim:

Yu no laik tingting pastaim na   *You don't want to think before*
rait.   *you write.*

Yu mas kisim save pastaim na yu   *You have to learn before you*
ken mekim dispela wok.   *can do this job.*

Ol man i mas wasim han pastaim   *The men have to wash their hands*
na ol i ken kaikai.   *before they can eat.*

(e) After

To express that one action is taking place after another, bihain long taim
is used to introduce the subordinate sentence:

Bihain long taim mipela kisim   *We will have to work together*
independens, mipela mas wok   *after we have got independence.*
bung wantaim.

4.4.3.3.2.2 Adverbial sentences of place

Tok Pisin does not possess a subordinating conjunction corresponding to
English *where* in constructions such as *he went where I went before*. Instead:

Place Clauses are expressed in the same way as relative clauses, with long, long hap, or long ples immediately preceding the relative clause (see also Prepositions and Prepositional Phrases); e.g. yu kam long mi i stap longen = *come to me* (i.e. *to where I am standing*); yu kam long ples mi stap longen = *come to where I am living* (i.e. *to the village where I am staying*); kam long hap mi stap longen = *come to the place where I am standing or staying*.

The Pidgin equivalents of *wherever* are long wonem hap or (if a village is involved) long wonem ples, and the relative clause beginning with these usually comes first in the sentence; i.e. long wonem hap masta i go yu mas behainim em = *you must follow the European wherever he goes* (i.e. *wherever the European goes, you must follow him*); long wonem ples kanaka i stap ol i save singsing = *wherever there are village natives, they habitually have feasts.*
(Wurm 1971a:71)

4.4.3.3.2.3 Adverbial sentences of manner

The concept indicated in English by *as* is expressed by olsem in Tok Pisin:

Ol i wokim dispela haus tambaran olsem ol tumbuna i bin wokim.	*They built this spirit house as the ancestors used to do.*

There are some special conventions for embedded negative manner sentences which are discussed by Wurm (1971a:73).

4.4.3.3.3 Conditional, causal, consecutive and similar sentences

A valuable discussion of some of the major types of these sentences can be found in Wurm 1971a:73-76. In the following discussion some of Wurm's findings will be recapitulated, but the bulk of the argument will be concerned with constructions which he does not mention and which appear to have emerged only recently in certain varieties of Tok Pisin.

4.4.3.3.3.1 Conditional sentences

Conditional sentences usually precede the sentence in which they are embedded, the latter often being additionally marked by orait or em nau. The subordinating conjunction is sapos *if*; it can be omitted if the function of the conditional sentence is clear from the context. The variants of Tok Pisin equivalents of English *if you've got money you can come* then would be:

sapos yu gat mani orait yu ken i kam
sapos yu gat mani em nau yu ken i kam
sapos yu gat mani yu ken i kam
yu gat mani orait yu ken i kam
yu gat mani em nau yu ken i kam
yu gat mani yu ken i kam
yu ken i kam sapos yu gat mani

Here are some more examples from my own corpus:

Meri em i dai em nau man i ken marit bek.	*If the wife dies the husband can marry again.*
Sapos meri i laik orait em nau yu ken kisim em.	*If the girl agrees you can have her.*
Mipela i laik kamap olsem ol masta orait mipela i mas mari-mari long ol meri bilong mipela.	*If we want to become like Europeans we have to treat our wives well.*
Em yet i save sapos em i nap long marit.	*She will know if she is ready to get married.*
Sapos het bilong yu i olsem kokonas i pulap long wara, orait yu ken tok nabaut.	*If your head is like a coconut which is full of water, then you can waffle.*

The last sentence could also be interpreted as an irrealis meaning *if your head was like a coconut it would be alright for you to waffle.* However, for most varieties of Tok Pisin the distinction between real and unreal conditions in conditional sentences is not formally marked. Consider the following examples of unreal conditional sentences:

Sapos long taim bilong David i gat gita o kundu nating em i lotu long dispela musik tu.	*If there had been drums and guitars in David's time, he would have worshipped with this music.*
Sapos ol waitman i no kam long Nugini mipela i nap i stap rabisman tasol.	*If the whites had not come to New Guinea we would have remained uneducated and poor.*

For some varieties of Tok Pisin irrealis can be formally expressed by the use of pinis at the end of the sapos sentence (cf. Wurm 1971a:74):

Sapos em i kam pinis bai mi givim em wanpela akis.	*If he came, I would give him an axe.*

4.4.3.3.3.2 Causal sentences

The concept expressed in English by *because* + sentence is rendered in Tok Pisin by (bi)long wanem + sentence or bikos + sentence, the latter form, though documented as early as the 1940s, being restricted generally to Urban Tok Pisin. The use of (bi)long wanem and bikos can be illustrated with the following examples:

Mi askim yu bikos yu tok ol sikman i save dai taim mi givim ol long marasin.	*I am asking you because you claim that my patients die when I give them medicine.*
Yu no ken rabisim ol tisa bilong wanem ol i halpim ples bilong yumi Niugini.	*You can't 'rubbish' the teachers because they help our country, New Guinea.*
Tupela i hatwok tru long wok-abaut long wanem tupela i no nap baiim trak.	*The two have a hard time walking because they are not able to pay the truck fare.*

Apart from the use of subordination, a causal relationship is also commonly expressed by conjoining two sentences, as in:

Mi no gat mani orait mi no kam asde.	*I had no money and therefore I did not come yesterday.*

4.4.3.3.3.3 Concession sentences

Subordinated concession sentences in Tok Pisin are introduced by maski *although*. The embedded sentence generally comes first, as in:

Maski ol tisa i laik go bek long wok ol i mas baim bot; maski ol i stap long Katolik skul ol i mas baim.	*Although the teachers are about to go back to their job, they have to pay for the boat; although they are associated with a Catholic school they have to pay.*
Maski ol i taitim lek ol i no nap long kisim pik.	*Although they were running fast, they could not reach the pig.*

4.4.3.3.3.4 Purpose and result sentences

Embedded purpose sentences usually follow the matrix sentence and are introduced by the subordinating conjunctions bai, long or bilong *so that, in order to*:

Ol i laik rausim ol Katolik misin long ol i no ken jusim balus.	*They would like to exclude the Catholic missionaries from using their planes.*
Ol i mas mekim bisnis long mekim wok bilong ol i gohet.	*They must engage in business activities so that their work can progress.*
Ol i makim mi long komiti bilong dispela hap bai mi lukautim ol.	*They appointed me committee member for this place so that I can look after them.*

As is the case with other instances of subordinated sentences, many speakers prefer to express these concepts by simple coordination; in such cases the context has to provide the clues to their interpretation, as for example in:

Diwai bai kisim wara olsem wanem na lip i stap gut na mekim plaua na karim kaikai?	*How does the tree get water, so that there can be good leaves, that it can have flowers and that it can bear fruit?*

A final way of indicating the purpose or result of an action is the use of olsem baimbai, as in:

Yumi mas rausim pasin nogut olsem baimbai kantri bilong yumi i ken gohet.	*We have to get rid of undesirable customs so that our country can progress.*

Useful additional remarks on the grammar of purpose and result sentences can be found in Wurm 1971a:75-76.
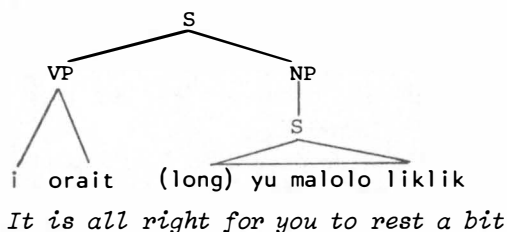
4.4.3.3.4 Complementation

4.4.3.3.4.1 Introduction

Very little has been said about complementation in Tok Pisin in the available grammatical descriptions. This may well reflect a genuine lack of such constructions until very recently, together with the absence of formal devices to indicate the subordinate status of complement sentences. Thus, as late as 1971 Wurm (1971a:76-77) writes: "Noun clauses have no distinguishing characteristics, and precede (as subject) or follow (as object) other clauses without a conjunction." However, in the data collected by myself between 1972 and 1978 formal signalling of complementation in both subject and object sentences is often found, the markers most commonly used being olsem, bilong and long, as well as others such as we. At the same time, unmarked complement sentences continue to be found. For a more detailed linguistic discussion see Woolford 1979b.

4.4.3.3.4.2 Subject sentences

In this type of complementation a sentence appears as the subject of another, as in:

```
                    S
              _____
            VP           NP
           / \           |
          /   \          S
         /     \     _____
        i  orait  (long) yu malolo liklik
```

It is all right for you to rest a bit

Subject complementation can be expressed in the following ways:

    a) By means of simple juxtaposition of sentences, as in:

        Yu kolim olgeta nes pamuk.   *You call all nurses whores.*
        Dispela i no stret.   *This is not correct.*

    b) The first sentence appears as the subject of the second sentence, as in:

        Yu kolim olgeta nes pamuk i   *To call all nurses whores is not*
        no stret.   *correct.*

    c) Insertion of the dummy subject i *it*[5] accompanied by a change in word order, as in:

        I no stret yu kolim olgeta   *It is not correct to call all*
        nes pamuk.   *nurses whores.*

    d) Insertion of the complementiser long before the embedded sentence, as in:

        I no stret long yu kolim   *It is not correct for you to call*
        olgeta nes pamuk.   *all nurses whores.*

e) If the subject of the embedded sentence is indefinite, as in:

I no stret long man i kolim olgeta nes pamuk.	*It is not correct for someone to call all nurses whores.*

the subject noun can be deleted:

I no stret long kolim olgeta nes pamuk.	*It is not correct to call all nurses whores.*

All possibilities from a)-e) can be found in present-day Tok Pisin. Here follow some examples of subject complements:

I tru i gat tupela kain ol bik-pela man.	*It is true that there are two kinds of leaders.*
Wanem samting yu tok em i tru tumas.	*What you are saying is very true.*
I no gut long paitim lekbruk o matakiau.	*It is bad to hit a cripple or a blind person.*
I rong long misin i wokim plantesin.	*It is wrong for the mission to run plantations.*
Sanapim dispela pos i hatwok tru.	*Erecting this post is really hard work.*
Em i isi long ol manki i ken baim strongpela dring.	*It is easy for little boys to buy strong drink.*

Another syntactic process occurring with complementation is that of subject and object raising, i.e. under certain conditions the subject or object of the embedded sentence can become the subject of the matrix sentence. To provide a full analysis of this phenomenon would be beyond the aims of this handbook. However, a brief illustration of raising will be given.

In the double-based sentence I no nap long ol pipel i harim Latin. *It is not possible for the people to understand Latin,* ol pipel i harim Latin acts as the subject of the matrix sentence. However, it is possible in Tok Pisin to re-arrange the components of the double-based sentence in such a way that either the subject or the object of the embedded sentence appears as its subject:

Ol pipel i no nap long harim Latin.
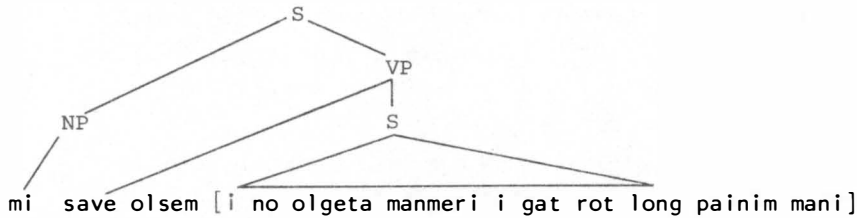Latin i no nap long ol pipel i harim.

Note also the transformational processes applied in the following extract from a conversation:

I nap long yu kam? Mi nap.	*Is it possible for you to come? Yes, I can.*

4.4.3.3.4.3 Object sentences

In this type of complementation the embedded sentence occupies the position of object in the matrix sentence, as in:

```
                          S
                    ╱ ╲
                   ╱    ╲  VP
                  ╱      ╲  │
               NP  ╲      S
              ╱  ╲  ╲   ╱  ╲
             ╱    ╲  ╲ ╱    ╲
    mi   save olsem [i no olgeta manmeri i gat rot long painim mani]
```

Complementisers[6] olsem *that*, long *that* and bilong *in order to, or* appear directly
after the verb phrase of the matrix sentence. Coordination by means of na *and*[7]
is an alternative used mainly by older speakers:

Ol papamama na ol hetman i mas   *The parents and elders must tell*
tok na ol i marit.   *them to get married.*

The following syntactic operations are found with complementation:

(a) Pronominalisation

    If either the subject or the object of the embedded sentence is coreferen-
tial with the subject of the matrix, sentence pronominalisation occurs:

Kaunsil i ting olsem em i gat   *The councillor thinks that he is*
bikpela paua.   *very powerful.*

Em i save olsem ol meri bai   *He knows that the girls will*
laikim em.   *like him.*

(b) Deletion of identical subjects

    After certain verbs in the matrix sentence, such as laikim or laik long,
the subject of the embedded sentence can be deleted if it is coreferential with
the subject of its matrix sentence. Compare:

mi laik (long) yu kam   *I want you to come*
mi laik (long) kam   *I want to come*

The last sentence is interpreted here as a shortened version of mi laik mi kam
or mi laik long mi kam which are also found in Tok Pisin.

    Here follow some examples illustrating the use of object sentences in Tok
Pisin. It must be stressed that many of the properties of these sentences are
not yet well understood. The conditions determining the choice of olsem versus
long as introducers are discussed by Woolford (1979b).

Ol kaunsil i ting olsem ol   *The councillors think that the*
misin i gat planti mani.   *missions have lots of money.*

Mi laik bai yupela putim hap   *I want you to put my story inside*
tok bilong mi insait long pepa   *your newspaper.*
bilong yupela.

Mi ting tok bilong yu i winim   *I think your talk is sweeter than*
tenpela bek suga.   *ten bags of sugar.*

Mi harim long wailis bilong mi   *I heard on my wireless that the*
gavman i bin tok olsem.   *government said so.*

Mi pilim olsem dispela pasin   *I feel that this custom of buying*
bilong baim meri i no stret.   *one's bride is not correct.*

Dispela i soim olsem yumi no onerim ol misin.	*This shows that we do not honour the missions.*

Having discussed the two main types of complementation I shall now consider two special cases.

4.4.3.3.4.4 Verbs of allowing and forbidding

If the matrix sentence contains verbs or predicates referring to the concepts of allowing, forbidding, possibility or ability, the auxiliary typically contains the modal verb mas, no mas, ken or no ken. For most speakers the embedded sentences cannot be reduced by deleting the modal verb.

(a) Subject sentences

When verbs such as i orait *it is alright*, i nap *it is possible*, mobeta and mogut *it would be better* and maski *never mind* are present in the matrix sentence (= main clause), the modal verbs ken or mas typically appear in the embedded subject sentence. The choice between ken and mas does not appear to be determined by grammatical or syntactic factors, though no ken appears to be preferred to no mas. For example:

Mobeta yupela i no mas rait o tok egens long misin.	*It would be better if you(pl.) didn't talk or write against the mission.*
I mogut yupela i no ken tok orait long dispela lo ya.	*It would be better if you didn't pass this law.*
I no nap man i ken go insait long haus na rausim samting.	*It is not possible for a man to just go inside a house and remove things.*
I gutpela mo long ol misin i no ken go insait long arapela hap i gat arapela misin longen.	*It would be good if one mission could not go to a region where another mission was operating.*
Em i orait long ol meri i ken putim sotpela dres.	*It is alright for the girls to wear short dresses.*
I no fri long ol misis i ken putim mini siket.	*The European women are not free to wear mini skirts.*
Maski long maritman i no ken go long nambis.	*It is not good for married men to go to the coastal areas (for work).*

(b) Object sentences

Object sentences containing ken, mas or their negations follow after transitive verbs of forbidding, such as tambuim *to taboo, forbid*, pasim *to obstruct, forbid* and stapim *to stop*. The following examples illustrate this construction:

Sapos yumi stopim ol misin long ol i no ken putim stua na bai olsem wanem?	*If we prevent the missions from putting up stores, what then?*
Long olgeta de dispela lapun meri i stapim tupela pikinini meri bilongen long no ken bihainim wara.	*Every day this old woman prevented her two daughters from following the river.*

|	
Ol plisman i givim oda long ol draiwa bilong kar long ol i no ken putim han long sait bilong dua.	*The police ordered all drivers not to put their arm outside the door.*
Ol i tok strong long em i mas tekewe laisens bilong salim ol strongpela dring.	*They insist that he take away the liquor licence.*
Ol pipel i orait long 60 man i mas kisim haphap bilong 393 eka.	*The people agreed that 60 men should receive lots of 393 acres.*
Yumi mas helpim ol long ol i ken stap hia.	*We must help them to stay here.*
Kantri bilong ol i gat tambu long ol yangpela meri i no ken pasim sotpela siket.	*Their country has a regulation which forbids young girls to wear short skirts.*

4.4.3.3.4.5 Indirect discourse and reported speech

A distinction can be made between direct reported speech, i.e. quotation of the exact words spoken, and indirect speech. For example:

a) Em i tok: mi bagarap pinis.   (direct speech)
   He said, "I am really tired."

b) Em i tok olsem em i bagarap pinis.   (indirect speech)
   He said that he was tired.

In the above cases the narrator of the event is not identical with the subject of the matrix sentence, though there is identity between the subjects of the matrix and the embedded sentence:

a)
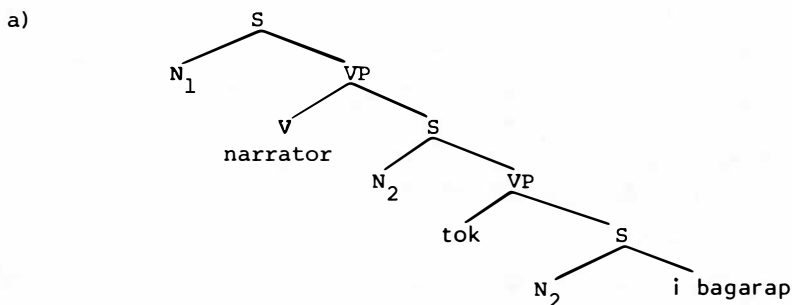
It is easy to see that we can get a number of other possible structures if there are different identity relations between the narrator, the agent of the matrix (tok) sentence and the agent of the embedded sentence:

b)

```
                        S
                 ┌──────┴───────┐
                N₁             VP
                 │       ┌──────┴──────┐
                mi       V             S
                      narrator   ┌─────┴─────┐
                                N₁          VP
                                 │     ┌─────┴─────┐
                                mi     V           S
                                      tok     ┌────┴────┐
                                             N₁         V
                                              │         │
                                             mi    laik kam
```
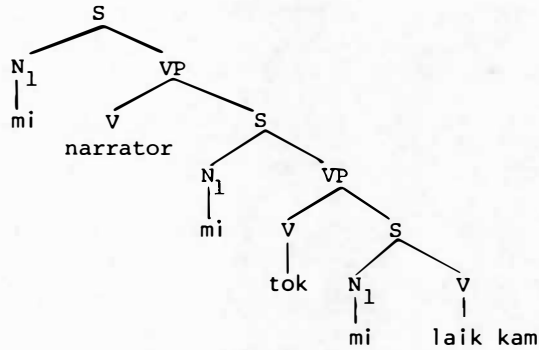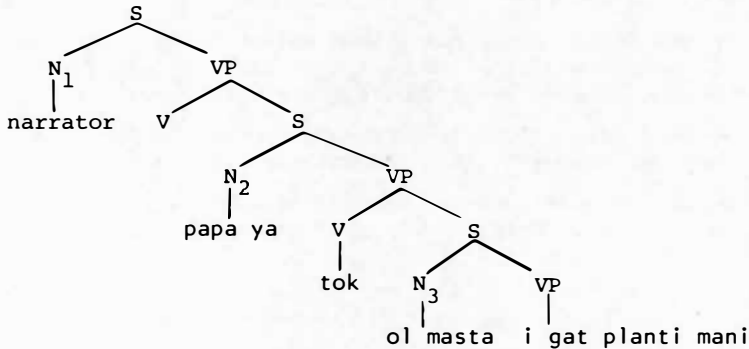
Case b) Mi tok mi laik kam *I said that I wanted to come*. In this case no changes
in the pronoun of the embedded sentence will occur whether it is indirect or
direct speech:

    mi tok: mi laik kam
    mi tok (olsem) mi laik kam

c)

```
                        S
                 ┌──────┴───────┐
                N₁             VP
                 │       ┌──────┴──────┐
              narrator   V             S
                               ┌───────┴───────┐
                              N₂              VP
                               │       ┌───────┴───────┐
                            papa ya     V              S
                                       tok      ┌───────┴───────┐
                                               N₃              VP
                                                │               │
                                             ol masta   i gat planti mani
```

In case c) all Ns are different. Again, there won't be changes in the subject
pronoun of the embedded sentence:

    Papa ya i tok: ol masta i gat planti mani.
    Papa ya i tok (olsem) ol masta i gat planti mani.
    This uncle said that the Europeans had lots of money.

The difference between direct and indirect speech is signalled in Tok Pisin
by a number of speech introducers or subordinating conjunctions, as well as by
the behaviour of the pronouns of the embedded sentences. Direction markers
occurring in indirect speech can also be affected (see Wurm 1971a:77).

Reported speech is usually introduced by i tok or i tok i spik:

Ol tumbuna ol i lukluk i tok: *The ancestors looked and said, "What*
wanem kain man i kamap?   *sort of man has arrived?"*

Orait, ol i tokim mipela: *Well, they said to us, "Listen, go*
Harim nau, yupela go antap   *on top and get the priest."*
kisim pater.

Em i kisim tanget, givim long bisop i lukim bisop i tok: orait bai mitupela go long bus.	*He got the message, gave it to the bishop, the bishop read it and said, "O.K. the two of us will go to the bush."*
Man ya i wet, wet, nogat, orait em i singaut i tok: Poroman, yu stap we?	*This man waited and waited and eventually shouted, "Where are you, mate?"*
Man i kalap na i tokim mipela i tok: Yupela i stap we?	*The man jumped and said to us, "Where are you?"*

Apart from i tok and tok i spik some other introducers of direct speech are found, such as spikim mi i spik and se.

Em i lukim gutpela wok bilong mi em i se: Orait, nau mi tok, taim yu i pinis yu kisim wanpela masin.	*He saw that my work was satisfactory and he said: "Well, I'll tell you that when you are finished you will get a (sewing) machine."*

Frequently direct reported speech is used without the help of any of the above introducers, as in:

Em i askim mi: Yu kam we?	*He asked me, "Where do you come from?"*

Indirect speech in Tok Pisin can either follow directly after verbs such as tok, or it can be introduced by olsem, long, or se, the last form typically following ting or tok. Examples of indirect discourse are:

|	
Em i tok se em i laik bilong ol meri yet long maritim waitskin.	*He said it was the girls' choice to marry a white man.*
Mi laik tokim ol wantok long ol i no ken kisim kwik selp gavman.	*I want to tell my friends that they cannot get self-government soon.*
Papamana i save tok olsem, pikinini i no save harim gut tok bilong ol.	*The parents say that their children do not obey them well.*

No full study of direct and indirect discourse in Tok Pisin is available at present. The regularities pointed out above must be regarded as tendencies rather than fixed rules.

4.4.3.3.5 Relative sentences

4.4.3.3.5.1 Introduction

In scientific grammatical descriptions, adjectives, adjectival phrases and relative sentences are often grouped together. The reason for this is that all appear under an NP node in a phrase structure marker. The close relationship between adjectives and relative sentences in Tok Pisin is also recognisable from constructions in which nouns are modified by more than one attributive adjective. In this construction one of the attributive adjectives generally appears in a postnominal relative sentence, as in gutpela naispela meri → gutpela meri i naispela *a good nice girl = a good girl who is nice*. The following phrase marker will serve to illustrate the subordinate status of relative sentences:
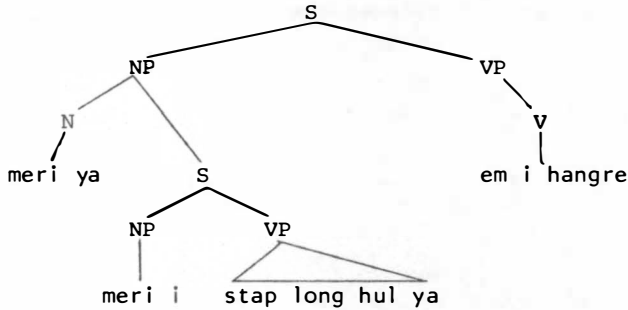
Meri ya i stap long hul ya em i hangre.
The woman who stayed in the cave was hungry.

Relative sentences can appear under subject and object NPs and NPs appearing in prepositional phrases.

4.4.3.3.5.2 Restrictive and appositive relative sentences

Relative sentences are often subcategorised in terms of their semantic functions, into restrictive and appositive relative sentences. The former serve to identify or define what is referred to in the antecedent noun, as in:

Dispela haus ya, meri i sanap   *This house where a girl is standing*
longen ya, em haus bilong   *is my uncle's house.* (where a number
kandare bilong mi.   of houses are in the field of vision)

Appositive relative sentences simply add information which does not constitute an identification or definition:

Sampela meri we ol i karim   *Some women (not men) who carried*
bilum ol i wokabaut long rot.   *stringbags walked along the road.*

A clear distinction depends on contextual information, as suggested by the examples.

4.4.3.3.5.3 Signalling of relative sentences

The relative construction in Tok Pisin has received a good deal of attention in recent years, largely because of the emergence of a number of new formal devices for signalling its subordinate status. Detailed studies have been made, in particular, of the use of the marker ya (Sankoff and Brown 1976) and the intonational signals (Wurm 1971a:68ff). The development of a number of mechanisms for handling the relative construction in Tok Pisin can be regarded as a significant step in its development from a simple pidgin to an extended pidgin and creole.

At present Tok Pisin possesses four ways of forming relative sentences.

(a) Absence of overt relativisers (intonation clues only)

These employ no relative pronoun but rely on word order and intonation clues, as in:

Dispela man i kam asde em i papa bilong me.	*This man who came yesterday is my father.*
Wanpela man em i kapten bilong ol Siapan, nem bilongen Kalau, orait, em i kisim mipela.	*One man, a captain of the Japanese army, whose name was Kalau, took us.*
Mi laik stori long taim mipela i pilai sokkerbol long stesin.	*I want to tell a story about the time when we played soccer on the station.*
Long dispela yia mi kisim medel i makim mi long komiti.	*During that year I got a medal which 'marked' me as a member of the committee.*
Dispela stua mipela i bin kirapim em stua bilong ol wasman.	*The store which we started to construct is the store belonging to the church elders.*

This type of sentence is often marked by a pause initially and finally; in addition, the last syllable tends to have a high pitch intonation if it precedes the matrix sentence. A number of syntactic operations such as pronominalisation are also operative and these will be discussed below.

(b) Husat and wonem

The use of the interrogative pronoun husat as a relative pronoun is restricted to varieties of Tok Pisin in close contact with English. Like *who* it only refers to human beings, as in:

I no gat wanpela man bilong Papua Nu Gini husat i save dispela tok Melanesia.	*There is not a single man in Papua New Guinea who knows the expression Melanesia.*
Pablik seven em i man husat i gat strong long wok bilongen.	*A public servant is someone who knows his job.*
Ol i wari bilong wanem sampela Yuropen opisa husat i gat mo save long wok bilong ol nau ol i lusim Papua Nu Gini yet.	*They are worried because some European officers, who are very experienced, are leaving Papua New Guinea.*

However the use of husat and wonem as equivalents of the English *whoever* and *whatever* is much more common. The following examples can be regarded as special instances of restrictive relative sentences:

Yu husat man i ritim dispela pas i mas tingting gut na skelim tok bilong mi.	*Whoever reads this letter must think well and consider my words.*
Husat ol man i laik kam i ken i kam.	*Whoever wants to can come.*
Yu wonem plisman i laik bekim askim bilong mi i mas rait tasol.	*Whichever policeman wants to answer my question has only to write.*
Husat i nap long wokim banis em yet i mas wokim.	*Whoever is able to make a fence must be the one to make it.*

(c) We

Although we can function like the relative pronouns *which* or *who*, it is most typically found in relative sentences of time and locality. In some of the following examples both a locative and a non-locative interpretation is possible:

1) we introducing relative clauses of time and place:

Taim we em i stap long dispela bet, papa bilongen i tokim ol.	*At the time when he was in this bed, his father said to them.*
Ol i go long wanpela ples we i gat bikpela tais longen.	*They went to a place where there was a big swamp.*
Mobeta yu wokim wanpela faktori we yu samapim klos i go daun.	*It's better if you build a factory where you produce long dresses.*

2) we ambiguous as to its status as personal or temporal relative pronoun:

Mi no bin amamas long kaunsil long hap bilong Wewak we ol i askim ol lain misinari long baim takis.	*I was not happy about the council in the Wewak area who (where they) asked the missions to pay tax.*
Em i pilim supia we em i sutim han bilongen.	*He felt the spear which (where it) hit his arm.*

3) the primary function of we in the following cases is clearly that of a personal relative pronoun:

Sampela man we i kam klostu ol i no save.	*Some men who approached did not know.*
Olgeta Warape i krai long dispela man we em i dai.	*All the people from Warape cried because of this man who had died.*
Ol i no laikim pater we i pulim longpela lotu.	*They do not appreciate priests who drag out the church service.*

(d) Ya

The fourth mechanism for formally signalling relativisation in Tok Pisin is one which uses ya for bracketing off an embedded relative sentence from its matrix sentence.

A full discussion can be found in Sankoff and Brown 1976. This feature of grammar is restricted to younger speakers, not only in the urban areas studied by Sankoff but also in some rural areas studied by myself. This observation is further confirmed by the following comment made by Mr M. Ross (personal communication):

> One thing I did check out informally without any prior discussion with students was the use of ia in forming relative clauses. When the students examined their own data and compared them, they were distinctly surprised at its own consistency right across the country. The left-hand ia was consistently present, the right-hand one sometimes missing when it fell at the end of a sentence.

The following examples illustrate the use of ya-bracketing in embedding relative sentences:

Dispela man ya em i stap long bus ya em i redi na em i kisim banara.	*This man who lived in the bush was ready to get his bow and arrows.*
Meri ya i stap long hul ya em i hangre na em i kaikai dispela blut bilongen.	*This woman who stayed in the hole was hungry and ate his blood.*
Ol man ya ol i katim saksak ya ol i sanap long em ya.	*The men who cut the sago palms stood near him.*
Yupela lukim meri ya, bipo em i stap ya?	*Did you see the woman who used to live here?*
Em i no bikpela olsem ol boi ya ol i kam long skul ya.	*He was not as big as the boys who went to school.*

4.4.3.3.5.4 Syntactic operations found with relativisation

(a) Pronominalisation

Noun phrases in the relative sentence which are coreferential with the noun phrases in the matrix sentence they modify, become pronominalised. A number of cases have to be distinguished:

1) subject of embedded sentence becomes pronominalised:

matrix sentence	embedded sentence
dispela man i wokabaut long rot	man i kandare bilong mi
this man is walking down the road	*the man is my uncle*

becomes:

Dispela man EM i kandare bilong mi i wokabaut long rot.	*This man who is my uncle walked down the road.*

2) pronominalisation of nouns following prepositions:

matrix sentence	embedded sentence
mi go long ples	pik i stap long ples
I went to the village	*a pig was in the village*

becomes:

Mi go long ples pik i stap LONGEN.	*I went to a place where there was a pig.*

matrix sentence	embedded sentence
yu mas bekim dispela mani	yu bin dinau long dispela mani
you must return this money	*you borrowed this money*

becomes:

Yu mas bekim dispela mani yu bin dinau LONGEN.	*You have to return the money you borrowed.*

3) object of embedded sentence becomes pronominalised:

matrix sentence	embedded sentence
mi laik bekim wanpela pas	mi bin ritim pas long Wantok
I want to reply to a letter	*I read a letter in Wantok*

becomes:

Mi laik bekim wanpela pas mi bin ritim EM long Wantok.	*I want to reply to a letter which I read in Wantok.*

So far we have been dealing with ordinary pronominalisation. However, for some speakers, ordinary pronouns can be replaced by the relative pronouns we or husat.

Husat tends to replace pronominalised subjects of embedded clauses only:

Dispela man em i karim bilum em
i wantok bilong mi.

can become

Dispela man husat i karim bilum em i wantok bilong mi.	*The man who carries a stringbag is my wantok.*

We, on the other hand, is much more flexible and can also replace various other pronouns. If we are dealing with pronominalisation of plural nouns, we ol can be chosen. Compare:

Ol muruk i save stap long ples
i gat kunai longen.

Ol muruk i save stap long ples we i gat kunai.	*Cassowaries are found in places where there is kunai grass.*

Em nau dispela stori mi bin
harim em long sampela man.

Em nau dispela stori we mi bin harim long sampela man.	*This is the story which I heard from some man.*

Mi go lukim sampela man ol i
pren bilong mi.

Mi go lukim sampela man we ol i pren bilong mi.	*I went to see some men who were my friends.*

(b) Permutation of pronouns, deletion of pronouns and insertion of anaphoric pronouns

1) Permutation

If the object of relative sentences is pronominalised it may be shifted to the beginning of the embedded sentence; this shift is compulsory if the relative pronoun we is chosen. For example:

Mi laikim dispela samting wantok
i holim em long han bilongen.

becomes

Mi laikim dispela samting em wantok i holim long han bilongen.	*I want that thing which my friend holds in his hand.*
Em nau dispela stori we mi bin harim.	*This is the story which I heard.*

2) Deletion of pronouns

Subject pronouns in the embedded sentence are often deleted, in which case the sentence status of the embedded sentence is weakened in that both matrix and embedded sentence form a single intonation unit:

Mi laik maritim man we i gat
mani.

can become

Mi laik maritim man i gat mani.	*I want to marry a man who has got money.*

Mi lukim pikinini ol i pilai
pilai nabaut.

can become

Mi lukim pikinini i pilai pilai nabaut.	*I watched the children who were playing around.*

This also goes for many instances of deletion of the object pronouns of embedded relative sentences, as in:

Mi laik salim sampela tingting
em mi gat.

can become

Mi laik salim sampela tingting mi gat.	*I want to send some thoughts I have.*

Dispela man mi lukim em long
rot i kandare bilong mi.

can become

Dispela man mi lukim long rot i kandare bilong mi.	*The man I saw on the road was my uncle.*

More information about the deletion of object pronouns can be found in Lattey 1979.

3) Anaphoric pronouns

The regularities underlying anaphoric pronouns following embedded relative sentences are not different from those discussed for nouns. Thus, if an embedded relative sentence modifies the subject noun of the matrix sentence, an anaphoric pronoun can appear directly before the predicate marker, as in:

Meri i wokim dispela bilum em i susa bilong mi.	*The girl who makes this stringbag is my sister.*
Dispela dipatmen we ol i kolim didiman em i save tokim yumi long rot bilong painim mani.	*The department (which is) called agriculture shows us the road to wealth.*

Anaphoric pronouns are found after the relative pronouns husat and we in the embedded sentence, as in:

Mi lukim man we em i kam.	*I saw the man who came.*
Yumi i bin lusim sampela man husat ol i gat bikpela save.	*We have lost some men who had lots of experience.*

4.4.4 CONCLUSIONS

Given that it is only about one hundred years old, Tok Pisin exhibits an amazing degree of grammatical complexity. The reader may have noted the many instances where competing grammatical devices express the same syntactic relationships. It is impossible to predict which of these devices will eventually take over and/or whether new devices will emerge within certain groups of speakers. The fact that a syntactic description appears to be static and well-defined should not lead the reader to ignore the fluctuations and changes characteristic of this language. This syntactic sketch will be of maximum use only if supplemented by constant observation of Tok Pisin as it is actually spoken and written.

NOTES

1.   The forms lukluk stil, stil na lukluk and lukluk na stil have also been recorded. However, stil generally appears in first position if it is collocated with transitive verbs, as in stil lukim *to observe someone from a hidden position*, but not *lukim stil.

2.   A comparison between luksave *to recognise* and toksave *to inform* illustrates that Tok Pisin exhibits characteristics of both preminative, accusative and ergative languages. Compare luksave long man = mi lukim man na mi save longen *I see the man and know him* with mi toksave long man = mi tokim man na i save *I told the man and he knew.*

3.   Its occurrence in this function is reported for a number of pidgins and creoles. Thus, Hall (1966:78) writes: "A widespread African peculiarity is the use of verbs meaning *give* as complements of this type, indicating the person to whom s.th. is given or for whose benefit s.th. is done."

4.   As yet, no spelling conventions for concatenated verbs have been laid down. The author has chosen to spell as two words cases which involve a transitive verbal ending in -im in first position in a verbal chain.

5.   Note that in this construction the i functions like a pronoun rather than as a predicate marker. The complex grammatical development of i is discussed by Sankoff (1977c).

6.   The complex restrictions governing the choice of these complementisers has been discussed by Woolford (1979b).

7.   This phenomenon is similar to the behaviour of verbal modifiers such as traim *to try to*, where na, long and Ø fulfil the same grammatical functions. Compare:

   ol i traim long kam
   ol i traim na kam   *they tried to come*
   ol i traim kam